

FILE 420

**INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC
RELATIONS**

DOCKET STARTS:

W. B. LANIGAN'S LETTERS

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC

RELATIONS

1927

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY CO.

TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

MONTREAL 11th October, 1927.

S/P

M. 8015

PERSONAL.

Dear Sir Arthur,-

Referring to my letter of the 19th ultimo
enclosing copies of Mr. Lanigan's letters.

I shall appreciate it if, at your convenience,
you will return them to me.

Yours very truly,

*My brother F. R. Mac Donald
has been wanting
to read them.*

General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G.
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal, Que.

October 17th, 1927.

W. R. MacInnes, Esq.,
Vice-President, Canadian Pacific Railway,
Montreal, Que.

My dear Mr. MacInnes:-

I am returning herewith
Mr. Lanigan's letters, which I have read many
times. I do not know when I have ready any-
thing which I enjoyed more.

I would dearly love to have
copies for my private files and I am writing to-
day to Mr. Lanigan to ask if he has any
objection to that.

With many thanks for your
courtesy in letting me read the letters, I am,

Yours faithfully,

October 17th, 1927.

W. B. Lanigan, Esq.,
Union Club,
Victoria, B.C.

My dear Mr. Lanigan:-

I am this morning returning to Mr. W.R. MacInnes copies of your letters to him written from Honolulu. In my note of thanks I have said that I would like to have for my private files copies of these letters, for I do not know when I have read anything which I enjoyed more. Do you think that you could give one more evidence of possessing a big heart and ask Mr. MacInnes to let me have copies some time.

Since returning to Montreal I have not done very much with reference to the formation of a Canadian Institute, but Charles MacInnes having, after much labour, failed to produce a constitution Mr. H. D. Ross took that matter in hand and his effort will be considered shortly. We are having a meeting at my house on Friday evening next when those who attended the Conference from Montreal will make a sort of report of what went on, and we shall, I hope, make a beginning in the matter of forming study groups.

I am sorry I did not see you again after we parted at the boat, but although I spent ten days in Victoria they passed very quickly.

W.B.Lanigan,Esq.,

- 2 -

I hope you found your family all well and satisfied with what you had brought them. At our home we often speak of you and of the pleasure you gave us this summer.

With kindest wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY CO.

TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

MONTREAL, 19th Sept. 1927.
File M-8015.

WRM/MH

"PERSONAL"

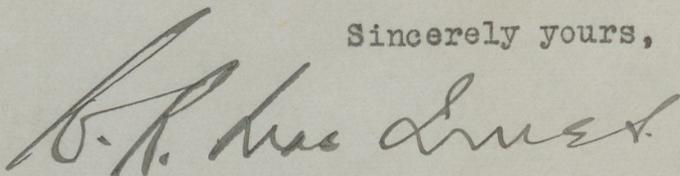
Dear Sir Arthur;-

Referring to our recent
conversation.

I enclose copies of Mr.
Lanigan's letters. I shall be obliged if you
will consider as "personal", and if you will
return to me when you have finished with them.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,



General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G.,
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal.

Encl.

Institute of Pacific Relations

July 16th to July 28th

1927

Honolulu, Hawaii

Lanyon

Oakhaven
Uplands
Victoria, B. C.

Dec 9th

My dear Sir Arthur

I have pleasure in
enclosing a complete file of
my reports on the Pacific
Conference:

As I re-read them I feel
I may have done the pro-
fessors an injustice but
they were written from
the stand point of a
comparatively illiterate
observer with only a

business training. and
therefore I may be forgiven
I wish Lady Currie and
family and of course your-
self a Merry Christ-
mas and a happy and
prosperous New Year

Very truly

W. P. Lanigan

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 16th, 1927.

The talkfest opened up today with a luncheon at which the best speaker was undoubtedly Sir F. Whyte the head of the British delegation - the next a Chinaman, Dr. Yui. All so far is love and peace. There are some most interesting people - very many much in earnest. Of actual results it is too early to predict but I cannot but feel they will be a very minus quantity. Sir Arthur Currie is working hard. So far I am standing by, but as a transportation and perhaps moral advisor I may yet be of use.

However we are off to a very high toned start.

Mrs. Caroline Catt the suffragist is here and she looks the part. You can imagine I am not seeking any tête a tête interview.

I shall keep you advised of progress.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 19th, 1927.

I am enclosing a clipping of Sir Arthur Currie's speech. All the Canadian delegation were proud of him and he made a most excellent impression. In so far as the whole thing is worth while no better man could have been chosen. This is a hard job, that is listening at a lot of futile conferences, participated in by a variety of idealists - most worthy people, most of whose lives have been spent ~~in~~ cloistered in university corridors - men and women with trained minds - splendid intellects, great information and no practical experience in life. It is one of the tragedies or rather the tragedy of the conference, that these high ideals will never affect the practical politics of any of the nations represented. It is the Mederic Martins that rule, and that also is a tragedy. The Chinese delegation is composed of some very childlike and bland gentlemen, most of whom are graduates of American universities. This training added to their national propensity for evasion produces some, to the onlooker, very humorous results - of course it does not do to betray any amusement, as everyone takes each other most seriously.

For instance, Sir Frank Whyte asks "In event of China proclaiming tariff autonomy January 1st, 1929, will existing treaties with Great Britain be considered in making up customs rates?" Chinese delegate - "I can assure you that all parties in China - while at present engaged in civil war, - are united for tariff autonomy". Sir Frank then remodels his question and the heathen remodels his reply - there is no change in the result. The chairman then takes the matter in hand prefacing his remarks with "as I view Sir Frank's question it is etc., etc." and the bland heather remarks - in a fifteen minute speech that he is entirely in accord with the sentiments expressed by the British delegate that he will always cherish them, etc., etc., and the Chairman says - "now that this point has been settled we will proceed to the next!"

The members of the conference have also been entertained by exceedingly well prepared papers and lectures - one by a Carry Chapman Catt - a forbidding looking suffragist, who nevertheless speaks well and plausibly. I do not know whether there is a Mr. Catt or little kittens, but they are to be congratulated in that her public activities keep her away from home a great deal. Sitting next me in Section 4, to which I have been delegated, is a Chinese suffragist. A China woman with a voice like a penny whistle. She is a university graduate - speaks English well and often and I trust that the temptation to remove her from this vale of tears will not overwhelm me before we part - murder is not a major offence in the U.S.

The Japs are not saying much, except on art and other

inocuous subjects, on the question of their policy in China - they remark that at this juncture they will defer any remarks for some later interval - an interval, that unless I miss my guess, will never materialize.

The Weather here is hot during the day - languorously warm at night. The sea bathing is entirely of the surf variety, and the water is 81° - there is no feeling of exhilaration after. The hotel is splendid, the service all that could be desired and the charges are high. Arthur Benglia is the General Manager of the four or five hotels comprised in the system. You will remember he was with us at several points. He has developed into a fine executive. His hotels are marvels of efficiency.

Except for pineapples and sugar cane, and volcanic disturbances there is little here. I would not accept the whole place and live in it permanently. The population is mixed up with Philipinos, Japs (who predominate), Chinese, Fijians - and a variety of Polyne-sians, who are interbreeding and producing some weird results. The original Hawaiiin, a gentle kindly race are disappearing rapidly. Everyone here admits that the morals of everyone else are bad. I have seen no outward manifestations. I am prepared to believe the worst as it lends an interest which the place lacks otherwise.

One of the delegates is Dr. Wilbur - president of Leland Stanford who poses as a "He man" and a "Go-getter" and is a delight to the eye. The Australian delegation is a credit to their convict ancestry. The New Zealanders are gentlemen.

I am fast losing my energy, but am clinging to my morals.
One of the best delegates is Jack Nelson of the Sun Life.

Yours truly,
(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 20th, 1927.

To get a line on the situation one must keep in mind that there is no government in China and that the representatives of that country attending the convention are Nationalists representing what is known as the Canton party. They are not communists, being equally against the Moscow Reds and against the British. China for the Chinese is their motto with no foreign concessions, privileges, etc., etc.

To-day with great solemnity we devoted our energies to forming a Municipal Government for Shanghai. Sir F. Whyte the head of the British delegation is a singularly able and well informed gentleman who acts with great restraint. This was apparent to-day when the Chinese opened the ball with a recital of British outrages in Shanghai giving day and date unarmed and innocent Chinese were killed and wounded while in pursuit of their peaceful and ordinary avocations. Whyte merely said there was no use arguing or citing cases of Chinese aggressions or the justification for the alleged attacks, and merely asked what the Chinese planned (in case stable Government was restored) as regards the Gov. of Shanghai. Briefly stripping their reply of unnecessary verbiage and camouflage, the foreign residents were to be taxed (half the taxes now are paid by the British) as usual but the Government was to be elected by popular and qualified voters followed by the information that 97½% of the population was Chinese and 2½% foreign. This was again followed by a further recitation of British folly and British outrage against the innocent and peaceful native population. To date we have not settled the question. It is peculiar that an unofficial body of this kind on which no resident of Shanghai's tax payers or business interests is represented should try and reach conclusions on the subject on which a lot of Cantonese who are not in power in China. At first we were merely an unofficial body. Yesterday we referred to ourselves as members from each country. Today we have taken another step and have emerged as representatives of the various powers. With each step we have become more serious with an added dignity that is impressive. The Canadians are keeping their heads and their own counsel. Sir Arthur who is Chairman of one of the sections as well as the Canadians, works from 5 A.M. and probably wishes he was back in the war.

I have met some more of the lady delegates and I am positive there will be no scandal attached to the proceedings. I am lost in admiration at the artistic lying of the Chinese delegation. Ananias at his best was never like one of these, and I am commencing to suspect that the Americans are believing them for a purpose. Great Britain's hold on Chinese commerce is well worth a little credulity,

flattering to the Chinese romancer. There is one thing if young China gets control the result will be chaos and an invitation to some one to come and conquer.

Tomorrow we consider population and food supplies. The old style corner grocery assembly that settled the affairs of the nation had nothing on us.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii.
July 22nd, 1927.

Yesterday the 21st having been ill, I did not attend the morning session but last night I listened to some thrilling, idealistic and absolutely impractical addresses. There is but one class of adjective in use, the superlative. We are regaled with the names of associations whose names are legion who are devoting most intense study to thinking internationally and achieving the most remarkable results. The wiping out of national boundaries was urgently recommended. One lady (white) delivered an impassioned address urging that Chinese attending American Universities should be invited into the home so they could see, and presumably imitate, American culture. As there is one divorce for every two marriages in the lady's home state, I await the result with interest. It may give the Chinese a scope in his sexual adventures that so far he has, perhaps, not exploited.

We were also treated to an essay on propoganda by a gentleman who admitted he had conducted the campaign for the exclusion of Japs from California. He detailed the methods he used, congratulated himself on his extraordinary success and assured the Japs of his undying admiration and great respect for their cultural achievements and their high character - personally and nationally. Do not think I am exaggerating. These are facts.

To-day we talked radio. I can see that Sir Arthur Currie, who does ~~not~~ possess a sense of humour, is getting restless; he may shock some of the ladies yet. I sincerely trust he will. I live in hopes.

I learned to-day that dear Mrs. Carry Chapman Catt's conubial partner's name is Tommy. What harmony? She is one of the most remarkable lady delegates, built on substantial lines, enclined to embonpoint - with thick ankles, a slight moustache, white hair and a protruding stomach, she moves among the delegates with the dignity and majesty of a canal barge. Now that prohibition and the franchise for women have been accomplished she, like Alexander, is looking for new worlds to conquer; for my part she can have them without further controversy, the further removed they are the better.

I am proud of the British and Canadian delegation. The British because they speak with knowledge and speak well. The Canadian because they have the good sense to say little.

We had our photos taken this morning. If you visit the movies you will see the various groups in the Pathe news. The group with the jail bird expression is the Australian.

So far we have reached no conclusions on anything and consequently unlike the League of Nations cannot be subject to the carping criticism that institution has inspired. We have announced that we are a purely fact finding body and so far have confined ourselves to glittering generalities which we have discovered in great profusion. We call this research work and it covers everything from international policies to birth control. When I survey the lady delegates from U.S. and China - the latter does not seem to present any unsurmountable difficulties. Undoubtedly, the delegation with the highest ideals are the Chinese, they boast the most ancient civilization, exude the highest sentiments, betray in their speeches the most profound morality and commit at home the most atrocious barbarities. They have such a genius for government, on their own admissions, that it is regrettable, so far, they have not been able to put it to any practical use. I will always regret that I was not named amongst those who are considering foreign missions. That is a field to which I might have contributed something of value. Sir Arthur, Jack Nelson, and I were excluded. Fortunately Carrie Chapman Catt will be there and all may be well.

I had great doubt anyway about Currie and Nelson. Sir Arthur's vocabulary from Flanders and Jack's newspaper training hardly give them the necessary moral fitness for the task.

I am sending you these separate reports rather than defer the task until the conference is over when perhaps many of the details may have escaped me.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii
July 25th, 1927.

The section to which I have been assigned considered today "diplomatic relations"; very well worded speeches were made by a number of college professors. I have nothing but admiration for the vocabulary with which these gentlemen have been endowed. It is wonderful and involved to an extent of incoherency to the lay mind. One conclusion, however, stood out, that was that diplomacy had failed; what the world was to substitute for it was not apparent but several professors more than hinted that if the nations would leave these international questions to them everything would be satisfactory.

I read a speech by Mr. Beatty sometime ago to the students of McGill outlining that it was after a young man left the university that his education began, his previous experience being merely a mental training. These professors, learned able men, who have however never left the university atmosphere, seem to be afflicted from an arrested educational development when it comes to practical matters. Theories, ideals, sublime but impractical in that they totally ignore the human side, fall from their lips with an engaging plausibility, and clothed in splendid language. The elements of greed, selfishness, aggression, etc., etc., are entirely ignored. Utopian dreams never materialized this side of Paradise - They get, however, the fervid endorsement of the lady delegates. A medical gentleman from Boston says the female delegation are either hermaphrodites or emotional idiots. Having no means of making a physical examination I am unable to substantiate this, but "they have the look of it" as Mike Reardon used to say.

President Wilbur of Leland Stanford University presided. He is a "He man" and a "Go-getter" with a small head and a retreating brow and chin. It is a type popular just now in the U.S. He presides with dignity and a solemnity that so far has only been achieved by the owl - Minerva's constant companion. We all take ourselves seriously however as becomes our responsibilities. I regret to report certain symptoms of levity and irreverence on the part of Sir A. Currie and Jack Nelson as the sessions wear on. Sir. F. Whyte looks bored but so far he has kept awake which is greatly to his credit - Good breeding will tell.

The Chinese delegates are Christians recruited mostly from the Y.M.C.A. native workers and teachers from the Missions. How far they represent the heathen that compose the large majority of their nationals or the Chinese merchant class can be left to the imagination.

The Japs however, while they have a sprinkling of this class, have evidently been selected by their Govt. They say little. They are here evidently with a watching brief not to assist but rather to see that no harm comes to them by the propogandists.

The Chinese are having their expenses paid by the Conference who get the cash from American sources. Other nationals pay their own expenses. This may be the reason the Chinese delegates are all anti-British and pro-American.

I have listened and said nothing, it would be futile. I might say something practical and this would be equivalent to "lese majeste" Already Mrs. Carry Chapman Catt eyes me with hostility, for expressing in a private conversation, during the awful heat that prevails here, an irreverent desire for beer - while the police prevent any chance of my natural desire for ~~beer~~ being gratified, they also prevent my being burnt at the stake by Mrs. Catt and her associates, who regard martyrdom for others with a degree of equanimity that is not encouraging.

I presume my writing being anything but legible you will probably have these reports typed - if so, I will be glad of a copy. I may wish to write an article some day on Honolulu days. I probably will revert on my return to my old indolent ways and the world will never be ebrightened - enlightenment not being on any popular curriculum in these days.

As a summer resort Honolulu is a decided fizzle.

We conclude our labours this week. I enclose a sample of today's output. The professors are certainly enjoying themselves - it will would require the "Empress of Canada" to bring home the total issues and nobody would read them.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 26th 1927.

I am weary of professors, ideals and "blat" as our old friend Sam Clark used to remark. A life time of thinking in terms of dollars had blunted the finer sensibilities perhaps - I am weary of phrases and weary of an atmosphere of high moral thought. It is too rarified for common mortals like myself. It is a relief to hear Currie curse occasionally.

I enclose the Constitution which has received our approval. Sir Arthur says it is loose, but that a constitution should be loose so as to have scope. We are to form in Canada a national association. Your brother Charles is drafting it - branches are to be formed in all large centres. An earnest and enthusiastic young professor from Toronto thinks that from these centres we will radiate the higher thought that will lead the Canadian people to think internationally - personally "I am agin it" - the practical benefit that would ensue from thinking nationally seems to me to me more important. The lady in Dickens "Bleak House" who neglected her husband and family while she worked for the natives on the east bank of the Ganges never received my enthusiastic admiration - We also have much to do at home to develop Canadians in a scattered population of many races. Research work is another phrase often on our lips - not research that will develop our resources, furnish work and opportunity to our people, increase their material welfare and happiness - find a broader market for their products. ~~No~~ research is to be confined to bright active ~~minds~~ young minds which ~~who~~ are in their fourth university year, under the direction of their professors and so far as I can learn will be a fruitful course for the more or less philosophical treatises of immature minds which will be printed and distributed and no one but themselves will read. You will note the constitution provides for a strict budgetting of disbursements, but is vague on the question of revenue. This is characteristic - personally I have been trained to be certain of a dollar first and budget after - what a handicap is a material training!

The press has been excluded from what we term our round table conferences and some of the forums we hold in the evenings. As a consequence they have cooked up their own despatches, sometimes more interesting from the readers standpoint than the actual facts. I prefer these more imaginative sketches myself. The exclusion of the press has encouraged a lot of loose talk - often based as little on fact as the newspaper reports, the latter, however, has disturbed the delegates who are imbued with the idea that a listening world is reading avidly the proceedings and conclusions reached and is impressed with their importance. The listening world is, in the meantime, buried in the comic sections or absorbed in the details of the Dempsey-Sharkey fight.

We pondered to-day and talked on emigration and immigration with relation to the Pacific - consideration of the fact that Australia, New Zealand, the U.S.A. and Canada won't admit our little brown brothers and they are "all dressed up with nowhere to go", as the proletariat say, was no handicap to the proceedings. We may promote international thinking but it will be some time before any political party will entertain or support any international meanderings amongst us, of our coloured friends and brothers - Japan has doubled her population but not her resources - she has developed her industries but her prospective customers have protected their markets - and there you are. We will probably reach a well worded solution that will leave Japan where they are now - "in the air". The solution will read well, tho', and everyone will be happy - ultimately Japan will do to Manchuria what she has to Corea and do it in the good old way by force. Make no mistake, the Japs outside of the missionary and Y.M.C.A. secretary delegates have no illusions and fewer scruples, The Chinese well deserve all they get and then some, and it will probably be a wholesome experience.

They contemplate erecting in Honolulu as headquarters, a most expensive and elaborate organization. I don't know who will furnish the money - probably Americans. I don't see any good reason why we should as far as any practical benefit that we may derive.

The large majority of the delegates are Y.M.C.A. secretaries, college professors, professional propogandists, heads of women organizations. There is a very small minority of earnest and able men, a smaller number of practical men, a substantial number of hysterical women and spineless males of the uplifting variety with a sprinkling of missionaries. The British are the pick of the lot.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W.B.Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 27th, 1927.

Yesterday Dr. Shotwell, Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment, introduced a draft of a treaty to be signed by the U.S. and Japan to abolish war between these two nations, so that matter is off our hands, thank heavens.

The U.S. reserve the right to fight, however, if Japan lays unhallowed hands upon the Munroe doctrine.

I send you a group photo of an average cross section of delegates - note the percentage of professors and Y.M.C.A. secretaries. Sir Francis Whyte is an able man and looks and acts like a gentleman - the rest of the group are what they look like.

I also enclose a clipping on Mr. Ivy Lee the head of the publicity bureau - an able author of apt phrases. He phrases for cash. Years ago this type stood beneath a torch, on a soap box, in the market square and extolled in rounded periods the virtues of a remedy for worms - today, such are the changes in time and manners he is a highly paid publicity agent.

We have not reached any conclusion on pacific immigration and emigration. Our little brown brothers are gumming up the game, they have been told in some of the most involved and beautiful periods that their exclusion from the U.S., Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, the Phillipines, New Zealand and Australia has immeasurably helped their development and culture, but the beggars are still insistent and prate of their dignity - recognition of equality, etc., etc. Mrs Carry Chapman Catt is with them and regards their aspirations as perfectly legitimate. She said so in eloquent and unmistakable terms. I am afraid there is some justification for their persistence. The American delegation sloped over from the first, called them brothers and sisters, put their arms around them and gazed lovingly in their slant eyes and now the yellow heathen demands action. Most of our professorial delegates have their wives with them and have been more discreet so Canada has not been compromised. These damn heathen take these things so literally it is very embarrassing. We have been at it for two days. How to sooth these damn pagans and kick them downstairs at one and the same time is going to take some ingenuity. We could do it in French but the English language has its limitations. There is one advantage in the professorial element they will probably word a report in such a way that it will mean nothing - which will be characteristic of most of our conclusions, perhaps it is just as well. Mederic Martin, Tommy Church, William Hale Thomson and the rest of the ruling class pay little attention to us in intelligensia anyway. It is tragic, We will end our labours in a few days - and then wait for a steamer. The parting with Mrs. Catt will be hard. She and the shrill Chinese lady. We will probably never meet again and the thought fills me with unspeakable joy.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W.B. Lanigan

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 28th, 1927

We conclude our labours (?) tonight. As I remarked in yesterday's report, we found a way out of the immigration and emigration impasse by dropping the whole subject after four days discussion but as the main purpose of this conference is discussion, we may be credited with having reached our objective.

Last night Mrs. Robert J. Burdette of Los Angeles spoke most eloquently on releasing women from household cares so as to increase her "mother power" as the records of Los Angeles and California show one divorce for every two marriages - the "releasing" seems to be a success. Honolulu, a city of 100,000 has about 15 divorces a day.

On missions we have concluded, with the aid of the Chinese delegation, that the old missionary must go, that the new missionary should rather go to learn, the final result to be a commingling of Buddhism and Christianity. Personally I shall continue to attend the Anglican Church. I admit I am out of date but at my age I cannot forsake the faith of my fathers to follow after strange gods.

Tonight we debate "the future of the Pacific Conference". If the question was left to me, which it will not be, I would settle it - without further discussion and settle it decisively and finally, as no other subject before this conference has been. I have tried to find some wisdom, some purpose in these debates, these round table conferences, these forum discussions. There is none. We have been busy to no purpose, except to make phrases. It has afforded an opportunity to talk and pose to people who could not carry a ward as poundkeeper - who, if they did arrive at any definite decision, on any subject, are impotent to give it political expression. We have babbled about "political contacts", "thinking internationally", "spiritual contacts", "mother power" "cultural" assimilations", "grafting Christianity on contemplative Oriental thought" and a thousand other phrases. The yard office at West Toronto in the old days was the scene of many debates after the freight house was pulled and the night crew was slack, couched, it is true, in less elegant language but arriving at much more practical conclusions. There was no lack of emphasis, perhaps coloured with some picturesque profanity, and no lack of decision or good sense. The Yard Office settled things.

I must admit I was never before thrown amongst this professorial - YMCA secretary propogandist class. I have never before met a live suffragist. I am out of touch with the higher thought. Never before have I met men of undoubted culture and education who talked on embracing the culture of the heathen and were willing in theory to sleep with a Chink. Never before have I had the inexpressible advantage of hearing self-appointed leaders of national thought, the exponents of

the higher citizenship, and I never shall again, knowingly.

Consistency may be a jewel but we did not value it, while the Australian Government was clamouring for the naval base at Singapore, their minister of railways was here advocating the abolition of naval bases on the Pacific as the most effective means of preventing war. We commended the free ingress and egress of Pacific population, but we dared not suggest removing the barriers against Orientals, We commended the free flow of traffic but failed to suggest a reduction of customs tariffs. In fact we failed to suggest a way out for any international problem or any other problem that was discussed. We will no doubt felicitate ourselves tonight on the outcome of our deliberations and predict a great and useful future for the Institute of Pacific relations.

