

Backstage in Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.



ALTHOUGH he has achieved his ambition to become Speaker of the House of Representatives, and rides in a shiny new limousine due to the thoughtfulness of the late "Nick"

Longworth in turning in his official chariot at the close of the last session, "Happy Jack" Garner's red face shows signs of worry already. He is discovering, apparently, that any head which wears a crown, even though thatched with white and bowed in the humility of a man who rose from the red mud of northern Texas to political eminence, must rest uneasy. As "Jack" scans his soldiery from the rostrum, and realizes that they outnumber the Republican enemy by only five, and sometimes less, he gives the impression that he wishes he had not been so eager for power and place as to take it at this particular moment. The superficial solidarity he has achieved with the aid of those other two red-faced bosses—Tammany leader John F. Curry of New York and Ed Crump, the "Red Snapper" from Memphis on the Mississippi—may vanish in many a critical combat.

It was a mighty machine he manned only a few weeks ago, and it testified to his skill as a manipulator. All personal and political differences, it seemed, had been smoothed over through the intervention of Crump and Curry, and the regular slate—himself for Speaker, Henry T. Rainey of Illinois for floor leader and five high-tariff men for the Ways and Means Committee—had gone over with a rush: The bosses had sent out their orders, and the Democrats who once raged so bitterly at the "gag rule" of the Longworth-Snell-Tilson clique obeyed meekly. "Jack" staged a caucus which Tom Platt, "Uncle Joe" Cannon and even "Nick" himself might have envied; a new political Belasco walked, gaily and grinningly, across the stage.

But down there "Jack" cannot help but note three elderly, kindly and popular Democrats whose feelings were hurt and their dream shattered when the Garner-Curry-Crump machine rolled over them. There is old "Joe" Byrns of Tennessee, so homely and wrinkled that he possesses the rugged beauty of Abraham Lincoln. "Joe," a staunch old

Democrat, had fought for the establishment of a steering committee to reflect party sentiment, to mould it, if necessary, but, in any event, to shape legislation in a Jeffersonian manner. But a gang of yelling, unknowing youngsters, taking orders from the bosses, disregarded his plea for a representative House. There is W. A. Ayres of Kansas, the most influential Democrat in that Republican bailiwick, whose long years of service inside and outside Congress should have entitled him to whatever recognition he wanted. But, for the good of the party, he was badly beaten by newer men when he tried to win a place on the Ways and Means Committee. His tariff views, it appears, were suspected, so off with his bald head. Though his face bears the marks of a recent and serious illness, he could not be allowed to stand in the way of a man who denounces the Hawley-Smoot duties in public but votes for local protection in the Chamber. Near him sits "Charlie" Crisp of Georgia, one of the real liberals of the House. His father had been a Speaker before him, he had served as parliamentarian himself, and he would like the job "Jack" has, as he said rather wistfully, but his ambition to be the only Speaker-son of a Speaker-father was suppressed out of loyalty to Mr. Garner and the party. He, too, had wanted a steering committee, had begged the party chieftains to remember pledges made when they were on the outside looking in, but, like Byrns and Ayres, he had to be brushed aside. So there the three of them sit, willing to stand by but unwilling to subordinate their principles and wishing that possession of power did not work such a curious change in men. And itching to side with them if they can only get up the spunk are a score of Democrats "Jack" cannot afford to lose.

MOREOVER, floor leader Rainey, 71 years old, ponderous and philosophical, may need handling at times. For years he was known for his extreme liberalism, and some cautious Democrats—maybe "Jack" himself at times—thought him a little exuberant, a little erratic. Will he, now and then, forget the responsibilities of his position, forget assurances that he will watch his step, and scare off the conservatives whom the Garner-Curry-Crump group are so anxious to win over to their side in this period of economic turmoil? As he muses on the rostrum, it is little wonder that

"Jack" thinks, after all, that those others—Cannon and Longworth—had the right idea, and that a kid glove looks and fits better when it is pulled tight over a knotted fist.

Though "Jack" has no time to worry about Republicans, he may, in vagrant moments, give a thought to poor John Tilson, the Cardinal Wolsey of the Hoover Administration—or, rather, another one! For poor John, floor leader for six years and reelected to that post last spring, was defeated by "Hard-boiled Bert" Snell of New York in their contest for the Speakership nomination, and subsequently robbed of his leadership rôle, too. It is almost axiomatic that a man so humiliated by his peers goes down to defeat back home when next the pack gets a chance at him, and Mr. Tilson is, therefore, a pitiful figure.

THE scrap which Messrs. Garner, Crisp, Byrns and Ayres staged was a love feast by comparison with the Snell-Tilson row. Both sides adopted vicious and unbelievably unfair tactics. By the Tilsonites Mr. Snell was portrayed as the candidate of the Vare machine in Philadelphia and of President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The New York man was assailed as a straddler on prohibition, a ruthless and ungrateful figure, and as an anti-Hoover man. By the Snell forces it was pointed out that Mr. Tilson had sponsored passage of a bill giving him, as floor leader, an extra \$2,000 per year for perquisites. The Connecticut Yankee was characterized as wishywashy, as a politician who did not have the backing of his own national committeeman, J. Henry Roraback, and as quite the wrong sort of fellow to head the G.O.P. in such a closely divided House.

Strange as it may seem, it was President Hoover's support which really defeated Mr. Tilson. The Hoover-Mellon influence was definitely thrown to the man they could always depend upon, whether they were right or wrong. Despite presidential protests, it became clear to Mr. Snell and his associates that the White House was against them. But "Bert" had the regulars, the remnants of the Longworth-Bacharach machine, and the growing group which fears that Mr. Hoover is about to lead the party to its most stunning defeat in many, many years. Yet, if Mr. Hoover only knew it, he is lucky that Mr. Snell was named over Mr. Tilson. For "Bert" is a "No! No!" man, and Mr. Hoover's great weakness is that he doesn't hear enough, and will not listen to, political negatives.

A. F. C.



Ewing Galloway

FOOD
Japan's biggest
problem

▷▷ Japan's Stakes in Manchuria ◁◁

By PAUL PORTER

JAPAN's course of empire began soon after the American Commodore Perry opened her doors to world commerce in 1854. For two and one-half centuries the Japanese people had lived in almost complete isolation, trading only with a few Dutch and Chinese merchants who were allowed to advance no farther than a small island off Nagasaki.

Japanese subjects were forbidden to go abroad under penalty of death; the youthful Ito, later the Prince Ito who became the first governor-general of Korea, only with spectacular daring escaped to England in the early 'sixties to study the secrets of Western power. What he learned led him to the passionate conviction that Japan's national integrity depended upon her ability to shake off feudalism and to create a new social pattern along the lines of the aggressive societies of the west. In 1868 the Imperial Restoration provided him and Yamagata and other "mad young men" their opportunity to establish a centralized government, a national financial system and a powerful army and navy.

To the south of Japan lay the island of Formosa, which statesmen of both England and France had been eyeing as they took over other Chinese outposts. In the north lay another Chinese protectorate, Korea, "the sword pointed at the heart of Japan," which was falling under the influence of Russia. As early as 1871 an American consul to Amoy, China, General Le Gendre, advised Japan to seize Formosa and Korea in

order to strengthen her position, and incidentally America's, against the three European nations. It was not a new thought to the builders of the modern Japan.

Russia's encroachment in Korea was a major factor in Japan's war in 1894 with China, from which she emerged an easy victor, claiming Formosa, the Liaotung peninsula of South Manchuria and the privilege of protecting the "independence" of Korea. Orators spoke lyrically of manifest destiny and *Dai-Nihon*, "Great Land of the Rising Sun." Acting in concert, Russia, France and Germany, "in a spirit of cordial friendship" compelled Japan to return her South Manchurian gains—as their note said, "in the interests of permanent peace in the Far East."

WITHIN three years France had carved a sphere of influence in South China, and the German Kaiser had found the murder of two missionaries a convenient pretext for snatching Tsingtao and securing the right to construct a railroad through the heart of Shantung province. Russia, too, by shady diplomacy had secured the right to build a railroad, and with the aid of French capital she extended the Trans-Siberian across North Manchuria, thereby shortening by 500 miles the distance between Moscow and her single Pacific port, Vladivostok. A branch line was constructed from Harbin to a warm-water port at the tip of South Manchuria,

known then as the Chinese Talienwan, later the Russian Dalny and now the Japanese Dairen. During the Boxer Rebellion Russia occupied all of Manchuria and remained there.

In 1904 Japan struck. The war cost her 100,000 men and a half billion dollars, but netted the Russian leased territory (Kuantung) at the tip of the Liaotung peninsula, and the branch line railroad from Changchun southward, which is now the excellently equipped South Manchurian Railway, controlled jointly by the Government and private capitalists. Russia's power broken, it was an easy matter to annex Korea in 1910. The World War provided the occasion for ousting Germany from Shantung and the imposition on China of the Twenty-one Demands. The most daring demands, relating mainly to Shantung, were dropped at the time of the Washington Arms Conference, but those extending Japan's South Manchurian leases into the twenty-first century, and acceded to by a weak and corrupt Chinese government, are claimed as binding. Chinese opinion has maintained that the treaties of 1915 were signed under duress, and in 1923 a new government repudiated their legality, although for tactical reasons they have never been completely ignored in actual practice.

In the quarter of a century since the Japanese drove out the Russians South Manchuria has been grafted into the economic life of the Island Empire as a twig is grafted to a tree. Today the twig could be suddenly severed only with