

do at least as well, and I have no objection to his going. But mostly that kind of Negro does not want to go. He is making good at home and is content to stay there. The majority of Negroes who go North are the ones who are not taking the trouble to do well at home, and of course most of them will do even worse away from home. I simply want to see these Negroes do the best thing possible for themselves. For the exceptional one that best thing is a job in a Northern factory. But I want every Negro who is thinking of going North to seek, before he starts, the advice of the white people whom he can trust and of the experienced, thoughtful Negroes of his acquaintance. I want him to have

the benefit of the heritage that his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother, even in their days of slavery, laid up for him in the love and guidance of the white people whose experience is broader than his."

I sought the judgment of Charles Plummer, and he gave it. I do not wholly agree with it. His view of the Negro and the ballot, for example, is not my view. None the less I respect his view. In my time I have sought the judgment of many such Negroes as he on many things. It may have been the question of where to set a steel trap to catch a raccoon. It may have been the question of what a gentlemen's conduct should be under a certain set of circum-

stances. It has been a thousand things, first and last. And I have rarely found those judgments wrong.

In this case I merely call attention to the fact that it is not the judgment of a provincial Negro, but of one who knows the world and men; not of an outstandingly big Negro, but of one close enough in touch with the common people of his race to know their lives; not of an unlettered Negro, but of one who went through school on his own money; not of a Negro unfamiliar with his subject, but of one who has studied his subject from various angles. He has not thrown a flood-light on the subject, but he has turned a spot-light on an interesting portion of it.

What Young Japan Is Thinking About

By YUSUKE TSURUMI

A liberal generation faces the chaos that comes from disappointment and disaster. Which way will the balance swing?

WHAT is Young Japan thinking about? Everything—that is new. Conjecturing, wondering, thinking, Young Japan is peering into a future that is more uncertain than that which any previous generation has confronted. But its outlook is undismayed, eager. Out of the turmoil of change and reconstruction Young Japan "greet the unseen with a cheer."

"There are three things to be feared," said a young student at Keio University in addressing a Father-and-Son banquet in Tokyo last June—"three things to be feared: Earthquake, Fire, and Parents." These three; and the greatest of these is Parents. It is a good thing for Japan that the coming generation, like its predecessors, fear "parents" most. Herein lies the strength of the Empire that is bound together by the ties of a relationship which is realized like that of the family. The disrupting effects of Occidentalism have left still unimpaired the veneration for ancestors which makes of Shinto an abiding and a practical faith in modern Japanese life, holding the loyalty of family and kindred the supreme ethic in the social organization of the nation.

Let me give you a striking example of this. In Tokyo there is a very brilliant young Liberal who is destined to play a leading part in the public affairs of the country. In trying to form a working philosophy of life he was greatly attracted by the Christian doctrines taught by his missionary friends in Tokyo. He wanted to become a Christian, but before

taking the radical step of baptism he asked the teacher whose wise counsels had been most helpful to him, and who had aroused in him an emotional response to the new faith, this question. He asked if all those who, through no fault of their own, had been ignorant of Christian doctrine must remain forever out of heaven. When he was told that all such necessarily were denied salvation, he found that he could not accept such a religion. He could not cut himself off from communion and unity with his ancestors, a reliance which was of the very fiber of his existence. And so, although to-day he remains genuinely sympathetic with the life of Christ and with the examples of conduct Christ taught by living as well as by words, he can no longer be sincerely sympathetic with denominational Christianity as taught by the missionaries.

At the beginning of the world war ten years ago the question on the lips of many foreigners was, "Is Japan going to swallow up China whole?" A few years later the very same people, with a change of mind which was impressive, began to query, "Is social revolution coming in Japan?" The latter is the question which still remains without a satisfactory answer to-day. A change has taken place in Japanese tendencies which is sufficiently well indicated by the two general questions just quoted. And the questioned Japanese have been baffled, hardly knowing how best to answer.

The uncertainty and the difficulty

come from the general ignorance of the real temper of the Japanese race. And this is hardly to be wondered at when we ourselves realize that Japan is not an easy country in spirit and present tendencies either to gauge or to describe. Some indexes, however, do stand out whereby we may learn what Young Japan is thinking about. What Young Japan is concerned with to-day may become the guiding influences of an older Japan tomorrow and in the long days-after-tomorrow.

Young men are more susceptible than old men. In this respect Young Japan is not unlike Young America. In recent years, however, Young Japan, unlike Young America, has been peculiarly affected by the alien influences of the outside world. Let me try briefly to describe how these influences have affected the mind and the thinking of Young Japan. The most marked impressive force came during the Great War, during the first two years not noticeable, but thereafter becoming increasingly felt and noteworthy. With unprecedented prosperity and new and vivid contacts a tide of democratic ideas came flooding into the country, and, much to the alarm of the older conservative generation, spread far back into the estuaries of Japanese thought. The old régime called these dangerous ideas and tried to stamp them out. Their labors were in vain. Young Japan had begun to catch fire. In this social and political conflagration Professor Nitobe—who has lectured in Amer-

ica—and Professor Yoshino were the torch-bearers.

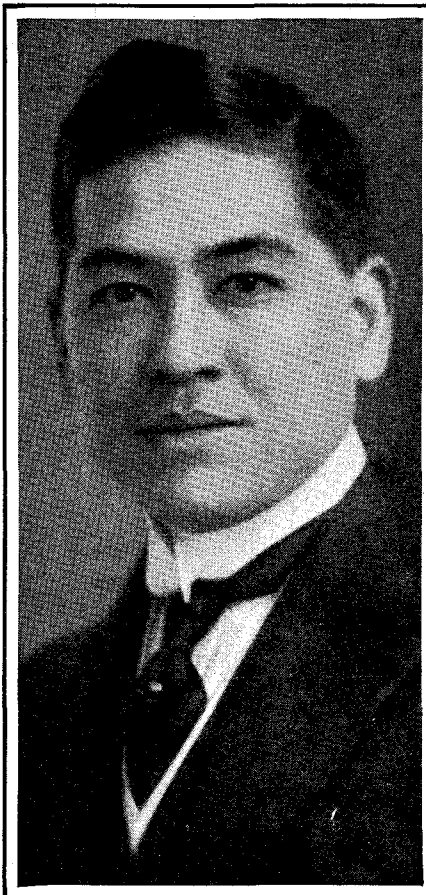
The Revolutionary Fire

THEN came a still greater influence, a more abiding change. The Russian Revolution of 1917 made an impression upon the receptive minds of Japanese youth, already harrowed and plowed by the progress of the war, which can hardly be overestimated. For some time previously Russian literature had been widely appreciated by the inquiring minds of my generation in the universities, but after 1917 Russian writers jumped to the first place in popularity. Things Russian became the order of the day—intellectually, and so socially, politically.

This trend of our young intellectual world would not have affected public opinion in general much, had it not been reinforced by the material changes which were taking place in the country at this juncture. A business boom, unparalleled in the history of the country, was going on. Every form of industry and commerce flourished. The new prosperity was intoxicating. It made men bold. The demand for every form of service exceeded the supply, and there was, accordingly, no fear of unemployment. Young men after graduation from college were rid of the nightmare of job-hunting. Labor ceased to take thought for to-morrow. With no fear of losing jobs by free expression, all through the ranks of labor and salaried employment, young men began to express themselves in word and act with a new freedom, even with recklessness.

Matters soon took another developing turn, going even further than the conservative forecasters had apprehended. The new democratic ideas gradually assumed a more radical aspect. Socialism began to appeal to the fancy of the old as well as the young men of an awakening Japan. On the wake of the business boom followed labor troubles. For the first time in its history Japan began to experience the inconvenience of strikes of all kinds. At first the demands of the malcontents were purely economic, but gradually they invaded the domain of business control, as notably in the case of the Kawasaki Dockyard (the largest ship-building plant in Japan) strike of 1921.

In all these struggles of labor, intellectual young Japan was rendering active support. More susceptible by nature and immaturity to theory than to actual practice, it went a long way towards the Socialistic conception of life. At this moment new leaders began to appear on the horizon. Socialistic writers like Sakai, Yamakawa, and the late Osugi, belonging to the extreme left wing of



Photograph by Yeghi Art Studio, Ltd.