We have so many Canadian problems, so much to accomplish at home that I am going to suggest in conclusion that instead of spending money, time and talk on the Pacific Conference, we devote the time, energy and thought to developing our own country - to solving our own problems instead of China's and take pattern by that excellent gentleman who accumulated a large fortune by strictly minding his own business. He was the great philanthropist.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii.
July 29th, 1927.

I enclose clippings describing the close of the conference and the editorial in the morning paper - the latter is a broad-minded and courteous comment. More might be truthfully said but as the guests were in a sense the guests of Honolulu, the editor used admirable restraint. If he had said, that, never before had such an aggregation of self-elected theorists been gathered together and that Honolulu had missed doing the world a distinct service in refraining from dumping the outfit into the crater or adopting some other merciful method of total extinction - The city had failed lamentably to take advantage of its opportunities; Some good men like Sir F. Whyte, Sir Arthur Currie, Jack Nelson would have been sacrificed to say nothing of myself (I am old anyway and have ceased to be of use) but the greatest good to the greatest number should be the guiding principle. Today the council will decide what community will be next inflicted with their presence - Japan being favourably mentioned. Most of the professors and Y.M.C.A. secretariat have never been in Japan. They may have read of the Geisha girls and I feel safe in predicting that the popular vote will be for Japan if the Japanese will stand for it.

We have discovered that the hula hula in Hawaii is not so much a dance as religious gyrations performed by overfat and distinctly homely Hawaiian females - Another idyll passed away - The Geisha or the Maori of New Zealand is all that is left - so the contest will be between these two. Disenchantment will probably await the professors in either place. They only attend these things in the interests of science, research work, to study the cultural inclination of the masses and to establish a broader contact with our alien friends. In old time church circles these cultural inclinations were plainly called the promptings of the devil, but as a matter of fact as far as conduct is concerned the delegates have been 100% efficient; a little drunkenness or some scandalous behaviour would have been a relief - in the dead monotony of conscious virtue. This will be my last report as far as the conference is concerned.

Jack Nelson leaves tomorrow via Los Angeles and Chicago. Sir Arthur and I will be left on the dock with our legs hanging over the edge waiting for the "Niagara" on the 12th. Should there be a representative again required two years from now, I would suggest Col. Dennis and if his report is fit for publication I would like to read it.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
July 31st, 1927.

I have not sent you the voluminous literature issue of the conference as Jack Nelson has kept the President supplied. I do not think you would have time to read it let alone the inclination. One result of the conference from the British side is that Sir. F. Whyte has gone to Shanghai - and he is both able and a well trained man, there is no doubt he will do good or at any rate supply the Government with valuable information at that very tangled up point.

These conferences might have accomplished some good if the personnel had been different. They will accomplish nothing of any practical value as long as the majority of delegates are college professors, Y.M.C.A. Secretaries - principals of ladies colleges, suffragist agitators and propogandists of various ilk. I kept in the background strictly; it was the only place for a practical man and at that it was wearisome. There was not a single issue where I could have been of any value or where my experience in transportation matters for that matter would have been recognized if the matter had come up, which it did not. As a phrase making institution it was a success. It was announced as a "fact finding" conference.

Mrs. Catt said it was not facts but principaas that were important, I have added another phrase to my vocabulary since my last report. It is "tested thought" a contribution by Dr. Kilpatrick of Columbia University's school of teaching - another is "International moralization" by the same author. The latter I suspect is a substitute for Christianity. "Social outlook" is perhaps not original but "cultural lag" seems to lack both meaning and euphony. "Toleratation of traditions" is attractive for its alliteration - "proper external and internal authority" sounds like a ^{patent} medicine patent, but it was used with reference to Chinese "cultural problems" and sounded well. "Uncertain problems" did not appear to be sufficiently definite to waste much time over and like all the other problems was left unsolved. The council left the matter of the locality for the next conference undecided, except with a large gesture that it would be in the Orient, which is about as definite a conclusion as could be expected.

The idea of the institution owes its birth to Honolulu, and as an advertisement for this thriving city, is good business. It is supported by American Hawaiiin interests; it will have a large staff located here which is further good business, and it will be supported by assessments on all national councils. It has further, as far as it could, exploited the U.S. as the friend of the new China and Great Britain as the exploiter of old China - "Codlin's your friend

not "Short" as Dickens put it years ago. No doubt our college friends will "see visions", but coming down to what is known in lingua vulgaris as brass tacks, these are the facts. An interchange of ideas between business men of the various nationalities with an idea of developing international trade might be of use but the delivery of theoretical treatises on "international thinking" will butter no ones bread, especially when it comes from those who affect to despise the material things of life and talk largely and indefinitely on "cultural contact" and a "newer moralization".

I have tried to view these efforts of men much more learned than myself, who had advantages which never came my way, as charitably as possible. I am perhaps viewing the whole thing from the wrong angle, the dull, material standpoint of one who has had to deal with material issues and who has had to secure practical results but this is the way the whole thing appeals to me - just an enjoyable talkfest.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

HONOLULU, Hawaii,
August 1st, 1927

Enclosed you will find Pres. Wilbur's report to President Coolidge as to the Pacific Conference. I could ask no better confirmation of my previous reports outlining the absolute futility of the whole performance. Wilbur seems to think that Sir F. Whyte's trip to China as an accomplishment of the conference and from his own text about the only one. Surely the British have had competent observers and full information. I think that Whyte has gone there to satisfy himself that the Chinese delegation were the legitimate descendants of Ananias.

I leave to you Wilbur's words:- "The plan was to make rather than adopt opinions or solutions of problems". A more futile performance could not be imagined.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W. B. Lanigan.

DOCKET ENDS:

W.B. LANIGAN'S LETTERS
INSTITUTE OF
PACIFIC RELATIONS

1927

PACIFIC COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

HONOLULU, HAWAII

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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S. T. WEN, CHINA
F. C. ATHERTON, HAWAII
Y. TSURUMI, JAPAN
JOHN NELSON, CANADA

J. MERLE DAVIS
GENERAL SECRETARY
CHARLES F. LOOMIS
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

Sun Life Assurance Co.,
Montreal, 20th April, 1927.

CABLE ADDRESS:
"TERNUY"

Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir Arthur,

The following are extracts from a letter received under date of April 2nd from Mr. Lionel Curtis:

"Last week we gathered a number of friends from the City together and told them that we were going to send a delegation to Honolulu but we should have to mortgage our assets to do so, and that this would mean crippling the research work of the Institute for a series of years. They said that that certainly should not happen, but that a special fund ought to be put up for the purpose. Now I just wanted to tell you that we should never have got so far in so short a time, if it had not been for the impetus your coming over here gave to the movement.

"To-day, however, Sir Frederick Whyte and Sir Ernest Wilton have both promised to go. "The Round Table" is sending John Dove, and I have every hope that the Rhodes Trustees will send Philip Kerr. I am ready to go myself if there is enough money to pay my visit. We hope to send Ramsay MacDonald's son Malcolm, and are trying to get two young conservative peers, Hartington and Cranborne (the eldest sons of the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Salisbury respectively). There are various other people on the panel with whose names I need not trouble you".

20th April, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie,

"Please don't let anything I tell you get into the Press until Bourdillon lets you know the time has come for publication and what may be published.

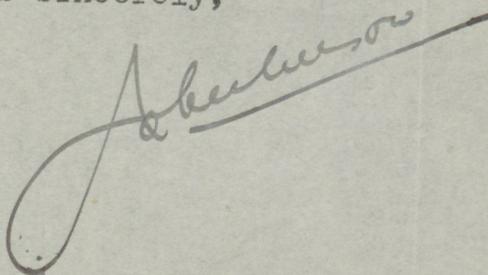
"Peacock has backed up nobly and has contributed £50 himself.

"The panel is working hard studying the various questions, and we have had about a four hours session at it to-day. "

These are indications showing with what characteristic thoroughness our British friends are taking up this matter and what an influential and authoritative group they are getting together for July. It is high time that some, at least, of the members from Canada should be lined up.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. H. Beal", written over a horizontal line.

April 21st, 1927.

John Nelson, Esq.,
Sun Life Assurance Company,
Montreal, Que.

Dear John:-

I have your note of the 20th.

I had planned to get together the nucleus of a Montreal group last night, but at Mr. Beatty's request I postponed it until a week from tonight. As you know we are both anxious to have Mr. Beatty present and when I spoke to him he promised to attend last night, but later on asked that it be postponed until after his annual meeting, which takes place, I think, next Wednesday. I am asking him and McConnell, Jim Macdonnell, Corbett and yourself to dine with me at the Mount Royal Club at 7.30, after which we shall go over to my house, where I have asked the others to attend at 9.00 o'clock. I think you should be ready to make the principal statement to the group.

Yours faithfully,

May 5th, 1927.

James F. Crowdy, Esq.,
Secretary to the Governor General,
Government House,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Crowdy:-

I would like to bring it to the notice of His Excellency the Governor General that around about the 23rd of June Sir Frederick Whyte, Sir Ernest Wilton, Professor Webster, who holds the Woodrow Wilson Chair at a University in Wales, and Mr. John Dove will be in Ottawa on their way to attend the Pacific Relations Conference to be held in Honolulu in July. I may say that we are trying to arrange that a strong Canadian delegation accompany them.

I have heard from the group mentioned above and they would like to have some conference with His Excellency if he should be in Ottawa at that time. They cannot arrive before the 23rd and they propose spending the next three or four days between Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. Will you please tell me if His Excellency will be in Ottawa at the time mentioned, and if so, will he grant an interview to these delegates?

Yours faithfully,

MANNING ARCADE,

C. S. MACINNES, K.C.

TORONTO. 19th May, 1927.

General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., etc.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
Montreal, P.Q.

Dear General Currie:

I was glad to receive your letter of 17th instant, with its interesting information as to the British and American delegation.

I have already been in touch with Mr. Arthur Meighen, and have hopes that he may go. I have sent him your letter, and have also sent copies of it to Sir Joseph Flavelle and Mr. N.W. Rowell, and we will do what we can to persuade Mr. Meighen to go.

I would suggest that a line from yourself to Hume Cronyn, who is expected to be back at his home in London, Ontario, in a few days, would be helpful. He has already been approached on the subject by Curtis and others in England.

Yours sincerely,

C. S. MacInnes

May 17, 1927.

Colonel C.S. MacImmes,
Manning Arcade,
Toronto.

Dear Colonel MacImmes:-

With reference to the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu in July, I suggested to John Nelson this morning that every effort should be made to get the Honourable Arthur Meighen to go. He is out of politics now and I think would be a peculiarly suitable delegate. Will you kindly see him and press him to go.

I have just heard from the Governor-General that the English delegation will be Sir Frederick Whyte, Sir Ernest Wilton, Lionel Curtis, Philip Kerr, John Dove and Professor Webster. Shotwell tells me that the American delegation will be complete (twenty-five) and will include six presidents of Universities.

Yours faithfully,

May 23rd, 1927.

Hume Cronyn, Esq.,
London, Ont.

My dear Mr. Cronyn:-

I know that Mr. Lionel Curtis has been urging you to go to Honolulu this July as one of Canada's representatives to the Institute of Pacific Relations. I hope by this time you have agreed to go as I know of no one who could fill such a position more acceptably.

I cannot tell you very much about Canada's representation, but we shall make every possible effort to have a strong delegation. I have induced the Canadian Bankers' Association to send their Secretary, Mr. Ross; Beatty has promised to send some one to represent the C.P.R.; Fred Southam is sending one of the Editors of the Southam Press, possibly Woods of Calgary or Imrie of Edmonton; John Nelson, now on the staff of the Sun Life, is going. You know he was there before. George McDonald, Vice-Chairman of the Montreal Board of Trade, and a very fine fellow, also goes, and most likely Bill Herridge of Ottawa. I also have promised to go. From Toronto, I think Mr. MacInnes is going, also Percy Brown K.C., and I have written urging Mr. Arthur Meighen to go. I most earnestly hope that you can join the delegation.

Yours faithfully,

The Huron and Erie Mortgage Corporation
The Canada Trust Company

Head Offices - London, Canada

Office of the President

London, Canada

June 11th, 1927.

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
McGill University,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Sir Arthur:-

Upon my return to this country after a long absence, I find your most kind letter of the 23rd of last month, relative to the Honolulu Conference.

I wish I were free to go, as the idea certainly attracts me, particularly after hearing from Lionel Curtis his views on the subject. It is, however, impossible - when I have just returned after an absence of almost four months - to get away again for the time which would be necessary to cover the meeting at Honolulu. It is very good of you to think of me, and I only wish I could accept your suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

Hume Cronyn

HC-RM.

The Huron and Erie Mortgage Corporation
The Canada Trust Company

Head Offices - London, Canada

Office of the President

London, Canada

May 25th, 1927.

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
McGill University,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Sir:-

Your personal letter of the 23rd instant
to Mr. Hume Cronyn has just been received.

Mr. Cronyn is still in England but from
the last report he expects to sail about the 28th instant
and should arrive here early in June. Your letter will
then be brought to his personal attention, and you will no
doubt hear from him promptly in connection with the same.

Yours very truly,

R. Meredith

Private-Secretary
to H. Cronyn.

The Huron & Erie Mortgage Corporation
The Canada Trust Company

28th Oct. 1927

Dear Sir Arthur

At the risk of proving a nuisance I want to repeat my thanks for your kind invitation & my regrets over my inability to accept it -

When I reported the incident to my wife she gave me a 'wiggung' & declared had she been present the decision would have been reversed - Doubtless true enough, but when one is the nominal head of an institution it is a delicate matter to appear to desert.

21
The Huron & Erie Mortgage Corporation
The Canada Trust Company

ones colleagues & staff -

On the main question of Pacific relations
it is going to be hard to interest people
in a place like London. we had a
somewhat inglorious experience in connection
with the Round Table movement which
doubtless has soured me: perhaps through
the Western University - it might be
possible to persuade a small group to
study the question -

But to return to the object of this note,
I wanted you to know how greatly I
appreciate your friendly attitude ~~as~~
evidenced on this as on former occasions

Yours cordially
Hume Brown
Genl. Sir Arthur Currie
G. S. M. C. Co.

PACIFIC COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
Honolulu, Hawaii.

Montreal, May 20th, 1927.

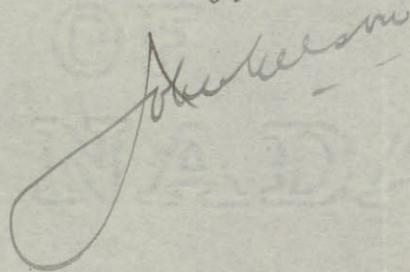
Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir Arthur,

Herewith is enclosed a copy of the delegates
for the Honolulu conference from the American group.

Kind regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Johnson", is written over a faint, large watermark that says "CANADA". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large loop at the end.

JN/Y

INSTITUTE CONFERENCE

AMERICAN DELEGATES, July 15th, 1927.

Miss Grace Abbott	Head of the Children's Bureau, Dept. Labour.
Wallace M. Alexander	Honolulu sugar merchant
Prof. Carl L. Alsberg	Food and population expert of Leland Stanford
George H. Blakeslee	Prof. of international relations, Clark Univer
Fletcher S. Brockman	member technical staff Washington Arms Conference International Y. M. C. A. executive
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt	Chairman National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War
E. C. Carter	Secretary of the Institute, American Group.
Manton Davis	Vice-Pres. Radio Corporation of America
Frederick M. Davis	New York representative
Stephen P. Duggan	Director Institute of International Education
A. C. Elkinton	Quartz business closely connected with Orient
Galen M. Fisher	Director of Institute of Social & Religious Research
Rev. Daniel J. Fleming	Prof. of Missions, Union Theological Seminary
Miss Katherine Gerwick	Secretary International Education Committee Y. W. C. A.
Jerome D. Greene	International Banker, of Lee, Higginson & Co.
A. B. Hall	President University of Oregon
Edward J. Hume	President of Yale-in-China
Mrs. Wm. G. Hibbard	Leader Chicago League of Women Voters
Stanley K. Hornbeck	Political economist and author
Prof. Wm. K. Kilpatrick	Head Educational Dept. Columbia University,
Ivy L. Lee	Press representatives for wealthy interests
Prof. Paul Monroe	Columbia. Director International Institute.
Wm. F. Morrish	International Banker
President H. S. Pritchett	Carnegie Foundation
Rev. John A. Ryan	Editor Catholic Charities Review
Chester H. Powell	California newspaper and magazine writer
Paul Scharrenberg	California Labour leader
Miss Belle Sherwin	Pres. National League of Women Voters
James T. Shotwell	President (?) History, Columbia
Ray Lyman Wilbur	Pres. Stanford University, Chairman Institute American Group.
Dr. Mary Wooley	President of Mount Holyoke College
George Grafton Wilson	Prof. International Law, Harvard.
Leo Wolman	New York Labour Leader
Quincy Wright	Prof. Political Science, Chicago University.

May 17, 1927.

Major W.D. Herridge, D.S.O.,
30 Goulborn Street,
Ottawa.

My dear Bill:-

Please send me word definitely confirming your willingness to go to Honolulu in July for the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

George McDonald has arranged to go and this is a trip you simply must take. Great Britain is sending a peculiarly strong delegation, including Sir Frederick Whyte, Sir Ernest Wilton, Lionel Curtis, Philip Kerr, John Dove and Professor Webster.

The United States will be represented by a full twenty-five. This delegation will be headed by Professor James Shotwell, a Canadian by birth and a good Canadian still. You have often heard me speak of Shotwell who is coming to McGill on Friday, May 27th, to receive an Honorary Degree; I wish you would come down and meet him.

Yours faithfully,

30 GOULBURN AVENUE
OTTAWA.

May 18, 27.

Dear General Currie

Thank you for
your letter of May 17th.

I certainly prefer my
work to go to Honolulu,
but I am repeatedly compelled
to withhold final decision
on the matter, until the
important matters here, the
war defense shops.

I am truly glad
by your suggestion that I

shames to one of the Canadian
delegates. I learned some time
ago of the probable persons
from other countries, and
formed the men that, as you say,
this was a trip I shamed to take.

You have indeed had
written me, & regrets that
you yourself might be going.
This report rather corroborates
your previous statement to
me, and I am hoping that
perhaps you have been
prevailed upon to change
your mind. I would stop
only that of murder, to
be with you.

I shall write you again, I'm afraid
the episode of the parents legal
entanglement in which I am
participating, has cleared away.

Thank you also, for asking
me to meet Professor Scholmer.
If by any chance I can get
down (and it seems almost
now, to be a very slight one) perhaps
you will let me telephone to
you.

Yours respectfully

Ries Merritt

May 19th, 1927.

Major W. D. Herridge,
30 Goulburn Street,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Bill:-

Re yours of the 18th of May,
I have finally decided to go to Honolulu, so you
simply must come. I will have reservations made
tentatively.

Please excuse me being blunt
this morning, but I am very, very busy. I am
raising a little money here in Montreal to help
pay the expenses of those who cannot afford the
trip. Do you wish a grant?

Yours faithfully,

Tell Bill I'll be
home June 6th

30 GOULBURN AVENUE
OTTAWA.

May 26th.

Dear General Currie

Thank you for
your news letter, and for
your remarks with that I
go to Honolulu. It is a
great thing that you will
represent the country there.

As I said, it is
going to take a whole
lot to stop me going. But
never, there is a whole lot
in the way, and never I
do not honestly see how

I can manage it. It looks
impossible.

I think the situation calls
for a visit to Montreal, & I
will go down early in June,
when you can see me. I only
wish I could have advanced
myself from King's university
to meet Professor Chalmer
tomorrow.

Yours respectfully

W. S. Merrett

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MCGILL UNIVERSITY MONTREAL

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DEAN R. F. RUTTAN, B.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.C.

CABLE ADDRESS "RESEARCH"

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

S. P. EAGLESON, SECRETARY-TREASURER,
178 QUEEN ST., OTTAWA, ONT.

26th May, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie,
Principal, McGill University,
Montreal.

My dear Sir Arthur:

I wired you from Toronto on my way east that it would be impossible for me to go to Honolulu. I have written fully to John Nelson about the matter, so it is not necessary for me to repeat what I said to him, as he will show you my letter. I am grateful indeed for your suggestion that expense accounts might be met if I could get away, but I find that my hands are so tied by other engagements that it is impossible for me to make changes now.

I am sure that a fine trip and experience awaits you all and I regret deeply that I cannot be one of the party.

Sincerely yours,

A large, flowing handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. M. Tory'.

President.

H. M. TORY, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.C.,
PRESIDENT

DEAN F. D. ADAMS, Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
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DEAN R. F. RUTTAN, B.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.C.

CABLE ADDRESS "RESEARCH"

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

S. P. EAGLESON, SECRETARY-TREASURER,
178 QUEEN ST., OTTAWA, ONT.

Ottawa, June 6th, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Que.

My dear Sir Arthur,-

Since I saw you I have had a chance to speak to Burt and found that it is impossible for him to go to Honolulu this year. His programme is completely filled up until September.

Sincerely yours,

President.

HMT/W

May 9th, 1927.

C. E. Neill, Esq.,
President, Canadian Bankers' Association,
Royal Bank of Canada,
Montreal.

Dear Mr. Neill:-

You will recall that at Senator McDougald's luncheon the other day we had some conversation with reference to the probable representation of the Canadian Bankers' Association at the Institute of Pacific Relations which meets next July in Honolulu.

As you know this year's meeting is regarded as the most important one yet held in view of the situation now existing in the Pacific and because the Institute may have said to be settled down. It has learned much from previous meetings and probably more effective work will be done at this year's conference than on any previous occasion. I might also say that this year for the first time Great Britain will be represented and by a particularly strong delegation. It has been intimated to me that the British delegation will consist of Sir Frederick Whyte, to whom we gave an honorary degree at the Convocation last year, Sir Ernest Wilton, Mr. John Dove of the Round Table, Professor C. K. Webster, Woodrow Wilson Professor at a University in Wales, and possibly by Mr. Lionel Curtis and Mr. Philip Kerr.

China plans to send twelve; Japan fifteen, headed by Mr. Junnosuke Inouye, a former President of the Bank of Japan and a former Minister

C.E. Neill, Esq.,

- 2 -

of Finance. He was proffered the post of leader of the Japanese delegation to the International Economic Conference in Geneva, but this was declined in order to participate in the second session of the Institute of Pacific Relations in July. I also notice that Mr. Ito, until recently President of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Japan's greatest steamship company, is going. In fact, it is significant that the Japanese delegation comprises as many leaders in the business world as it does of educational, labour and political leaders. The United States are sending a very strong delegation headed by Professor Shotwell and President Wilbur of Leland Stanford. Shotwell wrote me the other day that President Lowell of Harvard is going at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Lamont, Morgan's partner, who, at one time, intended to go himself.

I venture to suggest that Canada's commercial relations with the nations on the other side of the Pacific are so important, and will become vastly more important, that it would be wise and proper for the Canadian Bankers' Association to see to it that they were represented at this Conference. Mr. Wilson of your staff has given it some thought, and may I respectfully suggest that you confer with him. I sincerely hope that you will arrive at a favourable conclusion.

Yours faithfully,

PACIFIC COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

HONOLULU, HAWAII

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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UNITED STATES

S. T. WEN, CHINA
F. C. ATHERTON, HAWAII
Y. TSURUMI, JAPAN
JOHN NELSON, CANADA

J. MERLE DAVIS
GENERAL SECRETARY
CHARLES F. LOOMIS
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

Sun Life Assurance Co.,
Montreal, 9th May, 1927.

CABLE ADDRESS:
"TERNUY"

Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Sir Arthur,

I had lunch the other day with Morris Wilson of the Royal Bank who, pursuant to our suggestion the other evening, has taken up with the secretary, (Mr. Ross I think is his name) of the Canadian Bankers Association the question of representation of that organization at Honolulu. I have learned from other sources that the Royal Bank sent Professor Marvin (I think that is his name) who has charge of their public contact department to the Williamstown conference last year.

Wilson found Ross very receptive to the idea and their joint suggestion is that you drop a note to Mr. Neil, the President of the Association, asking that they take action. They are rather a hard headed lot of fellows and Wilson thinks that they would like a somewhat commercial appeal and that therefore it would be wise to emphasize to them the significance of this gathering in the value of commercial relationship of this country and the Orient. He also agreed with my suggestion that it would be well to mention to them some of the outstanding men who are going to attend. Especially as one or two countries are sending prominent bankers.

To assist you I am sending you over a small fyle which will give you, I think, the references in this connection that you would like to have. I draw your attention to a letter from Mr. E. R. Peacock, one of the partners of Barings Bank and Director of the C. P. R., and to some of the delegates from China and Japan who are very high in the banking and commercial world. I have not got copies of this fyle and I would therefore be very glad if you would preserve and return it when you are through.

9th May, 1927.

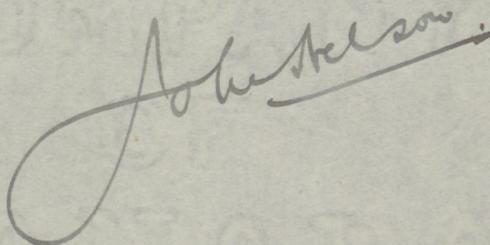
Sir Arthur Currie,

I tried to get you on Friday and Saturday but you were out of the City and as time is rather pressing I am sending this direct to you instead of again talking to you.

In a letter from Colonel MacInnes this morning he suggests our mutual friend H. B. McKenzie of the Royal Trust and Professor Marvin of the Royal Bank, whose name I have already mentioned to you, as two desirable men.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John A. MacInnes". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely yours,". There is a faint, large watermark of the word "CANADA" visible in the background of the page.

The Canadian Bankers' Association
Office of the President

Montreal, Que.

Eleventh
M A Y,
1927

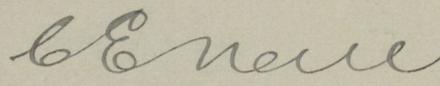
Dear Sir Arthur:

Your letter of the 9th instant, in regard to the forthcoming meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has been duly received.

I have placed your suggestion that the Association be represented at the Conference before the members, and will advise you in due course.

I have to thank you for bringing this matter to our attention.

Yours very truly,


President

Sir Arthur Currie,
President, McGill University,
Montreal.

The Canadian Bankers' Association
Office of the President

Montreal, Que.

Twenty-sixth
M A Y,
1927.

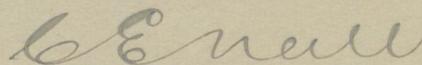
Dear Sir Arthur:

With further reference to your communication of the 9th instant, in regard to the forthcoming meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations, I am glad to inform you that the members of the Association have chosen Mr. Henry T. Ross, Secretary of the Association, to be their representative at the second session of the Institute.

Mr. Ross has placed himself in communication with Mr. John Nelson, Secretary of the Canadian Branch of the Institute.

The statements in your letter and your suggestion of representation materially contributed to the conclusion reached.

Yours very truly,



President

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
Montreal.

June 6th, 1927.

C. E. Neill, Esq.,
President, Canadian Bankers' Association,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mr. Neill:-

Thank you very much for your letter of the 26th of May and for the pleasing intimation it contains that Mr. Ross, Secretary of the Canadian Bankers' Association, will be one of the representatives of Canada at the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held in Honolulu in July.

Yours faithfully,

Principal.

PACIFIC COUNCIL

SIR MUNGO W. MCCALLUM, AUSTRALIA
 SIR ROBERT L. BORDEN, CANADA
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RESEARCH

J. B. CONDLIFFE

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

HONOLULU, HAWAII

June 1, 1927

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FRANK C. ATHERTON, CHAIRMAN
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 ROMANZO ADAMS
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 HUGH C. TENNENT

CABLE ADDRESS

"INPAREL"

Sir Arthur Currie
 McGill University
 Montreal, Canada

My dear Mr. Currie:

We are very pleased to learn that you are probably to attend the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as a member of the Canadian group, and wish to send you a word of greeting from the central secretariat of the Institute before you start for Hawaii. Reports from the various Institute branches indicate that this second conference will be memorable for the personnel of its delegations and the timeliness and importance of its discussions.

The presence of strong delegations from Australia, Canada, China, England, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States will form an international forum that will be quite unique in the history of the Pacific.

During the days between your arrival in Honolulu and the opening of the conference, there will be an opportunity for sight-seeing trips and visitation of schools and industries of the Islands. We want to assist the delegates in making use of this preliminary period, since the fortnight's duration of the conference will be completely occupied with its sessions and related activities.

The Central Committee is looking forward to entertaining the Canadian group as its guests, from the date of arrival until departure, in the buildings of Punahou Academy. Here, as two years ago, the conference members will live as a big family and enjoy an opportunity for fellowship and acquaintance which would be impossible if the delegates were quartered in the city hotels. By this means, also, the Central Committee hopes to protect you as far as possible from the many outside calls that will make demands upon your time during the conference sessions.

We hope that a number of the conference members will continue their journey after the conference to other countries represented in the Institute, thus making possible the holding of smaller meetings which may spread the influence of the Honolulu gathering. If you are expecting to continue your journey after the conference, we would be very glad to hear of your plans as early as possible so that your trip may be utilized to the greatest possible advantage of all concerned.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

J. Merle Davis.

JMD:AA

*Extra copies - so as not to
rip the minutes apart*

Appendix C

Report of the Advisory Committee on International Relations.Hanover, N.H.,
August 27, 1927.To the Committee on Problems and Policy
of the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL,

Gentlemen,

The Advisory Committee on International Relations has the honor to submit the following Report, dealing with all the specific projects presented to the Committee, and offering, as well, certain considerations as to the needs of scientific research in the field of International Relations and of further development in the work of the Committee.

In accordance with the suggestion of the Chairman of the Committee on Problems and Policy, the Report has been divided into two sections having reference to these two phases of the program of the Committee:

Part I. Specific projects recommended for appropriate action;

Part II. Scientific study and research in the field of International Relations and the future program of the Advisory Committee.

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PART I. PROJECTS AND PROPOSALS CALLING FOR ACTION.

Project presented by the Council on Foreign Relations

Attached is a statement of this proposal (Appendix A) by Professor Edwin F. Gay representing a Committee of the Council on Foreign Relations. Your Committee, after considerable investigation of the scope of the project and its relation to others in this field -- having had the proposal before it in another form at its first meeting on June 2, 1927, and in the present form at successive meetings of the Committee at the present session -- would strongly urge that the Committee on Problems and Policy take the appropriate action for carrying out the project in the near future.

In voting approval of this project, your Committee did so "with the understanding that such approval is not to be regarded as prejudicing the support of similar projects by the Social Science Research Council, should such projects be submitted."

(Council on Foreign Relations continued)

This additional statement, envisaging the possibility of other projects in the wide field covered by this proposed research organizations is however not to be taken as indicating any doubt as to the validity and importance of this project. It is merely a reminder of the self-evident fact that a single institution working in so large a field cannot by its very nature adequately cover the whole.

It is believed by the Advisory Committee on International Relations that this project furnishes one of the most important opportunities for promoting research in this field, and that both in personnel and in the details of the budget the Council on Foreign Relations is taking adequate measures for achieving the end desired. The project is therefore strongly recommended for favorable action.

The project calls for a budget of \$44,000 a year for a period of two years, of which \$19,000 is guaranteed by the Council on Foreign Relations. The SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is therefore asked to support the procuring in their budget of the sum of \$25,000.

* * * *

Projects presented by the Institute of Pacific Relations

Your Committee considered the projects submitted to it by the Institute of Pacific Relations in a memorandum containing suggestions for ten separate projects. The discussion of these projects follows the order of the memorandum without reference, as will appear, to their relative importance.

1. The Export of Capital from the United States.
2. Land Utilization in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Lands.
3. Trend of Population in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Countries.
4. Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Products in Eastern Asia.
5. The Economic and Social Effects of Development of the Pacific Tropics as Sources of Vegetable Oils.
6. Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence Farming to Cash Crop Farming.
7. Village Handicraft Industries of China.
8. The Pacific as a Geographical Entity.
9. A Sociological Survey of a Typical Chinese City of the Interior.
10. The Government of Shanghai Municipal Areas.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

1. The Export of Capital from the United States

With reference to this project it was voted that as a step preliminary to carrying out the proposal "for the investigation of the export of capital from the United States, Messrs. Shotwell and Moulton be asked to consider the possibility of securing competent personnel to carry on an investigation of the investment of foreign capital in China and such phases of it as are represented by the trade of Hongkong."

The Committee wish to have favorable action approving the project in principle, on the understanding that further steps may then be taken for carrying out the terms of this proposal. No request for a money grant is made at the present time.

2. Land Utilization in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Lands
3. The Trend of Population in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Countries
4. The Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Products in Eastern Asia
5. The Economic and Social Effects of Development of the Pacific Tropics as Sources of Vegetable Oils
6. The Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence Farming to Cash Crop Farming

These projects deal with related subjects and call for a somewhat similar treatment. The details are outlined in each case in the project as presented by the Institute of Pacific Relations. Your Committee approved these projects in principle; and in order to ensure adequate machinery for the supervision and control of these projects voted to "recommend that the responsibility for the supervision and execution of these projects be lodged in the Research Committee of the American Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations; and that the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL be requested to secure the necessary support for the carrying out of these projects."

These five projects deal with problems of fundamental importance for the understanding of movements of population and possible national adjustments in the lands concerned. These projects represent the considered opinion of American experts as being among the most urgent problems of the Far East which require investigation; and if the plan here suggested is carried out, the execution of the plan would rest largely in the hands of those most interested in and capable of directing it.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

In addition to the following detailed statement of the objective and cost of each of the projects in this list, a general statement by Dr. Alsberg has been appended dealing with the articulation of these projects with others in the general field of the Social Sciences and more especially the contribution which they would offer to the solution of vital questions in international relations.

2. Land Utilization in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Lands:
Definition of Topic: To estimate the area and indicate the general location of land primarily suitable for crops, for grazing, and for forest, and to study the present status of its utilization in these countries.

This study will complement similar studies under way in the United States and Canada.

Purpose of the Investigation: To increase knowledge of the agricultural resources of the Pacific countries and their utilization; to encourage study of this subject in these countries; to provide uniform concepts of classification of soils, climatic conditions, and forms of land utilization in such countries, especially in preparation of statistics.

Need of the Investigation: To serve as a basis for estimating the food supply which these countries are producing and could produce; to afford information as to areas available for the production of various agricultural raw materials (cotton, wood products, rubber, etc.); to provide training for men who will be competent to pursue such studies in their native country. In China particularly, with many capable men available, and the prospect of a very urgent need for data on land utilization as soon as a stable government is established, the time seems strategic for the establishment of this project.

Method: 1. Prepare maps showing the physical conditions:
a. Climate, based on meteorological records and notes, on recorded observations of the natural vegetation, and on correspondence with missionaries, scientists, officials, etc.

b. Land Surface and Soils (very general) based on such topographic surveys as exist, on notes of travellers, and on correspondence.

2. Prepare maps showing the present distribution of cultivated land, based on official and other statistical data, carefully edited.

3. Prepare maps showing the location of forest areas and of grazing land.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

4. Edit and compile statistical and other data on present utilization of the land, and prepare maps and graphs.

5. Compare data and prepare text. A preliminary report at least before the student leaves the United States.

The first six months or more of the investigator's time might well be spent in becoming familiar with existing studies of climate in relation to agriculture in the United States and other countries, of native plants as indicators of agricultural suitability of the land, of soil classification (work of the Soil Surveys) and of economic factors in land utilization. After one and a half or two years' work in the United States, the investigators might be better able to complete their studies in their native land.

Personnel: One or two University Professors or other well-trained persons from China, one from Japan, one from the Philippines, one from the Dutch East Indies, and one from Australia, or New Zealand, selected for study in the United States under the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, International Education Board, or other educational fund; and also, if feasible, a competent person from Russia. To conduct the most important phases of the project probably four persons would be adequate. Selections to be primarily on recommendations of the most competent University Professor or scientific organization in each of these countries.

Occasionally a professor or research worker who has specialized in this field of land utilization in the United States, should be exchanged during a year or more for a similar professor or research worker from the Orient, the Institute of Pacific Relations, or collaborating institution meeting the expenses of travel.

Collaboration: With the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the International Education Board, or other educational or research fund, to whom the Institute of Pacific Relations will recommend the importance of research in this field of land utilization. In recommending research in the fields of climate, soil, and land surface, it may be well to solicit the advice and support of the Pacific Scientific Congress.

In addition, it is believed such studies can be most advantageously conducted, during the first year at least, with the aid of facilities afforded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Desk space, clerical assistance, supplies and supervision can be provided by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, the Weather Bureau, the Bureaus of Plant and Animal Industry, and the Forest Service will afford, undoubtedly, cooperation and advice; while

the Library of the Department of Agriculture in this field is the most complete of any in the United States and may be supplemented by the Library of Congress and the libraries of the Departments of Commerce and of the Interior. The Department of Agriculture is required by law to extend such facilities to any scientist or investigator, subject to approval by the Secretary of Agriculture, but, in addition, we are advised that it will be a pleasure to advance in this way a general knowledge of the agricultural resources of the world, and of the present extent of their utilization. The Geological Survey and Department of Commerce would also probably render every assistance.

Time: A more or less continuous project, involving a sequence of professors or research workers from China and Japan, but probably only an occasional investigator from the other countries; each student to remain one or two years, preferably two years.

Publication: The results of these studies can be published by the Institute, or as bulletins of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, or by universities or governmental agencies in the country from which the investigator comes, or possibly by the American Geographical Society.

Cost: Four Fellows at \$3,000 per annum for two years \$24,000.
 Travelling expenses 6,000.
 \$30,000.

3. The Trend of Population in Eastern Asia, Australia and other Pacific Countries: To study the trend of population in Japan, China, Australia, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, and the contributions of the several occupational, religious and other groups, and of migration, to the increase of population.

Purpose of the Investigation: To estimate the needs of these countries for food in the near future (in conjunction with project relating to trend of consumption of agricultural products); to determine the contribution of the several constituent racial occupational and religious groups to the prospective population of these countries; to ascertain the geographic distribution of the changes in population.

Need of the Investigation: Clearly shown by the present lack of data available in convenient form.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

- Method: 1. Study of the statistics of population, births and deaths, both printed and in manuscript form, with reference to:
- a. Contributions of rural and urban population to the natural increase;
 - b. Contribution of the principal occupational and religious groups to the natural increase;
 - c. The economic and social status of woman with reference to natural increase;
 - d. Contribution of migration to the changes in population, and the trend of migration.
2. Prepare maps and graphs to visualize geographic distribution of population and its historical trends.
3. Construct estimates of population ten and twenty-five years hence.
4. Prepare text and graphic material for publication. A preliminary report at least should be submitted before the investigator leaves the United States.

Personnel: A young University professor or other well-trained person from Japan, another from China, a third from Australia or New Zealand, and a person, if well qualified, to study population and its trends in Asiatic Russia, in the Philippines and in the Dutch East Indies. Occasionally two persons of outstanding authority in this field might be exchanged between a university or research institution in the United States or Canada with a similar institution in one of these countries, the educational foundation or fund meeting the expenses of travel involved. Such exchange of professors or research worker would be primarily for the purpose of research, not teaching.

Collaboration: With the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the International Education Board, or similar institution, to whom the Institute of Pacific Relations would recommend the subject for consideration in the selection of applicants for fellowships. It is believed that these studies could be most satisfactorily conducted during the first year at Cornell University, under Professor Willcox, or at the Scripps Institution for the Study of Population, at Miami University, under Professor Warren Thompson. The work during the second year could, probably, be best conducted at the Census Bureau at Washington, and then, possibly, the study completed by the investigator with the aid of unpublished data/in his native country.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

Time: Each holder of a fellowship to remain two years in the United States. Studies of China, Japan and Asiatic Russia should be begun soon, and of the other countries when a competent candidate appears.

Publication: Each study should be printed in English, preferably as a book, for which undoubtedly a publisher could be found. Cornell University or the Scripps Institution might, in some cases, desire to include such a publication in their research series. It is important to have readily available to the people of the United States and the British Commonwealth, as well as of the country being studied, information of this character.

<u>Cost:</u>	Four Fellows at \$3,000 per annum for two years	\$24,000.
	Travelling expenses	<u>6,000.</u>
		\$30,000.

4. The Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Products in Eastern Asia; Definition of Topic: To study the recent and present consumption of food and agricultural raw materials of the peoples of the several Pacific countries, and to estimate the food requirements of these countries ten and twenty-five years hence, considering also the trade in agricultural products in relation to consumption.

Purpose of the Investigation: To ascertain the approximate consumption of food products in these Pacific countries, total and per capita, the trend in such consumption, the probable requirements and possible sources of supply in the near future.

Need of the Investigation: To encourage study of these subjects in these countries. The need of more information on this subject, summarized and published in English especially with reference to rice, is urgent. An excellent study of rice is available in Japanese but needs to be brought up to date, and both elaborated and summarized.

Method:

1. Compile data on production, imports and exports of foods and feeds.
2. Similarly compile data on number of farm animals and probable consumption by them of feed.
3. Determine trend of per capita production and consumption of foods.
4. Consider any data derived from local surveys on food consumption -- kinds and quantities.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

5. On basis of these data project estimates of food and feed requirements ten and twenty-five years hence.

6. Present data in the form of tables, maps, graphs and text. A preliminary report at least should be submitted before the investigator leaves the United States.

7. The studies may be made either by countries or by commodities.

Personnel: A University Professor or other well-trained person from Japan, and another from China. Occasionally two persons of outstanding authority in the field might be exchanged between a university or research institution in the United States or Canada with a similar institution in one of these countries, the educational foundation or fund meeting the expense of travel involved. Such exchange of professors or research workers would be primarily for the purpose of research, not teaching.

Collaboration: With the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial International Education Board, or similar institutions to whom the Institute of Pacific Relations would recommend the subject for consideration in the selection of applicants for fellowships.

The work of the investigator may be pursued best at the Food Research Institute of Stanford University for the first year, or until methods of investigation are successfully worked out, then work should be continued at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and probably completed in the country being investigated.

Publication: By the Food Research Laboratory of Stanford University, by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, by the government of or an institution in the country being studied, by the American Geographical Society or by a private publisher, but, if possible, in the English language.

<u>Cost:</u> Two Fellows at \$3,000 per annum for two years	\$12,000
Travelling expenses	<u>3,000</u>
	\$15,000.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

5. The Economic and Social Effects of Development of the Pacific Tropics as Sources of Vegetable Oils:
Definition of Topic:

An investigation into the acreage, present and prospective, of tropical vegetable oil crops such as coconut and palm, the trend of this form of tropical agriculture in the Pacific area, the changes that must result

from such trend in food production, in shifts of population, in world trade, in relations between the several Pacific countries and in social and economic conditions generally in the Pacific area.

Purpose and Need of the Investigation:

Oils for food and technological purposes are produced more efficiently in warm than in cool climates. For this reason the

Tropics -- and especially the Pacific Tropics -- are becoming and are destined to continue to become the world's factory for vegetable oil. This is having and will continue to have a profound effect upon food production and upon agriculture throughout the world. It will have a determining effect upon food production and upon agriculture throughout the world. It will have a determining effect upon animal husbandry, for example, since this branch of agriculture is an important source of fats with which vegetable oils compete directly. Many dislocations are resulting and many readjustments will be necessary. To foresee these is of the utmost economic and social importance.

The production of vegetable oils in the Pacific area has already profoundly affected social and economic conditions in that area and is bound to continue to do so in increasing degree. The effect on the international relations of Pacific countries has already been great and is bound to continue. It is obvious therefore that to forecast the relations of the future one must take into one's calculations the future of vegetable oil production and trade in the Pacific. That trade is bound to have a profound influence upon economic, social and political conditions. However, the vegetable oil industry of the Pacific is not an entity in itself. It is but part of the world trade in fats and oils. It cannot be studied by itself but must be viewed in the light of conditions elsewhere. Hence the project must take a somewhat generalized form.

Method: 1. The collection, collation and critical interpretation of all statistical, economic and related material already available including a critical study of the reports of plantation companies, of soil maps and surveys, etc.

2. When the above study has been completed it may prove necessary to visit some of the Pacific areas, though this should be done only after it has been found impossible to secure the desired data from the respective governments or from individuals situated in the areas concerning which information is needed.

3. Critical study of the consumption of the oils with

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

special reference to the probable demand in the future. This will involve some study of the course of prices of vegetable oils and of some of the commodities with which they compete.

4. Preparation of the results for publication.

Personnel: At least one trained investigator with some clerical assistance. It might be well to select some one person of the rank of assistant professor from one of the universities of the Pacific area. He should be primarily either an agricultural economist, an agronomist or agricultural chemist, rather than a classical economist or political scientist. If two or three such men were available the subject should be divided and the inquiry correspondingly hastened. The man should be given a fellowship making travel possible. He would do well to begin his work at the Food Research Institute of Stanford University where the manner of conducting this type of inquiry has been developed. He should then spend some time in Washington, D. C. The investigation may be completed at either place or at home as conditions may warrant.

Collaboration: With the several governments, individual investigators, and with certain commercial companies (e.g. Lever Bros., Proctor and Gamble, etc., etc.)

<u>Cost:</u>	One Fellow at \$3,000 per annum for three years	\$9,000.
	Travelling expenses	2,500.
	Assistance	<u>1,500.</u>
		\$12,500.

6. The Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence Farming to Cash Crop Farming:
Purpose:

The agricultural statistics of certain of the tropical Pacific countries seem to indicate that a shift is beginning from the production of crops used locally for food and other purposes to crops that may be sold for money, notably rubber. This shift seems to involve especially the natives. The cash for which the crop is sold is used to purchase the necessities of life, most of which were formerly produced by the native. If these indications have a basis in fact, we may look for profound economic changes. The volume of international trade will be increased tremendously. Food-exporting countries will become food importers. The possible effects upon international relations are obvious. To forecast the course of events becomes therefore of great importance. The present project has for its purpose the preparation of such a forecast.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

Method: Should be undertaken by an agricultural economist familiar, if possible, with tropical agriculture. The completion of the project will be facilitated if he is in a position to spend at least a year in travel in Pacific countries. He should visit the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Formosa, Ceylon, the Malay States, Siam, South China. If such travel is impossible, he should associate with himself through employment, if possible, through voluntary cooperation if funds are limited, competent investigators in these countries.

Cooperation: Officials and investigators in certain tropical countries, members of the rubber, sugar, tobacco, hemp, coffee, and tea trades.

<u>Cost:</u>	Salary of investigator \$5,000 per annum for 3 years,	\$15,000.
	Clerical help \$1,500 per annum for three years	4,500.
	Travelling expenses	<u>3,000.</u>
		\$21,500.

Comment by Dr. Alsberg

The advancement of knowledge is not the sole aim of the Social Sciences. They have practical objectives as well. One of these is the forestalling of international friction and conflicts. Among the important causes of friction and conflicts is economic pressure. Of the various kinds of economic pressure conceivable, one of the most common is the pressure of growing population upon the food supply. It follows therefore that knowledge of the trend of population growth and of the laws that govern such growth on the one hand, and knowledge of the potential food supply and of the trend of food consumption on the other, must be available in order that the trend of population in a given area and its relation to the potential food supply may be forecast and the development of economic pressure be foreseen. Unless such causes of friction and conflict can be foretold, conflicts can not be forestalled and prevented -- indeed the evolution of the whole social fabric of the region can not be understood completely. Studies in population, in food production, in consumption are basic to many sorts of studies of the social structure and its reaction to given sets of conditions. Projects 2 to 6 proposed by the Institute of Pacific Relations are of this character.

The land utilization project (2) so far as it concerns China, for example, is bound up intimately with the forecasting of the future of China. There is some reason to suspect that there are in China large areas of land upon which food crops can not be

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

produced by Chinese methods but which may become extremely productive under American methods of farming with power. If this be so, it is a matter of the utmost importance and basic to any consideration whatever of the future of China and of the rôle it is to play in international affairs.

Project 3 on the trend of population is complementary to the project on land utilization, for it deals with the consumption of products upon land utilized. It is not enough to know what are the possibilities of food production; one must also know how many mouths are likely to be opened to receive it. Already the population of Japan is on the eve of pressing to an alarming degree on the food supply. The question to be answered is how soon are other races to be in like case. Investigations such as the one proposed are basic to all questions of standards of living, industrialization, tariffs, international trade, even to studies of levels of standards of morals.

Project 4 on the trend of food consumption like project 3 is also complementary to project 2 on land utilization. It is vital, if we are to forecast future economic pressure and friction arising therefrom, to know the trend of consumption of food stuffs. How far can it be changed qualitatively from one article which is in short supply, say rice, to another which is more abundant, say wheat. Such investigations are of the utmost importance in determining the probable future evolution of the contacts between races and nations.

Projects 5 and 6 are similarly basic, as is fully indicated in the set-up of the projects themselves. No one is likely to fully foresee the evolution of the social structure of the world for the next century or two who does not envisage the future of the tropics, their relation to the peoples of the temperate zones, their possibilities as sources of industrial raw materials and of food, the reaction of their peoples to exploitation by yellow men and white. It is extremely probable that the tropics will in the next two centuries offset the social fabric of the world at least as profoundly as did the Americas in the past two centuries. The forecasting of such effects can not begin too soon. The projects submitted present a modest initial attack upon one angle of such a study.

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

10. The Government of the Shanghai Municipal Areas

The study constitutes an impartial inquiry into the Shanghai municipal areas: their origin, history, legal status, present organization, municipal functions, geographical setting and divisions, Chinese dissatisfactions, foreign accomplishments, plans of reorganization, etc.

Purpose and Need of the Investigation: The Shanghai problem constitutes one of the leading issues between China on the one hand and Great Britain and other interested Powers on the other, which if left unsettled and unsolved may lead to serious consequences. An impartial and constructive inquiry and study will help to eliminate aggravating causes of international friction in that part of the world.

Method: Investigation and research. To be done mainly in Shanghai.

Personnel: One Chinese and one British, working with a Director appointed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, together with the necessary supplementary staff.

Time: Not to exceed one year.

Cost: Approximately \$100,000 to \$120,000. In view of the fact that the Director should be given entirely free hand in building up his organization, it seems unwise to make any specific allocation of the funds, but the task is of such importance that the execution of the plan should be assured of adequate financing.

Recommendation: In the case of Project 10 of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Committee approved the project, and expressed the opinion that this study is of urgent international importance and that ample funds should be provided to ensure men of the highest capacity and experience undertaking it. Therefore, while approving the project in principle, your Committee regarded the budget proposed by the Institute of Pacific Relations as insufficient and in discussion emphasized the opinion that the success of this project depended to a very large degree upon the choice of the investigators.

In further explanation of this project, it should be stated that the discussions at Honolulu disclosed the fact that such a survey of Shanghai could have the support not only of the British, but also

(Institute of Pacific Relations continued)

of both the Peking and the Nationalist authorities if initiated under proper authorities and carried out by acceptable investigators. It was further evident that the work of such a commission might possibly prove of importance in the settlement of outstanding difficulties between China and the Foreign Powers. The Shanghai problem ranks alongside of the question of Tariffs and of Extraterritoriality as one of the three main issues between China and other nations. Your Committee therefore ask that this project be placed on the urgency list for favorable action by the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, with the understanding that the Chairman of this Committee in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Council be authorized to develop the project.

7. Village Handicraft Industries in Two Village Areas of North China
9. Sociological Survey of a Typical Chinese City of the Interior.

Projects 7 and 9 of the Institute of Pacific Relations were referred to the Committee on Cultural Areas for report and recommendation.

8. The Pacific as a Geographical Entity

No action was taken with reference to project 8 of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

* * * * *

Other projects were informally discussed but without definite action by the Advisory Committee. In the case of one of these, that proposing investigations concerning the causes of war by Professor Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago, the Committee requested Professor Bernadotte Schmitt to keep it informed as to future developments of the plan.

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PART II

In addition to the specific recommendations in Part I of this Report, your Committee discussed the program of research in the field of International Relations generally, and would ask consideration of the following conclusions:

1. Need of a Survey of the Agencies Engaged in Work in this Field

No accurate information is at present available as to the institutions which have been established in various countries, for purposes germane to the work of this Committee. There has been a notable increase of these in recent years, and the first step in planning for problems of research in so wide a field is undoubtedly the preparation of a guide to the agencies best equipped for the specific task. The need of such a survey was strongly emphasized at the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations by members of the Royal Institute for International Affairs; and other international cooperation can be counted upon.

Some partial efforts have already been made to prepare such a guide; but the manual should be planned on a truly international basis and kept up to date both as to the structure, the program and the output of the institutions described. This leads to the conclusion that the preparation of such a guide should be placed in the hands of an institution centrally placed, internationally directed and able to make it a part of its continuing business to keep the manual up to date. There is only one such institution, - the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.

The Advisory Committee on International Relations therefore, in approving the project, voted that the Chairman of the Committee be instructed "to approach the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations or some other suitable organization, with a view to carrying out such a survey as a necessary step towards the development of research in this field."

It is possible that the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation may not have funds at its disposal for such a survey. In this case the aid of an American foundation may have to be sought. Therefore your Committee, while not placing this item in the list of projects for definite action by the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, would nevertheless suggest the advantage of an approval in principle of the proposed survey.

2. Need of Coordination of Method

From its very nature, the field of International Relations calls for the use of different sciences, each with its appropriate methods. Development of research in this field therefore involves three activities:

i. The discovery and development of the problem itself.

This may come from either a science involved in the research itself or from a science needing the results of the research. For instance, a chemist or an engineer may work at a problem of the supply of food or raw materials and thus create new situations for economics or political science, of which these latter sciences only become aware at a later stage of their development. Or, the social science concerned may anticipate the situation and itself set the problem.

ii. The research proper.

This must be referred in every case to the appropriate science for the application of the appropriate method. Amateur excursions into complex problems are not rendered legitimate by the mere fact of the newness of the field.

iii. Coordination of results.

Nevertheless, in every case in the field of International Relations, more than one science will be affected by the results of the research. Indeed it is this coordination which gives the peculiar meaning to work in this field. It reaches out beyond the analytic processes which establish the data, to syntheses which affect the life and welfare of nations. Ultimately, if ever intelligence should guide statesmanship in these great fields, it will need the implements provided by such research and the positive results of an objective method which national politics by its very nature -- asserting as it must the self-interest of the peoples concerned -- can not otherwise secure.

The need of a study of the interrelation of the various sciences involved in this threefold operation was recognized by your Committee as the most pressing need in its program for the coming year. It was suggested therefore that assignments be made to its members of memoranda dealing with the contribution of their special sciences, and the hope was expressed that the new membership of the Committee be constituted with an eye to the well-rounded execution of this plan.

3. The Place of International Relations in the Social Sciences

Your Committee feels that the subject with which it deals is one which offers peculiar opportunities in the field of research and that the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL should not fail to note the unique possibilities here for applying the results of scientific investigations to the practical problems of politics on the largest possible scale. It is already clear to the most casual observer that the dominant characteristics of the process of the evolution of civilization have changed from those of the nineteenth century.

Scientific discovery, invention, industrial and financial organization have transformed the problems of statecraft as much as they have remade the immediate conditions of living. New cross-currents are at work, new stimuli and unmeasured responses. Out of the ferment of the post-war era we already can see new forms arising, which, if they mature will modify the entire relationship of civilized nations.

These elements of a historic process can not be studied adequately by the means and through the instruments at our disposal at present. They cannot be referred merely to the casual or incidental interest of those who make this field an academic avocation. The subject should be taken seriously. Your committee is of the opinion that this is not the case to any great extent so far. It would respectfully suggest that the SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL should have this situation in mind in extending to the Advisory Committee or any other organ in this field the fullest possible measure of support.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Chairman,
Advisory Committee on
International Relations.

Dear Sir Arthur,

If after consultation with
Dr Shotwell & Dr Yui you can
evolve some practical scheme to
use Goforth in research for the
Institute, it would help the
Research Committee if you put
the scheme down on the enclosed
form.

Yrs

J.H. Landis

Institute of Pacific Relations
Second Session - 1927

Index No. D - 46
Date published - July 23, 1927

SUGGESTED RESEARCH PROJECT

1. Title:
2. Date:
3. Definition of Topic:

4. Purpose and Need of the Investigation:

5. Relation to Purposes of the Institute:

Index No. D - 46

Page 2.

6. Method, Personnel and Collaboration:

7. Time:

8. Cost:

TITLE (1.) The Economic and Social Status of Chinese in the British Empire.

DATE (2.) July 25th, 1927

DEFINITION OF TOPIC (3) An investigation into the present distribution and original migration of persons of Chinese origin in the various parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations (specifically - (a) Great Britain (b) Canada (c) Australia (d) New Zealand (e) Straits Settlements & British Malaya (f) Hongkong (g) other colonies and mandated territories) - the respective rates of these respective migrations - degrees of social and economic stratification or assimilation - sources of friction - legal status including naturalization, discriminatory legislation, etc. - evolution of public policy with respect to resident Chinese, immigration and residence of Chinese in ^{the} several self-governing dominions and of the Colonial Office. - immediate and ultimate results of such Chinese migrations on the economic structure, ^{labour markets} industrial development, foreign trade and communications of ^{the} respective regions of settlement.

PURPOSE & NEED (4.) While many isolated studies on local conditions in various parts of the British Commonwealth are available, yet most of these are out of date and inadequate for ^{definite} thorough going conclusions regarding the ultimate criteria of immigration. There is no recent work which makes any attempt at collaboration and comparison of regional studies as mentioned above, while much yet remains which requires original investigation i.e. Straits Settlements, etc.

RELATION TO PURPOSES OF INSTITUTE
Apart from scientific and administrative interest, such research would undoubtedly serve two useful purposes of the Institute of Pacific Relations

(a.) It would serve to clarify the problem of Pacific migration, by locating individual causes of friction as well as ascertaining general economic ^{social} trends of living standards, cultural assimilation etc of the 4,000,000 Chinese in the British Commonwealth.

(b.) It would serve to strengthen the desire for peace on the part of both China and Britain by drawing attention to the reciprocal nature of the issues involved in the present situation.

COLLABORATION.

If similar studies could be carried out ~~both~~ in the United States, and its territories, and in ^{the} various parts of the Japanese Empire, and possibly in French ^{and} ~~British~~ ^{and} ~~other~~ possessions, the whole would form a complete study of great value both to China and to other Pacific powers concerned.

(6.) Method, PERSONNEL. It is here suggested that a British scholar who has ~~had~~ research experience, and special Sinological qualifications, should undertake the ^{research} ~~investigation~~ after a year of preparatory work, ^{preferably in London} in which the cooperation of local authorities both British and Chinese, academic and commercial shall be secured by correspondence, and plans laid for a tour of investigation, first as planned in consultation with the Home and Colonial Offices in London and then in each of the self-governing dominions as mentioned in Part 3. The findings to be published in a series of papers during the progress of the work and finally coordinated into a completed study.

TIME

(7.) Three years including preparatory period.

COST.
(8.) Approximately \$18,000 including travelling & secretarial expenses.

Pleasanton Hotel
HONOLULU, HAWAII

CABLE AND WIRELESS ADDRESS
"PLEASANTON, HONOLULU"

TITLE Potential and Present Extent of Hydro-Electric and Fuel Power Development in China.

DEFINITION of TOPIC

To include both engineering and economic studies of the resources & potential development of China's electric resources, as a means towards her industrialization and better utilization of labour power. It would involve (a) Investigation of river flows, potential conservation of flood waters, ^{and navigation (aa) integration of} integration with irrigation projects, (b) Analysis of costs both of construction, maintenance, transmission and distribution (c) Analysis of potential demand in industry, domestic and municipal use, traction etc (d) estimates based on ^{local} population trends of future absorption of such power at economic rates of the sections (c) & (d) are purely economic, while (b) would require collaboration with engineering investigation, and (a) ^(aa) would be largely engineering.)

PURPOSE & NEED OF INVESTIGATION.

From the experience of other nations in modern industrial competition, China's future industrialization must depend to an ever increasing extent on her ability to multiply human effort with mechanical processes, this in turn depending upon cheap and abundant power. This is becoming increasingly evident in Metallurgical and Electro-Chemical industry. The absence of forest resources in China renders ^{the development of} this division of industry even more vital, when a central government with the power to enforce law and order is established in China. Incidentally it is a *sine qua non* of rising standards of living, and increased trade, as well as of solving her problem of over-population, and thus should fit in with the purposes of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Method and Personnel & Collaboration. The Personnel should consist of two experts in the respective fields mentioned above, one a Chinese and another a foreigner (preferably an American or Canadian) ~~with~~ each with the special qualifications required for the work. In this manner could the expert knowledge of New World Electrical development be applied to the existing conditions of China, and the support of the respective governments be secured for overcoming difficulties of travel and local investigation.

Time. Two ~~Three~~ years.

Cost Approximately \$¹²₂₁000 a year including salary and expenses.

Pleasanton Hotel
HONOLULU, HAWAII

CABLE AND WIRELESS ADDRESS:
PLEASANTON, HONOLULU

September 19th, 1927.

Henry T. Ross, Esq.,
Secretary, Canadian Bankers' Association,
Montreal, Que.

My dear Mr. Ross:-

Thank you very much for your letter of the 16th of September and for the attached Memorandum, constituting, in my opinion, a very just appreciation of the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

I congratulate you and will, I know, find the memorandum useful.

With all good wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

Principal.

Ottawa, Ont:

June 27th, 1927

Dear Sir Arthur,

Bovey telephoned me this afternoon asking if I could produce any general information on the question of Disarmament to take to Honolulu.

I presume the Secretariat at the Conference will be in possession of the various League of Nations reports, which are rather voluminous and in any event could not be spared from the files here. I am, however, enclosing several interesting articles from one or two different magazines as follows:-

- (1.) "Foreign Affairs". An American quarterly review published in New York.
 - (a) January, 1926. "After Locarno" by Eduard Benes. Benes was Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czecho-Slovakia and was one of the principal authors of the Geneva Protocol.
 - (b) April, 1926. "What is Disarmament"? by Tasker H. Bliss. General Tasker H. Bliss is a former Chief of Staff of the United States Army. He was American member of the Supreme War Council in France; and also a member of the American Commission to negotiate Peace 1918-1919.
 - (c) ^{April, 1927} "Some Misconception about Disarmament". By Allen W. Dulles. Dulles was a former Chief of the Division on Near Eastern affairs in the State Department at Washington, and was a Delegate to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva of 1926.
- (2.) "North American Review". February, 1926.
 - (a) "The Next Conference on Disarmament, Its Meaning to Great Britain". By Lieutenant Commander the Hon. J.N. Kenworthy, R.N., M.P.
 - (b) "The Next Conference on Disarmament, Its Meaning to America". By Captain A.W. Hinds, U.S.N.
- (3.) An article from the "Boston Evening Transcript" dated 27th April, 1927, entitled "Disarmament but not Disablement".

I am afraid this is very incomplete ^{+ very American} but it is difficult to make a selection at such short notice. I must ask you to be good enough to let me have these articles back at your convenience.

I trust you will have a very enjoyable trip and wish you "Bon Voyage."

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

W. D. Matthews

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
MONTREAL. P.Q.

September 13th, 1927.

Lieut.-Colonel H.H. Matthews, C.M.G., D.S.C.,
Department of National Defence,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Colonel:-

I am returning to you by
this mail the documents you so kindly loaned
to me for my use at Honolulu. Some time I
hope to have an opportunity of telling you all
about what we tried to do there.

With all kind wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,



CANADA

QUOTE NO.....

Department of National Defence

Ottawa, Canada,

PERSONAL.

14th September, 1927.

Dear Sir Arthur,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 13th inst: with enclosures, and I shall see to it that the publication "Fleets, etc." is handed to Commodore Hose on his return from England shortly.

I am looking forward very much to getting the details of the work of the Pacific Conference from you some time. The importance of the discussions which took place certainly deserved far more prominence than they were given in the Canadian press.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H. H. Matthews

General Sir A.W. Currie, GCMG., KCB.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
MONTREAL, P.Q.



Les Pères Dominicains
Province Canadienne de Saint Dominique
153, Av. Notre-Dame-de-Grâce
Montréal

Gen. Sir Arthur Currie

President of Mc Gill University

Montreal.

Honorable Sir,

As head of the Canadian delegation to the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu, you must, of necessity, be particularly well informed on the Oriental questions as regards their international, political, economical and religious aspects, and, in a special way, as to their bearing on the present religious situation in China and Japan.

Will you, therefore, be kind enough to let me know which were the best papers read at the Congress and the best articles published on those questions, with the address of the publishers.

Please accept my sincerest thanks and regards .

Very respectfully yours ,

Sept. 2^d 1927

J. E. A. Langlais, O.P.
Provincial

September 6th, 1927.

Rev. E. A. Langlais,
Order of Saint Dominique,
153, Notre Dame de Grace Avenue,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Father Langlais:-

With reference to your letter of September 2nd and the papers read at the Institute of Pacific Relations, let me say that the Institute is having the proceedings published and these proceedings will contain those papers read at the Conference which are considered worth reproducing.

It will be some time yet before these publications are ready and I shall undertake to get a copy for you.

Yours faithfully,

Principal.

Institute Pacific Relations

D R A F T

Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 30, 1927.

To the Chairman of the Council,
Royal Institute of International Affairs,
Chatham House, St. James Square,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Lord Meston:

The Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations closed on the night of the twenty-eighth instant. Next day Sir Frederick Whyte, the leader of the British Party, sailed for Japan and China on the President Taft with Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkin, and Professor Webster (who holds the Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics in the University of Wales). Sir Frederick's decision to visit the Far East before returning to England was taken at such short notice that he entrusted to me the task of preparing a preliminary report on the Institute of Pacific Relations and the conference which has just taken place under its auspices. The contents of this letter were duly discussed with Sir Frederick and the British members who have gone East, and have also been read and approved by those who remain. Their names are listed at the end of this letter.

To begin with I may remind you of the circumstances under which we attended this Conference. In the course of our studies in the last two years it came to be felt that Europe was not the only or perhaps the main centre in which another storm might arise to involve the world in war. It became apparent that round the shores of the Pacific were developing conditions which unless studied and treated in time might lead to a catastrophe which might not be limited to the Eastern Hemisphere.

In the small community from which I am writing in the mid-Pacific is a group of Europeans descended from the missionaries who first Christianized the Sandwich Islands. They are now engaged in shipping and other large business enterprise, which brings them into intimate touch with every shore of this ocean. Some years ago they began to view with growing anxiety the conditions to which I refer, and decided to invite persons like themselves from various Pacific countries to meet them here and discuss what private citizens could do to deal with the causes which left to take their course might disturb the peace of this ocean. In July, 1925, there came to Honolulu in

response to this invitation parties from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines and the United States.

The idea seems to have prevailed that the exclusion of Asiatics from the European communities would form the chief topic of discussion. In actual fact the condition of China thrust itself into the forefront. Members from the three British dominions naturally found themselves unable fully to explain the history and motives of British Policy in China. So when it was proposed to hold a further conference in July, 1927, they asked that persons might be invited from Great Britain who could bring to the conference such a knowledge of these subjects as could only be gathered in that country. President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University, who presided over the conference, undertook that effect should be given to this proposal, and invited the assistance of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. On receiving this invitation the Royal Institute replied that they would organize a party of their members who would do their best to supply the information required on the explicit understanding that each member would speak for himself alone. The result was our presence here at the proceedings of the last two weeks. By unanimous consent we regarded Sir Frederick Whyte as our leader, a position he accepted on the understanding that none of the party, including himself, should be held responsible for the views expressed by any of their colleagues.

Some or all of us will have opportunities later of giving the impressions we have gathered to our fellow members at Chatham House. On a few points however we already find ourselves in substantial agreement. We think it would scarcely be possible for anyone to have attended the proceedings here and not view with grave anxiety the present disorganization of China. In a closely populated territory second in size only to that covered by Russia are developing conditions comparable only to those of Europe when the Roman Empire had collapsed. The political framework of China has broken down and one quarter of mankind is in chaos. Broadly speaking, this state of paralysis has been caused by the impact of dynamic ideas and methods on a civilization rigid with age. This condition reacts on all the nations in touch with China, but most of all on Great Britain and Japan, which last country now depends for its very existence on Chinese markets and raw materials. China's relations to some seventeen countries are determined by treaties difficult to alter without the consent of all parties. Attempts made by their Governments to act together in handling the situation have signally failed. They are normally at cross purposes with each other.

If China is in chaos so also is the mechanism through which the rest of the world is trying to handle the situation.

Such conditions are a growing menace to the peace of the world which depends on an ever-increasing control of itself by human society. In the Far East such control is threatening to vanish.

Such a state of affairs is clearly a matter for governments, but the further question arises whether individuals in their private capacity, apart from governments, have any responsibility for the peace of the world. Either they have or else they have not, and if they have such responsibility they cannot begin to discharge it unless they devise for themselves some instrument for collecting the information without which no one can rightly judge what ought to be done. We know of no question of first rate importance in respect of which such information is so conspicuously lacking. If better information is needed by the peoples interested in the peace of this hemisphere, their obvious course is to establish some common agency for obtaining such information, and also to meet from time to time to discuss with each other what this information means. The secretariat and periodic conference organized in the first instance by a few public spirited men in this Island is the practical as well as the logical outcome of this position. It ought in our view to be strongly supported by all elsewhere who feel that as private citizens they are called upon to think how great political problems can be saved from drifting to violent solutions.

We do not say that the Institute of Pacific Relations is as yet such an instrument. We are definitely of opinion that it can be made so, and also that in the course of this conference important steps have been taken in that direction. Those who initiated the Institute were largely influenced by religious motives. But since they have realized that the objects which they had in view were also political, they have stood aside and left the future construction of what they had founded to people more accustomed to think in political terms. The publications of the Institute have not been free from an element of propaganda. As our own experience has taught us an instrument for political study has little value unless it is purged from propaganda in any shape or form. That vital truth has been recognized by all parties here. It forms the basis of the constitution framed in the course of this conference, copy of which I enclose. It is as you see signed with our general approval by Sir Frederick Whyte. But so far as the Royal Institute is concerned it has no effect whatever unless or until it is ratified by the Council of that body.

Enclosed for your information is a membership directory, a study of which will suggest another defect in the conference which remains to be remedied in future years. The Americans in organizing their party adopted the same plan as the Institute in London with the same results. Months before we both formed panels of suitable members who might join the party. At the last moment most of the business men on the panels found themselves unable to go. And the same was generally true of the

other countries with the natural result that a preponderating number of the members who took part in the conference were drawn from academic circles. The inevitable consequence is that stern realities, political as well as commercial, did not receive their adequate weight in the course of the discussions. A member who holds a responsible position in an important business corporation told some of us that he had to devote half of his time to public work. I mention this in order to place on record the comment of Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, who is not only President of McGill University but also a director of the Bank of Montreal. He expressed the view that the world has now reached a stage when public affairs will go seriously awry (and in doing so prejudice business) unless the directors of great concerns so organize their affairs that they themselves can devote as definite a proportion of their time to public questions. The need cannot be met by the device of having one sleeping partner who gives his whole time to public affairs on behalf of a firm. In the study of public policy the necessary contribution can only be made by responsible men engaged in the actual direction of business. In his view directorates should be so organized that some of their members can devote a part of their time to public work.

It is useless to argue that the views of professors left to themselves do not count. They do count, if only for the reason that they represent aspects of truth which are more clear to the student than to the man engaged in practical affairs. From the nature of their calling professors know how to influence public opinion better than business men, and a grave danger arises when their opinions are formed without continual contact with men of affairs. Professors had at least as much to do with creating the atmosphere which led to the great war as the operations of business men. The remedy is that students and business men should do their thinking together. The future utility of this Institute will depend upon how far it succeeds in achieving that object.

The main question which demands our attention is not what this Institute has been or is, but what it may become - how by forethought and perseverance it can be fashioned into an instrument through which those who influence public opinion can obtain the information through which they will influence it wisely and with reference to facts.

The constitution which I enclose is an earnest attempt in that direction. We must turn therefore to the financial problems which it involves.

To begin with it is necessary to say that the expenses of the Institute have been so far furnished by funds contributed by its public spirited founders in this Island, supplemented by large contributions from American benefactors,

and also by certain public foundations created for such purposes in America. The United States is not only the wealthiest country in the world, but has also the finest tradition of any community as to the duty of private persons to contribute their wealth to public objects. The Institute has necessarily been started in this way.

If it becomes as it may become a valuable, permanent addition to the mechanism of human society, lasting credit will be due to the generosity of the Americans who have nursed it into being. But if it is to become an instrument which is international in the genuine sense of the word, the overwhelming bulk of its resources cannot be drawn from the private generosity of one nation alone. This truth was recognized in the draft constitution first submitted to the leaders of the national groups who constitute the governing body of the organization known as the Pacific Council.

Together with this draft constitution was submitted a budget based on the experience already acquired in the last two years. It was estimated in this budget that \$85,000 or £17,000 per annum would be required for the expenses of the secretariat and for research in the next two years. After scrutinising the items the Pacific Council came to the conclusion that at least this sum could be wisely spent on collecting and distributing to the constituent countries the information without which no one can form sound opinions on the problems of the vast area involved. If results were justified by experience it was likely that more would be required in future years. But \$85,000, or £17,000, was accepted as the basic revenue required to finance any organization which was likely to be adequate to so great a task.

In the draft constitution it was contemplated that this sum should be portioned out into certain quotas, and that each national organization should be made responsible for furnishing their quota. It was pointed out that the revenues of the League of Nations are raised in this way.

On this the criticism was made that the units constituting the League of Nations are states with public revenues behind them. The quota demanded from each is insignificant when compared with the privilege which a nation enjoys by reason of its membership. Even so difficulty in collecting the quotas has been experienced. The units constituting the Institute of Pacific Relations are small private organizations still struggling for funds to maintain their very existence. And in this endeavor they will certainly fail if at the same time they have to collect from private benevolence heavy payments from which to meet the expenses of a joint secretariat thousands of miles away from all of them.

The Royal Institute is invited to act as one of these national units, and its special position was therefore explained to the Pacific Council. Before offering Chatham House as a British School of Research into international affairs, Col. and Mrs. Leonard asked (1) what sum would be required to develop a school of research adequate to such premises? (2) whether the Royal Institute would accept the obligation of raising such a revenue?

After earnest deliberation your Council replied that in course of time a revenue of £10,000 per annum over and above the revenue, obtainable from members' subscriptions would be required. The Council believed that this revenue could be realized by continuing the policy which the Institute has consciously adopted. (This policy is to produce results by voluntary or semi-voluntary work by members of the Institute, the value of which could be judged by the public before endowments are sought for continuing the work. The first volume of the annual survey is a case in point. Professor Toynbee was paid a small and quite inadequate fee as editor but the book owed a great deal to the cooperation of several members. When the value of such an annual survey was demonstrated by its publication, Sir Daniel Stevenson created an endowment to secure its permanent production.) The Council believed that by patiently pursuing this policy a first class School of Research at Chatham House could in time be financed.

On that understanding Chatham House was placed by Colonel and Mrs. Leonard at the disposal of the Royal Institute. We were therefore bound to inform the Pacific Council that the obligations which the Royal Institute had contracted in accepting Chatham House must be discharged before it could accept any further obligation for contributing in cash to the cost of the Pacific Institute. Our contribution in the shape of research into Pacific Problems for the general benefit of the Institute of Pacific Relations was at least as great as any other national units were as yet able to make. The Royal Institute no more than the other national units outside the United States was able to contribute an adequate quota to the fundamental sum of \$85,000 until it had discharged its existing obligations.

Apart from all this, the principle of raising so large a sum annually by quotas is clearly impracticable, if only for the reason that the whole budget would be dislocated by the failure of any one or more of the national units to remit its quota. A staff of the adequate calibre could never be engaged on so precarious a basis. The problem would perhaps be insoluble if it were not for the existence of large funds bequeathed to trustees for the promotion of international peace, funds which are international in character in the strictest sense of the word. If peace can indeed be promoted by human agencies,

such agencies must either be governments, or else organizations created for the purpose by citizens of the countries concerned in their private capacity. It is obvious that such funds were not intended to be used to subsidize governments or government offices in their efforts for peace. They must have been meant to facilitate such non-governmental movements for preventing war as the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is or can be made international in the strictest sense of the word, if the necessary nucleus of its cost is derived from sources which are clearly international. If and when that principle is established we do not think that private donations for the future extension of its work will undermine its international character, even if furnished in greater measure from the wealthier countries. When the national units have had time to create their own revenues from national sources, they may then be able to contribute to the funds needed to extend the activities of the international agency. To attempt to place that burden on them now would in all countries but the richest destroy the roots from which alone the Institute of Pacific Relations can draw its vitality.

The trustees of the international funds cannot, of course, be expected to make any permanent provision for an international agency like this until it has demonstrated its practical utility by actual experience. And before they can make even temporary provision they must have a prima facie case for supposing that the experiment is supported in responsible quarters. From their nature the national units are non-governmental, and the standing of those who lead or direct them will doubtless be scrutinized. With regard to the members of the Chinese and Japanese groups those of us who had not been to the Far East felt that we learned from them in a fortnight more of their countries than we had gathered in the rest of our lives. We leave feeling that it has been a privilege to have made friends of such character and ability. The composition of the American group you can judge from the membership directory. It includes men whom President Wilson brought as advisers to the conference of Paris, and others who occupy recognized positions in the fields of learning, business and journalism. Their leader presided with conspicuous ability over the conference and meetings of the Pacific Council. The groups from the three Dominions are weightily backed in their own countries. In the case of Australia, Sir Mungo MacCallum, Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University, has placed himself at the head of the National Council. Its group here was headed by the Hon. Mr. Eggleston, a former attorney-general of Victoria. The Chairman in Canada is Sir Robert Borden. Its group is led by

Sir Arthur Currie who commanded the Canadian forces in France. The Chairman in New Zealand is Sir James Allen, and the group was led by Mr. Nash, the Secretary of the Labour Party. The Royal Institute of International Affairs is, as its title and charter denote, the recognized body in Great Britain for the study of the subject. Its group was led by Sir Frederick Whyte who for five years presided over the Indian Legislative Assembly.

If the various national units ratify the signatures placed by their members here on the constitution of the Institute of Pacific Relations, any application made by that body to the trustees of international funds should at least have a prima facie case for consideration. The question whether the Royal Institute is to ratify the enclosed constitution will, we assume, be reserved by the council pending our return.

(Drafted by Lionel Curtis)

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

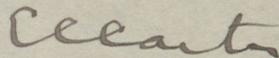
September 16, 1927.

My dear Sir Arthur,

When your delightful little note written just before I left Honolulu arrived, and again when I saw you the morning the Maui sailed, I was under the impression that you were sailing on the Maui as well, and so I reserved for the greater leisure of the steamer the remarks I wanted to make with reference to my profound appreciation both of your letter and of the very great privilege of working with you so intimately during the days in Honolulu. It was awfully difficult to determine whether I got more from Tsurumi or you or Kilpatrick, but for many years to come I will look back to the comradeship and work with you three as among the most delightful and enriching experiences for a long, long while.

Are you going to be in New York any time in the next few months? If you are, I do hope you will let me know, because there are many things that some of us here will want to talk over with you, and I want to see you personally anyhow.

Very sincerely yours,



E. C. Carter.

General Sir Arthur Currie
c/o McGill University
Montreal, Canada.

ECC:CP

October 5th, 1927.

E. C. Carter, Esq.,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Carter:-

I must offer my sincere apologies to you for not before this answering your note of September 16th.

Thank you very much for Kilpatrick's memorandum, which I have read but once with great interest and much pleasure. I am not prepared just now to offer any critical comment or suggestion, but will write again in the near future. This is the time of year when a University Principal has not a moment to himself, and as far as I can see it will be a week or so yet before the work eases up sufficiently to enable one to deal intelligently with private correspondence.

As you know I remained in Honolulu until the 12th of August. In that time I saw something of Davis, Loomis and Cundliffe, and I think, was able to repair some of the breaches in the complacency of the first mentioned made by our friend Curtis. I came home by way of Victoria and Vancouver, where I spoke to different bodies concerning the purpose and work of the Institute. I was met with encouraging enthusiasm concerning the establishment in Canada of a Canadian Institute of International Affairs and next week we are calling together in my house the Montreal group.

E. C. Carter, Esc., - 2 -

Professor Goforth is introducing in his courses a study of the Economics of the Pacific and I have promised to inaugurate his course of lectures. The week after this Hume is coming to Montreal to attend some Medical Convention and will stay with me while here. I have lately heard from Dr. Koo who has offered no explanation of recent events in China. You will recall how they assured us that Chek would be in Peking long before this. I am also looking forward to a visit about November 21st from Tsurumi. He will have what we call "the latest dope" concerning the situation.

By the way, I wish we could place on the parmanent files of the Institute Mr. Lanigan's appreciation of what occurred. You may not recall him, but he is the stout little man standing beside me in the Canadian group. He wrote a letter each day to Headquarters of the Canadian Pacific Railway here and these letters are among the "richest" I have ever read. When you come to Montreal I shall let you read them, but they are marked confidential.

I do not know when I shall be in New York, but I shall be very glad to see you whenever you come to Montreal. Please remember me most kindly to Mrs. Carter, and with all good wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 16, 1927.

My dear W. R.-

The talkfest opened up to-day with a luncheon at which the best speaker was undoubtedly Sir F. Whyte the head of the British delegation - the next a Chinaman Dr. Yui. All so far is love and peace. There are some most interesting people - very many much in earnest. Of actual results it is too early to predict but I cannot but feel they will be a very minus quantity. Sir Arthur Currie is working hard. So far I am standing by, but as a transportation and perhaps moral adviser I may yet be of use.

However, we are off to a very high toned start.

Mrs. Caroline Catt, the suffragist, is here and she looks the part. You can imagine I am not seeking any tete a tete interview.

I will keep you advised of progress.

I am working up a party of four for Walter Maughan's So. American tour. The ladies are willing but the old man is laying back.

With kind remembrances to Mrs. MacInnes.

Very truly,

(SGD) W. B. Lanigan.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
August 1, 1927.

My dear W.R.-

Enclosed you will find Pres. Wilbur's report to President Coolidge as to the Pacific Conference.

I would ask no better confirmation of my previous reports outlining the absolute futility of the whole performance. Wilbur seems to think that Sir F. Whyte's trip to China as an accomplishment of the conference and from his own text about the only one. Surely the British have had competent observers and full information. I think that Whyte has gone there to satisfy himself that the Chinese delegation were the legitimate descendants of Ananias.

I leave to you Wilbur's report. "The plan was to make rather than adopt opinions or solutions of problems". A more futile performance could not be imagined.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 31, 1927

My dear W.R.-

I have not sent you the voluminous literature issue of the conference as Jack Nelson has kept the President supplied. I do not think you would have time to read it let alone the inclination. One result of the conference from the British side is that Sir F. Whyte has gone to Shanghai - and he is both an able and a well trained man, there is no doubt he will do good or at any rate supply the Govt. with valuable information at that very tangled up point.

These conferences might have accomplished some good if the personnel had been different. They will accomplish nothing of any practical value as long as the majority of the delegates are college professors, Y.M.C.A. secretaries - principals of ladies colleges, suffragist agitators and propagandists of various ilk. I kept in the background strictly. It was the only place for a practical man and at that it was wearisome. There was not a single issue where I could have been of any value or where my experience in transportation matters for that matter would have been recognized if the matter had come up, which it did not. As a phrase making institution it was a success. It was announced as a "fact finding" conference.

Mrs. Catt said it was not facts but principles that were important. I have added another phrase to my vocabulary since my last report. It is "tested thought" a contribution by Dr. Kilpatrick of Columbia University's school of teaching - another is "intelligent moralization" by the same author. The latter I suspect is a substitute for christianity. "Social outlook" is perhaps not original but "cultural lag" seems to lack both meaning and euphony. "Toleration of traditions" is attractive for its alliteration - "proper external and internal authority" sounds like a patent medicine, but it was used with reference to Chinese "cultural problems" and sounded well. "Uncertain problems" did not appear to be sufficiently definite to waste much time over and like all the other problems was left unsolved. The council left the matter of the locals for the next conference undecided except with a large gesture that it would be in the Orient which is about as definite a conclusion as could be expected.

The idea of the institution owes its birth to Honolulu and as an advertisement for this thriving city is good business. It is

supported by American Hawaiian interests, it will have a large staff located here which is further good business, and it will be supported by assessments on all national councils. It has further, as far as it could, exploited the U.S. as the friend of the new China and Great Britain as the exploiter of old China - Codlin's your friend not short" as Dickens put it years ago. No doubt our college friends will "see visions" but coming down to what is known in lingua vulgaris as brass tacks, these are the facts. An interchange of ideas between business men of various nationalities with an idea of developing international trade might be of use but the delivery of theoretical treatises on "international thinking" will butter no ones bread, especially when it comes from those who affect to despise the material things of life and talk largely and indefinitely on "cultural contact" and a "newer moralization".

I have tried to view these efforts of men much more learned than myself, who had advantages which never came my way, as charitably as possible. I am perhaps viewing the whole thing from the wrong angle, the dull, material standpoint of one who has had to deal with material issues and who has had to secure practical results but this is the way the whole thing appeals to me - just an enjoyable talkfest.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 29th, 1927.

My dear W.R.-

I enclose clippings describing the close of the conference and the editorial in the morning paper - the latter is a broadminded and courteous comment. More might be truthfully said but as the delegates were in a sense the guests of Honolulu, the editor used admirable restraint. If he had said, that, never before had such an aggregation of self selected theorists been gathered together and that Honolulu had missed doing the world a distinct service by not dumping the outfit into the crater or adopting some other merciful method of total extinction - the city had failed lamentably to take advantage of its opportunities. Some good men like Sir F. Whyte, Sir Arthur Currie, Jack Nelson would have been sacrificed to say nothing of myself (I am old anyway and have ceased to be of use) but the greatest good to the greatest number should be the guiding principle. Today the council will decide what community will be next inflicted with their presence - Japan being favorably mentioned. Most of the professors and Y.M.C.A. secretariat have never been in Japan. They may have read of the Geisha girls and I feel safe in predicting that the popular vote will be Japan if the Japanese will stand for it.

We have discovered that the Hula Hula in Hawaii is not so much a dance as religious gyrations performed by overfat and distinctly homely Hawaiian females - Another idyll passed away - The Geisha or the Maori of New Zealand is all that is left - so the contest will be between these two. Disenchantment will probably await the professors in either place. They only attend these things in the interests of science, research work to study the cultural inclination of the masses and to establish a broader contact with our alien friends. In old time church circles these cultural inclinations were plainly called the promptings of the devil, but as a matter of fact as far as conduct is concerned the delegates have been 100% efficient, a little drunkenness or some scandalous behavior would have been a relief - in the dead monotony of conscious virtue. This will be my last report as far as the conference is concerned.

Jack Nelson leaves tomorrow via Los Angeles and Chicago. Sir Arthur and I will be left on the dock with our legs hanging over the edge waiting for the "Niagara" on the 12th. Should there be a representative again required two years from now, I would suggest Col. Dennis and if his report is fit for publication I would like to read it.

With respects to Mr. Beatty and regards to you all.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W.B.LANIGAN

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 28, 1927.

My dear W.R.-

We conclude our labors (?) tonight. As I remarked in yesterday's report we found a way out of the immigration and emigration impasse by dropping the whole subject after four days discussion but as the main purpose of this conference is discussion we may be credited with having reached our objective.

Last night Mrs. Robert J. Burdette of Los Angeles spoke most eloquently on releasing women from household cares so as to increase her "mother power". As the records of Los Angeles and California show one divorce for every two marriages, the "releasing" seems to be a success. Honolulu, a city of 100,000 has about 15 divorces a day.

On missions we have concluded, with the aid of the Chinese delegation, that the old missionary must go, that the new missionary should rather go to learn, the final result to be a commingling of Buddhism and Christianity. Personally, I will continue to attend the Anglican Church. I admit I am out of date but at my age I cannot forsake the faith of my fathers to follow after strange gods.

Tonight we debate "the future of the Pacific Conference". If the question was left to me, which it will not be, I would settle it - without further discussion and settle it decisively and finally, as no other subject before this conference has been. I have tried to find some wisdom, some purpose in these debates, these round table conferences, these forum discussions. There is none. We have been busy to no purpose, except to make phrases. It has afforded an opportunity to talk and pose to people who could not carry a ward as pound-keeper - who if they did arrive at any definite decision, on any subject, are impotent to give it political expression. We have babbled about "political contacts", "thinking internationally", "spiritual contacts", "mother power", "cultural assimilations", "grafting christianity" on contemplative Oriental thought" and a thousand other phrases. The yard office at West Toronto in the old days was the scene of many debates after the freight house was pulled and the night crew was slack couched, it is true, in less elegant language but arriving at much more practical conclusions. There was no lack of emphasis and perhaps colored with some picturesque profanity and no lack of decision or good sense. The yard office settled things.

I must admit I was never before thrown amongst this professorial - Y.M.C.A. secretary propagandist class. I never before met a live suffragist. I am out of touch with the higher thought. Never before have I met men of undoubted culture and education who talked of embracing the culture of the heathen and were willing in theory to sleep with a chink. Never before have I had the inexpressible advantage of hearing the self appointed leaders of national thought, the exponents of the higher citizenship and I never will again, knowingly.

Consistency may be a jewel but we did not value it, while the Australian Govt. was clamouring for the naval base at Singapore, their Minister of Railways was here advocating the abolition of naval bases on the Pacific as the most effective means of preventing war. We commended the free ^{ingress and} egress of Pacific population, but dared not suggest removing the barriers against Orientals. We commended the free flow of traffic but failed to suggest a reduction of customs tariffs. In fact we failed to suggest a way out for any international problem or any other problem that was discussed. We will no doubt felicitate ourselves tonight on the outcome of our deliberations and predict a great and useful future for the Institute of Pacific Relations.

We have so many Canadian problems, so much to accomplish at home that I am going to suggest in conclusion that instead of spending money, time and talk on the Pacific Conference we devote the time, energy and thought to developing our own country - to solving our own problems instead of China's and take pattern by that excellent gentleman who accumulated a large fortune by strictly minding his own business. He was the greater philanthropist.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 27, 1927.

My dear W.R.-

Yesterday Dr. Shotwell, Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment, introduced a draft of a treaty to be signed by the U.S. and Japan to abolish war between these two nations, so that matter is off our hands thank heaven. The U.S. reserve the right to fight, however, if Japan lays unhallowed hands upon the Munroe doctrine.

I send you a group photo of an average cross section of delegates. Note the percentage of professors and Y.M.C.A. secretaries. Sir Frederick Whyte is an able man and looks and acts like a gentleman - the rest of the group are what they look like.

I also enclose a clipping on Mr. Ivy Lee the head of the publicity bureau - an able author of apt phrases. He phrases for cash. Years ago this type stood beneath a torch, on a soap box in the market square and extolled in rounded periods the virtues of a remedy for worms - to-day such are the changes in time and manners he is a highly paid publicity agent.

We have not reached any conclusion on Pacific immigration and emigration. Our little brown brothers are gumming up the game. They have been told in some of the most involved and beautiful periods that their exclusion from the U.S., Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, the Phillipines, New Zealand and Australia has immeasurably helped their development and culture, but the beggars are still insistent and prate of their dignity - recognition of equality, etc., etc. Mrs. Carry Chapman Catt is with them and regards their aspirations as perfectly legitimate. She said so in eloquent and unmistakable terms. I am afraid there is some justification for their persistence. The American delegation slopped over from the first, called them brothers and sisters, put their arms round them and gazed lovingly in their slant eyes and now the yellow heathen demand action. Most of our professorial delegates have their wives with them and have been more discreet so Canada has not been compromised. These damn heathen take these things so literally it is very embarrassing. We have been at it for two days. How to sooth these damn pagans and kick them downstairs at one and the same time is going to take some ingenuity. We could do it in French but the English language has its limitations. There is one advantage in the professorial element they will probably word a report in such a way

that it will mean nothing - which will be characteristic of most of our conclusions, perhaps it is just as well. Mederic Martin, Tommy Church, William Hale Thomson and the rest of the ruling class pay little attention to us intelligensia anyway. It is tragic. We will end our labors in a few days - and then wait for a steamer. The parting with Mrs. Catt will be hard. She and the shrill voiced Chinese lady. We will probably never meet again and the thought fills me with unspeakable joy.

Yours very truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 26, 1927

My dear W.R.-

I am weary of professors, ideals and blarney as our old friend Sam Clark used to say. A life time of thinking in terms of dollars has blunted the finer sensibilities perhaps - I am weary of phrases and weary of an atmosphere of high moral thought. It is too rarified for common mortals like myself. It is a relief to hear Currie curse occasionally

I enclose the Constitution which has received our approval. Sir Arthur says it is loose, but that a constitution should be loose so as to have scope. We are to form in Canada a national association. Your brother Charles is drafting it - branches are to be formed in all large centres. An earnest and enthusiastic young professor from Toronto thinks that from these centres we will radiate the higher thought that will lead the Canadian people to think internationally - personally "I am agin it" - the practical benefit that would ensue from thinking nationally seems to me to be more important. The lady in Dicken's "Bleak House" who neglected her husband and family while she worked for the natives on the east bank of the Ganges never received my enthusiastic admiration. We also have ^{many} much to do at home to develop Canadians in a scattered population of races. Research work is another phrase often on our lips - not research that will develop our resources, furnish work and opportunity to our people, increase their material welfare and happiness - find a broader market for their products - no research is to be confined to bright active young minds in their fourth university year under the direction of their professors and so far as I can learn will be a fruitful course for the more or less philosophical treatises of immature minds which will be printed and distributed and no one but themselves will read. You will note the constitution provides for a strict budgetting of disbursements, but is vague on the question of revenue. This is characteristic - personally I have been trained to be certain of a dollar first and budget after - what a handicap is a material training!

The press has been excluded from what we term our round table conferences and some of the forums we hold in the evenings. As a consequence they have cooked up their own dispatches, sometimes more interesting from the readers standpoint than the actual facts. I prefer these more imaginative sketches myself. The exclusion of the press has encouraged a lot of loose talk - often based as little on fact as the newspaper reports. The latter, however, has disturbed the delegates who are imbued with the idea that a listening world is reading avidly

the proceedings and conclusions reached and is impressed with their importance. The listening world is, in the meantime, buried in the comic sections or absorbed in the details of the Dempsey-Sharkey fight.

We pondered to-day and talked on emigration and immigration with relation to the Pacific - consideration of the fact that Australia, New Zealand, the U.S. and Canada won't admit our little brown brothers and they are "all dressed up with nowhere to go", as the proletariat say, was no handicap to the proceedings. We may promote international thinking but it will be some time before any political party will entertain or support any international meanderings amongst us, of our colored friends and brothers - Japan has doubled her population but not her resources - she has developed her industries but her prospective customers have protected their markets - and there you are. We will probably reach a well worded solution that will leave the Japs where they are now - - in the air. The solution will read "well - tho' " and everyone will be happy - ultimately Japan will do to Manchuria what she has to Corea and do it in the good old way by force. Make no mistake, the Japs, outside of the missionary and Y.M.C.A. secretary delegates, have no illusions and fewer scruples. The Chinese well deserve all they get and then some, and it will probably be a wholesome experience.

They contemplate erecting in Honolulu as headquarters a most expensive and elaborate organization. I don't know who will furnish the money - probably Americans. I don't see any good reason why we should as far as any practical benefit that we may derive.

The large majority of the delegates are Y.M.C.A. secretaries, college professors, professional propagandists, heads of women organizations. There is a very small minority of earnest and able men, a smaller number of practical men, a substantial number of hysterical women and spineless males of the uplifting variety with a sprinkling of missionaries. The British are the pick of the lot.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN

I have been much troubled with rheumatism and will be glad to get home.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 25, 1927.

My dear W.R.-

The section to which I have been assigned considered to-day "diplomatic relations" - very well worded speeches were made by a number of college professors. I have nothing but admiration for the vocabulary with which these gentlemen have been endowed. It is wonderful and involved to an extent of incoherency to the lay mind. One conclusion, however, stood out, that was that diplomacy had failed. What the world was to substitute for it was not apparent but several professors more than hinted that if the nations would leave these international questions to them everything would be satisfactory.

I read a speech by Mr. Beatty sometime ago to the students of McGill outlining that it was after a young man left the university that his education began, his previous experience being merely a mental training. These professors, learned able men, who have however never left the university atmosphere, seem to be afflicted from an arrested educational development when it comes to practical matters. Theories ideals, sublime but impractical in that they totally ignore the human side, fall from their lips with an engaging plausibility, and clothed in splendid language. The elements of greed, selfishness, aggression, etc., etc. are entirely ignored. Utopian dreams never to be realized this side of Paradise. They got, however, the fervid endorsement of the lady delegates. A medical gentleman from Boston says the female delegation are either hermaphrodites or emotional idiots. Having no means of making a physical examination I am unable to substantiate this, but they have the look of it as Mike Reardon used to say.

Presedcat Wilbur of Leland Stanford University presided. He is a "He man" and a "go-getter" with a small head and a retreating brow and chin. It is a type popular just now in the U.S. He presides with dignity and a solemnity that so far has only been achieved by the owl - Minerva's constant companion. We all take ourselves seriously however as becomes our responsibilities. I regret to report certain symptoms of levity and irreverence on the part of Sir A. Currie and Jack Nelson as the sessions wear on. Sir F. Whyte looks bored but so far he has kept awake which is greatly to his credit - Good breeding will tell.

The Chinese delegates are Christians recruited mostly from the Y.M.C.A. native workers and teachers from the missions. How far they represent the heathen that compose the large majority of their

nationals or the Chinese merchant class can be left to the imagination.

The Japs however while they have a sprinkling of this class have evidently been selected by their Govt. They say little. They are evidently here with a watching brief not to assist but rather to see that no harm comes to them by the propagandists.

The Chinese are having their expenses paid by the conference who get the cash from American sources. Other nationals pay their own expenses. This may be the reason the Chinese delegates are all anti-British and pro-American.

I have listened and said nothing, it would be futile. I might say something practical and this would be equivalent to "lese majeste". Already Mrs. Carry Chapman Catt eyes me with hostility, for expressing in a private conversation, during the awful heat that prevails here, an irreverent desire for beer - while the police prevent any chance of my natural desires being gratified they also prevent my being burnt at the stake by Mrs. Catt and her associates who regard martyrdom for others with a degree of equanimity that is not encouraging.

I presume my writing being anything but legible you will probably have these reports typed - if so, I will be glad of a copy. I may wish to write an article some day on Honolulu days. I probably will revert on my return to my old indolent ways and the world will never be enlightened - enlightenment not being on any popular curriculum in these days.

As a summer resort Honolulu is a decided fizzle.

We conclude our labors this week. I enclose a sample of to-day's output. The professors are certainly enjoying themselves - it would require the "Empress of Canada" to bring home the total issues - and nobody would read them.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 22, 1927.

My dear W. R. -

Yesterday the 21st having been ill I did not attend the morning sessions but last night I listened to some thrilling, idealistic and absolutely impractical addresses. There is but one class of adjective in use, the superlative. We were regaled with the names of associations whose names were legion who were devoting most intense study to thinking internationally achieving the most remarkable results. The wiping out of national boundaries was urgently recommended. One lady (white) delivered an impassioned address urging that Chinese attending American universities should be invited into the home so they could see, and presumably imitate, American culture. As there is one divorce for every two marriages in the lady's home state I await the result with interest. It may give the Chinese a scope in his sexual adventures that so far he has, perhaps, not exploited.

We were also treated to an essay on propoganda by a gentleman who admitted he has conducted the campaign for the exclusion of Japs from California. He detailed the methods he used, congratulated himself on his extraordinary success and assured the Japs of his undying admiration and great respect for their cultural achievements and their high character - personally and nationally. Do not think I am exaggerating. These are facts.

To-day we talked radio. I can see that Sir Arthur Currie, who does possess a sense of humor, is getting restless; he may shock some of the ladies yet. I sincerely trust he will. I live in hopes.

I learned to-day that dear Mrs. Carry Chapman Catt's connubial partner's name is Tommy. What harmony? She is one of the most remarkable of the lady delegates, built on substantial lines, inclined to embonpoint - with thick ankles, a slight mustache, white hair and a protruding stomach, she moves among the delegates with the dignity and majesty of a canal barge. Now that prohibition and the franchise for women have been accomplished she, like Alexander, is looking for new worlds to conquer. For my part she can have them without further controversy, the further removed they are the better.

I am proud of the British and Canadian delegation. The British because they speak with knowledge and speak well - the Canadians because they have the good sense to say little.

We had our photos taken this morning. If you visit the movies you will see the various groups in the Pathe News. The group with the jail bird expressions is the Australian.

So far we have reached no conclusions on anything and consequently, unlike the League of Nations, cannot be subject to the carping criticism that institution has inspired. We have announced that we are a purely fact finding body and so far have confined ourselves to glittering generalities which we have discovered in great profusion. We call this research work and it covers everything from international policies to birth control. When I survey the lady delegates from U.S. and China the latter does not seem to present any unsurmountable difficulties. Undoubtedly, the delegation with the highest ideals are the Chinese. They boast the most ancient civilization, exude the highest sentiments, betray, in their speeches, the most profound morality and commit at home the most atrocious barbarities. They have such a genius for government, on their own admissions, that it is regrettable, so far, they have not been able to put it to any practical use. I will always regret that I was not named amongst those who are considering foreign missions. That is a field to which I might have contributed something of value. Sir Arthur, Jack Nelson, and I were excluded. Fortunately, Carry Chapman Catt will be there and all may be well.

I had great doubt anyway about Currie and Nelson. Sir Arthur's vocabulary from Flanders and Jack's newspaper training hardly gave them the necessary moral fitness for the task.

I am sending you these separate reports rather than defer the task until the conference is over, when, perhaps, many of the details may have escaped me.

With respects to all.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 20, 1927.

My Dear W.R. -

To get a line on the situation one must keep in mind that there is no government in China and that the representatives of that country attending the convention are Nationalists representing what is known as the Canton party. They are not Communists, being equally against the Moscow Reds as against the British. China, for the Chinese is their motto with no foreign concessions, privileges etc. etc.

To-day with great solemnity we devoted our energies to forming a Municipal Government for Shanghai. Sir Fred Whyte, the head of the British delegation, is a singularly able and well informed gentleman, who acts with great restraint. This was apparent to-day when the Chinese opened the ball with a recital of British outrages in Shanghai, giving day and date unarmed and innocent Chinese were killed and wounded while in pursuit of their peaceful and ordinary avocations. Whyte merely said there was no use arguing or citing cases of Chinese aggression or the justification for the alleged attacks, and merely asked what the Chinese planned (in case stable Government was restored) as regards the Gov. of Shanghai. Briefly stripping their reply of unnecessary verbiage and camouflage, the foreign residents were to be taxed (half the taxes are now paid by the British) as usual but the Government was to be elected by popular and qualified voters followed by the information that 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the population was Chinese and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % Foreign. This was again followed by a further recitation of British folly and British outrage against the innocent and peaceful native population. To date we have not settled the question. It is peculiar that an unofficial body of this kind on which no resident of Shanghai's tax payers or business interests as represented should try and reach conclusions on the subject with a lot of Cantonese who are not in power in China. At first we were merely an unofficial body. Yesterday we referred to ourselves as members from each country. To-day we have taken another step and have emerged as representatives of the various powers. With each step we have become more serious with an added dignity that is impressive. The Canadians are keeping their heads and their own counsel. Sir Arthur, who is Chairman of one of the sections as well as the Canadians, works from 5 a.m. and probably wishes he was back in the war.

I have met some more of the lady delegates, and I

am positive there will be no scandal attached to the proceedings. I am lost in admiration at the artistic lying of the Chinese delegation. Ananias at his best was never like one of these, and I am commencing to suspect that the Americans are believing them for a purpose. Great Britain's hold on Chinese commerce is well worth a little credulity flattering to the Chinese romancer. There is one thing if young China gets control the result will be chaos and an invitation to some one to come and conquer.

To-morrow we consider population and food supplies. The old style corner grocery assembly that settled the affairs of the nation had nothing on us.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W. B. LANIGAN.

COPY

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL
Honolulu, Hawaii,
July 19, 1927.

My dear W. R.-

I am enclosing a clipping of Sir Arthur Currie's speech. All the Canadian delegation were proud of him and he made a most excellent impression. In so far as the whole thing is worth while no better man could have been chosen. This is a hard job, that is listening at a lot of futile conferences, participated in by a variety of idealists - most worthy people, most of whose lives have been spent cloistered in university corridors - men and women with trained minds - splendid intellects, great information and no practical experience in life. It is one of the tragedies or rather the tragedy of the conference, that these high ideals will never affect the practical politics of any of the nations represented. It is the Mederic Martins that rule, and that also is a tragedy. The Chinese delegation is composed of some very childlike and bland gentlemen, most of whom are graduates of American universities. This training added to their national propensity for evasion produces some, to the onlooker, very humorous results - of course it does not do to betray any amusement, as everyone takes each other most seriously.

For instance, Sir Frank White asks "In event of China proclaiming tariff autonomy January 1, 1929, will existing treaties with Great Britain be considered in making up the customs rates?" Chinese delegate - "I can assure you that all parties in China - while at present engaged in civil war - are united for tariff autonomy". Sir Frank then remodels his question and the heathen remodels his reply - there is no change in the result. The Chairman then takes the matter in hand prefacing his remarks with "as I view Sir Frank's question it is, etc." and the bland heathen remarks - in a fifteen minute speech that he is entirely in accord with the sentiments expressed by the British delegate that he will always cherish them, etc., etc. and the Chairman says - now that this point has been settled we will proceed to the next.

The members of the conference have also been entertained by exceedingly well prepared papers and lectures - one by a Carry Chapman Catt - a forbidding looking suffragist, who nevertheless speaks well and plausibly. I do not know whether there is a Mr. Catt or little kittens, but they are to be congratulated in that her public activities keep her away from home a great deal. Sitting next me in Section 4 to which I have been

delegated, is a suffragist China woman with a voice like a penny whistle. She is a university graduate - speaks English well and often and I trust that the temptation to remove her from this vale of tears will not overwhelm me before we part - murder is not a major offence in the U. S.

The Japs are not saying much, except on art and other innocuous subjects on the question of their policy in China - they remark that at this juncture they will defer any remarks for some later interval - an interval, that unless I miss my guess, will never materialize.

The weather here is hot during the day - languously warm at night. The sea bathing is entirely of the surf variety and the water is 81° - there is no feeling of exhilaration after. The hotel is splendid, the service all that could be desired and the charges are high. Arthur Benaglia is the General Manager of the four or five hotels comprised in the system. You will remember he was with us at several points. He has developed into a fine executive. His hotels are marvels of efficiency.

Except for the pineapples and sugar cane, and volcanic disturbances there is little here. I would not accept the whole place and live in it permanently. The population is mixed up with Philipinos, Japs (who predominate), Chinese, Figians - and a variety of Polynesians, who are interbreeding and producing some weird results. The original Hawaiian a gentle kindly race are disappearing rapidly. Everyone here admits that the morals of everyone else are had. I have seen no outward manifestations. I am prepared to believe the worst as it lends an interest which the place lacks otherwise.

One of the delegates is Dr. Wilbur, presedcat of Leland Stanford whose pose as a he-man and a go-getter is a delight to the eye. The Australian delegation is a credit to their convict ancestry. The New Zealanders are gentlemen.

I am fast losing my energy, but am clinging to my morals.

One of the best of our delegates is Jack Nelson of the Sun Life.

With regards to Mrs. MacInnes.

Yours truly,

(SGD) W.B.LANIGAN

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

October 17, 1927.

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
McGill University
Montreal, Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur,

Referring to your letter of October 5, is there any way
in which Lanigan's letters can be made available to a wider audience?

I am awfully glad that you are going to have visits both
from Wilbur and Tsurumi. They ought to help in the setting up of the
Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Jerome Greene is just
back and brings very interesting word of developments in Japan.

We all hope that either official business or private
interest may bring you to New York in the near future. Mrs. Carter
and I join in this general public feeling.

Sincerely yours,

E. C. Carter

E. C. Carter.

ECC:CP

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CABLE ADDRESS
"INPAREL"

Chicago, October 20, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie
McGill University
Montreal, Canada

My dear Sir Arthur:

I have been asked by the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations to visit Europe this winter, to study the work of international societies and research organizations, particularly those interested in the Pacific area, and to establish a liaison with them.

I write to ask if you are willing to give me a few introductions to representative European leaders or your acquaintances who personally might be interested in the work of the Institute and could assist in helping me meet internationally minded people and organizations.

My itinerary will include France, Holland, Switzerland, England, Germany and possibly Russia.

I expect to sail from New York on November 16th, and may be reached until that date in care of the Institute of Pacific Relations, American Group, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

Thanking you heartily for any possible assistance you may be able to render, I am

Very sincerely yours,

J. Merle Davis.
General Secretary.

JMD/EAB

October 25th, 1927.

J. Merle Davis, Esq.,
General Secretary,
Institute of Pacific Relations,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Davis:-

Let me acknowledge your letter written from Chicago on the 20th of October.

I am enclosing herewith two letters, which I think will be useful. One is to Sir Campbell Stuart - a Canadian, protegee of Lord Northcliffe, and at one time Managing Director of the London Times. Sir Campbell has a large acquaintance in London, and I think is in a position to put you in touch with people whose views would be helpful. Of course, you have in London, Lionel Curtis, who will doubtless give you all necessary introductions. I do not know Sir Campbell's address, but inquiry at the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner will bring the information.

The second letter is to General Brutinel in Paris. The General happens to be in Montreal now and I have told him something about the Institute of Pacific Relations. He is a Frenchman who had interests in Canada and who was living here before the war. He served throughout with the

J. Merle Davis, Esq., - 2 -

Canadian forces with very great distinction. He is a man of superior intellect who is always worth while talking to and who can put you in touch with other Frenchmen in Paris. Brutinel speaks English perfectly and freely.

With all good wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

October 25th, 1927.

Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E.,
London, England.

My dear Sir Campbell:-

I have taken the liberty
of giving to Mr. J. Merle Davis this letter of
introduction to you.

Mr. Davis has from its
inception been the General Secretary of the
Institute of Pacific Relations. The General
Secretariat is established at Honolulu, where a
Conference was held in 1925 and another last July.
I attended the latter in company with some
fifteen other representatives from Canada. At
the last Conference about 140 people from the
countries whose shores are washed by the Pacific
met in Honolulu to discuss their common problems.
Great Britain sent a delegation of fourteen,
headed by Sir Frederick Whyte and including
Lionel Curtis, Professor Webster, Hugh Wyndham
and others.

The aims of the Institute are
study, research and conference. We give earnest
study to Pacific problems, we make provision for
research in those problems and we meet in con-
ference to appreciate the significance of the facts
disclosed. It seems to me a sensible thing for
people who have a common interest in common
problems to establish a common agency for the
collection of all data in connection with their

Sir Campbell Stuart -2-

problems. But if you are interested, Mr. Davis will tell you all about it. He is in Europe this winter to study the work of international societies and research organizations, particularly those interested in the Pacific area, with the hope that he may establish a strong liaison with them.

I would greatly appreciate any advice you could give him as to the people whom he should meet. It may be you will be good enough to give him a note of introduction.

With all kind wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

October 25th, 1927.

Brigadier-General R. Brutinel, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.,
106 Boulevard Haussmann,
Paris, France.

My dear General:-

I am giving this note of introduction to you to Mr. Merle Davis, General Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, an organization of which I have told you something.

Mr. Davis is visiting Europe this winter to study the work of international societies and research organizations, particularly those interested in the Pacific area. With these organizations he hopes to establish a strong liaison. Perhaps you will be good enough to give him the benefit of your advice as to whom he should see, and it may be you will be kind enough to give him a note of introduction.

With all good wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

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CABLE ADDRESS
"INPAREL"

Chicago, November 1, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
McGill University
Montreal, Canada

My dear Sir Arthur:

I am very glad indeed to receive the letters of introduction to Sir Campbell Stuart and General Brutinel which you have so kindly sent me. I am especially glad to have, with the letters, your comments regarding these gentlemen. It will be a privilege to meet them.

Very gratefully yours,

J. Merle Davis
EAB

JMD/EAB

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

October 5, 1927

General Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Canada.

My dear Sir Arthur:

Of all the many articles that have appeared thus far on the Honolulu Conference, Herbert Croly has written the longest in the current "New Republic". I am sending you a couple of copies of this under separate cover and if you have any use for more copies I can easily send them.

Croly has made a pretty thoughtful appraisal of the possibilities which open up before the Institute. His approach will be particularly congenial to those who are looking at things either from the psychological and sociological, or from the "non-entangling alliance", point of view.

Shotwell has written a corking article for "The Century" but, unfortunately, it will not appear until the December number.

Very sincerely yours,



E. C. Carter

ECC:VP

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

September 19th, 1927.

General Sir Arthur Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal,
Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur:

The Institute asked Professor Kilpatrick to write an essay on the educational philosophy and methodology of the Conference, which will presumably be published in the proceedings.

Here is Professor Kilpatrick's draft. Will you glance through it and see whether you have any minor or major suggestions. A response to this request of mine is not obligatory and should be sent only if you would be interested in reading this draft. I know that Professor Kilpatrick would welcome your suggestions, for I think it is still possible to revise this before the proceedings are sent to the press.

I imagine that this statement may prove of very great value to the Program Committee of the next Conference.

Sincerely yours,

E. C. Carter
E. C. Carter

ECC/NH



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GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

MCGILL UNIV MONTREAL QUE

HAVE FIXED SIR FREDERICK WHYTE DINNER FOR TUESDAY DECEMBER
THIRTEENTH STOP DINNER COMMITTEE CONSISTING THOMAS LAMONT JOHN
DAVIS JEROME GREENE AND OTHERS VERY ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOU PRESENT
AND PARTICIPATE STOP PLEASE WIRE COLLECT CAN YOU COME TO NEWYORK
FOR THIS IMPORTANT GATHERING

E C CARTER.

Personal

129 East 52nd St.

*Principally because of you & Shotwell
I shall go.*

Rd,

November 23rd, 1927.

E. C. Carter, Esq.,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Carter:-

I should appreciate it very much if you would tell me just what part you expect me to play in this function which is taking place in New York on December 13th.

I understand it is a dinner which a group is giving to Sir Frederick Whyte. Tell me just who are likely to constitute the group, as a knowledge of this may make some difference in the freedom I shall feel in commenting upon things.

Yours faithfully,

AMERICAN COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

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129 EAST 52D STREET, NEW YORK CITY
(Top Floor)

Telephone, Plaza 4700

November 29, 1927.

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
McGill University
Montreal, Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur,

Owing to an absence from the office, this is the first opportunity I have had to reply to your letter of November 23rd.

The objects of the December 13th dinner are as follows: First, to enable the new American Council publicly to take off its hat in sincere appreciation of the contribution to the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations made by Sir Arthur Currie, Yusuke Tsurumi, and Sir Frederick Whyte. Second, to hear at length from Sir Frederick Whyte as to his experiences in China, especially as they bear on the future relationship of the British and the Chinese people. Third, to hear from you as to the questions which you feel Canadians desire to study in relationship to China. Fourth, to hear from Tsurumi as to the questions which the Japanese people are facing in relationship to China. If it meets with your approval, we thought of asking you and Tsurumi each to take about fifteen minutes and Sir Frederick to take thirty-five or forty minutes.

Fifth, the meeting is not staged primarily as propaganda for the Institute. At the same time, aside from the fairly full press report of the Honolulu Conference, it will be the first public occasion on which the American Council has brought the work and needs of the Institute before any considerable group of persons. We are hoping to have a fairly representative party of approximately two hundred men and women. We want the meeting to epitomize the work and outreach and philosophy of the Institute, to throw light on the specific questions which the different national groups are facing.

Incidentally, Greene and I are hoping that the dinner may serve the additional purpose of informing a number of rich men and women so vividly as to the work and needs of the Institute that, when in subsequent months definite financial appeals are made on behalf of the Institute as a whole and the American Council, there may be that measure of response which is absolutely essential if the larger plans worked out at Honolulu are to be realized.

Very sincerely yours,



E. C. Carter.

AMERICAN COUNCIL
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EDWARD C. CARTER, *Secretary*

129 EAST 52D STREET, NEW YORK CITY
(Top Floor)

Telephone, Plaza 4700

November 30, 1927.

Dear Sir Arthur,

In addition to the dinner at 7:30 on the evening of December thirteenth, we want you to keep two other appointments.

First: a meeting of the Research Committee of the American Council which is to be held from 10:00 to 12:30 at the residence of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at 10 West 54 Street. Shotwell will be in the chair. A full attendance is expected and our aim will be to get Sir Frederick to give us a very intimate account of what steps, if any, should be taken with reference to the proposed research projects regarding (a) Shanghai, (b) Manchuria, and (c) other Chinese problems.

Second: We want you to attend a luncheon meeting of the new Board of Trustees of the American Council, which is also to be held at Mrs. Rockefeller's from 1:00 to 2:30. This will give you a further opportunity to see the beginnings of our new organization and will give us the opportunity to get from you a little picture of what progress is being made in Canada. Whyte and Tsurumi will be present at this luncheon.

Sincerely yours,

Eccarts

E. C. Carter.

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
McGill University
Montreal, Canada.

ECC:CP

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INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
HONOLULU, HAWAII

December 2, 1927

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CABLE ADDRESS
"INPAREL"

General Sir Arthur W. Currie
McGill University
Montreal
Canada

Dear Sir Arthur:

The Canadian group of the Institute will be glad to learn that the report of the Proceedings of the 1927 Conference is completed and in the hands of the printer. The University of Chicago Press is doing this work and is also handling the advertising, distribution, and sales of the book. The Report will appear in one volume of about 600 pages. An edition of 3000 copies will be printed, and the price will be \$5.00. How can the widest possible knowledge of the Institute and of the questions discussed at the Conference be secured in Canada?

Since returning home, the members of your group have spoken before a large number of groups on the subjects discussed at Honolulu. At the same time, I venture that you feel that you have not reached all the people interested and that some of those who have heard you speak would like more detailed information about the meetings.

A wide distribution of the Proceedings will greatly help the influence of the Institute. Therefore, I am asking you as Chairman to let me have the suggestions of the Canadian group for bringing the Proceedings to the attention of interested people.

A mailing list will be particularly helpful, so descriptive circulars may be widely distributed. The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. are the exclusive agents for the University Press in Canada and will promote it there. Should you be acquainted with Mr. H. S. Ayres, who is head of the Company, it might be worth your while to discuss this publication with him. In any case, please send your suggestions to me.

Yours very truly,

J. Merle Davis
General Secretary

JMD:JM

December 12th, 1927.

Herbert S. Houston, Esq.,
President, Cosmos Newspaper Syndicate,
70 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Houston:-

In reply to your letter of
December 10th, I am mailing you a copy of what
I intend to say tomorrow night.

It may not be quite what you
expect, but I hesitate to speak of Far-Eastern
questions in the presence of Mr. Tsurumi and Sir
Frederick whyte. Furthermore, I am one of those
who believe that the most outstanding international
necessity at the present time is a continuance of
peace and harmonious relations between the Anglo-
Saxon peoples of the world. I shall always make
that my text when speaking to a United States
audience.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT S. HOUSTON
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Dear Sir Arthur Currie:

I have been so pleased to learn that you are to be at the dinner of the Institute of Pacific Relations on Tuesday night which I am expecting to attend. I shall look forward to hearing your address at that time, as I know that you will say something of unusual importance about conditions to the east.

I imagine that extracts of your address will be sent to newspapers in the usual manner. These will be printed in even more abbreviated form and the main part of your address will not be heard except by those who are fortunate enough to be at the dinner. For that reason I am hoping that you may be inclined to send along the full text of your address, from which we can extract an article for release through our editorial news service, THE ADVANCING WORLD.

This service has a total circulation of about three million in important papers throughout the country, among them the Philadelphia Public Ledger, the Cincinnati Enquirer and the Buffalo News. Every day we send out to these papers a signed statement on some subject of national or international importance by the person who can write on it with authority. Contributing to the service are some fifty leading men and women of the country, whose names appear on this letterhead. In this way we play a part in the molding of public opinion.

I do hope we may have the good fortune to send out your important message in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,
COSMOS NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE, Inc.

Herbert S. Houston
President

Gen. Sir Arthur Currie,
McTavish Street,
Montreal, P. Q.,
Canada.

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December 16th, 1927.

E. C. Carter, Esq.,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Carter:-

This is but a brief note to thank you for your courtesy and kindness to Lady Currie and myself while we were in New York. We found the accommodation at the Plaza very comfortable and satisfactory. As you know I remained a day longer, or until last night, but I discharged my indebtedness to the Hotel for the last twenty-four hours.

It was a great pleasure for us to see again so many of the Honolulu party and helped to confirm what one has always felt to be a factor of great value in such conferences. I thought your audience on Tuesday night a very fine one, which must have pleased you and your group.

I carried away an impression from the meeting on Wednesday morning that Shotwell was getting a little discouraged. The trouble is he is about ten years ahead of his time and doubtless becomes a little impatient when others fail to keep pace with him. Or it may be such a feeling arises

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

December 19th, 1927.

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
McGill University,
Montreal,
Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur,

It was delightful to get your appreciative note this morning when, by rights, the tables should be turned and it should be you who ought to be receiving a thank-you letter from me. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you for coming down and helping us in so many ways.

Tuesday, December 13th, will, I think, be a landmark in Institute history from many points of view. Each of the three events in which you participated that day will, doubtless, contribute to moving forward not only the work of the American Council, but the whole Institute. I am particularly glad for the progress made with reference to Shanghai and hope that within the next fortnight the Royal Institute in London can make a definite move in the matter of capturing Sir Arthur Salter.

Won't you please have your secretary send me a memorandum for all of the traveling and other expenses which you both incurred in coming down here to help us. I am sorry you didn't let us handle the whole bill at the Plaza.

Shotwell is tired. There is no one in this country who is doing so much for international relations as he, and it is heart-breaking to have to lift against the kind of leadership we have at the present time on the part of Messrs. Coolidge, Kellogg and Borah. At the moment it is Shotwell against this combination, with ignorance and apathy on both sides. I have been trying to find ways of lightening the load, but in view of your tip, I shall redouble my efforts in this direction.

With our warmest greetings to you both, I am

Ever affectionately and gratefully,



E. C. Carter

ECC/NH

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G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY, M.C.

Secretary:

F. B. BOURDILLON, C.B.E.

Dear Sir Arthur,

I had an hour's heart-to-heart talk with Wilbur at San Francisco after making the enclosed speech at the Chamber of Commerce, and I think I had better tell you what I said to him.

I pointed out that he would inevitably be judged so far as the Pacific Institute was concerned by the man who came round to represent it from the various countries interested. I explained my own difficulty in recommending my Council to ratify the constitution until the responsibility of administering the Institute was placed upon the shoulders of a man who commanded their confidence. In tackling this very difficult question, I urged him to get into close touch with you and said quite definitely that I thought my Council in deciding what to do would mainly depend upon whether you were satisfied that the man selected for the post of general secretary had the necessary capacity for the job.

I think I had better also enclose a speech which I made at the Honolulu Club just before I left because it also bears on the subject.

I had a gorgeous time with Mason and Bill in the woods. I hope you all thoroughly enjoyed your holiday after the Conference was over.

Yours sincerely,

General Sir Arthur Currie,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
McGill University,
Montreal.

L. Curtis.

AN UNREPORTED ADDRESS GIVEN TO THE UNIVERSITY CLUB OF HONOLULU
ON AUGUST 2, 1927, BY LIONEL CURTIS UPON THE INSTITUTE OF
PACIFIC RELATIONS.

The day we arrived here I was asked to attend a meeting of the Pacific Council. A series of live issues were raised, on most of which I had something to say. When we got to about the twentieth, I felt it was time to apologize and began "I think I have talked too often - but" - "Talk as often as you like, so long as you talk short," said President Wilbur and from that moment I knew that you had found the right man to conduct the conference.

The worst of it is that I am going to ignore President Wilbur's advice today. I haven't talked often in public and I don't believe that I am going to talk short to you now. Ever since Governor Freear asked me to address you, I have spent every spare moment on thinking what I should say. I've set it all down in notes and I've got to follow these notes right through. So if any of you have engagements to keep, just get up and leave when it suits you. I'm going right through if there's no one left but the Chairman to hear me out.

Later on Sir Arthur Currie and Dr. Hodgkin gave me another piece of advice. We were having a round table on the Organisation of the Pacific Institute. In the interval my friends took me aside and said in the nicest possible way, "Curtis, you are wearying these people by talking too much of your Institute in London." My answer was, "I know it, but it's hard not to talk out of one's own experience. All the same you are right. It does not do to inflict on people too much of a good thing."

And here again I have to ignore these excellent counsels.

In asking myself how to make this speech, I thought I would try to say to you what I want to say to my oldest and best friend in this meeting. I see beads of sweat gathering on Edward Carter's brow. They'll be wetting his collar before I am through.

The first thing I want to say to you is that the future happiness of the world depends upon one thing more than any other, American and British co-operation. That is certainly true of China. How long one quarter of all humanity continue to endure their present sufferings will greatly depend upon how far Britain and America can work together. Now British-American co-operation is one of the hardest things in the world to achieve. With so much in common in our language, literature and law, in religion and institutions, there are difficulties of history and differences of temperament to reckon with. The future of the Institute of Pacific Relations depends upon how far we can work together in spite of them.

I am told that the papers allowed the men they sent here a short ration of words - unless there were "clashes"; and then they might cable as much as they pleased. Well, there were clashes and the lookers-on might scarcely have guessed that the three men who clashed worst were the three oldest friends in the conference. Ned Carter, James Shotwell and I quarrelled like dogs. But if ever I go tiger-hunting, give me Shotwell and Carter to hunt with. I have hunted tigers with them before, and, please God, I will hunt tigers with them again. We may wrangle together all the way, but when the time for shooting comes, you will always find us drawing our beads on the same tiger.

One of them said to me yesterday, "Do be careful, Curtis, or the Americans will think that the British are trying to put it over them." "Don't you make any mistake," I answered. "We British are just as suspicious and jealous of you as you are of us." I am going to give you one bit of advice about this. When any great issue arises over the Institute, go unto a place apart and think for yourself what is the right thing to do - what is best for the Institute. If you're that way disposed, think it out on your knees; and when you have made up your mind, don't let your fears of American or British suspicions deflect your course one inch.

"To thine own self be true;
"And then it follows, as the night the day,
"Thou can'st not so be false to any man."

Now why are we British here? Our Royal Institute in London has been trying since the war to study the whole field of foreign relations. At first we naturally thought that the danger of war came from Europe. But presently some of us began to feel that an even worse danger was brewing in Asia. Then we got your invitation to come to this conference, and so we tried to discover how and why this Institute had come into being.

Our information was that certain men in a large business way in this Island had begun to scent a danger of trouble. They were men of religion, and war seemed to them contrary to the faith they professed. So in 1925 they gathered groups of men like themselves from various countries round this ocean. Those groups gathered thinking that Japanese immigration was the main topic they had to discuss. Before they had been here many hours, they found themselves dealing with China, and British policy was soon in the dock. There were plenty of members from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, but they naturally found that they knew too little of the history and motives of British policy in China to answer for it. The result was that we from England were invited to the second conference in 1927.

There are two lessons from this experience. In the first place, you found that the two hemispheres are both parts of one world. In the second place, you found that the Institute had moved from the plane of religion to the place of politics. Now I am the last to say that religion and politics have nothing to do with each other. In my view politics is religion turned inside out, and religion is politics turned outside in.

The founders of this Institute have built better than they knew. As I said to Mr. Atherton the other day, "You have lit a candle that by God's help may never be put out." In this little island has come into being something that may grow to a vital organ in the framework of human society. It may yet become too great for the cradle in which it was nursed. The League of Nations was the first real achievement in co-operation between governments. The Institute of Pacific Relations was the first real attempt at co-operation between peoples. If it comes to fruition, history will write that its inception was due to three great-hearted men called Merle Davis, Frank Atherton and Charles Loomis.

Let us turn to the other side of the picture. The other day Sir Arthur Currie gravely said that this movement was not yet clear of the rocks. Now what did he mean? It is no secret that the gathering of the conference in 1925 was viewed with anxiety by officials in your own government departments. I'm not surprised; and yet I admire the courage of the men who decided to take the risks. If you want to do anything big in this world you have got to live dangerously. But if you wish to avoid disaster, you had best look the dangers in the face.

As to this I am going to tell you a story that I have never told to any one yet. You know that at Versailles the Germans were made to sign a clause in the treaty admitting that Germany was morally responsible for the war. That clause festers like a thorn in their minds, and a few years ago some Germans of standing asked our Institute in London, whether we were prepared to hear their case. The challenge seemed a fair one and difficult to refuse. It meant of course that their case when stated would be printed in our journal and be open for all the world to read. So we had to ask ourselves what was to follow the statement. Were our own members to be allowed to answer it? And what about France, Belgium and Serbia, and the other countries drawn into the war? In deep perplexity we consulted others, who knew more than we could possibly know. In the end we took the difficult and most distasteful course of declining the challenge. We know now, what none of us knew then, that had we at that juncture revised a raging controversy, we should probably have ruined the movement which led to Locarno.

Now, perhaps, you will understand why I warn you of rocks. And even when you are past the rocks, there are sometimes icebergs in the open sea. The first voyage of the greatest liner was also the greatest catastrophe in the history of shipping. And why? The Titanic was trying to break the record on her first voyage. She was going too fast. The efforts which the peoples of this ocean are making to work together may be checked for years if this Institute ends in some hugo fiasco. Live dangerously. But look the dangers straight in the face.

I should give you a false impression of my innermost thoughts if I closed on a note of shipwreck and storm. As I seem to have got through my notes faster than I hoped, will you let me express those thoughts in better words than my own. Last week when the four British Groups had gathered to send Sir Frederick Whyte on his way west, our Maori member Dr. Buck recited a tribal incantation. As he is not here to repeat it, I can only tell you from memory that it was somewhat as follows:-

" The night is dark and long,
" The young sleep and dream their dreams.
" In the minds of the old is doubt and trouble and fear.
" Long and dark is the night but its hour draws to a close.
" Behold it is dawn, it is dawn, it is day."

When a Maori opens his mouth he opens a well spring of poetry. I had heard that incantation before. In 1916 when all the heavens were black with clouds, I travelled from Wellington to Auckland with Dr. Pomare, the Maori member of the New Zealand Government, and on the train he wrote down that incantation in my note book in his own language and also in English. At the end of our journey I stood on a crater overlooking the harbour of Auckland, a majestic maze of islands and bays and promontories. It seemed as though the Maker of the world had carved for His pleasure a jig-saw puzzle of land and sea. As I thought of the trenches in France, I remembered the lines, which, you all know, written by Clough on the battlefield where Italy's hopes seemed buried in ruins. So yesterday I was thinking of China, her long anguish, one quarter of human society in dire confusion, a growing threat to the peace of mankind, when I came to that cleft in your rocks where the eye suddenly falls on a riot of mountains and waters surpassing even the splendour of Auckland. Again those words came to my mind:-

"And though the tired waves, vainly breaking,
"Seem here no painful inch to gain,
"Far back, through creeks and inlets making.
"Comes silent, flooding in the main.
"And though by eastern windows only
"When daylight comes, come in the light,
"The sun climbs upward slow, how slowly!
"But westward look the land is bright."

And so it will be, when you and I have gone west.

ADDRESS GIVEN BY MR. LIONEL CURTIS AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON
IN SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 9, 1927.

When the war was over some of us in London asked ourselves what we could do to prevent such a terrible thing from happening again. To that end we created a body, where men in politics, journalism, business, officials and professors could meet to study the matter. Europe, of course we assumed, was the danger point. But as time passed we realized that the scene was shifting. In the far East were gathered clouds ~~back~~ with a storm which if it broke might not be limited to that hemisphere.

Presently we received your invitation to take part in the conference from which we are now returning. The challenge was one difficult to meet. It was hard to raise the money but harder still to find people of the requisite capacity who could spare two or three months of their time. Unless we could get such people to go it was better to send no one at all.

So we took counsel with various sections of our members, and especially the business men. Now before we go further I have something to say with regard to the part which business men play in our organization.

In the Royal Institute of International Affairs one of the discoveries we have made is that bankers and men who trade with countries abroad acquire a fund of information the political value of which they themselves do not realise. Or rather, they only realise it when they come to discuss it with people accustomed to handle political questions.

On receiving your invitation we consulted our business men, and without hesitation they urged us to accept it. They generously offered to help us with the cost and advised that the party sent should include some men of affairs. So months before the party was due to start we adopted the same plan as your group in America, which was also followed by our friends in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. We established a panel of all the suitable persons who thought that they might be able to come with us. We included in the panel members from all the political parties, retired officials, professors and men of affairs. When the time came to start the only interest not represented was business. In varying degrees the groups from the other countries had the same experience; and the reason is obvious. More than any other class, men in a large way of business are subject to sudden claims on their time. This conference was no exception to the rule. Experience shows that business men billed to attend conferences oftener than not fail to get there. In result, the proceedings are left to philanthropists, journalists and professors.

I will try to give you my own impression of this conference. Personally, I learned more of Pacific questions than I had gathered in the whole of the rest of my life. I am further convinced that the groups are returning to their several countries with ~~views~~ not one view, but with ~~different~~ and perhaps opposite views, that in these countries will take root downwards and bear fruit upwards with all the propagating power of seeds. In Canada billions of bushels were grown from a single grain. A sound opinion is of all things the most vital. Once upon a time there was only one man in the world who believed that the earth moved and went round the sun. Today every school child knows that Copernicus was right. Truth like gold looks after its own circulation when once it is properly mined and minted.

The criticism I have heard is that the discussions at Honolulu tended to get away from realities. Of course they did and the men who were there were not responsible. A time has come in the world's history when men of affairs cannot afford to leave either the mining or minting of public opinion to philanthropists and professors. The truth about life cannot be found by the man whose function it is to think, unless he can work in the closest contact with the man whose function it is to act. You business men may say that you have not time for conferences. The American group had one man in big business who told me that he had to devote half his whole time to public affairs. Sir^r Arthur Currie's comment on this statement is worth repeating. He expressed the opinion that great corporations should so arrange their organization that some at least of the directors can give part of their time to public affairs. It is not good enough to have one partner who gives all his time to public affairs and none to business. The men you want at meetings like this are men accustomed to deal with facts and to make decisions upon them. Its no use your saying that professors left to themselves don't count. They do. They know much better than you how to influence public opinion for that is their business. I will hazard a guess that professors had more to do with bringing about the late war than the business men. Wrong views are just as fatal to the peace of the world as a false coinage is to business. And the opposite of all this is just as true. The present situation in China has arisen because until lately the professors ignored its problems and for more than a century left them to traders and bankers. If you now make the opposite mistake you will some day wake to see your Matson and Dollar ships painted with camouflage and making zigzags to dodge torpedoes.

If you want to prevent such a thing, I see no other means you can take than that which the founders of this Institute have taken, provided always that men of affairs pull their weight in it. Its a great beginning, which has to be judged not by what it has been or is, but by what it may be. Its the first real attempt at political co-operation between peoples as distinguished from governments. And much more important than the conference is the secretariat which between conferences ought to supply the national groups with a clear and continuous stream of facts. In the end the Institute will stand or fall by the secretariat, for its quality will determine the quality of the conference.

The difficulties before us are immense. The governing body of the Institute is called the Pacific Council, which in actual fact exists only for one fortnight in every two years, that is to say, while the conference is sitting. The council itself has recognised this fact by delegating practically the whole of its powers to the President till the next conference meets. I take this opportunity of saying that President Wilbur has the absolute and unqualified confidence of every member of the British group to which I belong.

On the 18th of December last our government took the greatest curve ever taken in foreign affairs by committing the Commonwealth to a policy which American friends of China had been preaching for the last ten years. In support of that policy all parties in England are united. We, as members of all those parties, went to Honolulu hoping to learn what practical steps can be taken in the present state of China towards carrying that policy into effect. When a man makes a promise he cannot be too prompt in finding the means to pay something on account. This is doubly true of a nation which has publicly taken on its shoulders a great obligation.

In Honolulu I said that with God's help this Institute may become a vital organ in the framework of human society. It will either be that or less than nothing, for what will be lost if it fails is only to be measured by what will be gained if it succeeds. A failure now will throw back the hopes of international co-operation in the Pacific for years. A real success will lift its problems to a plane so high that their ultimate solution, however distant, will at least be in sight.

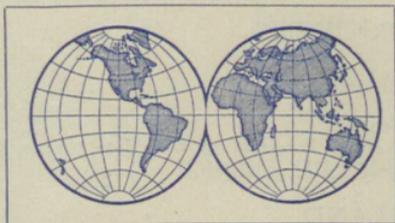
President Wilbur, we have laid on your shoulders a heavy responsibility. History may show that it ^{is} heavier than even you may realise now. I thank God that you are where you are. Already you know us as men who say what we think, and a time may come when you also know us as men who promise no more than we mean to perform. We British are realists, for we live, and must always live, with our backs to the wall, on the brink of a precipice. The man we love best is one who knows his own mind and also has the courage to act on it. Such a man we can follow to the end and such a man we have found you to be.



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WORLD TOPICS

An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of
International Relations, International
Travel, International Interpretations



This leaflet contains the names of about two score statesmen, executives, publicists and others distinguished in public life and individual achievement, who, with others yet to be added, will constitute WORLD TOPICS' Advisory Council. While the Advisory Council is not yet complete, WORLD TOPICS felicitates itself upon the presentation of so extraordinary a roster, convinced that no other periodical or organization possesses facilities superior to those of WORLD TOPICS for obtaining sound, sagacious, discriminating and enlightened advice.

280 BROADWAY

NEW YORK CITY

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HENRY ROGERS WINTHROP

President of Italy-America Society.

A Word About World Topics

WORLD TOPICS will begin publication early in 1928. It is to be an illustrated monthly magazine specializing in subjects of international interest and significance, to an extent which no other magazine does. WORLD TOPICS is not established to promote or oppose any particular plan or proposal. It is a magazine for the internationally-minded, for those whose vision is not limited by national boundaries. From infinitely varied sources, WORLD TOPICS will select for its readers the significant, the stimulating, the instructive, the entertaining,—picturing the life and intercourse of the nations and their individual citizens, stressing the worldwide character and basic similarity of the problems, interests and activities discussed.

Each month in a separate department WORLD TOPICS will present succinctly the classified news of two hemispheres, interestingly, authoritatively, and clearly. There will be special articles and departments, illustrated with photographs, maps, cartoons, and drawings. Diplomatic negotiations, world travel, and exchange of ideas; efforts toward international co-operation; the varying characteristics and needs, as well as the interdependence, of the peoples of the earth; the projects of great statesmen, explorers, engineers, scientists, artists; in short all matters, great or small, instructive or only entertaining, which have a bearing on world relationships and will serve to increase international understanding,—all of these will be taken up in WORLD TOPICS.





WORLD TOPICS
280 Broadway - New York City

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

BUREAU OF
PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

November 16, 1927.

Sir Arthur W. Currie,
McGill University,
Montreal, Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur:

We are happy to announce that a magazine to be known as WORLD TOPICS is soon to be published in New York City, devoted to a discussion of international relations, world trade and commerce, international travel, international interpretations and allied subjects. The periodical will seek little by little to interpret the United States to the world and the world to the United States. An advisory Council of exceptional distinction is in process of formation and contains already the names of many of whom you know. A folder containing most of these names is enclosed.

As we are sure that you are in sympathy with what is about to be undertaken, you are cordially invited to membership upon the Council. The duties pertaining to this office are nominal merely, and will never be more onerous or exacting than the particular member may wish to make them.

While the enterprise has not been conceived and will not be carried on in a commercial spirit, it is believed that it should, in time, be fully self-sustaining. The financial program has been fully underwritten.

Awaiting an early reply, believe us,

Yours sincerely,

Dear Sir Arthur,
Should I agree?
19/11/27,
David S. Garland
PRESIDENT
Arthur

AMERICAN COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, *Chairman*
MISS ADA M. COMSTOCK, *Vice-Chairman*
THOMAS W. LAMONT, *Vice-Chairman*
JEROME D. GREENE, *Treasurer*
EDWARD C. CARTER, *Secretary*

129 EAST 52D STREET, NEW YORK CITY
(Top Floor)

Telephone, Plaza 4700

December 27, 1927.

General Sir Arthur Currie
McGill University
Montreal
Canada.

Dear Sir Arthur,

We have not been very successful in our inquiries about the magazine "World Topics" about which you inquired. A letter written by Mr. Carter to Mr. Garland has not yet been answered, and inquiries to outsiders have led to nothing. Here is a copy of a letter from George W. Wickersham which indicates the type of reply we have received. If we hear anything of a more definite nature, we shall send the information on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Porter
Catherine Porter.

Enc.

COPY

40 Wall Street
New York

December 10, 1927.

Dear Mr. Carter:

Replying to the letter of your secretary making inquiries about the magazine "World Topics" I really cannot give you much information. I agreed to allow my name to be used on the Advisory Council without as much consideration as I think I should have done, although, as a matter of fact, I am told by the Editor that all the other persons whose names appear in the printed list of the Advisory Council have agreed to the use of their names. I think the promoters have a good idea in view, but everything will depend upon the performance. I am sorry I cannot give you any more definite information.

Faithfully yours,

Sgd. Geo. W. Wickersham

GWW-B

Briefly, this Russian view of the Institute of Pacific Relations is summed up on the last page, where it comments that "the fig leaf of being scientific and impartial becomes almost unnecessary" and that the whole tone and character of discussion at the Kyoto conference showed the growth of the Institute as an organ of political influence for American ruling circles.

It is interesting reading.

D.McM.

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MARGUERITE C. MILLER, OFFICE MANAGER

July 18, 1930

CABLE ADDRESS
"INPAREL"

Sir Arthur Currie
Principal, McGill University
Montreal, Quebec
Canada

Dear Sir Arthur:

Mr. John Nelson, to whom I sent a copy of the enclosed, has requested that a copy be sent for your information. The material was translated for the Institute information files, and seemed to be of sufficient interest to share with our National Secretaries.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Green
Elizabeth Green
EDITOR

EG:EN
Enc.

July 29th, 1930.

Miss Elizabeth Green,
Editor, "Pacific Affairs",
Institute of Pacific Relations,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

Dear Madam,

In the absence of
Sir Arthur Currie I am taking the liberty of
acknowledging and thanking you for sending him
the copy of a translation from "World Economics
and Politics", No. 2, February, 1930, a journal
published by the Communist Academy, Moscow.
This will be placed for his attention upon
his return to the University.

Yours faithfully,

Secretary to the Principal.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AND
THE POLICY OF THE IMPERIALISTS

By

D. Novomirsky

From "World Economics and Politics," No. 2, February, 1930

A journal published in Russian by the Communist Academy, Moscow

Translated especially for the Institute of Pacific
Relations Central Secretariat

After the World War statesmen of the United States became greatly interested in the situation in the Far East. The words of President Roosevelt, spoken by him as early as 1905, were more often remembered: "I believe that our future will be decided not by our position on the Atlantic Ocean, where Europe lies, but rather by our position on the Pacific Ocean, where China lies."

But remembering Roosevelt's words, and observing economic facts, bourgeois politicians of the United States saw another side -- politics: the growth of political competition on the Pacific of the greatest capitalistic states coming into contact not only with each other but with a more dangerous factor which Theodore Roosevelt did not have in his mind -- with the growing resistance of the people of the East awakened by the October Revolution.

J. Merle Davis, who went to all the corners of the Far East, came to the conclusion after his observations -- an opinion also reached by many others -- that "industrialization of the Far East means the death sentence to Western civilization." To Mr. Davis himself, the race problem seems a great glacier which is moving toward the Western world.

Frank Fox, Australian journalist, who wrote the much-discussed book, "The Mastery of the Pacific," insists that if the United States and Great Britain do not unite in the Pacific Ocean, Japan will conquer not only China but all Asia.

Not only professional politicians and journalists have become interested in the Far East; the broad circles of the American intelligensia have found a great interest in the countries of the Pacific Ocean. This is shown by the way in which attention has been given by universities to this subject: From 443 scientific organizations answering a questionnaire, 111 had in 1927-1928, courses on China and Japan. (From "China and Japan in Our University Curricula," edited by Edward C. Carter, New York, 1929.)

American bourgeoisie, who do not have especially big investments in China, understand perfectly the coming importance of China and of all the Far East, and spend freely for political propaganda. Professor George Blakeslee says: "America's contributions for philanthropic, educational and missionary organizations, are ten million dollars more than her contributions towards

trade and industry (i.e. they amount to approximately sixty-eight to seventy-eight million dollars). (From "The Pacific Area," Boston, 1929. Page 67.)

It is not surprising that among such a bourgeois propagandistic vanguard (i.e., American missionaries "working" in the Far East) arose the idea of creating an organization which would help the United States to mould a desirable attitude in public opinion among the peoples of the Pacific Ocean.

Political Plans of American Missionaries

As early as 1919, on the Hawaiian Islands, the idea was born in the local Y.M.C.A., of holding a Pacific conference. But for two years nothing was done. However, in 1921 at the conference of the workers of the Y.M.C.A.'s, in Wisconsin, it was practically decided to hold this conference; even a temporary committee was elected with the big capitalist, Frank Atherton, as the head. The committee hotly and with great seriousness discussed the question of what principles may be said to form the foundation of Christianity, and if it would be possible to utilize these principles as a basis for bringing the peoples of the Pacific area together.

In a resolution accepted by the temporary committee, the aim of the Pacific conference was defined as: "To glorify the role of Jesus Christ in the lives of the adults and youth of Pacific countries." Further than that nothing happened.

Not feeling able to handle such a difficult task, the Y.M.C.A. leaders of the Hawaiian Islands decided to ask the assistance of its international organization. In May, 1923, at Portchach, Austria, the International Conference of the Y.M.C.A.'s was held. Charles Loomis, delegate from the Hawaiian Islands, advanced the proposition of the proposed Pacific conference. The meeting accepted the resolution advocating the holding of the Christian conference in Honolulu in February, 1925.

After Charles Loomis returned to Honolulu a new committee was organized with Frank Atherton at the head.

In the early part of December, 1923, the committee sent circular letters to the Y.M.C.A.'s of Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippine Islands and the United States of America. In the letter appeared the following: "Aim of the conference: Discussion of some of the problems of the peoples of the Pacific from the Christian point of view, and the formulation of practical, constructive plans aiding in their solution." Christian organizations accepted the proposal of the Hawaii Committee very favorably. In September, 1924, a preliminary conference of all Christian organizations interested, was to have taken place at Atlantic City, U.S.A. Here it was planned to discuss the program of the future conference. Article 3 of the proposed agenda, says: "How to attain the perfection of the social ideals of Jesus?" Article 4: "Could the Christian spirit prevail in international politics?"

But even to the missionaries it was soon perfectly clear that such a program could not be practical. A sobering effect upon Christian pacifists came through the passing of an Immigration Law by the United States Congress, rousing a storm of dissatisfaction among the Japanese bourgeoisie. This is the explanation of why the initiators of the future Institute changed their

point of view at the Atlantic City conference. Therefore they came to this conference with a new plan ready -- to hold a conference to discuss the problems of the peoples of the Pacific, to discuss their mutual interests and disagreements, and to help to create mutual understanding and cooperation.

The conference at Atlantic City accepted the complete program, which was soon published. In this program it was noted with fear, the growth of mutual disagreements and mutual antipathies on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. This conference, with touching assurance, declared that the solution to such a situation, a solution to the menace of a terrible catastrophe, lay entirely in the dogmas of Christianity. "Christ gave us the ideal of life: How to utilize it in the relations of the peoples in the Pacific in the present complicated world? The Pacific conference must solve all these questions in the spirit of objective observation, modesty, love of knowledge and wisdom." The conference was to be held under the Y.M.C.A.'s guidance; its membership to be limited to one hundred and twenty people.

Missionaries Give Place to Politicians

As soon as the Central Council in the Hawaiian Islands started to work, however, there came a change in the plans. American business circles became very much interested in the coming conference. Roland Morris, formerly American Envoy to Japan, proposed to call a conference of outstanding Americans. On February 2, 1925, a conference was held consisting of forty-one people, among whom were Professor Ray Lyman Wilbur, at that time President of Stanford University, now Secretary of the Interior; Doctor John Finley (New York Times); Dr. John R. Mott (Y.M.C.A.); Chester Rowell, editor of a Republican newspaper in California; James Speers, president of James McClutcheon Company; Professor George Blakeslee, of Clark University; Paige Monteagle, American Observer to the League of Nations; Oscar Riley, and a whole list of representatives from business circles and the intelligensia.

The meeting accepted a very moderate resolution. It was decided to create the Institute in Honolulu, for the purpose of having a conference of the representatives of different countries of the Pacific area, in July, 1925. The program of the conference was to stress mutual interests but not disagreements. The Institute was to be informational and cultural-educational, but not propagandist. In this resolution was shown the necessity of study of mutual interests of the peoples of the Pacific, as well as changes which have taken place in these countries during the past years. A new council was proposed, with Ray Lyman Wilbur, a personal friend of Hoover's, as Chairman. During the following months local councils in China, Japan, Canada and Australia were created. In China the idea met with special enthusiasm. Here not only representatives of the biggest newspapers, universities, and cultural-educational organizations, but many business men -- bankers, merchants, etc., -- joined.

As the date of the first conference drew near it was clearly seen that the conference was outgrowing the limits of the Y.M.C.A. The Pacific Council made new changes in the program: The subject of Christian propaganda was completely ejected, and the Institute became a non-religious, disinterested organization. In a special decision it was decided that the proposed Institute would be a self-governed organization, to which would be invited representatives of Australia, Canada, China, the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippine Islands and the United States of America. Nothing at all was mentioned either of Great Britain or Soviet Russia, as though these

countries did not exist in the Pacific area. Nothing was mentioned about the peoples of Central and South America. Nothing else could so clearly indicate the purely American character of the organization created.

Finances of the Institute

If anybody had any doubts about this, it is enough to look at the source of the financial support of this organization. For administrative expenses in creating the Institute, the sum of \$75,000 was appropriated, of which \$50,000 was given by the United States of America and only one-third of the expenses by the other countries. Whether these sums actually worked out this way is, however, unknown. Among the donors are John D. Rockefeller, Jr., (\$10,000), World Peace Foundation (\$5,000), and a whole line of banking and industrial firms (Bernard Barock, Lee Higginson, Wallace Alexander, A. Johnson, Thomas Lamont and others). Japan gave \$11,500, but the names of the donors for some reason are not known.

This money was hardly enough for the expenses of the first conference and then again arose the question of funds. For 1926, and for preparations for the second conference, \$98,000 was assigned. Almost the entire sum for the expenses for 1926 was covered by the two American institutions, the Carnegie World Peace Foundation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller fund; it was promised by the Rockefeller Foundation that a sum of \$15,000 would be given annually for three years, starting with 1927.

At the present time councils exist, functioning normally, in the United States of America, China, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, and beside that there are national groups in the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands and in Korea. The Hawaiian group decided to reorganize and became affiliated with the U.S.A. council.

As it is the American group does not make any special mystery of the evident fact that the Institute of Pacific Relations is financed by American circles.

Aims of the Institute

Geneva and Honolulu

The official purpose of the Institute is the gathering and assembling of facts for the improvement of mutual relations and mutual understanding between Pacific peoples. But what is the real purpose in creating the Institute?

The main reason, of course, was the creation of a sort of League of Nations of the Pacific Ocean under the United States of American protectorate. Another reason, no doubt, is an attempt of American political circles to isolate Japan in the Pacific, and last, seeing a possible conflict with Great Britain, the United States considered it very timely to improve their relations with the British Dominions.

J. Merle Davis, General Secretary of the Institute, who carried on his shoulders the main task of organization for almost all the national groups which later joined the Institute, wrote an article in the June, 1928, issue of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, about his trip to the U.S.S.R., Holland, England, etc. In

this article it is interesting to note his comparison between the Institute of Pacific Relations and the League of Nations, whose meetings he visited in the spring of 1928. He writes: "Life in Geneva is a continuous drama. The most capable people of Europe make up the cast for this drama, and such captivating themes as world-safety, disarmament, trade, finance, the rights of the minority, are subjects for this drama. The League Secretariat is the Director of the scene, creates the libretto, the make-up of the artists, and raises the curtain. The world is the audience. If preparations for this performance were good there is every chance for the success of the performance. But there are incidents which cause uncertainty: Will the troupe follow the libretto, will some scene be brought in which was not rehearsed before, or will something jump out which is entirely new?"

Drawing in such comical lines the work of the League of Nations, Merle Davis continues:

"Though in a few ways the work at Geneva very closely resembles the Institute of Pacific Relations -- for instance by thorough organization of discussions at the conference, research and informational work -- the differences between the two organizations are much greater than their resemblance. The fundamental difference arising from the creation of the two organizations is that in Geneva governments are acting, while in Honolulu there is an unofficial federation of peoples, who willingly united."

This did not slip the attention of the leaders of the League of Nations and Merle Davis commented, in a quite diplomatic way, about the fears expressed by the League. And if the League of Nations, notwithstanding these fears, decided to become seemingly reconciled to the existence of the Institute, and limited itself to sending only observers to the second conference, it is to be explained only by the weakness of the League itself: It did not have the power to prevent the existence of the Institute and preferred to assume the position of waiting. The motives behind these tactics are perfectly clear to the General Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

"They," he writes, "realize that the League is not very energetically active on the Pacific Ocean, and they point to the fact that three great countries, Russia, China and the United States of America, either are out of the League or are taking a too insignificant part in the League's activities."

Institute Diplomacy

It is clear that Geneva leaders are acting, as it is said: "Fair bonne mine a mauvais jeu," and that American leaders of the Institute understand it well.

At the second conference of the Institute Jerome Greene, American industrialist, (the present head of the Institute), gave the speech for the American Delegation. The main thought in his speech was that the Institute of Pacific Relations is more greatly perfected and more adapted towards furthering new relations, than any other diplomatic instrument.

"Our discussions here," he said, "show one essential difference between this conference and the official conferences of the national representatives interested in the same questions. We cannot here come to any agreement upon

the whole list of questions, by means of mutual concessions; we do not have the authority to make or accept concessions; we are not a show gathering of envoys, and we do not have to go through the comedy of frauds and bargaining

.....

"From our methods of work help may come in many ways, from which I am going to show but two: First, there may unexpectedly appear a successful formula or successful plan, which, as it sometimes happens, almost by magic eliminates all friction; -- though the Institute does not assume responsibility for this formula or plan, its mere existence is felt in responsible circles. Second, the discovery of certain points which the other side considers vital, or almost vital, important or relatively unimportant. So instead of saying at the conference: 'Will you give up this, or shall we give up that?' or 'we will do this for you if you will do that for us' we are saying: 'These are the advantages and these are the difficulties in the proposed plan. What advantages and what difficulties do you see?' When we exchange that kind of information we can return home to our countries with a better idea of the sphere of responsible discussions and decisions. By such a method we can accomplish much more than by assuming imaginary final decisions."

J. Merle Davis had the following impression from his conversations with Australian leaders during his organization trip in 1926:

"It is suspected that Americans have some plan, some conspiracy against the British Empire. Is the Institute trying to ruin the solidarity of the British Dominions, and attempting to build up under American hegemony a new organ of solidarity between English speaking people of the Pacific Ocean?"

"Others see in the Institute an attempt to divert the attention of the British Dominions from the League of Nations in favor of a competing organization on the Pacific Ocean. . . ."

Internal Policy of the Institute

The Japanese also had no great doubts as to the true purposes of the Institute, and if they decided to come into the Institute it was perhaps for the same reason as that of the League of Nations: They did not consider it expedient to be in opposition to the United States. However, the Japanese delegates did not refuse themselves the pleasure of presenting to American leaders of the Institute certain embarrassing questions.

As early as the first conference, the New Zealand delegate, J. B. Condliffe, Professor of Economics, who later came to hold an important position in the mechanism of the Institute, came out with a protest against the Institute's not inviting Great Britain.

Logically, with such a feeling on the part of New Zealanders and Australians, American leaders began to think, and then hurried to extend an invitation to Great Britain. Great Britain, however, was in no hurry to accept this invitation; she considered it wise to first carefully examine the complexion of this new American invention.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs decided to send a few persons, in the role of observers, to the second conference of the Institute.

But why did Great Britain after all decide to take part in the work of the Institute?

This question is partly answered by New Zealand's Premier, in a speech he gave in August of last year. Talking upon the League of Nations he said:

"It is unfortunate that the United States, one of the greatest powers on the Pacific Ocean, is out of the League. It is not the only great power whose absence is noticeable from the League. Russia, who it is evident (?), has ambitious designs in the East, is also out of the League, and to solve the international problems that arise out of this great ocean area without Russia and the East, is impossible.

"These circumstances made the creation of the Institute of Pacific Relations possible, and made it necessary to take part in it. But, in any event it is necessary to take care that it would not become a competitor of the League of Nations, or even a factor in creating obstacles."

The Institute, in the opinion of the Premier, will be able in its own way to do something to make the Pacific area "worthy of its names." (From PACIFIC AFFAIRS, No. 28, p. 18-19.)

The Canadian Group, with John Nelson as the head, offered to act as mediator in the negotiations concerning Great Britain's joining the Institute. Mr. Nelson went to London especially for this purpose in 1926, and had a very energetic talk with the Royal Institute of International Affairs. His negotiations were successful. The Royal Institute promised its assistance. At the second conference a British group was already present, but it was not until the beginning of 1928, after Merle Davis' trip, that real affiliations were created between the Institute and Great Britain.

American leaders of the Institute felt, however, the necessity of in some way smoothing over the fact of their domination. For this purpose the post of Research Secretary was offered to Mr. Condliffe, Professor of Political Science in Sydney, Australia. Professor Condliffe was chosen evidently for his particular closeness to the British circles.

The next step was made by an invitation to China, of a Chinese Secretary. Dr. Hawking Yen, Professor at Peking University, was invited to the post of Associate Secretary. The appointment became effective in January, 1929, for a period of three years. Dr. Yen played a considerable role in the foreign politics of China. (A footnote gives a brief summary of Dr. Yen's activities.)

At the present time there are negotiations concerning an invitation to Japan for a Japanese Secretary.

Why the U. S. S. R. Was Invited

Of the struggle within the Institute of different tendencies, nothing gives such a clear picture as the attitude of different groups toward the U. S. S. R. The absence of the U. S. S. R. was already felt at the first conference in 1925. Even then various members, mostly Chinese, pointed to that fact. But evidently Americans did not intend to complicate their game by an invitation to the U. S. S. R. It is true an invitation was sent to the Scientific Academy of the U. S. S. R., but the leaders of this Academy

saw no reason for joining the Institute of Pacific Relations as there was more to be gained by taking part in the work of the Pan-Pacific Union, which it is now doing. The Institute of Pacific Relations hardly expected our Academy to accept their invitation nor did they expect an acceptance from the Mexican University, which was also approached.

However, it was already shown at the first conference that the future existence of the Institute was impossible without these big powers. At the end of the second conference the future prospects of the Institute were discussed. The question of further expansion of Institute membership was definitely brought up. Two currents of opinion appeared. One of them was definitely antagonistic to any expansion of the Institute beyond the specified limits; this current represented American opinion. When the Japanese delegates brought up the question: Would representatives of Central and South America and the U. S. S. R. be invited for the next conference? -- the American delegates were put in a very embarrassing position.

They declared that invitations had already been sent to the Mexican University and to the Scientific Academy of the U. S. S. R., but that these organizations had refused. At the same time the Americans tried to prove that future expansion of the Institute is not desirable. Concerning South America, the arguments were very amusing. They pointed out that South America is not interested in what is happening on the Pacific Ocean, and is much more closely connected with Europe than with this part of the world. One of the delegates of the United States said literally, the following:

"I think it would be well if the Institute would not further enlarge its membership. Such enlarging would not only mean an increase in the number of Institute members, but would also mean increasing the number of questions to be discussed. I doubt the advisability of an invitation to Russia. This would mean getting in a new group of experienced diplomats."

However, not all of the American delegation was antagonistic towards this question of the U. S. S. R. The other section evidently greater in numbers, and later on victorious, advanced the argument that it is impossible to discuss the problem of Manchuria without the U. S. S. R. taking part.

As to the feeling of the Dominions towards this invitation of the U. S. S. R., we have no documentary facts. But various indirect sources say that the Dominions were favorable to the invitation. An indefinite position was taken by Canada. As for Japan, though she did not state the fact definitely she favored the invitation to the U. S. S. R. An entirely clear, straightforward policy was maintained by the Chinese; they insisted upon the necessity of an invitation to the U. S. S. R. One of the members of the China group said:

"Russia today is throwing the challenge to every existing order. How will we be able to discuss these questions if they are not completely faced?"

The Chinese member pointed to the fact that Soviet Russia is very popular in China on account of its relinquishment of extraterritorial rights.

This position of the Chinese members is interesting because of the fact that on all other questions they went hand in hand with the Americans.

This question of the U. S. S. R. was not the only one which divided the participants in the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In the same session where the invitation to the U. S. S. R. was discussed, there were disagreements upon a whole line of questions: About the character of the Institute; about their relation to the press; about the structure of the research work. On all these questions the members divided into three groups -- one led by Americans, another by British, and the Dominions not always occupying a definite position. Americans straightforwardly defended not only the political but the diplomatic character of the Institute. China fully supported the point of view of the Americans. The British, together with the Japanese, were on the contrary, very much against this tendency: they wanted to see the Institute entirely an educational-cultural organization.

However, no matter what disagreements existed upon the question of the invitation to the U. S. S. R., the common political sense was victorious. At the meeting of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute, it was unanimously decided to invite the Soviet Union for the next conference in Kyoto. It was for this purpose that J. Merle Davis, General Secretary of the Institute, was sent to Moscow and entered into negotiations with the All-Union Society for Cultural Contact Abroad. In September of this year, just previous to the conference, there came to Moscow for the same purpose a delegation of Americans, British and Japanese, with such noted leaders as Jerome Greene, Chairman of the American Group of the Institute; Joseph Chamberlain, one of the authors of the Kellogg Pact and a famous professor of International Law; William Kilpatrick, noted professor; Shiroshi Nasu, famous Japanese economist, and others. The Soviet Union, through the Society for Cultural Relations Abroad, was represented at the third conference by one observer.

Evolution of the Institute

So, the Institute, created out of the plans of a "purely religious organization," underwent a great evolution.

Yet at the first conference the missionary influence was very strongly felt. The conference opened with grace said by the Japanese member, Tasuku Harada. In this prayer Professor Harada appealed to God to give his divine blessing to the meeting by his presence and to guide its work. He prayed especially for benediction for the leaders and responsible representatives so that they could complete their duty righteously. He finished with the expression of hope that in the near future the Kingdom of God would come over the earth and the name of God would be everywhere proclaimed.

The whole tone of the first conference corresponded to this beginning. Before each meeting fifteen minutes was assigned to "daily meditation." The speeches of the orators were full of religious terms. Questions like this were brought out and discussed: What is the role of religion in the solution of the problems of the Pacific Ocean? In what way can religious ideals assist in solving international problems? How can the teachings of Jesus, Buddha and Confucius be applied to the problems of contemporary interracial and international relations, etc..

The second conference (1927) was entirely contrary in that respect. It appeared to be of purely secular character. Not a trace was left of Quaker

hypocrisy. The second conference discussed exclusively questions of international politics: Immigration, unequal treaties, tariff autonomy of China, etc.

The League of Nations appreciated this situation and sent two observers to the second conference, Cummings and Aoki. Besides these Mr. Caldwell of the International Labour Office was present. At that conference the League of Nations presented quite a memorandum upon the work of the Mandates Commission in the Pacific Ocean. At the present time the only thing that keeps the Institute of Pacific Relations from entire success is the absence of the U. S. S. R. The entry of the U. S. S. R. would make the Institute an almost complete League of Nations of the Pacific. Therefore, it is easy to understand the excitement with which the leaders awaited our arrival at the conference in Kyoto.

The third conference of the Institute took place in Kyoto from October 28th to November 8th, 1929.

First of all it is necessary to note the entirely new attitude of Americans toward the League of Nations. If at first they merely laughed at the Geneva talk-fest, they were now more inclined to look on with indulgent approval. One American conference member even went so far in his indulgence as to propose that the League create a special commission to discuss and solve Chino-Japanese conflicts in South Manchuria. The Chinese attitude toward this proposal was very cold; the Japanese no better.

The attitude of Americans toward the U. S. S. R. is interesting. At the 1927 conference Ray Lyman Wilbur preached to the Soviet Union, suggesting they return to "democracy." At this later conference the American speaker said in his speech that he was sorry for the "isolation" of the U. S. S. R. which, he said, had real diplomatic relations only with Turkey.

As the U. S. S. R. was represented at the conference only by a silent observer, who was not taking part in discussions, the whole interest was centered around the Chino-Japanese duel. The speakers did not always keep to diplomatic etiquette. The heroes of the conference were Hsu Shu-hsi, professor at Yenching University in Peking and Yosuke Matsuoka, formerly director of the South Manchurian Railway. Their dialogue sometimes took such a lively form that the head of the British Group, Lord Hailsham, had to remind these duelists about the sacred pacifistic ideals of the Institute. The Japanese speaker referred to the great sacrifices Japan made of men and money to oppose the annexation of Manchuria by Czarist Russia, and he said that the danger still existed as Soviet Russia was pushing toward the East, and the collision with China is unavoidable. Hsu-Shu-hsi in reply to this lyrical effusion of his opponent, cynically asked: "Well, how much do we have to pay to Japan to insure that she become less active?"

However, no matter what the results of the Kyoto Conference may be, the growth of the Institute itself, as an organ of political influence for American ruling circles is evident. And in the Manchurian problem, and the question of extraterritoriality, the American point of view dominated. An American, Jerome Greene, the leader of the American group, was elected Chairman of the Institute.

The Japanese newspaper, the Osaka Mainichi, which paid close attention to the conference, even called the Institute a "League of Nations in

Miniature." Not only the head of the Japanese Government, Hamaguchi, and the governor of Tokyo, Sagami, greeted the delegates, but General Chang Kai-shek and President Hoover themselves found it necessary to send special greetings and wishes for success to the conference. The whole tone and character of discussion at the last conference indicates the entrance of the Institute into a new era, when the fig leaf of being scientific and impartial becomes almost unnecessary.

Institute Connections

The Institute of Pacific Relations is not only closely connected with the ruling circles in the United States but with practically all scientific and political bodies, among which the most interesting is the Social Science Research Council. This organization unites the majority of the scientific bodies in the United States. The Institute of Pacific Relations has attained to such a position that the Social Science Research Council created a special committee to study the questions of special interest to the Institute. At the head of this committee is a professor of Columbia University, (who is also one of the responsible editors of the British Encyclopedia) Dr. James Shotwell, who at the same time occupies the position of Chairman of Research of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Therefore the Institute of Pacific Relations has for its use the entire organization facilities of the biggest scientific research bodies of the United States.

Of much interest is the connection of the Institute of Pacific Relations with the so-called Pan-Pacific Union. This organization was founded in Honolulu in 1917 from the Pacific Club which had existed for quite a while before that. At the head of the Pan-Pacific Union stands a very talented man, Alexander Hume Ford. Ford had the ability to give a tremendous splendour to the Pan-Pacific Union; in this Union all the countries of the Pacific Ocean are represented, through their political leaders. Many Premiers of Pacific countries are among the Honorary Council. The Union started great scientific work. Under its influence the Pacific Research Council was created, which has already sponsored three scientific conferences, to which specialists pay serious attention.

The Institute of Pacific Relations is friendly toward the Pan-Pacific Union but differs from it by its unofficial character. The Institute of Pacific Relations intentionally concentrates its attention on disagreements, on those questions which are most delicate and may lead to great incidents. The Pan-Pacific Union builds its work only upon the basis of mutual interests.

Both organizations are not only friendly but in general are one whole, which is seen not only from the fact that both were created by the American ruling classes, and both are supported by American capital, but from the personal relations of the leaders of both organizations. Leaders of these organizations interchange their experience and materials and take part in the conferences of both.
