

# New York Japan Review

To Interpret Japan  
to America and America to Japan

VOL. I

SEPTEMBER, 1913

No. 3

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- Exemplary Conduct of America to Japan,  
MILES POINDEXTER
- The Service of Japan, EVERETT P. WHEELER
- China Loan, ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN
- Balkanites, EDWIN MAXEY
- Colombia-Panama Affair, JAMES T. DU BOIS
- American Fathers on War, EDWIN D. MEAD

## America and Japan

Five Japanese Articles  
of Protest to America,  
with an Editorial.

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# Contributors to this Number

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## MILES POINDEXTER

in a special article, "Exemplary Attitude of America to Japan," tells the people of Japan and the United States what the Senator thinks is their best attitude and thought for shaping the future destiny of the two nations. He is specific that, not upon the destruction of each other by war, but upon the preservation of the romantic friendly relations between the two Pacific peoples the peace of the world largely depends. From recalling the memory of his boyhood days, of Perry's expedition to the rise of the present Japan, he sincerely and earnestly pleads for still closer and friendly relations of Japan and America. Senator Poindexter is chairman of the Committee on Expenditure in the War Department, United States Senate.

## EVERETT P. WHEELER

ranking among the highest American authorities on international law, contributes a special article to this number on "The Service Japan Has Rendered to the World." The writer states the source of American friendship in the late Russo-Japanese war, and pleads Japanese-American patience in the present Japanese-American controversy, pointing out all the way the barricade of state's rights that lies before them. The writer's experience is vast, having been chairman of the New York Civil Service Commission, chairman of the Committee of International Law of the American Bar Association, and chairman of the Committee of the National Civil Service League. He is the author of many important works.

## ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN

in this specially prepared article on "The Sixth Power Loan and the Chinese Recognition," shows the important points of interest of the United States in her relation to China. Dr. Brown's study, experience and extensive travel in China directs attention to his article and makes it invaluable. The author of many books on the Philippines and China, and on "Why and How of Foreign Missions," he is the director of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

## EDWIN MAXEY

in the article entitled "Balkanites," proves the lesson the late war has given to the world. He has prepared this article with great care, going into the details and the after effects of war and peace in the late situation of the Near East. Dr. Maxey has for years been a student and writer on Eastern questions, and as a contributor to the *Forum* he has immensely benefited its readers on all problems relating to the Orient. He is the author of "Public International Law," and is at present professor of International Law in the Law College of the University of Nebraska.

## JAMES T. DU BOIS

in the article, "Colombia-Panama Affair," directs the attention of all who love fair dealing in the world. What attracts us, is that this distinguished American patriot boldly points out the wrong of his own country against the people of another country. We can, however, see between the lines his burning love of country: not condemnation, but sound warning for the justification of the big brotherhood of the United States over the Latin-American Republics. Mr. Du Bois has long been known as an American diplomatist, was Consul-General in Europe and Asia, and, until his recent resignation, was United States Minister to Colombia.

## EDWIN D. MEAD

needs no special introduction here, as his preceding contribution to July number, "American Position in Japan," has been widely approved by Japan and America. In the article in this number of the REVIEW, the learned seer of Boston makes an invaluable contribution for the lovers of world peace. Mr. Mead is the director of the World's Peace Foundation. In the present age, no one in America can show more consistent, persistent and sincere devotion to the cause of world peace than the writer of this article. He is unsurpassed as the American authority of the Peace Movement.

# NEW YORK JAPAN REVIEW

MASUJI MIYAKAWA, EDITOR

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THE MARCH OF JAPAN AND THE  
UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT WILSON AND LEG-  
ISLATION

**P**RESIDENT CLEVELAND, in his construction of the presidential oath "to support the Constitution," had a great time in preventing the interference of Congress, which fought him bitterly. But President Wilson, in the situation of the last six months, is just the other way. He has a great time to construe "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," that will have a real connection with legislation. Constitutional construction in the pocket of his heart, Mr. Wilson has twice appeared in person before Congress and read his prescription to heal the ills of the present-day economic system. He boldly and in a matter-of-fact way calls the sovereign legislators belonging to the co-ordinate department of the government, "colleagues." In the meantime, he has shown the meaning of the Preamble to

the Constitution in its relation to the Presidential power to legislation.

In the Tariff and Currency bills, now appearing to be enacted, Mr. Wilson virtually serves notice upon the students of American and other governments of the world the signal importance of recording a new era in the American presidential function. To get through the Tariff bill—with free wool and free sugar—as it now stands, the circumstances constitute some wonder. But to add to it the Currency bill, and to get through it also, points to something that is assuredly an extraordinary achievement, a great feat in proving his harmonious and intelligent mind.

INJUSTICE TO GOVERNOR  
SULZER

We have observed the Japan Sugar Company scandal, which is yet vivid in our memory—Tokio Yokoi and others

# THE SIX POWER LOAN AND RECOGNITION OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

By ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN

**T**HE decision of President Wilson not to renew the request of Secretary Knox, that the American group of bankers should continue to co-operate, with our Government's approval, in the Six Power China Loan, has awakened widespread interest. The following considerations should be borne in mind in forming a judgment upon this vexed question:

**First:** The Six Power Loan is a political as well as a financial proposition, and it therefore cannot be considered as distinctively a business matter. Its name, its history, its associations, the impracticability of handling a loan of such magnitude without involving governments, the participation of Russia and Japan, who have not money to lend, and the statements of some of the bankers concerned, combine to make this clear. The American Group took up the matter not on its own initiative, but at the request of the American Government, which saw in participation in the Loan opportunity not only to secure a due share of American trade, but to obtain a voice at the council table of nations which it believed that it could not otherwise acquire.

