

BOOK REVIEWS

An American Diplomat in China.
By Paul S. Reinsch. Doubleday
Page & Company. 1922.

The book is the record of the experiences which the American Minister passed through during the six years' stay in China; and as it naturally would be expected, the political part of the narrative forms the most interesting and from some points of view the most important part of the book. No one who reads the last three sections of the book (there are altogether four sections) can help realizing the significance of the most critical periods which the republican form of government has passed through in China. Much of the material must therefore be necessarily familiar to the majority of the readers not only among the Chinese but also among the foreigners. And yet the great value of the book lies precisely in recounting a tale which everyone believes he is familiar with. The truth is that Mr. Reinsch has revealed to us in some of the most fascinating and gigantic political movements the secret of their inner springs of action, so that what seems to us to be familiar we come to appreciate and interpret in a new light. And then, again, no one who reads these pages will fail to realise that the position of the American Minister, for good or for evil, is a very important and significant one in helping to determine the structure and tendency of Chinese politics itself. The very close relationship which exists between China and the United States is a matter that we, especially, feel to be absolutely certain; but its real and full significance does not come to us until we read the actual affairs which took place and understand to what extent American influence, through the American Legation, decided their eventual outcome.

All this goes to show how important it is that we should have a really first-class person to act in the capacity of American Minister in China.

Most of us will probably disagree in the greatness of the man who, in those glorious and exciting days, stirred the world from its very depths—I mean former President Wilson. But there is one point on which we are all agreed. No better choice could have been made than to appoint Mr. Reinsch as the American representative in China. Like a broad-visioned and far-sighted man that he has always been, Mr. Wilson saw the magnitude of the problems that were coming to the forefront of the world's attention from the Far East, and he undoubtedly knew that to appoint a man with mediocre abilities to handle these problems would be a most disastrous thing not only to the interests of the United States but also to that of the world. Himself a college professor and a college president, Mr. Wilson has faith in scholarship, in men who have received sound and thorough intellectual training to tackle the problems of our everyday life. Mr. Wilson's failure to realise his ideals is, as the vulgar people are apt to think, the direct result of his scholarship, of his not being a "practical man," whatever that may mean. We shall, however, let the people have their way; but in his appointment of Mr. Reinsch I think no one could ever hear a dissenting voice. Mr. Reinsch, prior to his tenure of office as American Minister, was a professor, and an eminent one; a man who has always tried to solve great national problems in the light of some permanent truth. And that is why he was so successful, and exerted such potent and healthy influence upon events that evolved in the Far East. It is this particular aspect of Mr. Reinsch's work that we wish to lay special emphasis

upon. The account that he told of a strictly diplomatic and political nature we have said is extremely important, but what has real permanent value are some of the observations that he made upon the transformation that is going on in China, not only in the sphere of politics but in every department of her national life. Those views, I say, have permanent value; because whether we agree with them or not, they are important as offering us another point of view with which to regard the changes that are going on. Mr. Reinsch's views are strictly those of a professor, and they are all the more valuable on that account. We shy when we hear the word professor; but taken at its best, it means one who is not satisfied to see things on their surface as many of us are only too inclined to be, but to see the inner law of their development. The interesting parts of the book, and the parts that will make the greatest appeal, will always be the anecdotes and stories which Mr. Reinsch has very attractively and very beautifully described; but I am sure Mr. Reinsch himself attaches especial value to some of the very penetrating and brilliant ideas which he has thrown out on the deeper questions that affect our present-day Chinese society. Let us take a few samples. This is what Mr. Reinsch said of the relationship between the people and the government. This is an idea which probably is very familiar to many of us; but great ideas are always worth recounting. "As a matter of fact," he said, "China was divided only on the surface. Deep down into the life of the people political controversies had not penetrated. They went on, placid and industrious, regardless of the bickerings of politicians. Chinese revolutions and declarations of independence might be bruited to the world, which might think China had plunged into anarchy. As a people the Chinese are freer from governmental interference than any nation living. If the entire Central Government should suddenly disappear from the face of the earth, it would

make little difference in China" (p. 321). Nothing can be more true and nothing can be better put. But then, what practical sagacity does Mr. Reinsch show when he immediately followed his thought with another which is equally important: "Yet the long continuance of political conflicts lets foreign intrigue into the national quarrels, and so reacts dangerously." From the first statement, one would get the impression that Mr. Reinsch was teaching the Chinese to accept the present situation. But nothing can be more alien to his thought. And what sound ideas did he express when in one of his letters to Sun Yat-sen, he said: "I believe that we should at all times keep in mind the fact that we are not dealing with a new country, but with one in which social arrangements are exceedingly intricate and in which a long-tested system of agricultural and industrial organization exists. It is to my mind most important that the transition to new methods of industry and labor should not be sudden but that the old values should be gradually transmuted. It is highly important that artistic ability, such as exists, for instance, in silk and porcelain manufacture, should be maintained and protected, and not superseded by cheaper processes. The one factor in modern organization which the Chinese must learn to understand better is the corporation, and the fiduciary relationship which the officers of the corporation ought to occupy with respect to the stockholders. . . . So, at every point where we are planning for a better and more efficient organization, it seems necessary to hold on to the values created in the past, and not to disturb the balance of Chinese society by too sudden changes." These are what we must say are the ideas of a man who thinks soundly. They are entirely of a different order from those of a man who uses the inventory method of judging the progress of society. Where we had the two schools we now have four—progress. Where we had cotton socks, we now have silk socks—

progress. Where he used to smoke the water-pipe, we now have packages and packages of Manila cigars—progress.

All this is very good, but I am afraid Mr. Reinsch will immediately call a halt of this enumerating, measuring by the yardstick and taking charge for progress. Now there are only too many of such superficial people among us, and it is well that Mr. Reinsch should give them the timely advice that civilization is not a matter of quantity and number. Such a man we can count upon to appreciate the virtues of China's own culture, what to the ordinary men are a mass of antique incongruities utterly useless to our modern world. Let us have one or two more quotations and then we have done. Mr. Reinsch thus speaks of the towers and walls of Peking: "The towers and city walls of Peking, an impressive and astounding apparition of strength and permanence, befit this scene. Solemn and mysterious, memorable for their size, extent and general inevitableness of structure, they can be compared only with the Pyramids, or with the great mountains fashioned by the hand of Nature herself. Looking down upon these plains, where so many races have met, fought, worked, lived, and died, where therer is one of the chief meeting points of racial currents, these walls are in themselves the symbol of a memorable and long-sustained civilization." Is there anything to beat that! The section of Mr. Reinsch's is full of these wise and sound observations, and this is especially recommendable to the attention of the reader.

H. H. CHANG.

China At The Conference: A Report.
By Westel W. Willoughby. Johns
Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.
1922. 419 pp. \$3.00.

Since the adjournment of the Washington Conference on February 6 last, there have appeared at least six books dealing with that conclave in one way or the other. The work of Professor

Willoughby under review has the distinction of being the first and so far the only book exclusively devoted to the Far Eastern phase of the Conference. In his preface Professor Willoughby tells us that "the present work is in the nature of a report upon the work of the Chinese Delegation at Washington, but not being official in character, there will be an opportunity for the author to speak upon some points at least, rather more fully and frankly than it would be appropriate and expedient for the official representatives of the Chinese Government to do." Concluding the same preface, he expresses the hope "that this volume will be found to be a convenient supplement to the author's *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, published in 1920, bringing to date, as it were, many of the statements of that work." So, right from the beginning Professor Willoughby reveals to us the three-fold purpose of his work and has thus furnished the reviewer with a yard-stick, so to speak, of his (the author's) own making which may be profitably and properly used in measuring the degree of success the author has attained towards reaching the standard he has set for himself. This method the present reviewer proposes to employ.

The author's eminent fitness for this particular task is well known to all conversant with current Far Eastern political literature. After a period of prolonged, distinguished academic service in Johns Hopkins, Professor Willoughby went out to the East as Legal Adviser to the Chinese Republic for about a year. There he brought to the service of that young Republic high scholarly attainment and a trained, legal mind. There, also, he acquired first-hand, intimate knowledge of Far Eastern politics which later on his return to the States, enabled him to write that splendid volume, *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*. During the Washington Conference he was Technical Expert to the Chinese Delegation and, in that capacity, was of course on the inside to know. So, if there is any

"foreigner" (the reviewer is speaking from the Chinese point of view) who is especially endowed for writing the present volume by virtue of his rare combination which includes experience, a good and thorough knowledge of the facts and direct, personal contact with the situation, that "foreigner" is Professor Willoughby.

And Professor Willoughby has put his rare assets to good use. In a little over 400 pages (including appendices and index) he has given us an account and chronicle of China at the Conference, taking up every topic, big or small, important or otherwise, which had found its way to the Conference table or its committee room. His account is at once compact, accurate and complete: *i. e.*, as complete as it can possibly be made, short of reproducing *verbatim* the Minutes. The method of presentation is a topical one, generally a chapter per topic. After two preliminary chapters narrating the events which led up to calling the Conference and the atmosphere surrounding it, leads us on to the organization and procedure, China's program, the Root Resolutions, Shantung, Tariff Autonomy, and so on down the list of topics. Chapter XXIV, the last in the book, contains a summary of the results which the Conference has achieved. Here the author expresses some opinions to which we shall have occasion to refer later. To the main body of the text are appended the treaties and resolutions emanating from the Conference, the Japanese, American and French statements regarding Siberia made therein and a full list containing the entire personnel of the Chinese Delegation from Chief Delegate down to the smallest Clerk. An index brings us to the end of the volume. So far as the *reporting* part of the book is concerned, it is, as has been intimated above, accurate, concise and complete. In the matter of space, Shantung and Tariff Autonomy each take up about 50 pages, an allotment which is altogether justified in view of their importance and complicatedness.

Professor Willoughby's hope of making the volume under review serve as a sort of supplement to his earlier work, *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, has been but imperfectly fulfilled. There are many subjects touched on by the earlier work which are not even mentioned in the present volume. For this, however, the author can not be held responsible. He is here primarily reporting and, in the nature of things, a reporter can set down only those events as have actually occurred. In so far as those foreign rights and interests had come up for consideration in Washington, they and their subsequent status have all been completely recorded, some have been subject to careful analysis. Beyond that the author has not gone, indeed he can not be expected to go. So, despite its incompleteness imposed by the course and character which the deliberations of the Conference had respectively taken and assumed, the present report forms a true, albeit a partial, supplement to the author's earlier and larger work.

Thus far we have been dealing with facts, and on facts it is much easier to agree. When it comes to opinion, the matter is not quite so simple. But, fortunately for the reviewer, there are not very many places where Professor Willoughby expresses an opinion, and when he does so, he expresses it in such a cautious, qualified, balanced and temperate manner that he is almost always on safe ground. Upon the whole, he thinks the policy and tactics of the Chinese Delegation good and its diplomatic victory almost complete. For the Chinese Delegation, especially the three Chief Delegates, the author has unwonted admiration. He says "that China obtained all, and possibly more than, it was reasonable to expect that, under the existing circumstances, she would be able to obtain" (p. 333). In the treatment and interpretation of existing facts and conditions, the author is decidedly of the realistic school. As to the future, he does not venture to say much. There are, according to Professor Willoughby, four main factors bearing

on the situation in future, namely, (1) Japan's good faith in executing the Washington treaties and agreements, together with the extent to which she may be willing to go in reversing her former aggressive policy; (2) Anglo-American co-operation; (3) China's ability to develop and maintain a stable government in the near future, and (4) the rapidity and degree of constitutional and liberal development in Japan accompanied, presumably, by a liberalization of her foreign policy. On the second point, that bearing on Anglo-American co-operation in the Far East, the author thinks it exists and is likely to continue in its operation, presumably to the advantage of China. On the other three factors, no very definite opinion is expressed. Generally the author contents himself with a mere statement of each plus the facts and tendencies bearing thereon. Perhaps this is all that he can do with some degree of safety and certainty. Now that China is in a state of flux, even the rashest of persons will think twice before venturing a prediction as to the course or turn future events may yet take her. To speculate on the policy Japan may adopt towards China is just as futile, for, as Mr. A. M. Pooley tells us, Japan is "at the crossroads" both in internal development and in foreign relations. Professor Willoughby seems to pin considerable faith on the democratization and liberalization of the Japanese Government as a moderating and sobering influence on her foreign policy. This may be so. But it also may not. That a love for one's own liberty should lead to a like respect for other people's freedom seems natural and logical enough. Unfortunately, however, the conduct of nations, just as the conduct of individuals, is not always regulated by logic or natural reason. Hypothetically, the mob is just as liable to be lured away by the glory and vainglory of foreign adventure and foreign conquest as the aristocracy and the bureaucracy. And as a matter of cold historical fact, was not the Opium War forced on us by

constitutional England *after her Great Reform of 1832* when liberal ideas were in full swing? Even today, we have the strange sight of "the Mother of Parliaments" passing riots acts, press laws, etc., in order to hold under subjection, against repeated protests of its inhabitants, the greatest of overseas empires. After all, constitutionalism and liberalism at home may still go hand in hand with imperialism abroad! However unpleasant, the conclusion seems irresistible that under the existing system of national states acknowledging no common superior, the League of Nations notwithstanding, the only dependable instrument of national self-protection is still the old, familiar weapon of physical force. Following this line of thought, it is easy enough to lay down the dictum that so far as China is concerned, the Question of the Pacific will never be solved, nor will she herself be safe, until she can stand on her own feet, capable not only of defending itself, but also of bearing whatever share of the common burden as may fall on her broad, reinvigorated shoulders.

But we are entering into highly controversial ground. Obviously, a book review is not the proper place to air one's pet ideas. Lest we be led further afield, it is best to let the matter rest here. Still, to raise a question is not to answer it, and the temptation to offer some plausible solution occasionally gets too strong to be successfully resisted. For the reviewer's own part, he would venture the suggestion that the recent Conference is only an initial step, and not the last of its kind. There will be many more such before the Pacific and Far Eastern questions are settled, if they can be settled in peace at all.

Returning to the proper task of the book review, there is little more to be added except to point out a few minor defects and some misprints. No mention was made of the exchange of notes between Secretary Hughes and the Netherlands Minister at Washington

extending the scope of the Four-Power Treaty so as to include the Dutch Indies. Nor in regard to the lapse of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, was President Harding's letter to a member of the Senate confirming that view, included. Both, we think, are sufficiently important to be given due recognition. From the index both Briand and Balfour are omitted. Now Briand's part in the Conference might not have been important enough to have his name indexed. But certainly this excuse is inapplicable in the case of Balfour. Balfour's part has been so important and continuous in the matter of Shantung, Weihaiwei and a host of other questions that the omission of his name from the index is a very serious oversight on the part of the index-maker. Possibly this is due to the haste with which the latter does his work. Traceable to the same cause of haste are also some misprints the proof-reader has failed to correct (i. e. in p. 342, line 9, where one or more lines are missing; in p. 332, line 12, where *Genoa* should probably have been *Geneva*, as the author speaks about the League of Nations; in p. 354, line 9, where *regulations* was put in for *negotiations*; and other similar errors). All these will certainly disappear in a second edition. But even with their presence the present volume, while short of mechanical perfection, suffers thereby but infinitesimally little.

On the other, more vital part of the book—its substance—enough has been said above. By way of concluding the review, it is fitting to add that in making available at such early date so complete and judicious an account of China at the Conference, Professor Willoughby has performed a signal service both to the Chinese Delegation and to the reading public. The present work, together with his earlier and larger volume, forms a very good reference set on the foreign relations of China, indispensable to business man, student, diplomat and publicist alike. Professor Willoughby has thus put us

under heavy obligation, as the value and general serviceableness of his two books can not possibly be overestimated.

PAO-TIEN HSIEH.

The Rising Temper of the East. By Frazier Hunt. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1922. 248 pp. \$2.50 net.

The inviting title of this book recalls to mind Dr. Lothrop Stoddard's publication two years ago on "The Rising Tide of Color." But the book under review presents a striking contrast to that of Stoddard's in that it is not dominated with an alarmist attitude that the yellow, brown and black races are fired with rage for race revenge, ready to swoop over white Europe and its great outposts of white culture on the first available opportunity. Nor does it make an abuse of that much abused statistics by presenting highly colored maps, as Dr. Stoddard does, showing the rapid spread of color consciousness throughout the world threatening the extermination of the whites from the surface of the earth. In contrast to Dr. Stoddard's studied aim to stagger and to alarm and to prepare against a possible menace from a gigantic conflagration against the whites, Mr. Hunt, on the other hand, tries to show the awakening of the peoples of the East from a saner viewpoint. He sounds a word of warning that the white man's domination of the billion so-called backward peoples of the East by mere force must cease. Robbing "backward" ancient peoples and "civilizing" them in the western sense of the word, or injecting them with Christian culture *all for the good of those poor ignorant heathens* can no longer be conveyed on the vehicle of force. The self-imposed "white man's burden," if any, must be borne on other shoulders than those that carry the bayonets.

The author went around the world, much after the well-known style of a

special correspondent, with the object of sounding, as he stated, the human note in the world-wide cry for land and liberty. He went to India to interview Mahatma Gandhi, and to Egypt to study the Egyptian movement for independence. In turn he visited Arabia, China, Japan, Korea, Siberia, Haiti, the Philippines and Mexico. In this book he relates his personal observations and the results of his various interviews.

The subject matter is presented in twelve chapters, each devoted to the consideration of a respective country. Certain portions of the book have been published in popular magazines and journals, but that does not detract from their value when published in a book form.

The book opens with a chapter on "Gandhi and His India." Gandhi is so much a part of India in these days, that to write about him is to write about the new spirit in India. The author paints in lurid terms the story of this hero and saint of India—what he is, why his agitations against the British and what his aspirations are for the deliverance of his people. After reading it the reviewer cannot help but subscribe to the pious wish that in the end a new India will be born—an India essentially of the East, assimilating the essence and not the veneer of Western civilization.

Under the caption of "The New Religious Nationalism of the East," we have before us a stirring account of the Egyptian revolt against British domination. We are told it was no work of a few rattle-brained, loose-tongued Egyptian lawyers and boy-students as we have been given to understand from British official sources, but a real movement for independence and nationalism where Moslems, Christians, Jews and Copts have cast religious differences aside and joined hands in their fight for freedom and liberty.

Then follows a section of greater appeal to us. In the space of twenty-six pages, under the usual title of "Young China," the author has given an un-

usually accurate account of this big country. He points out the quality of the people, condition of the region, the old situation and the changes now taking place. The topics range from the munching of watermelon seeds to the rise of nationalism, from the emancipation of women to the possibility of a Chino-Japanese alliance against Europe. The accounts are 99 per cent to the point. Mr. Hunt has succeeded most wonderfully to present a real picture of 400,000,000 people and 4,270,000 square miles of territory in a description of about 8,000 words, probably the best concise, representative verbal painting of that kind that ever appeared. His secret of success lies on a right choice of companion: incidentally, he mentioned two, a Chinese educated in America and working in the railway, and Jimmy Hunter, a young social and scientific American missionary. It is through the former that he acquired the opportunity to study the scratched and scratching Young China; it is through the latter that his peep into the "common" China could be made a success.

In rapid succession we pass from chapter to chapter, thoroughly absorbed in the book; from Toyakiko "Kagawa of Kobe" crying in vain against Japan's imperialism and dreams of conquest to "Struggling Korea" and "Ivan the Jap Killer."

The portion of the book on "White Australia" is particularly interesting. The slogan sounds to the author far-fetched and unnecessary, but the Australians will no doubt differ from him. Australia with an area greater than the United States has a population less than five and a half millions. Of the non-Europeans, there are in round numbers 37,000, of which 23,000 are Chinese (one-fourth born in Australia). No Asiatic native can enter Australia except in the case of a student, merchant or traveler. This exclusion has been most effectively carried out through the application of an elastic educational test including a fifty word dictation test that may be in any or all

European languages. This test may be so stretched to exclude anyone who might be learned enough to wear even a Phi Beta Kappa key! It seems that no amount of cry of the East for racial equality would be able to raise this color bar.

Three chapters are devoted to the consideration of American problems in the Philippines, Haiti and Mexico. Here it is sufficient to add that it is certainly a credit to the author to write on questions affecting his own country in so unbiased a manner.

"The Lamp Bearers," a title appropriate and good enough for a religious tract or propaganda, is the heading for a chapter on the part played by missionaries in the East. Mr. Hunt's view on the new missionaries will come as a surprise to most of us, especially in these days when we have heard so much scorning and jeering of missionaries by Americans and Europeans alike in steamship smoking-rooms, hotel lobbies, clubs and scientific circles. Mr. Hunt went out a strong anti-missionary and came back a thorough convert to the cause of the missionary. It is truly a case of one "who came to scoff

remained to pray." The greater part of the chapter is devoted to the consideration of the work of the American missionaries in China. But the author is observing enough to note that religious proselytizing *per se* is not plausible if it were not associated with the work done mainly by the teachers, doctors and nurses attached to the missions in introducing the benefits of modern civilization, science and medicine to the East.

The concluding chapter of this book will provide ample food for thought and subject for discussion to all those interested in the welfare, happiness and liberty of other nations as well as those of their own. Throughout the book it can be detected that the author has tried to be always the observer and the reporter, but in this closing chapter his personal sentiments are given full vent. On the whole, Mr. Hunt has succeeded very well in presenting his interesting experiences and observations simply and frankly with fairness and sincerity. It is one of the best books of its kind that has been published in recent years.

C. E. LIM.