Yusuke Tsurumi is one of the outstanding figures in the Liberal Young Japan of which he intimately writes. A son-in-law of Viscount Goto and well endowed with this world's goods, he has, nevertheless, turned his back on the great commercial opportunities open to him to give his services to public and patriotic affairs. In the June elections for the Japanese Diet he was narrowly defeated after a brilliant and original campaign in a difficult district. He has been a frequent, and always an interesting, contributor to both the vernacular and the English press of Tokyo. During August he delivered a series of notable addresses before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Massachusetts, and is now occupied in a series of lectures at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth, Princeton, and Pennsylvania which will keep him in this country during the autumn and early winter. The vigorous and inquiring spirit of Young Japan could hardly find a spokesman better qualified than he to interpret its objects and hopes to Young America

Socialism and advocating violent measures for the accomplishment of their objects, increased their hold on the imaginations of Young Japan. In all the shops and on the streets books on Socialism sold thousands of copies, and radical writers for the many new magazines vied with one another in extreme views. A group in the Imperial University organized a society called "Shinjin Kai," or "The Society of New Men." They were chiefly interested in the new-born labor

movement, and many of the members after graduation actively enlisted in the ranks of labor agitators. The future careers of these dedicated young men of the "Shinjin Kai" are to be watched with real interest. Some of them have already sprung into national prominence.

Socialism, bound up as it was with the labor movement, did not develop smoothly. A break came, weakening what was beginning to assume the proportions of a formidable political development. The panic of the spring of 1920 and the following period of depression brought the pendulum back again. Wages dropped and many factories had to go out of business. Labor became, under these chastening influences, less and less arrogant. Finally in 1921 the laborites, in whose ranks Socialistic influence had been gradually waning, parted company with the Socialists, and the labor groups thenceforth took on a distinctively trade-unionistic aspect. This changing character of the labor movement coincided with a change in the political attitude of Young Japan. In 1920 the eager spirits had had no patience with the less dynamic doctrines of a slowly developing liberalism, but less than two years later they began to swing around again to the former ideas of a liberal democracy which antedated the Russian influence. With this change in the general trend of ideas came a corresponding substitution of intellectual leaders. The bare economic interpretation of life, never really adaptable to Japanese temperament, gave place gradually to a more idealistic theory and the more idealistic liberal thinkers began to rise in popular estimation. It was at this period that writers like Arishima, Kurata, and Kagawa reached the quickly won height of their influence and Professor Yoshino's sane counsels began again to count with Young Japan.

A Novelist's Voice

ONE of the most interesting and significant figures of the present troubled day in Japan is Toyohiko Kagawa. As a comparatively young man of thirty he jumped into national prominence with one bound, the publication of his novel "Beyond the Death Line." You have extraordinary "best sellers" in America, but Kagawa's novel has already run through *three hundred editions* in two years. The book is really an autobiography, in which the author describes his experiences as a social worker, under great difficulties and even persecution, in the slums of Kobe. In America you have had books of this kind, but in Japan Kagawa's book was a human document entirely new to the people who read it. And they read it by the hundreds of thousands. Kagawa is a Christian So-

cialist, and the subject-matter of his book comes from his first-hand, vivid experience in preaching the Gospel of Christ among the outcasts and the abjectly poor. He lived in the worst of the slums of Kobe—the worst slums in Japan—only coming to Tokyo after the earthquake of last September to live and work among the calamity-stricken refugees who were the objects of state, municipal, and private charity. He lives among the poor as one of them, sharing all their vicissitudes, and, Christlike, he is idolized by those for whose sake he has forsaken all else. His book has aroused a keen interest not only in the author himself but in the cause he advocates and the self-sacrificing life he preaches by living it.

A Devout Socialist Leader

AN entirely different type from Kagawa is Takero Arishima. His life was dedicated to art and its ideals, and, rather than fall short of the philosophy of life he set for himself, he died. Although, like Kagawa, he began his career as a pious Christian, in his maturer years he forsook the faith for a Socialism in which he religiously believed. Inheriting a large fortune from his father, as he became more Socialistic in view, his property became an inconsistency and a burden to him. Just a year before he died he renounced it all: the title to his estates he gave to the tenants occupying them and his money to a labor association. In his novels and poems we find an ardent soul perplexed with life yet on fire with living, seeking and never finding, more of the sunrise and the sunset than of the long day between, a character out of Tolstoy, the Russian writer whom he most admired. He was also an apostle of the American poet Walt Whitman, many of whose poems he translated with singular happiness into Japanese. His influence is very great with Young Japan—a flame in the darkness. Last summer he committed a double suicide with a woman writer in their bungalow at Karuizawa. The mystery of their love and death is buried with them; their house is regarded as a shrine.

Although in intellectual sympathy with Socialism, Arishima was by nature and inclination an idealist and a dreamer, singing of love, peace, and good will among men. In him Japan lost a humanitarian liberal, because throughout his short life he was unconsciously preaching the gospel of liberalism.

If I were to try to say in one word "what Young Japan is thinking about," that one word would be Liberalism. Not that they are thinking of the abstract thing we call "Liberalism," but that their thought, their ideas, their methods, their

aspirations, are becoming more and more actuated and inspired by liberal tendencies. Young Japan is a far more liberal Japan. Momozo Kurata, the third and youngest of the three mentioned above, captured the reading public with his first drama, "The Priest and the Disciples," written when he was barely twenty-five years old. Liberally significant in that it is a Christian interpretation of Buddhism, it sold almost as widely and aroused as much attention as Kagawa's "Beyond the Death Line."

These three writers were all imbued with Christian ideas. Others, representing different creeds or schools of thought, are also very influential in shaping the development of this generation along liberal lines. Young novelists like Akutagawa, Satomi, and Tanizaki stand particularly for Oriental culture, upholding Oriental, as opposed to Occidental, Christian, idealism. Tanizaki is the most liberal of the three. He, with Kikuchi, one of the most popular writers of the younger school, with a strong Socialistic tendency, will bear watching because each in his separate way is of the kind zealously to propagate public causes in writing. Kikuchi is a member of the Japanese Fabian Society, started in March of this year. Who knows if he may not be the incipient Bernard Shaw of Japan?

Another very interesting figure among the young novelists of Japan who are influencing thought is Mushakoji, born the second son of an old titled family. Like Arishima a Tolstoyan, but not content with mere writing, he is translating his ideas into concrete action by starting what he calls a "New Village" of his own, in which a rapidly growing society of friends are trying out communism in practical terms of every-day life.

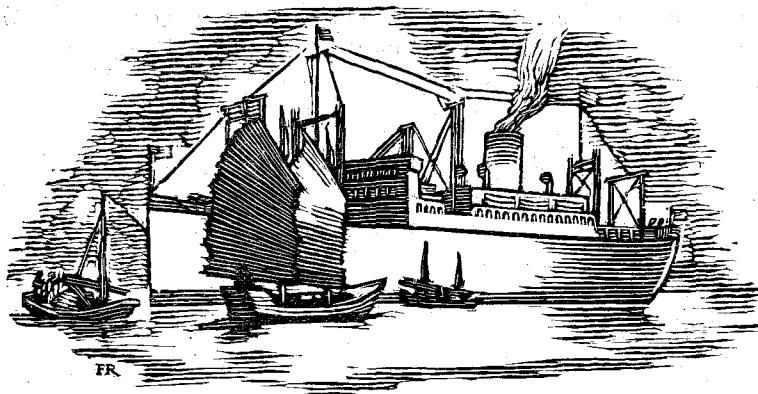
The Promise of the Conference

THIS liberal tendency of Young Japan, which I can here only briefly sketch, received a great impetus from the Washington Conference two years ago. The decisions there reached met with an enthusiastic response from a perplexed generation in my country. Yukio Ozaki, a veteran statesman and ex-Cabinet member, went on a nation-wide campaign in the interests of disarmament, stirring up a hope of better days wherever he went and carrying the majority of the Young Japan of which I am writing with him. Early in 1922 a resolution for curtailment of all military expenses was put through the Lower House of Parliament. Liberalism was becoming the order of the new day. Then came the terrible disaster of September first of 1923, the effect of which upon Japanese mentality needs some brief analysis.

The Earthquake and the Reactionaries

IMMEDIATELY after the earthquake and fire the entire metropolitan area, with its many millions of stunned population, was thrown into unexampled confusion. The chaos about them was reflected in the sufferers' state of mind. This I knew and felt myself. In those dark days of commotion and distress people took the law into their own hands, vigilance committees were organized all over the devastated area, police powers and duties were assumed, and the martial spirit, which had been for years in comparative abeyance, became again most highly prized. When the false alarm of Korean uprisings was heard through the confusion, distressed and bewildered people everywhere welcomed—even worshiped—the sight of uniforms and flags. A friend of mine, who for many years had been a staunch believer in liberal movements, said to me that he had never felt so profoundly moved as when, through the dust and panic of September 3, he beheld a company of soldiers marching into the suburban district where he lived and where mobs of people, frightened by every kind of wild rumor, had come swarming by thousands from the country districts. Distracted for the safety of his wife and little children, the sight of those brown uniforms and shining bayonets meant for him safety, salvation. He said to me repeatedly, "It is all very well to talk in abstract terms when things are calm, but we need an army—I tell you we need an army." And this was the same man who, only a few months before, had been agitating for the drastic curtailment of army expenses.

Liberalism received a marked setback from the earthquake and fire and the distress which followed. No wonder that reactionaries took advantage of these occurrences which deeply affected the thinking of Young Japan. Still more profoundly has the liberalism of Young Japan been affected by the reaction from the immigration legislation recently passed in the United States, which has correspondingly strengthened the position of the reactionaries in my country. It is too early now to make a forecast. But it must be frankly admitted that Young Japan, at the most critical period of its changing growth and just when it was gratefully and in a spirit of confident friendship turning towards American standards of life and thought, has received a serious blow. A cry goes up for a return to Oriental culture, a cry of disappointment. "The feet of the young men!" Whither shall they turn? We in Japan are in an acute age of transition imperfectly realized even by ourselves, and things are moving rather fast.



“THE MEDITERRANEAN ERA died with the discovery of America; the Atlantic Era has reached the height of its developement; the Pacific Era, destined to be the greatest, is just at its dawn.”

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Swiftly, on the Pacific Ocean, is growing the greatest commerce the world has ever seen.

Three-quarters of the earth's population are awakening to a recognition of new wants. They are demanding food, clothing, machinery. In exchange, they have billions in raw materials and manufactured articles to send us.

Already, Japan alone makes annual shipments to the United States amounting to over 300 millions of dollars and imports from us goods to the value of 360 millions.

Our trade with Japan has trebled in a decade.

With China it has quadrupled.

It has doubled with Australia and the Philippines.

For the year ending June 30, 1923, the trade record of the United States with various countries on the Pacific showed:

	Exports to U. S.	Imports from U. S.
China	\$169,619,408	\$96,851,718
Australia	54,727,517	96,310,785
Alaska	52,984,275	29,981,604
Philippines	74,757,909	44,054,419
Dutch East Indies	48,575,781	9,976,420

It has made beginnings with Siberia, richest in possibilities of all trans-Pacific lands.

And of our Pacific Coast commerce with the Orient, today more than two-thirds flows through the ports of the Pacific Northwest!

With the growth of this commerce the Pacific Northwest ports are growing—and will continue to grow with constantly increasing speed. For they themselves mark the path which the huge bulk of our trade with Asia must for all time follow. Here

are the definite advantages that assure this fact!

The Pacific Northwest ports are nearer by several days' sailing to Japan, to China, to the Philippines, to Siberia, than the South Pacific ports.

They are nearer by rail to the Atlantic Seaboard.

They are endowed with harbor facilities unparalleled anywhere else in the United States.

They are the very door to Alaska, whose annual traffic with the United States comes to more than 80 million dollars.

Back of them lie the great states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming—the Pacific Northwest, one-sixth the total area of the country, containing half its standing timber, half its potential water power, producing one-sixth its wheat and half the commercial apple crop of the world, yielding metals, coal and oil at the rate of a million dollars a day, manufacturing products worth five million a day, and sharing with Alaska the world's greatest fishing industry, worth a hundred million a year.

The growth of the ports of Washington and Oregon is reflected in the development of the entire Pacific Northwest, where the population is increasing more than twice as fast as that of the United States as a whole.

“— the Pacific Era, destined to be the greatest, is just at its dawn.” And the American Pacific Northwest, dominating the main highway of its tremendous commerce, already feels its influence.

To American industry now, the Pacific Northwest offers its greatest opportunity for expansion.

THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

The Chicago Burlington & Quincy R.R.
The Great Northern Ry.
The Northern Pacific Ry.



The Book Table

The Glory That Was Rome

A Review by BRANDER MATTHEWS

THESE two stately and sumptuous tomes¹ are an honor to American scholarship and to American literature. They are to be classed with the ever-delightful studies of Gaston Boissier—and it is not possible to pay them a higher compliment. Like Boissier's series of volumes, they present the results of research with no parade of learning and with none of the apparatus of pedantry. Like Boissier's, they are written for readers whose Latin is only a younger brother's portion; and therefore all of the necessary and elucidating quotations are translated into the vernacular. Like Boissier's again, they are not encumbered with foot-notes, all needful references being relegated to the appendix. To say this is to say that the American author, while he has amply availed himself of the science of the Ger-

¹ Eternal Rome. The City and its People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Grant Showerman. Two volumes. Yale University Press, New Haven. \$10.

mans, has attained to the art of the French. He has given us a book which scholars must respect and which the rest of us can enjoy with confidence. My own enjoyment has been so unqualified that I feel the need of curbing my enthusiasm, lest I fall into that overt and excessive praise which would be doing the author a disservice. Perhaps I may allow myself to go so far as to express my opinion that Professor Showerman's book is one which ought not to be neglected by any of those who are interested in the most interesting of all the cities of the world; ancient and modern—the only city of the world which is as interesting in this twentieth century of ours as it was twenty-five centuries ago.

It is a splendid historical pageant that is here set before us, a triumphal march down the corridors of time. The author begins at the very beginning, before there was any Rome or could be. He describes the geologic upheavals which resulted in

the Italy which we know to-day; and then he tells us about the dimly perceived races of prehistoric men who came one after another into Italy when at last it had emerged from the sea. He does this succinctly, with a clearness and a sanity quite Latin in their sharp brevity. He tells the story of the founding of Rome twice—once as the Romans themselves believed it to have been and a second time in accord with the beliefs of modern investigators who have attained by infinite labor to a knowledge of Roman origins far beyond the knowledge possible to Livy and Vergil. He shows how Rome fought with the neighboring cities and overcame them one after another and spread its rule first over all Italy and finally over all the shores of the Mediterranean and even over distant Britain. He makes us see how the Republic waxed, how it waned at last, and how the Empire rose on its ruins, giving to the harassed world two centuries of peace. He makes visible to us the lightness of the Roman rule and the grateful affection which bound all the inhabitants of the Empire to the city which was its heart.

And so he descends the stream of time, from the unknown past to the immediate present. What he has given us is not the annals of Rome, with all the events significant and insignificant in chronological order; it is not even a history of Rome, although it may have that appearance; rather is it a character-study of the city itself and of the men who made it, century after century. It is an evocation of the Roman spirit, of the abiding forces which were responsible for its greatness, which were modified from era to era, but which never completely lost their vitality, their vigor, and their controlling power. It is when he is dealing with this spirit, not faultless—and Professor Showerman no more extenuates than he sets down in malice, it is in dealing with this indomitable spirit that Professor Showerman achieves the stern eloquence which gives distinction to his pages. Here it is that he reveals himself as an inspired interpreter. He never indulges in mere rhetoric; he can be picturesque on occasion—picturesque without pretentious effort; and his manner has always the urbanity which is a truly Roman characteristic.

I have ever maintained that it is the bounden duty of a reviewer to support his opinion of a book by quoting typical passages from it—in other words, by letting the author speak for himself. Here, then, is Professor Showerman's

Here is the most intimate pen portrait yet written of

"The most dynamic American who ever lived"

—in

The Letters of Archie Butt

EDITED BY LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

IN these pages the reader finds himself living again the days when Theodore Roosevelt's towering personality directed the affairs of the Nation. Through the observing eyes of Butt, the great, magnetic, many-sided Roosevelt is revealed in a new light. One reads of his personal habits, his mannerisms, foibles, virtues, his private opinions as to many of his contemporaries, his relationship to the members of the famous "Tennis Cabinet," his never-ending attempts to elude the secret service guards, his entertainment of educators, prize fighters, diplomats, big-game hunters, political leaders and jiu-jitsu instructors.

Dying, as he had lived, a gentleman and a soldier, Major Butt

was last seen on the ill-fated *Titanic*, with coat stripped off, standing beside the life boats, ready to strike down or shoot the first man who would attempt to dispute that established law of the sea—"Women and children first!" His letters are a real heritage to his country.

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