**Second:** To concentrate criticism on the Six Power Loan Groups, and especially upon the American Group, is to concentrate it on the wrong persons. The bankers are not controlling the

governments in the interest of finance, but the governments are controlling, or at any rate using, the bankers in the interest of politics. The fact that the various Foreign Offices may not have specifically told the Six Power Loan Group to handle the matter from this viewpoint, and that the bankers have not discussed it in their meetings, is interesting but unimportant, except in so far as it is a compliment to the disinterestedness of the gentlemen who form the American Group. The latter had no motive for pressing the political aspects of the question because they had no political designs upon China, and they knew that their Government had none. As for the other Groups, they know sufficiently well what their respective governments want, and how to bring it about without talking too much about it.

**Third:** The Chinese confidently expected early recognition of the Republic by the American Government, and have been surprised and chagrined by its failure to grant it. They supposed that a nation like the United States, which is supposed to be the most enlightened and liberty-loving of all the nations, and whose Christian people have done more than all other peoples combined to communicate to the Chinese the principles of enlightened self-government, would be the first to extend to their brethren in China full recognition of an honorable

place among the nations of the earth, to which they are now clearly entitled. It is probable that President Yuan Shih Kai and his advisers in Peking have understood the reasons for the delay, but the Chinese people have not understood them, and American prestige has suffered in consequence.

Fourth: The objections to the recognition of the Chinese Republic are threefold:

(a) The present Government is only provisional, and recognition should therefore be deferred until a permanent government is established. This is misleading. A government which came into being in response to the demand of the people; in whose favor the preceding government made full and unequivocal abdication; in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced for more than a year, with no more organized opposition than exists in a number of other countries, the validity of whose governments are unquestioned, and which the State Department of the United States has declared to be both *de facto* and *de jure*,—such a government cannot be deemed provisional, in the sense in which that word is properly used in international procedure. At any rate, the recent elections have brought this alleged "provisional" period near to its close.

(b) Present conditions in China are not sufficiently settled to justify the recognition of the Republic. This objection is also misleading. In a country so vast in extent and so numerous in population, it is, of course, not difficult for those who wish to make out a case against the Chinese Republic to find arguments in support of their contention; but conditions in China are far more stable than they were in the United

States when other governments recognized our Republic, and are far more stable than conditions were in the republics of Mexico, Central and South America and Panama when the United States recognized them. The disturbances which do exist in China are believed to be due in part to foreign influences as well as to those dissatisfied elements of the population which are always to be expected in such circumstances, and such disturbances could probably be controlled by the present Government if these foreign influences were withdrawn. Recognition by other governments would powerfully aid the Republic in bringing about better conditions, and to withhold it is to aid, perpetuating the very difficulties which are urged as an argument against recognition. Everyone knows that the establishment of a republic in China is not welcome to the European and Japanese monarchies, and that these nations, irrespective of their form of government, view with no small concern the prospect that the new China may become strong enough and independent enough to interfere with their political and other plans. Protestations of their disinterested concern for the welfare of China are numerous, but purely "diplomatic." To what extent this underlying fact consciously affects the attitude of the representatives of these nations in any particular negotiation, it would, of course, be difficult to state. We need not impugn their rectitude of intention, but they would be something more than human if they were not influenced, to some extent at least, by the well-known attitude of their respective governments.

(c) The relations of the European and Japanese governments to China, and their political interests in the coun-

try, are such that it is better, all things considered, not only for the peace of the world, but for China herself, that the Government of the United States should work with them and not separate itself from them by acting independently. Some of the opponents of immediate recognition lay strong emphasis upon this consideration, and it is undoubtedly an objection that is not to be lightly dismissed. It means, however, that the real objection to the recognition of the Chinese Republic does not lie in China, but outside of it. This leads us to say:

Fifth: The problems of China have been handled by Western nations, not in the interest of the Chinese people and Republic, but in the interest of the political plans of the European and Japanese governments. Whether this is to the advantage of China or not is a disputed question; but if it is, the advantage is incidental and not objective. The governments are not thinking primarily of China, but of themselves.

Sixth: President Taft's Administration felt that the American Government was so bound up with the other governments that it was not free to act independently of them, and it believed that if it were to do so, harm might result to China by unleashing other governments which have selfish ends to serve, and which are now held in check by the agreement of the Six Powers to work together. However clearly we might appreciate the practical wisdom of a waiting policy on the part of the American Government, in view of the international complications that may be involved, we were none the less free to deplore a situation which appeared to subordinate Chinese interests to those of other nations, and to prevent the American Government from dealing with Chinese questions on their essential

merits. It was unfortunate, to say the least, that our Government was so entangled by political alliances that it was not at liberty to act as the untrammelled friend of the Chinese people.

Seventh: It is urged that, as conditions now are, a government has little influence in the settlement of Chinese questions, unless it has territorial rights, financial investments, or military force and a willingness to use it. Let us give due honor to the high-minded American bankers and Government officials who believed that they were doing the best they could for China, amid conditions of extraordinary complexity and difficulty, which seriously hampered their freedom of action, and let us avoid embarrassing them by unfair criticism; but let us be thankful that President Wilson's Administration has found reason to come to the conclusion that we can sustain a relation to the Chinese people and to the public opinion of the world which does not depend upon either territorial rights or financial investments or military force. We cannot consider, without anxiety, the possible effect of independent action upon the plans of the European and Japanese Powers. It will be a grave matter if each one shall now regard itself as freed from any restraint that it was under by reason of a "self-denying agreement" to take no step without the consent of the other Powers. It is clear, however, that whatever may have been the intent of the compact, one of its practical effects thus far has been to prevent the United States from doing justice to China and to injure American prestige in that country. Fear that the other Powers may do wrong is not an altogether satisfactory reason why we should not do right.

ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN.