

FILE 441

JAPAN & MANCHURIA

May 11th, 1927.

E. W. Beatty, Esq.,
President, Canadian Pacific Railway,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mr. Beatty:-

At the suggestion of a member of the C.P.R. staff Mr. G. R. Tench, Principal of the Canadian Academy at Kobe, Japan, has asked for this letter of introduction to you.

He has presented to me letters from the Registrar of Victoria College, Toronto, and from Sir Robert Falconer. The Victoria College authorities write as follows:

"We can speak in the highest terms of the character of the work of this school. We have been getting several of these students each year and find that they are well prepared and able to recommend themselves both by their scholarship and their general culture. Two of the leading students in our graduating class in Arts this year were prepared for College in this school. Others coming on are equally good."

Sir Robert states with reference to the students: "They have passed senior as well as junior matriculation and our Registrar informs me that the school is regarded here as an institution quite as high in standing as the best of our Canadian institutes. I believe, therefore, that you need have no hesitation in advocating support of it with such

E. W. Beatty, Esq., - 2 -

persons as may be interested."

I know nothing of the school myself other than what Mr. Tench has told me. In view of the recommendations he brings to me I have no hesitation in giving him this letter of introduction.

Yours faithfully,

Principal.

196 Jarvis St. Toronto, Ont.,

July 5, 1927.

Sir Arthur Currie,
President McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

My dear Sir Arthur:

The time has come when I must make preparations for returning to Japan, and as I look back upon the year's experiences, I am deeply conscious of my indebtedness to those who have helped me in our campaign.

I desire to thank you most sincerely for your kindly co-operation, which opened the way for our appeal to the Canadian Pacific Steamships, Ltd., which, we have good reason to believe, will bear good fruit.

Again thanking you for your kindness, and wishing you a most pleasant holiday, I remain,

Most gratefully yours,

Graham R. Tench,

G. R. Tench,
Principal Canadian Academy,

Kobe, Japan.

DOCKET STARTS:

JAPANESE VISITORS TO CANADA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Japanese
visitors to
Canada.*

September 3, 1927

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

Dear Sir Arthur:

May I have the pleasure of introducing to you Professor Seichii Tobata, of the University of Tokyo, and Professor Takeo Matsuda, of the Hokkaido Imperial University, who are on their way North to see something of the agriculture and industry of New England and eastern Canada. Professor Tobata is an assistant to Professor Nasu, who you met, I believe, in Honolulu. These gentlemen are interested in observing agricultural conditions, methods of marketing agricultural products, and the progress of industry in eastern Canada, and would also be grateful for a word concerning the development of universities in Canada as compared with the United States.

As I am not well acquainted in Montreal, I should be grateful if you could spare a few minutes to suggest to them how they can best spend a day or two in the city and its environs observing the aspects of agriculture and industry in which they are especially interested.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

O. E. Baker

O. E. Baker,
Economic Analyst.

4 MAGNOLIA PARKWAY

CHEVY CHASE, MD.

September 24, 1927

Sir Arthur Currier,
President McGill University
Montreal, Quebec.

My Dear Sir Arthur:

A letter from two Japanese professors,
Mr. Seichi Obata and Mr. Shiro Matsuda,
has prompted me to recall that I have
not advised you of two letters of
introduction to you, with which I have
provided them. They should reach
Montreal within a few days, and
as I am not acquainted with the
city, I have taken the liberty of
asking you to suggest to them

4 MAGNOLIA PARKWAY

CHEVY CHASE, MD.

things worth seeing in the city.
I know they would also be
glad to learn about the work
in Economics at Mc Gill.

Mr. Tobata is assistant
Professor under Dr. Nose, at
the Imperial University at Tokio,
and Mr. Matsuda is Professor
of Agricultural Economics
at Hokkaido University.

I shall be grateful for any
favors you may be able to render
them.

Sincerely yours.

O. E. Baker.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 6, 1927

Sir Arthur W. Currie,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
Montreal, Canada.

My dear Sir Arthur:

May I, even this tardily, express my appreciation of your courtesies to Mr. Tobata and Mr. Matsuda. They have written me of their very pleasant and profitable sojourn at Montreal, and of their gratitude for your kindnesses to them.

I appreciate your kind inquiry concerning the indisposition which interfered with my work at Honolulu. It is a pleasure to report that I had only a slight return of the infection a few weeks ago, and that now I seem to be fully recovered. It was a very pleasant conference, and I have been grateful every since for the privilege of meeting men of similar interests from Canada and from foreign countries. I have noted several magazine articles relating to the conference, especially those in the Outlook.

With kindest wishes,

Sincerely yours,

O. E. Baker

O. E. Baker,
Economic Analyst.

cf

September 27th, 1927.

Dr. O. E. Baker,
4 Magnolia Parkway,
Chevy Chase, Md.

My dear Dr. Baker:-

Mr. Tobata and Mr. Matsuda
called on me yesterday with your letters of
introduction.

We spent an hour together in
my office and to-day they are at Macdonald College,
which is McGill's Agricultural School. They intend
to put in the day there. It so happened that
yesterday none of the members of our Department of
Economics were available, as our term does not open
until next Monday, but Dr. Stephen Leacock and
Professor Hemmeon returned this morning, and if
Mr. Tobata and Mr. Matsuda remain in the city to-
morrow I shall bring them together.

I hope that you have fully
recovered from the indisposition which bothered
you when you were at Honolulu. Last night I was
looking at the photograph of the American delegation
and found that I could name every one of them. I
enjoyed the Conference very much and believe that
the Institute has possibilities for great good.

With kindest wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

192, DALY AVENUE,
OTTAWA.

September 4th 1932

Dear Sir Arthur,

Dr. Inazo Nitobe,
at present a member
of the Japanese House
of Peers and Chairman
of the Council of the
Japanese section of
the Institute of Pacific
Relations, who has
for many years

Under Secretary General
of the League of Nations
and is also quite well
known as a writer and
speaker, will be in
Montreal this week
and speak at a
Canadian Club luncheon
on ~~Wednesday~~ ^{Thursday}. I
should feel very
happy if you would
give me the pleasure

of your company at a
very informal dinner
and talk with Dr.

Witobe at the Mount
Royal Club the same
evening September 8th

at 7³⁰. (Dinner jacket)

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

J. M. B. Rupawa



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

4th November, 1931.

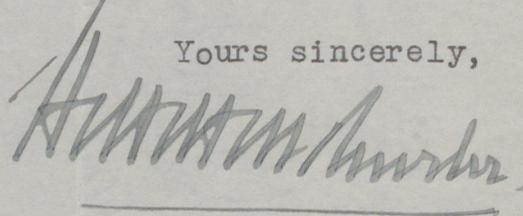
General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor of
McGill University,
Montreal, P.Q.,
C A N A D A.

My dear General,

I have taken the liberty of giving to His Excellency Mr. Phya Subarn Sompati, at present Siamese Minister to Japan, a letter of introduction to you. Mr. Sompati has been transferred to Washington and will represent his country there as Minister to the United States of America. In the course of time he proposes to visit Canada, and I have asked him when he visits Montreal to call on you and present the letter of introduction I have given him. This, however, may not be for some time.

Mr. Sompati is of high rank in his own country, and I have been greatly privileged by reason of his friendship here. I would consider it a favour, when he calls on you, if you would be of all possible assistance to him.

Yours sincerely,





CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

January 25th, 1933

My dear General,

My intimate friend Archbishop Mooney, Apostolic Delegate in Japan, will likely visit Montreal for a day or so arriving there between the middle and the end of May. I have asked my partner Cholette to let you know beforehand when the Archbishop will arrive and I will be deeply grateful if you would show him such attention as you and Lady Currie may find it convenient to do so. You will find His Grace most interested in educational and other matters and I know you will agree with me that he is a most charming and cultured gentleman in every way.

I have not written you for quite a while in respect to Japan. I feel sure that the political conditions are being followed by you with interest and no doubt the information you have in respect to them is just as great as my own.

You will be sorry to hear that my wife

is/

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
LL.D.,

McGill University,
Montreal, Canada.

is at present laid up with an attack of scarlet fever. She had been distinctly overdoing things for some time. She is progressing very well indeed and I hope in time will be quite herself again.

Will you please convey to Lady Currie my very humble respects and accept for yourself as always my best and most sincere regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Arthur M. Anderson

February 13, 1933.

Honorable H. M. Marler,
Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary
from Canada to Japan,
Canadian Legation,
TOKYO, JAPAN.

I am in receipt this morning of your letter of January 25th, telling me of the visit to Montreal of Archbishop Mooney, the Apostolic Delegate in Japan. I shall look forward to meeting His Grace and will be very glad to show him some attention when he is here.

It distresses me very much to learn that Mrs. Marler has been laid up with an attack of scarlet fever. Those of us who have visited the Legation know by personal experience, and many others know by report just how interested Mrs. Marler is in her duties; that she works very hard, in fact, too hard, cannot be gainsaid. I hope that by this time she is herself again.

Press despatches intimate that Japan and the League of Nations are at the parting of the ways. It is a great pity. Japan, of course, intends to retain Manchuria, and not only that but to gain possession of further territory, which, however, it may be camouflaged, will be Japanese in effect.

Of course, the larger nations, like Great Britain and France, have given Japan a good deal of sympathy. It is the smaller nations who are forcing the issue now; their security so much depends on the sanctity of treaties and pacts that for their own sake they cannot view without alarm the violation of these treaties. What the future has in store, none can guess. Russia is probably pursuing in the Far East the most sensible policy at the present time.

With all kind wishes,

I am,

Ever yours faithfully,

Principal.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

30th June, 1933.

My dear General,

Archbishop Mooney has written me in respect to your kindness to him during his stay in Montreal. Permit me to thank you for your attention, and to say how much I appreciate your kindness.

I hope you are keeping very well indeed. No doubt you are full of anxieties, but I have no doubt whatsoever that you will be able to overcome the difficulties which are at present confronting you. At least, such is my most ardent hope.

We have had some very warm weather in Tokyo of late, which has been far from

- pleasant -

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

Montreal,

C A N A D A.

pleasant.

With my kindest regards as always to
you and to Lady Currie, in which my wife
joins,

yours very sincerely,

Hummer

W. DE M. AND H. M. MARLER

NOTARIES

HERBERT MARLER
H. E. HERSCHORN
H. B. MCLEAN
G. C. MARLER

ED. CHOLETTE
J. A. MAUCOTEL
H. P. HONEY
E. C. COMMON

EC-B

THE ROYAL BANK BUILDING

MONTREAL , May 12, 1933.

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G.,
McGill University,
Montreal.

Dear Sir,

I have just received a cablegram from my partner, Honourable Herbert Marler, to the effect that His Grace Archbishop Mooney, Delegate Apostolic to Japan, will arrive at Quebec on the 20th May instant.

I shall advise you in due course as to the exact date of the Archbishop's stay in Montreal.

Yours very truly,

Ed. Cholette

*Invite him
to Convocation?
Yes*

May 18th, 1933.

E. Cholette, Esq.,
Messrs. Marler and Marler,
Royal Bank Building,
Montreal, P. Q.

Dear Mr. Cholette,

Thank you for your letter in which you advise me of the visit of His Grace Archbishop Mooney to Montreal. I am enclosing copy of a letter I have to-day addressed to him, and which I should be glad to have delivered as soon as possible. You will note that if he cares to attend the McGill Convocation, a telephone call from yourself to my Secretary will be all that is necessary in order that the proper arrangements may be made.

Ever yours faithfully,

Principal

Professor M. Anesaki

*Imperial University
Tokyo.*

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MONTREAL

GERHARD R. LOMER, M.A., PH. D.
LIBRARIAN

September 18, 1933.

Sir Arthur Currie,
Principal,
McGill University.

Dear Sir Arthur:

On Saturday, September 16th, the Library was visited by Professor M. Anesaki, Professor of Comparative Religion and Librarian of the Imperial University at Tokyo.

Professor Anesaki wished to thank the University for the volumes which were sent as a contribution from McGill to help to replace their University Library which had been destroyed by an earthquake. He wished to pay his respects to you but, as you were out of town, I assured him that I would inform you of his intention.

Faithfully yours,

G. R. Lomer

University Librarian.

H/



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

July 19th, 1933

My dear General,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter of
introduction I have given today to Count Michimasa
Soyeshima.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Arthur Currie', written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned below the typed name and is underlined.

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B., LL.D.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,
MONTREAL, Que.,
C A N A D A.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

July 19th, 1933

My dear General,

This will serve to introduce to you Count Michimasa Soyeshima who is leaving Japan shortly to attend at Banff the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. After the termination of that Conference he intends visiting various other parts of Canada, the United States and possibly Europe.

Count Soyeshima is a Councillor of the Peers College of Japan and is very much interested in educational matters.

Would you be so very kind on presentation of this letter of introduction to ask one of your officers to afford Count Soyeshima such facilities as he may require.

Yours sincerely,

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B., LL.D.,

Principal and Vice-Chancellor,

McGill University,

MONTREAL, Que.,

C A N A D A.

330, ITCHOME,
SENDAGAYA, TOKIO.

August 1, 1933.

Dear Sir Arthur,

This will serve to introduce to you a personal friend of my father and myself, Count Soyeshima, who will go to Montreal after attending the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held at Banff this month.

I am sure that Count Soyeshima would be very happy if you would be good enough to spare a few minutes to see him. He has travelled extensively in Europe and America, and is particularly interested in international affairs and education.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Tokuyama

General Sir Arthur Currie,
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal, P.Q.,
CANADA.

DOCKET ENDS:

JAPANESE VISITORS TO CANADA.

DOCKET STARTS:

T O K U G A W A , I Y E M A S A



Tokugawa

CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKIO

September 27th, 1929.

Dear Sir Arthur,

I have taken the liberty and the pleasure of giving to His Excellency, Mr. Iyemasa Tokugawa, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan to the Dominion of Canada, a letter of introduction to you.

May I say to you that Canada is extremely fortunate and complimented in having Mr. Tokugawa appointed as His Imperial Majesty's first Minister from Japan. He has already had a most notable career in the diplomatic service of his country. In addition, His Excellency is a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of Japan.

I have been the recipient, since my appointment as Canadian Minister, of very many acts of courtesy and consideration, not only in this country but elsewhere also from many of the Japanese people. Among them none has shown greater kindness than Mr. Tokugawa himself. In him the Canadian people will find a very warm friend, and one whom we may well feel proud not only on official but on personal grounds also to welcome to Canada.

It may be that His Excellency will not, owing to official and other engagements present or send you his letter of introduction from me until some time after his arrival in Canada. In that respect I have begged him to use his own convenience, informing him at the same time, that I would prefer him to do so when his official and other duties will permit him to see something of you, rather than to make a hurried call. When he does present his introduction from me I have assured him as I know you will afford him every courtesy and assistance. I ask this of you not only in my official capacity but also as one who so very fortunately enjoys the advantage of your friendship.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. M. Currie

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

October 30th, 1929.

His Excellency,
Hon. Herbert Marler,
Canadian Legation,
Tokio, Japan.

Dear Mr. Marler:-

I acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your letter of September 27th, in which you inform me that you have done me the honour of giving to His Excellency, Mr. Iyemasa Tokugawa, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan to the Dominion of Canada, a letter of introduction to me. I have written to His Excellency a word of welcome and have expressed the hope that I may have the pleasure of welcoming him some time to Montreal and to McGill University.

I am delighted to learn that you are happy in Japan. The Japanese are a very courteous people and will no doubt be very kind to you, not only because of their goodwill towards Canada, but for your own good sake. At the present moment the Institute of Pacific Relations is meeting in Kyoto. No doubt you will see much of the delegates on their way home. Those conferences are splendid institutions. Much good has already come from the two meetings which have taken place and I hope an equal amount of good will follow the present meeting. Press reports here indicate that the Japanese and Chinese do not see eye to eye with reference to many matters. That was quite apparent at the last conference in Honolulu in 1927. I remember that on the way to Honolulu I had the privilege of reading a paper prepared with special reference to the military consequences that might arise owing to the situation in Manchuria with reference to the interests of the Russians, Japanese and Chinese. On account of the impressions received I repeatedly urged at Honolulu that a meeting be called of some of the representatives of Japan, China, United

States, Great Britain and ourselves. I think ten of us met and endeavoured to abstract from the Japanese something of Japanese intentions, but we got little, their contention being that, as that particular subject was not on the agenda paper, they had not brought their experts to speak upon it. When a Japanese makes up his mind not to say anything he is doubly dumb.

As for things in Montreal, we are passing through what has been for many people a most distressing experience. We have had the greatest collapse in stock market values of any period in the world's history. When I tell you that Noranda tumbled from 70 to 10, Consolidated Gas from 172 to 85, Brazilian Traction from 77 to 37, Nickel from 62 to 25, and all other stocks in proportion, you will appreciate the anxiety and the losses that countless thousands of people sustained. No doubt the market was due for a good shaking out, but we are all optimists and so the paper losses are great. I believe the market has more than touched bottom and after we are sure of a return to stable conditions we ought to turn the occasion to profit, even if we neglected to take advantage of the recent slump.

In Ontario the Provincial elections are taking place to-day. No doubt Mr. Ferguson will be returned to power with a good majority. The Liberal Party has brought the prohibition question into the political arena again and that, coupled with their charges of the extravagance of the Provincial Conservatives, constitutes the subject matter of all their campaign speeches.

We have had, as you know, a visit from the Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald and gave him an honorary degree at McGill. He left a very fine impression in Montreal and while I, personally, find it hard to forgive him his war time attitude, I am glad to acknowledge that his visit to the United States has paved the way for a much better feeling between that country and our Empire. His Government occupies considerable

Hon. Mr. Marler

- 3 -

prestige, but the real test of its strength will come when its policy re the unemployment situation in Great Britain is disclosed.

With all kind wishes, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

October 30th, 1929.

His Excellency,
Iyemasa Tokugawa, ~~Minister~~
Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary to Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Your Excellency:-

I have received a letter from the Hon. Herbert Marler, Minister Plenipotentiary from Canada to Japan, in which he tells me that he has done me the honour of giving you a letter of introduction to me.

May I say that we in Canada consider that we have been very fortunate and are very much complimented in having yourself as His Imperial Majesty's first Minister from Japan to Canada. We know of your very notable career in the Diplomatic Service of your country, also of the many acts of courtesy and consideration which you have shewn the Hon. Mr. Marler since his arrival in your country. I assure you that you will receive a very warm welcome here and I hope that some time we may have the pleasure and the honour of welcoming you to Montreal and to McGill University, of

which the Hon. Mr. Marler is a graduate.

With best wishes for a happy
stay and experience in Canada, I am,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient servant,

Principal.

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

November 5, 1929.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of October 30th and beg to express my great appreciation of the very cordial message.

I am extremely pleased to have been chosen as the first Japanese Minister in this great Dominion, and it will always be my endeavour to enhance, in my small way, the friendly relations which happily exist between our two countries.

I look forward with very great pleasure to have the privilege of making your acquaintance on my visit to Montreal and your University.

Yours faithfully,

J. M. Isokawana

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

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

January 14, 1930.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your kind letter of October 30th last and my reply thereto of November 5th, I beg to inform you that I have accepted the invitation to a Luncheon to be given by the Young Men's Canadian Club of Montreal, on Monday, January 27th, and that I should be very pleased if you would enable me to take this opportunity of making your acquaintance.

I learn from the Press that Sir Esme Howard will be in Montreal about that time, and if the report is correct I should think you would have a busy time. Naturally I do not wish to disturb your arrangements in that direction.

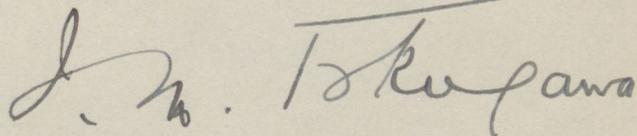
My

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

My present plan is to arrive in Montreal either Saturday evening or Sunday morning, and to leave Montreal probably Tuesday afternoon. I should be very grateful if an appointment could be made in advance.

At the time of writing my letter above referred to I had just arrived in Canada and did not realize that you were not well, and I now hope that your health is completely restored.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. N. Tokufawa". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a short horizontal line.

17th January
1930

Your Excellency:-

I am in receipt of your kind letter of January 14th and am glad to learn that you will visit Montreal in the near future.

I would like very much indeed to see you on that occasion. Would it be possible for you to lunch with me on Sunday, January 26th, at 1:30 p.m. at my house?

With thanks for your kind wishes regarding my health,

I am,

Ever yours faithfully,

His Excellency Iyemasa Tokugawa,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary to Canada,
O t t a w a .

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

January 18, 1930.

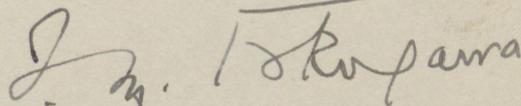
Dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of January 17th, for which please accept my best thanks.

It is extremely kind of you to invite me to have lunch with you, at your house, on Sunday, January 26th, at 1.30 p.m.

I have expressed a desire to see the members of the Japanese community in Montreal on Sunday afternoon. I do not know, at the moment, what arrangement is being made, and if it is not going to be a luncheon, as I do not think it is, I shall be very pleased to accept your invitation. In the circumstances I will make enquiries on that point and send you a definite reply as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,



Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,

Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University,

Montreal, P.Q.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY'S TELEGRAPH



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OTTAWA ONT MAR 11TH 1930---451P

SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

3450 MCTAVISH ST, MONTREAL QUE

MAY I TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF MY STAY IN MONTREAL
ON MONDAY MARCH SEVENTEENTH OF ASKING IF YOU AND LADY
CURRIE WILL DINE AND GO TO THEATRE WITH ME THAT EVENING

TOKUGAWA

535P...

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

Personal

April 7, 1933.

Dear Sir Arthur,

I am leaving Ottawa next week for Japan. I shall be in Montreal next Monday, April 10th, and should like to see you for a few minutes to say au revoir. I shall ring you from the Ritz-Carlton that morning to make an appointment. However, if you will happen to be at the Mount Royal Club at lunch time I shall be able to have the pleasure of seeing you there.

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Fukuyama

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

Main shrine of the temple of Iyemitsu 日光三光寺の本堂



Most Cordial
Greetings from
Tokyo. I shall
not forget your kind
reps when I visit
your University in
1930 you're sincerely
Tokugawa's post

熱誠部副校長野星(光日)

行發守玉光日

Hope you are keeping
well - You did not visit
this place, if I remember
rightly, + I hope you
will do so when you
are back in Japan -
kindest regards to
you all - yours very sincerely

June 1st '33

CARTE POSTALE



General Sir Arthur Currie
McGill University
Montreal
P. Q.

芝罘郵便

DOCKET ENDS:

TOKUGAWA, IYEMASA.

DOCKET STARTS:

CANADIAN LEGATION - TOKYO



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKIO

December 2nd, 1929.

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., C.M.G., LL.D.,
Principal, McGill University,
Montreal, Canada.

My dear Sir Arthur,

It was so extremely kind of you to write me under date of 30th October last and your letter gave me very much pleasure.

I thought you would not take it amiss of me if I gave to Mr. Tokugawa a letter of introduction to you. Not only will it afford His Excellency much pleasure in meeting you but I feel also quite confident that the viewpoint which he receives from you as to Canadian and Commonwealth matters will be of distinct advantage to all of us.

My life in Japan seems to be even more busy than my life in Canada. We have just completed a ten days' official tour to Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto and Nara. I made many addresses and met very many prominent Japanese, Canadians and others, - I think with some considerable advantage to our country, which of course is not known as well in those parts as its position in the world entitles it to be. The preparation of addresses for a trip of that description, added to the work in Tokyo and the very many social engagements, all of which I think you will admit are a part of my work here, have kept Mrs. Marler and myself extremely busy. In addition there has been the settling of the Legation and Chancellery. That as yet is not quite completed. When completed I think they will be a credit to Canada. As to the Legation of course we have taken only a rented house. I have had to make some improvements to it and to its grounds at my own expense. The Chancellery is in an office building. All said and done, however, as regards both Legation and Chancellery, I believe when we are finally settled we will be quite comfortable and appearances will be quite as good as any, and quite superior to most other official residences and offices in Tokyo.

Y
- I saw -

I saw a great deal of the delegates to the Kyoto Conference. Indeed I had the secretaries of the Legation meet each boat as it arrived in order to assist them on their arrival. Every Canadian delegate was asked to the Legation and in addition we gave a reception for all the delegates. Unfortunately the steamer on which most of the Canadian delegates were arriving was a day late and they were unable to attend. But a great many of the others did attend and had the opportunity of first meeting at the Canadian Legation many people in Japan of very considerable prominence.

Mr. N.W. Rowell and Mrs. Rowell, the head of the Canadian delegation, stayed with us on two occasions. I learnt from him much that had transpired. I am entirely in accord with you that the meetings of the Institute of Pacific Relations do an enormous amount of good. Far more good in fact than meetings of governments could possibly effect. As it is there is an open forum and much publicity is given to the discussions, to say nothing of the discussions being of the very highest order. As a matter of fact I think the feeling which was engendered between Japan and China by reason of the discussions of this Conference were very much improved. I am delighted with the results of this Conference and I think the next, which I am informed will be in China, will be of inestimable value. Mr. Rowell was outstanding.

I have nothing but praise for the people of Japan in their attitude towards me and our Legation. Not only have they been most kind but my association with the British Ambassador is everything that could be desired. So I have no complaints on any grounds whatsoever to offer by reason of my associations here. I hope my work as it progresses will be of use to Canada. I believe it will be. The opportunities in Japan and China for the expansion of our trade are enormous. Next March I intend paying a visit to a part of China and Manchuria and personally investigating conditions there.

Certainly the shake-up in the stock market has been terrific. I have been blaming myself very much indeed that I did not sell out my securities when they were so high but I allowed day by day to go by owing to being immersed in other matters and the opportunity was lost. However all my securities are paid for and their dividends I think should be

3.

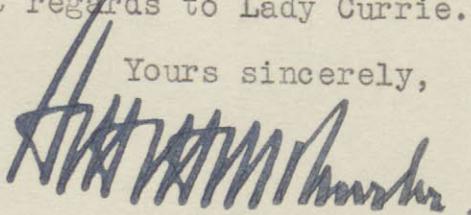
secure. At least I hope they are because I will need my income as it is to carry on here.

I have not as yet heard the result of the Ontario election, on account possibly of my absence from Tokyo. I notice some further newspapers have arrived. Mr. Rowell and Sir John Aird, however, indicated that Mr. Ferguson had made practically a clean sweep of the province.

I read in the local papers as to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's visit. I am told the impressions he left were very good. I well know that there are in some cases backgrounds extremely difficult to forget but I do believe that Mr. MacDonald's visit to the United States has done good.

I hope your health continues to improve. I often think of you. Please accept my very best wishes and convey also my very kindest regards to Lady Currie.

Yours sincerely,





CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

4th November, 1930.

Dear Sir Arthur,

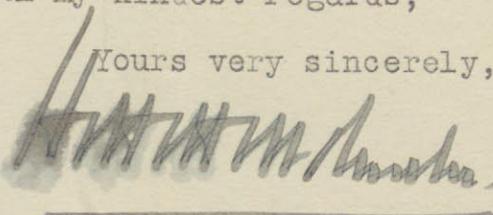
Brigadier J. G. Dill, who served with the Canadian Corps during the War, is leaving Yokohama on Thursday the 6th instant on the "Empress of Canada", and is travelling through our country on his way home to England. During his progress across Canada he will stay over at several of the cities but will be in Montreal, I should think, the last week in November. The Chief of General Staff at Ottawa, General Macnaughton, will know exactly when he is to be in Montreal. He has met you before but I am anxious for him to meet you again, and I have consequently taken the liberty of giving him a letter to you.

Lt. Gen. Sir Arthur Currie,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
McGill University,
Montreal,
C A N A D A.

I hope that long since you are feeling quite yourself. I would very much welcome a line from you when you have time to write.

With my kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,





CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

December 24th, 1930

Dear Sir,

I would be very much obliged if you would cable me as to where I can reach Sir Arthur Currie. I understand he intends returning home by way of Japan and I would like to telegraph him asking that he and Lady Currie, while in Japan, be the guests of the Canadian Legation.

Yours very truly,

Arthur M. Currie

Secretary to,

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., &c.,

McGill University,

Montreal, Que., Canada.

4 15

Minister
Canadian Legation
Tokyo

CURRIE CARE VICEROY NEW DELHI.

January 15, 1931.

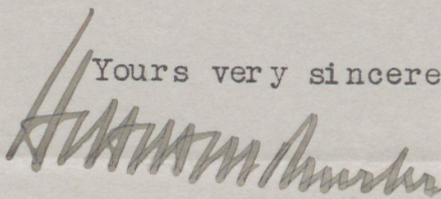
cellency, Mr. Sompati, Siamese Minister to Japan, that perhaps it would be more convenient to Their Majesties and to yourself to defer such presentation until after the departure of the ship, seeing that prior to departure there is always so much for the travellers to attend to. I hope in those respects I will merit your approval.

My wife and I will think very often indeed of your visit to us and I can only repeat what I said to you and Lady Currie on board the Empress yesterday afternoon that I hope such visit gave you and her one-quarter of the pleasure it gave us.

By coming to Tokyo and engaging in the many activities - perhaps too many for your liking - in which you did, you have very notably assisted my work in Japan; for that in addition I am exceedingly grateful.

Permit me to send you not only my sincere and loyal regards but also my affectionate wishes.

Yours very sincerely,





CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

April 10th, 1931

My dear General,

You will forgive me sending you this note in type instead of in my own hand, as I wish this morning for you to be one of the very first to whom I write.

Let me express my very deep appreciation for the visit with which you and Lady Currie honoured the Canadian Legation and also express my own and Mrs. Marler's personal appreciation for the honour you and Lady Currie did us.

In addition may I say how very greatly I appreciate the confidence you gave me in the conversations I had the opportunity of having with you. It is true there were many other matters on which I wished to seek your advice, but I hesitated owing to the many engagements you had in Tokyo to discuss other matters with you. I hope you will permit me to take the opportunity when I return to Canada on leave of absence this summer to discuss and receive your advice on questions which I think are of some importance to us in this Far Eastern land.

I omitted to mention to you on the steamer yesterday afternoon that arrangements had been made for you and Lady Currie to be presented to Their Majesties of Siam. That could have been arranged yesterday afternoon but I informed His Ex-

- cellency -

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal, Que.,
C a n a d a.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

April 18th 1931.

Dear Sir Arthur,

Mr. Tsurumi, of the Foreign Office here, has been kind enough to send me the enclosed photographs, which I take pleasure in passing on to you. They are the pictures taken, you will recall, at the Imperial University, the Meiji Shrine and the dinner given at the Industrial Club by the Chief of General Staff. I trust that they may be of interest to you and Lady Currie.

Will you kindly convey to Lady Currie my sincere personal regards? I hope that your voyage home proved restful and agreeable.

Believe me,

Very respectfully yours,

Kenneth P. Kirkwood

Second Secretary.

General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B., LL.D., etc.
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal, P.Q.,
Canada.

May 6th, 1931.

Kenneth B. Kirkwood, Esq.,
The Canadian Legation,
Tokyo, Japan.

Let me acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your letter of the 18th, together with the photographs, which I think are excellent. Will you please convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Tsurumi of the Japanese Foreign Office.

We had a splendid vast trip home on the "EMPRESS OF JAPAN", a most beautiful boat, the finest I have ever patronized. She rolled a great deal. We had a strong following wind, which undoubtedly helped our speed, but it added nothing to the comfort of the passengers.

The press informs us that His Excellency The Minister and Her Excellency are now on the Pacific, headed for home. They will receive a warm welcome in Montreal.

With many thanks to you for all your kindness,

Ever yours faithfully,



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

April 18th, 1932

My dear General,

I have taken the liberty of giving a letter of introduction to you to Dr. Inazo Nitobe of Tokyo. A brief sketch of Dr. Nitobe's career is attached to this letter. He left Japan a few days ago in order to undertake some confidential work for the Japanese Government in the United States. It is possible that he may travel to Europe.

In a conversation I had with Dr. Nitobe a few days ago I suggested that he would be very welcome in Canada and if he found it possible to make the trip there I asked that he call upon you. It is not likely he will make such trip to Canada, if he is able to do so at all, for some months' time, but if he visits our country as I hope he will I most sincerely trust you will find time to grant him an interview.

Dr. Nitobe as well as Mrs. Nitobe have been very firm friends of myself and Mrs. Marler in Tokyo and we are indebted to both of them for many courtesies.

Yours very sincerely,

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
LL.D.,

McGill University,

MONTREAL, Que.,

C A N A D A.

INAZO NITOBÉ, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., etc., was born in Morioka, Japan, in 1862. He studied at the Tokyo Imperial University, John Hopkins University and the Universities of Bonn, Halle and Berlin. Subsequently he was a Professor at the Sapporo Agricultural College, the College of Law of the Kyoto Imperial University, and the College of Law of the Tokyo Imperial University.

Dr. Nitobe was later appointed Under-Secretary General, as well as a Director of a section of the International Bureau of the League of Nations Secretariat in Geneva, and became a member of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. He is a member of the House of Peers and holds the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure. He is the author of a number of books on Japan and related topics.

Mrs. Nitobe was Miss Mary Patterson Elkinton of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She married Dr. Nitobe in 1891.

May 10, 1932.

His Excellency
The Honourable Herbert Marler, P.C.,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
Canadian Legation,
Tokyo, J a p a n .

My dear Mr. Marler,

I have your letter of April 18th, in which you tell me that some time in the not too distant future I am to expect a visit in Montreal from Dr. Nitobe. I remember him very well, having met him at dinner at Prince Tokugawa's, and also at lunch at your house. I think on both occasions I had the pleasure of sitting beside Mrs. Nitobe. I assure you that it will be a great pleasure for me to welcome him to Montreal and to make his visit as interesting as I can.

Since your return to Japan, you must have found the situation most interesting. Some of us here have found it most difficult to harmonize the actions of Japan with her obligations under different treaties such as the Washington Pact, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and her responsibility as a member of the League of Nations, and I fear that Mr. Nitobe will find it rather difficult to convince the people in the United States that the actions of Japan have been entirely justified. That has been the experience of all other Japanese who have come to the United States this last winter, mainly for propaganda purposes. I met several of them and chatted with them quite frankly. Among these was Mr. Tsurumi, a

friend now of five years' standing. Many of us not only sympathized with the irritations to which Japan was subjected in Manchuria, but felt that the Manchurian population would live under a more stable government with Japanese control than otherwise. But the setting up of a separate state there under the late Chinese Emperor is universally regarded as "eyewash". I think I might go farther and say that despite the sympathy Japan had with reference to Manchuria, since her actions in Shanghai there is absolutely none extended to her. Her attitude has probably stiffened such little resolution as the British had to remain there. I know when I was in China more than a year ago I gathered the impression that the British were about ready to leave. We wonder if the Japanese retirement from Shanghai now means that they have more pressing engagements elsewhere. Persistent rumours come from the Far East that in less than fifteen months the Japanese will be in Vladavostok. If that is so, I should say it means a war, and in these days, when war between two great nations begins, it would be a bold man who would attempt to prophecy where it would conclude.

I suppose, Herbert, that one must not write about national politics in a letter; but a rather unsatisfactory session will likely conclude within the next three weeks. We have had the end of the official action regarding the Beauharnois enquiry and Macdougald. The Railway Commission has not yet brought down its report, and it is not to be expected during this session; why, I don't know. Apparently it is not ready, but one would have thought it might have been concluded by this time. The House of Commons Committee is still sniping at Thornton and uncovering a lot of nasty things. They act as if they attached more importance to finding out why his personal expenses were over \$40,000 last year than to the fact that we lost \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000 last year, and will lose an equal amount this year, on the operation of the road. It is a frightful mess, and reflects most seriously not only upon the Railway management but upon the party which permitted these gross extravagances to continue. There is much gossip as to whether Sir Henry will be retained in the Railway services or not.

Everybody is looking forward with hope to something coming out of the Economic Conference at Ottawa. Everything indicates that the British Government is taking the matter very seriously. But we are not quite so sure that our own people have been equally active in the preparation of their answer to the problems which are to be raised. I feel sure that if nothing comes of it, a spirit of despair will follow for some time.

The United States are finding it hard to keep sane. Only last weekend a bill was

passed in the House of Representatives, instructing the Federal Reserve people and the Government to make such arrangements as would ensure the raising of the price level to the average attained between the years 1921-1929. It reminded one of the Chinese, who, being confronted with the ignorance of the majority of the Chinese people, stated that they had passed a law abolishing ignorance from the first of the next year. One also notes that the British Columbia government, in return for the high duties placed on B.C. coal entering the United States, are advocating the practical prohibition of the entry of American products. The economics practised generally are of a very childish nature.

But I must not ramble
on in this super-critical fashion.

We are all very well at home. Lady Currie and Marjorie are busy getting ready for Marjorie's wedding in the middle of June. We have just had a visit from Lord Irwin, and in a fortnight expect Lord Byng for three days. I understand he is incapable of enduring much fatigue, and has asked that functions in his honour be few and of a very quiet character.

I hope that you have fully recovered from the effects of your very serious operation, and that both you and Mrs. Marler are well and continue to enjoy the duties of your very responsible position.

I would like to be remembered to any of my Japanese friends.

With kindest
regards and good wishes,

I am,

Ever yours faithfully,

*no
AWB-DM*

Please OK

Sir Arthur Currie, ~~was~~ ^{Commander} of the Canadian forces overseas, heartily agrees with the famous statement of the ~~great~~ great British general, Gordon, that ~~the~~ the Chinese ~~when properly trained might well take their place by the side of the finest fighting forces of the world.~~ when properly trained might well take their place by the side of the finest fighting forces of the world.

Certain impressions which Sir Arthur ~~gained~~ ^{last} gained during his trip of ~~that~~ year to the Far East, in the course of which he visited Shanghai, have been amply ~~fully~~ ^{fully} substantiated by despatches ~~describing~~ ^{describing} the ~~the~~ unsuccessful attempts of ~~modern~~ ^{by} modern-equipped Japanese forces to rout the Chinese out of Shanghai.

The Japanese, he said in an interview with a representative of The Star today, have evidently underestimated the fighting ~~and~~ qualities of the Chinese soldier. More than this, ~~that~~ the Canadian ex-commander ~~firmly~~ firmly believes that the Japanese have not admitted the extent of their losses in killed and wounded.

"It is not understandable to a man experienced in warfare, he ~~said~~ said, that the Japanese could have continued their attacks for days without suffering heavier losses than what they have officially indicated.

" Proof of this conviction may be gained from the fact that they have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ sent re-inforcements to the battle front while other re-inforcements are on the way.

" That the Chinese have not been sent scurrying from their entrenched position may logically be ascribed to several reasons. First of all the Chinese are fighting on their own soil against an invader whom they have instinctively hated for generations, or even centuries. This hate provides ~~an~~ a background for their ~~dogged~~ dogged resistance.

" Again, it is quite possible that the Chinese have been ~~concentrating~~ concentrating much heavier forces in the fighting zone than despatches lead us to believe. It is not in their interests to inform the ~~Japanese~~ world at large, and thus the Japanese, that they have concentrated heavy forces at Shanghai.

" While it is generally agreed that the Japanese ~~forces~~ forces ~~are~~ are equipped in a much superior manner, the very nature of the ground at Shanghai ~~has~~ has offset this advantage to ~~a~~ a considerable degree. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

" The Japanese tanks have evidently not been able to get into action. This, for the reason that the ground is flat and may easily become water-soaked and boggy as occurred in the third battle of Ypres.

~~xxxxxxx~~ " There are two ^{effective} ways of clearing away
 barbwire ~~entanglements~~ entanglements. One is through
 the use of tanks, which ~~has been shown to be~~
~~clear~~ clear a path for the infantry to follow.
~~xxxx~~ The other way is to use shell-fire .

" The Japanese have been denied the use of their
 tanks. If the Chinese have been successful in laying
 down a lot of ~~barbwire~~ barbwire, as we may readily
 assume, ^{they have been} the Japanese would have to depend on
 shell-fire to clear a way through the entanglements.

~~xxx~~ " Despite the seeming superiority of the
 Japanese in heavy guns, the ground at Shanghai would
 tend to offse^t this advantage. Heavy shells ~~would~~
 would bury themselves deep in the ~~soft~~ soft soil,
 destroying their lateral effect which is always best
 in clearing away barbwire.

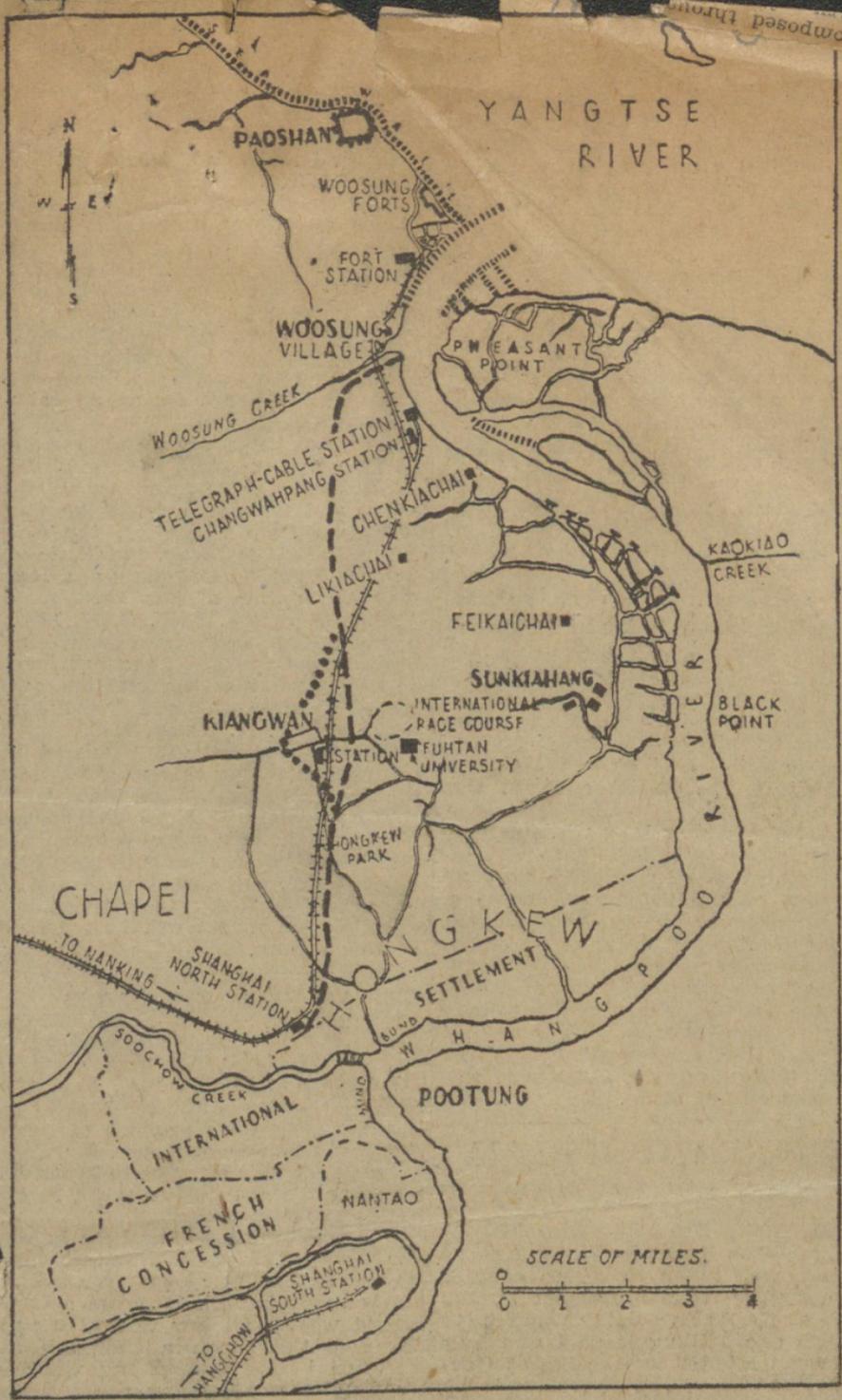
" Thus we see that the Japanese are robbed to
 a very great ~~g~~ degree of the effectiveness of ~~xxx~~
 their fighting equipment. The mental attitude of
 the Chinese , generally classified as stoic, is in
 their favor. It makes them stubborn fighters.

^{also}
 " They have the advantage of ~~xxxx~~ experience
~~in fighting~~ gained in fighting among themselves.
 They know what it is like to be ^{'shot over'} ~~shot over~~.
~~xxxx~~ The Japanese , ~~xxxx~~ on the other
 hand , ~~xxxx~~ are using untried troops. "

Chinese defence on Chapei-Woosung line demonstrates apparently that the science of defence is ahead of the science of attack.

HAVE WESTERN DEVELOPMENTS INDICATED THAT OFFENSIVE WARFARE LAGS BEHIND DEFENSIVE?

HOW DOES HE EXPLAIN THE ABILITY OF THE PUNY CHINESE FORCE TO WITHSTAND TANKS, AEROPLANES HEAVY ARTILLERY AND SUPERIOR NUMBERS



The information of the last 24 hours indicates that the Japanese are still battling for their objective of Kiangwan, in the centre of the battle line as shown in the above map, but have proceeded around it some two miles west towards Tazang, in the face of mined ground and hidden machine gun nests. With a few machine-gun posts in Kiangwan, the Chinese can very likely hold back vastly superior forces of the Japanese for a time. In the meantime a vigorous counter attack has been launched by the Chinese on the Japanese line in front of Hongkew.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

April 21st, 1931

Dear Sir Arthur,

I wrote to the President of the Tokyo Imperial University thanking him for the courtesies he had extended to you during your short visit here. I have now received his reply, the original of which I send you.

Yours very sincerely,

Arthur W. M. Currie

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,

Principal,

McGill University,

Montreal, Que., Canada.

Tokyo Imperial University

President's Office

Tokyo April 20, 1931.

Your Excellency:

I thank you so much in receiving your gracious letter of April 16, instant. The pleasure and the honour were our's indeed to have such distinguished visitors to our University. We were all delighted to have had the privilege of your kind inspections but only regret that on account of the time being limited we were not able to show more of the institution.

I shall be exceedingly obliged if Your Excellency kindly convey my hearty greetings and good wishes to Sir Arthur Currie.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

Kobeij Inozuka
President.

To His Excellency the Honorable,
Mr. Herbert Marler,
Canadian Minister to Japan,
Tokyo.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

April 22nd, 1931

My dear General,

After your departure from Tokyo I wrote both officially and personally to the Foreign Office thanking Baron Shidehara and his officials for their assistance during your visit to Tokyo. I have now received the Foreign Minister's reply, the original of which I send you.

May I say I have also written Lieutenant-Colonel Simson thanking him for his kindness and asking him to express to the military my deep appreciation of their kindnesses also.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Currie

General Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
Principal, McGill University,
Montreal, Que., Canada.

THE GAIMUSHO
TOKIO

April 20th, 1931.

Dear Mr. Marler:

It is a great satisfaction to know from your private letter of the 16th of this month as well as from your official communication of the 8th and the 10th that both you and your distinguished visitors were pleased with the arrangements made by this Government in connection with the visit of Sir Arthur and Lady Currie. It was certainly a pleasure to us of the Foreign Office to co-operate in the effort to do everything possible to show respect and honour to such eminent Canadians, and through them to their country. They made the happiest impression here on all with whom they came in contact, and I hope they will be the precursors of many more Canadian visitors.

I shall remember your sedulous and repeated expressions of a hope that occasion will arise for reciprocal courtesies, and I trust I may have the pleasure, when opportunity serves, of invoking your proffered kindness.

Believe me to be

Sincerely yours,

K. Shidehara
—



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

November 11th, 1931.

My dear General:

This is just to say, as you will observe from this note, that we are again established in Tokyo with plenty to do, a number of important trade and political matters having arisen.

I hope that if an opportunity offers, in your busy life, you will write me a line from time to time.

My health is distinctly better, although as yet not quite alright.

Let me again thank you very much indeed for your never failing courtesies and kindness to me, these I will ever remember, and are most deeply appreciated.

I hope that you are keeping very well indeed, and with my kindest regards to yourself and Lady Currie.

Yours very sincerely,

General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., LL.D.,
Principal, McGill University,
Monreal, P. of Q.,
Canada.



CANADIAN LEGATION
TOKYO

1st June, 1932.

Received

My dear General,

Thank you so much for your note of the 10th of May last which I have just received. I knew you would have no objections to my giving Dr. Nitobe a letter of introduction to you. I was fairly sure you had met him already.

Certainly, since I have returned to Japan the situation has been interesting but at the same time very perplexing. We have hardly known from week to week where we stood. Governments have changed, assassinations have taken place, the external political situation which commenced to be bad in September is now no better: so taking the situation all in all the best one can say is that it is most obscure.

It is most difficult for anybody to harmonise the actions of Japan with her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Insofar as Manchuria was concerned there probably was a technical breaking of her obligations under those treaties, but there was certainly some justification therefor, and I for one am very much disposed to condone the actions of Japan in Manchuria. I do not disguise that what you say in your letter as to the setting up of a separate State is not quite true. On the other hand, conditions in Manchuria up to the 18th of September had been becoming steadily worse. The population was being plundered right and left, trade was being stifled, and
- life -

General Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal, P.Q.,
C A N A D A.

life outside the Railway Zone without value. A very good case indeed can be built up for Japan insofar as Manchuria is concerned, and I do hope to have the opportunity of conversations with you when I return to Canada.

In respect to Shanghai and the attitude there of Japan, the situation is entirely different from that of Manchuria. There was a case where the Japanese, having taken up a defensive position on the night of the 28th/29th of January, could have turned to the world and said "We are here to protect our nationals: what are you going to do in order to see that conflict is avoided?". That was not done. It is quite true that the Japanese marines in moving up their positions were fired on; but one must not forget that on the very afternoon of the day when that occurred, the Japanese Consul-General, Mr. Murai, had assured the Mayor of Greater Shanghai that everything was in order and that nothing further would be done. Hence, there was naturally complete astonishment when a few hours later Admiral Koichi Shiosawa, in charge of the Japanese fleet, issued his ultimatums, which were received by the Mayor of Greater Shanghai an hour or so before the Japanese marines landed. This landing took place without any previous warning to the Chinese at all.

In my opinion the Shanghai incident was an admirable case which could have been placed before the League of Nations by Japan, and Japan by doing so would have strengthened herself immeasurably in the eyes of the world. Of course the whole Shanghai incident is now looked upon in Japan as the greatest blunder imaginable, and so it was; but at the same time the loss of property and life was enormous. It is extremely difficult, no matter how favourably disposed one is towards the Japanese people, to condone what they did in the Shanghai incident.

I must admit I was not very impressed by the attitude of the Great Powers, but there again one must

- look -

look below the surface. The British Ambassador and I were always in close consultation, and while the British attitude may have appeared weak to the public nevertheless I do not think it was so. What we both sought to do was to keep our country out of what might have been war with Japan. Around the 1st of February the situation was most sensitive and delicate. It seemed to me all the time that if war ensued - and I am convinced it would have ensued had economic sanctions been applied - then the British Empire would have had to hold the bag. France I am convinced would have stood back. I do not believe America would have come in, and Italy would not have been much use anyway. That part of the episode is a long story, and here again I am looking forward so much to telling you all about it.

The political situation at present is most unsatisfactory, both internally and externally. Internally they have arranged what is called a "Super-man" Cabinet. The Prime Minister, Viscount Saito, is a splendid man in every way, but party feeling in Japan runs excessively high. There are interior quarrels. I doubt if the army is satisfied with the present Cabinet, although General Araki, the Minister of War in the old Cabinet, has remained on. He has expressed some extraordinary opinions. The army has been fed for months past on what is called "patriotic food". So much so that the result simply is that I doubt if anybody can hold the sentiment which has been engendered.

What you indicate about Russia is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility.

As to the internal political situation, it is true there are not many with whom I can discuss it, but may I say with all respect that you are one of them. I am very anxious about conditions in Canada. I do not know if you have seen all this coming, but certainly I can say with sincerity that I have seen it coming. We have had in Canada for some time past an entirely wrong approach. We thought nothing could go wrong. We
- floated -

floated hundreds of companies with shameful financial structures. The Canada Power and Paper episode has passed off without one single word of explanation. The speculation which was rampant a few years ago was deliberately encouraged by certain groups in Montreal. Politics utterly disgust me. I certainly believe that Mr. Bennett is doing the very best he can: I have a very high regard for him. He is not saving himself, and I do not think it is his fault that matters are not going on somewhat better. We never will get out of the difficulties we are in in Canada unless we get more external trade. There is no use in raising things and producing goods unless we can sell the things raised and produced, and that is exactly what we are not doing. Our trade in this area should be three to five times what it is, and yet when it is examined into carefully and facts are applied to Canada, we find our cost of production too high to compete with some other nations. I could mention a dozen articles, but take some, such as certain dairy products like canned milk, our paper products, our apples, and certainly our wheat and wheat flour. For the past two-and-a-half years I have thought of little else than extending trade in this area of the world, but every article I take up for more intensive examination I find myself more and more discouraged. If we are to succeed in competition with the rest of the world we must revise our ideas in Canada very materially.

As to the frightful railway mess we are in, you will not forget that when I was in Parliament I shouted as hard as I possibly could as to the extravagances we were then indulging in. It is unfair, however, to say (as some have said, though I have not heard you say so) that the present position is due to the previous Liberal administration. But that again is a long story.

As to the Imperial Economic Conference, between ourselves I am afraid of it. From all I can read in the Canadian papers I fear the approach is not such as to render it a success. My own feeling as regards the Conference is that not enough thought and education has

- taken -

taken place in Canada to run the risk of it not being a success. Just as you say, if nothing comes of it, a spirit of despair will follow for some time.

I have not kept as closely in touch with affairs in the United States as you have. All I know is that the securities I own in that country are gradually vanishing. I see by to-day's stock list that Consolidated Gas is at thirty-six and American Telephone and Telegraph at 84 - to say nothing of many others that I thought at least were high grade preferred stocks, coming down fast. It is rumoured here that there may be serious financial difficulties in Canada. Of course I do not know if that is the case or not.

Please wish Miss Currie every possible happiness from us both here.

The Government have kindly said that I can go to Canada this year for a few weeks if I want to. There are some pressing personal matters there that need my attention. On the other hand the journey is long, arduous and expensive, and I have got a great deal to do here: a great deal in the way that, when the year ends, it is impossible to sit down and say that any real thing has been accomplished. But I suppose that part of my job is not entirely unlike your own. One must simply keep on at it. There is no doubt there are great prospects for Canada in this area if we have the courage to employ initiative long enough.

Please tell Lady Currie that my wife and I often think of her, as we do of you.

My health I think is a good deal better. My wife has suffered a good deal from neuritis this winter.

Thank you very much for writing me as you have done. Perhaps the enclosed photograph will be of interest to you. Those in it are all very good friends of yours, as well as admirers.

With every affectionate greeting to you,
Yours very sincerely,

Arthur M. Anderson

DOCKET ENDS:

CANADIAN LEGATION - TOKYO

OSAKA MAINICHI PUBLISHING CO., LTD.

THE OSAKA MAINICHI
JAPANESE EDITION DAILY

THE TOKYO NICHU-NICHU
JAPANESE EDITION DAILY

THE OSAKA MAINICHI
ENGLISH EDITION DAILY

MINIATURE MAINICHI
MONTHLY

OSAKA & TOKYO
JAPAN
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN JAPAN

NEW YORK OFFICE
306 A. WORLD BLDG.
PHONE BEEKMAN 4259

THE ECONOMIST
SEMI-MONTHLY
THE SUNDAY MAINICHI
WEEKLY
THE BRAILLE MAINICHI
SEMI-MONTHLY
THE STAGE and CINEMA
MONTHLY

April 10, 1930.

Sir:

We take the pleasure of sending you, under separate cover, a copy of our third annual edition of "Japan Today and Tomorrow", printed in English with beautiful typographical illustrations.

The chief purpose of this publication being to introduce ^{various} ~~divergent~~ aspects of national life in Japan to the peoples of the other lands, We feel sure that it will merit, like its predecessors, a prominent place in libraries, schools, offices, at home and everywhere where authentic information on contemporary Japan is sought.

We shall greatly appreciate receiving your comment on this publication.

Very truly yours,

OSAKA MAINICHI PUB. CO.

Saburo Suzuki
Saburo Suzuki,
N.Y. Representative

6

April 29th, 1930.

Osaka Mainichi Publishing Co. Ltd.,
306 A. World Building,
New York. U.S.A.

Dear Sirs,

The Principal has received
the copy of your book "Japan Today and Tomorrow"
and asks me to convey his appreciation of your
courtesy.

Yours faithfully,

Secretary to the Principal.

Verbatim Report taken by D. McArthur

HOW JAPAN LOOKS AT CHINA AND RUSSIA.

Yusuke Tsurumi, Canadian Club
Montreal, Dec. 8,
1930.

The subject before me today is "How Japan looks at China and Russia." China is essentially the pivotal point of Japanese foreign policy. All other policies of Japanese diplomacy are based upon and connected with the policy towards China. Japan stands with China; that has deeply sunk into the consciousness of the whole nation. Therefore, when it comes to the question of China the whole Japanese nation is very sensitive. The late Mr. Roosevelt used to say that the Japanese are a very sensitive and proud people. About the pride I do not know but about the sensitiveness I know; experiencing earthquakes on the average about five times a day, we are naturally sensitive. But the most sensitive part of the Japanese nation lies in its dealing with China. The policy which existed up to 1922 was based on Japan's fundamental desire to keep China safe; the war between Japan and Russia was based on the safeguarding of Japan's own integrity and then of stemming the tide the best it could; and also the approach of Japan towards Russia at present is based upon her policy to China.

Why is it? It is very simple. Japan lies on the coast of the Asiatic continent and therefore Japan's political integrity is seriously menaced the moment there is a strong foreign power entrenched on the Chinese continent. The first need of Japan in regard to China is to protect Japan's own national integrity. That was the first period of Japan's foreign policy towards China, dating from 1867 to the beginning of the twentieth century.

That was the constant fear of Japan, the finding of some strong foreign nation installed on the Chinese continent, standing as a constant menace to the national existence of Japan, and when Japan opened up her country and entered on a new venture as a world nation, she looked around and found the conditions of the world very dangerous to herself. Those were the days of Imperialism, when Bismarck was ruling on the European continent, and looking across the Chinese borders we realised the fate of Burma, Siam, Persia, realised what a serious venture was in store for us. So naturally our only and sole concern was how to protect Japan and the greatest weakness was in two spots. (could not hear) Korea. We could not afford to have a strong, hostile nation in the Pacific menacing the Japanese country. The second place of great danger was the partitioning of China which was threatened particularly after the Boxer uprising of 1900 and it was this fear that formulated Japan's foreign policy towards China up to, I should say, the beginning of the world war. After the world war, with Germany out of the way, with social revolution in Russia which took away from the Japanese mind the constant fear of the war of revenge from Russia, Japan began to breathe freely and entered upon the second period of her China policy. But at that time Japan faced a different condition at home.

The first political danger was gone at the end of the world war, but with the end of the world war came another question, the question of colonial conditions. In sixty odd years Japan increased her population from 32 millions in 1867 to 65 millions in 1930 and the rate of increase is around 800,000 every year. That means that in 1965, 35 years from now, the population of Japan will be 108 millions. That is one of the most serious problems before Japan. With a territory a little smaller than the State of California, we have to provide for this increasing

population, and with the hilly nature of the country we have only 16% of the land under cultivation even after cultivating to the top of the hill. Therefore the question is very simple for the Japanese nation at present. The sensible Japanese do not think that there is any danger for the political integrity of Japan, and therefore this military fear is subsiding in the Japanese mind.

In the second place a new consciousness began to rise in the Japanese mind, that is, the economic difficulty, how to provide for the 65 millions of people with not only food - for we can buy from Canada! - but the greater difficulty, providing employment for these people. What can we do? The only solution is in industrialising the country. Japan in sixty odd years has passed through a unique industrial revolution and from being formerly an agricultural nation is now one of the half dozen industrial nations of the world. Unfortunately, we lack two things for being a great industrial nation. One is the lack of raw materials to feed the industries. We have no gasoline nor oil for our industries. We have practically no wool, no cotton, and our only substantial resource is copper, which is not enough at present. So we have to find some means of getting raw materials from abroad. Most of these are found in the Chinese continent.

Again, there is the more serious problem of how to get markets; the market we used to have in China, through Japan's policy towards China, is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ is gone. Japan's China policy came upon entirely new footing at the end of the great war. In 1924 Baron _____ formulated a new policy of friendship and helpfulness towards China. In 1927-29 a Conservative cabinet under Baron _____ lightly deviated from this policy of the first Baron and was severely unished by the election of 1930. The new Liberal party is in power

therefore Japan's policy towards China can be taken as a national policy.

What are the interests of Japan in China? They are three. One is political, which I told you is subsiding; the second is colonial, which is the main interest of Japan in China at the present moment, and the third, which is going to be of paramount interest later, is the intellectual interest. Whether or not China and Japan get together ^{now} and formulate a new renaissance of Asiatic cultures, that is the end that is going to come later. At the present moment Japan's interests in China are economic, and what are they?

In the first place we have one-quarter of a million Japanese living on the Chinese continent, of which 65,000 live in China proper and 185,000 live in Manchuria. How to protect the lives and properties of these Japanese residents in China is one outstanding interest of Japan in China. In the second place Japan has vested interests in China and of course we have no accurate figure but some of us think it is around \$2,000,000,000 and others think \$1,000,000,000 gold, but I take it at the middle of this and say \$1,500,000,000 is invested in China, and out of this two-thirds is found in Manchuria, mostly in railways and mines and other establishments.

In the third place we have a trade interest. Trade with China because of the civil wars on the Chinese Continent, has not been progressing very far but at the moment we have around \$2,000,000 of import business mainly cotton, and a little over \$500,000 of export, and in Manchuria we have \$75,000,000 gold of import business and \$55,000,000 gold export into Manchuria.

Therefore Japan's China policy is formulated according to these different interests. Now Baron _____'s policy was to emphasize the

interests of trade with China. You can expand trade only when you have friendly relationships. So from sheer utilitarian standpoints Japan's friendly policy towards China is dictated by the sheer need of Japan to acquire an expanding market on the Chinese continent. Unfortunately, there are conflicting interests; that is, because of civil wars in China it becomes very difficult for the Japanese Government to protect the interests of its citizens in China. So when civil wars menace the lives and properties of Japanese residents in parts of China, the Japanese government took steps to protect the Japanese people on the spot by sending expeditionary forces as a police force, which was evidenced by the concentration of troops in 1927 and 1928; and also took steps to protect the vested interests. Unfortunately, this policy incurred the ill-will of China, and the Japanese merchants suffered. So the merchants did not like this policy, speaking entirely from the standpoint of a hard-boiled business man - because I do not want to discuss the other side of the picture. From sheer economic need Japan had to pursue the policy of protecting the Japanese interests and that dictated to us a more friendly attitude to China.

Therefore I can say at this moment the Japanese nation as a whole viewed from a sheer utilitarian viewpoint would not tolerate an aggressive policy towards China, which is in the long run for Japan's own interest, and ^{to} the ultimate end of Japan and China getting together as a cultural unit of the Asiatic peoples. Viewed from that standpoint, ~~and~~ ^{and} our long history which extends for twenty centuries of cultural commonness ^{between} of Japan and China, a more friendly understanding is dictated between China and Japan in which the younger generation of Japan is most interested. Therefore there is in Japan at present a marked revival of the study of the Oriental cultures. Along with the scientific mind given by the Western nations, the Japanese scholars and students are coming back to the

study of their heritage of Asiatic culture, and that I think will bring China and Japan closer and closer in later years. But there is a very serious factor, which we must not ignore.

This factor is the existence of Russia. Japan's interest in Russia is very simple. Our trade interests in Russia are very little. Our exports to Russia are only around \$10,000,000 gold and import only \$5,000,000 gold, so trade does not figure very largely. But there is one thing which is uppermost in the minds of the Japanese, that is the fishing interests that Japan has, the privilege of fishing in the territorial waters of Russia to the extent of an annual catch of \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 gold, which means a great deal for Japan, and most of the Japanese-Russian negotiations are for these fishing privileges, where the vital interests of not only the fishermen but our ~~impe~~ country are involved.

There is another factor, the greatest factor. What would be the policy of Russia towards China; if Russia takes the same old Czarist policy of penetration into China then Japan has a serious menace of having a strong western power on the Asiatic continent. ~~XXXXXX~~ Therefore the safety of China cannot be assured without Japan's close understanding with Russia. That is, I say, the basis of Japan's relations with Russia. ^P/There is another factor, too, which I think must be mentioned when you think of Japanese-Russian relations - how far is Russian communistic propaganda penetrating into China, India and Japan? In regard to Japan, around 1922, after the war, the labour party began to be very active and strong because of the prosperity throughout the country and this labour was under the theoretical leadership of the scholars. Around 1922 the leadership was under the anarchist theorists but this soon shifted to communist theorists. In 1922-23 the earthquake taught a lesson, that these new fangled notions would not help them very

much in hard times, and they moved to the right and came around more to the British labour party's standpoint, more or less a progressive socialism. That is the situation in Japan among the labour party, there is a fight for the extreme left wing tending to communism, and the bulk of the labour party tending to a social democracy. Among the students there is keen interest in the study of communism, particularly in the universities, but how far these young keen minds will continue to have their interest in socialism, and particularly communism, is a question on which many people do not agree. My impression, after going around the country all the time, is that the bulk of the Japanese nation - which is not in the big cities but located mostly in small towns and rural districts - are not under the influence of these foreign communist agitators. We have one trait, at least, which has saved us in the past, our tendency to unity, to getting together. In 1894 the political parties were violently attacking the bureaucratic government. But the moment China and Japan came into clash, all these political fights disappeared, all the political parties massed solidly behind the government and gave unanimous support. That is the thing that history taught us. We realised that a small nation is in a precarious condition and that the only thing that will save it is unity. We have to hang together or we shall be hanging separately.

I do not think the political life of Japan will be disturbed by the communist activities in regard to China, because if you think that Communism will spread very far in China you are underestimating the importance of Chinese culture. All kinds of governments and theories since the days of Confucius have been tried in China, but it is as the Chinese told the American. - For what are you here? - The American answered that he was invited by the Chinese government to come and teach them something about political science, about

government. - The Chinese replied - Well, you don't need to tell us Chinese anything about government, because we have had government in the past 5000 years, on and off.

I trust the commonsense of the Chinese people. They have some hard times with internal conflicts but I think that these new, raw Russian theories will not interest that mellow, profound, Chinese mind. So, as, in the past, China will continue and therefore this inroad of Russian penetration into China is not, I think, very profound.

The only serious thing is that ~~of~~ intellectual interest among the grown-up people in Japan, ~~and~~ that interest which used to be mostly in Anglo-Saxon culture is now, in the younger minds, more and more away from Anglo-Saxon interest. Therefore if this intellectual interest in the capitalistic countries of the west subsides and is superseded by a growing interest in these socialistic theories of Russia and Germany, 30 or 40 years from now there might arise in the western Pacific two opposing theories of state, one standing for Anglo-Saxon liberal policies, based on the Anglo-Saxon culture, and the other based on the collective idea of government. That, I think, is the supreme test before the Pacific powers. We might be dead by that time, but this serious problem now looms up before the whole Pacific powers on this side of the ocean too.

That is why I have been making bold to come around in this country very often and try to bring before you the importance of the coming contact with the two civilizations, and also, before it is too late, to ask you to extend your cultural interest to the Asiatic peoples and take more interest in our cultural civilization, because in Japan at the moment we are passing through the golden age of Japanese literature and art.

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DOCKET STARTS:

IMPERIAL HIGHNESSES VISIT
TO CANADA

(from JAPAN)

DEPARTMENT OF



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

Ottawa, 15th May, 1931.

Dear Sir:-

I am directed by the Prime Minister to express to you his very sincere thanks for the welcome extended by McGill University to Their Imperial Highnesses the Prince and the Princess Takamatsu of Japan during their sojourn in Montreal. The Secretary of State of Canada, the Honourable C. H. Cahan, has informed Mr. Bennett of the cordiality of the welcome as well as of the perfect arrangements which made it the success which it was. Your cooperation in connection with the official visit of Their Imperial Highnesses to Canada has been greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "O. J. Keenan".

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.,
The Principal,
McGill University,
Montreal.

DEPARTMENT OF



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

Ottawa, 24th April, 1931.

My dear Colonel Bovey:-

With reference to our conversation over the telephone today regarding the forthcoming visit to Canada of T.I.H. Prince and Princess Takamatsu, I may say that the Imperial Party will arrive at Montreal at 9.45 p.m., Wednesday, April 29, and intend to visit the University at 11.05 a.m., on Thursday, April 30. It would be greatly appreciated if Sir Arthur Currie could be present to receive T.I.H.

It is also intended that the Imperial Party should leave the University at 11.35 a.m., to continue their visit to other places.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Laurent Beaudry

Colonel W. Bovey,
McGill University,
Sherbrooke Street,
MONTREAL.

noted
Joining Stanley
Prepare address
welcome
AWL

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Office of the Principal
and Vice Chancellor.

To Their Imperial Highnesses
Prince & Princess Takamatsu of Japan
Greeting.

McGill University feels that you have conferred upon her a distinguished honour by your visit to her halls to-day. With all Canada we rejoice that in your wide travels you have included a visit to our country. Compared with yours in age, ours is but the child of yesterday, with all the ambitions and aspirations of youth. Yet we do not forget that the people of Japan have shown a freshness, a vigour, an enthusiasm and an adaptiveness of which any young country might be proud. With all this, they have retained the grace of life and the loyalty of heart and purpose that go with an ancient tradition. We appreciate your interest in us, an interest most warmly reciprocated.

McGill University, one of the oldest institutions in this old city of Montreal, has its roots and interests in Canada as a whole and extending far beyond our national boundaries. Students come from and graduates go to all parts of the world. We belong to an Empire whose seat and mighty heart lies across the Atlantic, yet we are not unmindful of our Western gateway opening out to the Pacific and the Far East. We have long had an active interest in that world. We are interested in the fast-increasing trade with those peoples, ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ their history, their culture and their way of life. Above all are we interested in having the widest of oceans live up to its name. The peace of the Pacific ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ will largely depend on the mutual good will, respect and understanding of the ^{those} ~~peoples~~ who live by its shores.

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Office of the Principal
and Vice Chancellor.

2.

It is here that universities may assist foreign policy. Here men study the histories and cultures of other countries. In McGill we are proud of the steps we have already taken to understand some of the civilisations of the East, ^{and} We have every confidence in the growth and influence of the Department established here for that purpose. (no paragraph)

Your gracious visit to us is another link in our interest in the East, and especially in Japan.

To your Imperial Highnesses we tender our heartfelt welcome, and through you, if we may, we send a message of greeting to the beautiful and wonderful island kingdom of Japan.

On behalf of the Governors & Fellows
of McGill University _____ Chancellor

Seal

Principal
over

Registrar

Your Imperial Highnesses:

McGill University is honoured by your visit!

We Canadians are pleased that you come from your far and beautiful island kingdom to visit our wide country. You are an old country, and we a young country, and yet we do not forget that your people have shown a youthfulness, a freshness, an adaptiveness of which a young country might be proud. With all this, your people have retained the grace of life and the loyalty of heart and purpose that go with an ancient tradition. We appreciate your courtesy in being interested in us. We assure you that we are not less interested in you.

McGill University, proud of its position in Montreal, and of its history in Montreal, is an institution with roots and interests in Canada as a whole. Students come to us from the whole of Canada, we send graduates all over Canada. But our interests are not limited to our own country. We receive students from many parts of the world, and we have sent graduates to all parts of the world. We belong to an Empire whose seat and mighty heart lies across the Atlantic. We have another door that gives out on the Pacific. McGill University has long had an active interest in the Pacific. We are interested not a little in the great and increasing trade carried over it. We are interested in the politics and culture of the peoples who teem on its farther shore. We are interested, above all, I think, in having the widest of oceans live up to its name. We want it to be a Pacific Ocean! Peace and friendship may well be based on trade and the mutual advantages which trade means; but peace is most secure when there is mutual understanding, mutual respect. It is here that universities may

assist foreign policy. For in universities men study the histories and cultures of other countries. In McGill we are proud of steps that we have already taken to understand some of the civilisations of the East. We have made only a beginning, but we hope these beginnings will grow.

Your gracious visit to us is another link in our interest in the East, and especially in Japan.

To you, Your Imperial Highnesses, we tender our heartfelt welcome, and, through you, if we may, we send a message of greeting to your beautiful and wonderful country, Japan.

CWS

No
AWG - DM

MCGILL UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL

SUPERINTENDENT ENGINEER'S
DEPARTMENT

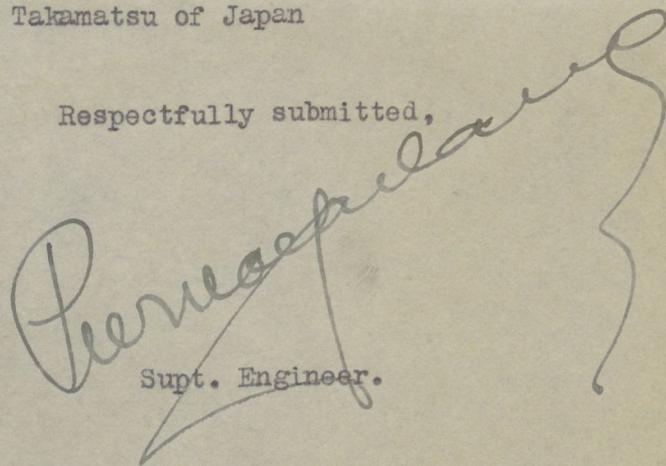
April 29th, 1931.

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

Dear Sir:-

We attach copy of suggested arrangements for City
Police and our Grounds Staff in connection with the visit of
T.I.H. The Prince and the Princess Takamatsu of Japan

Respectfully submitted,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, slanted upwards from left to right. The signature appears to read 'P.W. MacFarlane'.

P.W. MacFarlane/D.

Supt. Engineer.

GROUNDS ARRANGEMENTS
IN CONNECTION WITH
THE VISIT OF T.I.H. THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS TAKAMATSU
OF JAPAN

The following entrances to our grounds will be closed to the public at 10:00 a.m., April 30th:-

North end of Biology Building.
McTavish Street.
Main Gates.

Barriers will be neatly painted.

Two members of our grounds staff will be stationed at each barrier who will permit University staff cars and trucks to pass.

The grounds officer, Summers and one assistant will be stationed at the Main Gate for the same purpose.

Staff cars will not park at or around the Arts Building or Redpath Museum and Library until after the departure of the Imperial Party and a member of the staff will be stationed at these points to assure that this order is carried out.

Staff and University Traffic will be diverted east of the Main Ave., which must be kept clear.

P.W.MacFarlane/D.

P.W. MacFarlane
SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER.

(2)

CITY POLICE.

City Police under the direction of Captain Leggett will be stationed as follows:-

Main Gate	2 mounted constables. 2 foot constables.
Main Intersection	4 foot constables.
Arts Building Steps	6 foot constables.
" " " (left)	3 foot constables.
" " " (right)	3 foot constables.
Redpath Library Entrance	4 foot constables.

The Imperial Party's cars and police escort will park in the area between the rear of the Redpath Museum and the west end of the Arts Building.

The Imperial Party will leave the grounds by the Main Gate.

Movie-Tone cars will park as directed by the Superintendent Engineer.

P.W.MacF/D.

P. W. MacFarlane
SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Visit to Canada

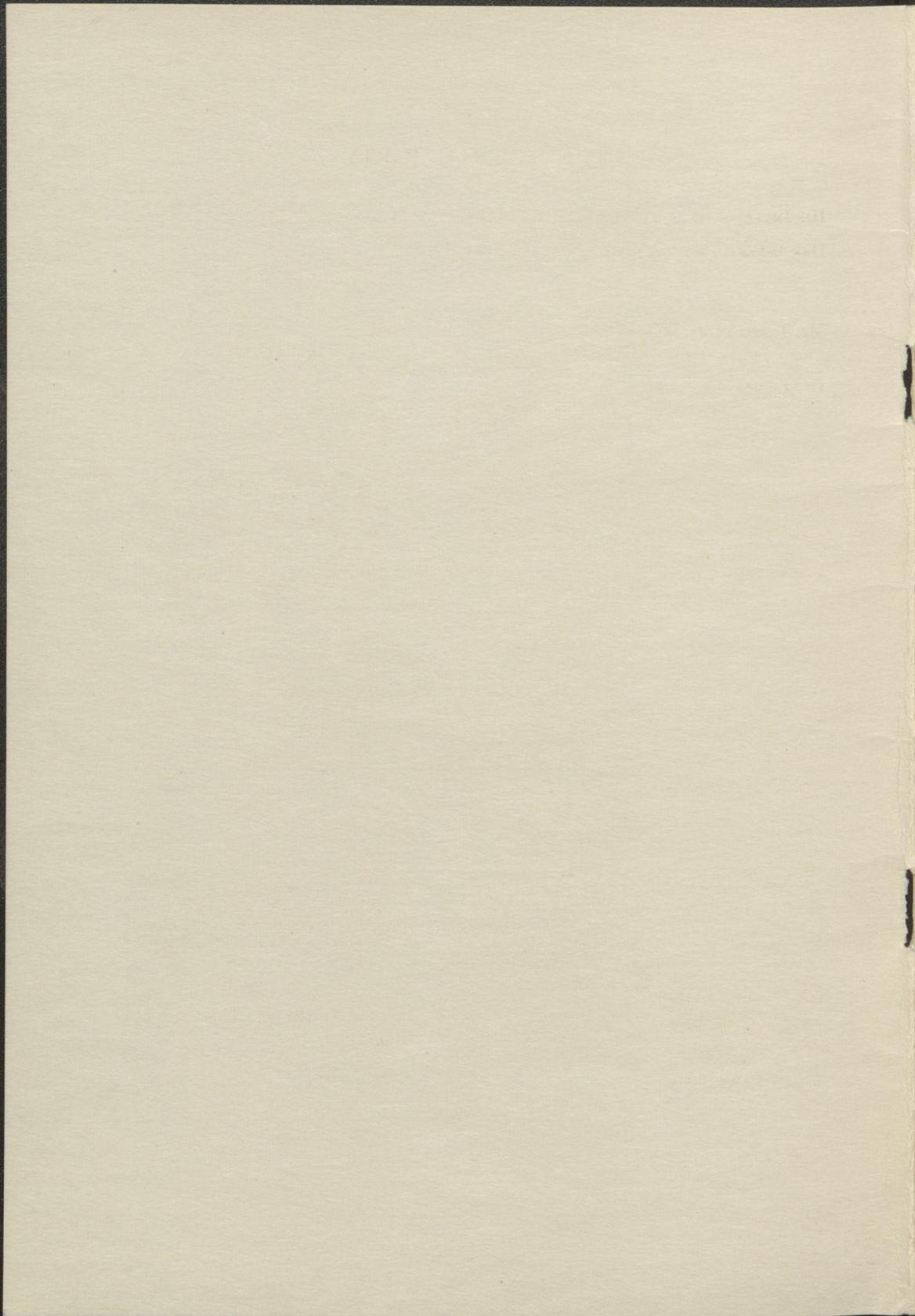
of

Their Imperial Highnesses
The Prince and the Princess Takamatsu
of Japan

1931

ARRANGEMENTS

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA



THE IMPERIAL PARTY

HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE TAKAMATSU OF JAPAN.

HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS TAKAMATSU.

Mr. Takeo Yamagata,
Master of Ceremonies.

Dr. Tsuneo Sakamoto,
Physician to the Household of His Imperial Highness.

Lieutenant-Commander Kyosuke Midzuno,
Aide-de-camp to His Imperial Highness.

Mrs. Takako Ochiai,
Lady-in-Waiting to Her Imperial Highness.

Mr. Minoru Kuroda,
Clerk of the Imperial Household Department.

Mr. Chuji Shibuya,
Clerk of the Imperial Household Department.

Miss Takeko Yamaki,
Lady's Maid.

REPRESENTATIVES OF JAPAN

DIPLOMATIC

The Japanese Minister to Canada, Mr. Iyemasa Tokugawa, will accompany Their Imperial Highnesses during their sojourn in Canada.

During the visit to Ottawa, the members of the Staff of the Legation of Japan will, as opportunity arises, be present in connection with the entertainment of the Imperial Party.

CONSULAR

The Japanese Vice-Consul in New York City, Mr. N. Fujimura, will be with the Imperial Party from Boston to Quebec City.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

The Hon. Maurice Dupré, K.C., M.P., will, on behalf of the Prime Minister and Government of Canada, welcome Their Imperial Highnesses on their arrival.

Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of the Government of Canada during their visit to the Dominion.

During the course of the visit members of the Government will, as opportunity arises, be present in connection with the entertainment of the Imperial Visitors in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

CABINET MINISTERS PRESENT

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

at Quebec

The Honourable Maurice Dupré, K.C., M.P., Solicitor-General.

at Montreal

The Honourable C. H. Cahan, K.C., M.P., Secretary of State of Canada.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

at Ottawa

The Right Honourable the Prime Minister and the Members of his Cabinet.

from Ottawa to Toronto, thence to Niagara Falls and Windsor

The Honourable C. H. Cahan, K.C., M.P., Secretary of State of Canada.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN ATTENDANCE THROUGHOUT THE TOUR

Laurent Beaudry, Counsellor,
Department of External Affairs.

J. W. Pugsley, Secretary,
Department of Railways and Canals.

Captain C. H. Hill,
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Condensed Itinerary

(The Itinerary is based on *Daylight Saving Time*, which is
one hour in advance of Standard Time.)

	Date of arrival	Time of arrival	Date of leaving	Time of leaving
Quebec.....	Tue. April 28	12.55 p.m. (D.S.T.)	Wed. April 29	By C.P.R., 5.15 p.m. (D.S.T.)
Montreal.....	Wed. April 29	9.45 p.m. (D.S.T.)	Sat. May 2	By C.P.R., 9.20 a.m. (D.S.T.)
Ottawa.....	Sat. May 2	12 noon. (D.S.T.)	Wed. May 6	By C.N.R., 2.20 p.m. (D.S.T.)
Toronto.....	Wed. May 6	8.00 p.m. (D.S.T.)	Sat. May 9	By C.N.R., 2.50 p.m. (D.S.T.)
Niagara Falls...	Sat. May 9	4.20 p.m. (Standard Time)	Sun. May 10	By C.N.R., 1.00 p.m. (Standard Time)

All entries on the following pages which are shown in heavier type are extracts from the Official Programme. Other entries are explanatory or in amplification.

BOSTON

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Monday, April 27	9.00 p.m.	<p data-bbox="539 352 659 378">Departure.</p> <ol data-bbox="539 395 1098 578" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="539 395 1098 517">(1) When the Imperial Party reaches the Border (Beebe Junction), at 5.57 a.m. on the following morning, Mr. Laurent Beaudry and Captain Hill, accompanied by two members, in plain clothes, of the R.C.M.P., will board the train.<li data-bbox="539 526 1098 578">(2) About 10.00 a.m., Mr. Beaudry will present his compliments to Mr. Yamagata.

CHARNY, P.Q.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Tuesday, April 28	12.22 p.m.	<p>The Solicitor General, on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Government of Canada, will welcome Their Imperial Highnesses.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) The Honourable Mr. Dupré will have driven from Quebec to Charny.(2) The Japanese Minister will present to T.I.H. the Solicitor General.(3) Mr. Dupré and Mr. Tokugawa will proceed to Quebec with T.I.H.

QUEBEC

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Tuesday, April 28	12.55 p.m.	<p>Arrive at "Du Palais" Station.</p> <p>His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor, The Premier of the Province of Quebec, The Mayor of the City of Quebec, and The District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 5, will greet Their Imperial Highnesses.</p> <p>A Royal Salute of 21 guns will be fired on arrival.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) The Solicitor General will make the introductions on the station platform. (2) There will be no addresses or speeches. (3) The Guard of Honour (Royal 22nd Regiment) will be drawn up in front of the station. (4) The City of Quebec will provide police protection at the station. (5) The procession to the Chateau Frontenac will be preceded by police motor cyclists to clear and direct the route. (6) The following order will be observed, in the cars which the Imperial Party will occupy:— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (i) T.I.H. and A.D.C. (one member of the R.C.M.P. will sit with the chauffeur). (ii) The Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Carroll. (iii) Mr. I. Tokugawa, the Solicitor General, and Madame Dupré. (iv) Mr. Yamagata and the Premier of Quebec. (v) The Mayor and Madame Lavigueur. (vi) Dr. Sakamoto, Mrs. Ochiai and Mr. Beaudry. (vii) Brigadier and Madame P. S. Benoit, and Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. J. P. U. Archambault. (viii) N. Fujimura, Japanese Vice-Consul in New York City, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. J. H. Price. (ix) A.D.C. Fages, A.D.C. Brousseau and the Secretary of the Premier of Quebec. (x) Mr. Kuroda, Mr. Shibuya and Miss Yamaki. (The other member of the R.C.M.P. will sit with the chauffeur.) (7) The Imperial Party will be directed to their rooms on the twelfth floor.

QUEBEC

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Tuesday, April 28	1.45 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of the Premier of Quebec and the Members of his Cabinet at Luncheon at the Chateau Frontenac.</p> <p>(1) The Secretary of the Premier of Quebec will conduct T.I.H. and the A.D.C., Mr. Yamagata, Dr. Sakamoto and Mrs. Ochiai, as well as Mr. Tokugawa, who will be accompanied by Mr. Beaudry, from their rooms to the drawing-room where the Premier of Quebec, with the Honourable Maurice and Madame Dupré, will await their presence.</p> <p>(2) Toasts: (1) His Majesty the King; (2) His Majesty the Emperor of Japan; (3) Their Imperial Highnesses.</p> <p>(3) There will be no speeches.</p> <p>(4) It is probable that T.I.H. will desire privacy after lunch, before starting the drive around Quebec at 3.30 p.m.</p>
	3.30 p.m.	<p>The Imperial Party will leave the Chateau Frontenac to visit Quebec and Montmorency Falls.</p> <p>(1) There will be four 7-passenger limousines waiting at the entrance of the hotel for the Imperial party.</p> <p>(2) The seating in the cars, which will be numbered, will be as follows:— No. 1. T.I.H. and A.D.C. Mr. I. Tokugawa. No. 2. Mr. Yamagata. Hon. Mr. and Madame Dupré. No. 3. Dr. Sakamoto. Mrs. Ochiai. Mr. Laurent Beaudry. No. 4. Mr. Kuroda. Mr. Shibuya. Miss Yamaki.</p> <p>(The two members of the R.C.M.P. will sit with the chauffeurs in Nos. 1 and 4 cars.)</p> <p>(3) Another car, containing provincial officials, will accompany the party and direct the route of the sight seeing.</p> <p>(4) 5.00 p.m. Return to Chateau Frontenac Hotel.</p>

QUEBEC

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Tuesday, April 28	5.30 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests at Tea of Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Archambault at the Citadel.</p> <p>(1) At 5.20 p.m., T.I.H. and the A.D.C. will leave for the Citadel.</p> <p>(2) They will be accompanied by the Hon. Mr. and Madame Dupré, Mr. Tokugawa, Mr. Yamagata, Dr. Sakamoto, Mrs. Ochiai, and Mr. Beaudry.</p> <p>The Imperial Party will return to the hotel at 6.30.</p>
	8.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec at Dinner at Spencerwood.</p> <p>(1) The Imperial Party will leave the Chateau Frontenac at 7.45 p.m., and proceed to Spencerwood.</p> <p>(2) The Toasts during the Dinner will be as already mentioned. There will be no speeches.</p> <p>(3) Evening Dress. Decorations.</p>
	9.30 p.m.	<p>Official Reception at Spencerwood.</p>

QUEBEC

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Wednesday, April 29	10.30 a.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will visit the Harbour of Quebec, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel J. O'Meara, Chairman of the Harbour Commission.</p> <p>(1) At 10.15 a.m., the Imperial Party will leave the Chateau Frontenac, in their cars, and proceed to the Offices of the Harbour Commission. The Chairman will await the arrival of T.I.H. and then be presented by the Solicitor General.</p> <p>(2) The "Lady Grey" will take the Imperial Party in the direction of the Island of Orleans; thence to the Quebec Bridge passing the shipyards of the Davie Company en route.</p>
	12.30 p.m.	Return to the Chateau Frontenac.
	1.30 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Price at Luncheon at the Winter Club.</p> <p>(i) At 1.20 p.m. the Imperial Party will leave for the Club in their cars.</p> <p>(ii) They will be met by Colonel Price at the entrance of the Club.</p>
		3.00 p.m. Return to the Chateau Frontenac Hotel.
	5.15 p.m.	<p>Departure for Montreal.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <p>(1) At 4.45 p.m., the Imperial Party will leave the Chateau Frontenac for the Station.</p> <p>(2) The Guard of Honour (Royal 22nd Regiment) will be drawn up in front of the Station.</p>

MONTREAL

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Wednesday, April 29	9.45 p.m.	<p>Arrive Windsor Station.</p> <p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be welcomed by The Secretary of State of Canada, The Mayor of the City of Montreal, and The District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 4.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <p>(1) The Solicitor General will introduce to T.I.H. The Secretary of State, who will make the other introductions on the station platform.</p> <p>(2) There will be no addresses or speeches.</p> <p>(3) The Guard of Honour (Victoria Rifles of Canada) will be drawn up in the station Concourse, facing the railway tracks.</p> <p>(4) The Canadian Pacific Railway and the City of Montreal will provide police protection at the station.</p> <p>(5) City mounted police will control traffic outside the station.</p> <p>(6) The City of Montreal will provide the police motor cyclists to clear and direct the route.</p> <p>(7) Captain C. H. Hill will superintend the seating in the cars which the Imperial Party will occupy.</p> <p>(8) In the procession, the following order will be observed:—</p> <p>No. 1. T.I.H. and A.D.C. (One member of the R.C.M.P. will sit with the chauffeur.)</p> <p>No. 2. Mr. Tokugawa. Mr. Yamagata. The Secretary of State. Mrs. Cahan.</p> <p>No. 3. Dr. Sakamoto. Mrs. Ochiai. The Solicitor General. Mr. Beaudry.</p> <p>No. 4. The Mayor, The Mayoress.</p> <p>No. 5. The District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 4.</p>

MONTREAL

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Wednesday, April 29	9.45 p.m.	<p>No. 6. Mr. J. W. McConnell. Mrs. McConnell.</p> <p>No. 7. Sir Henry Thornton. Lady Thornton.</p> <p>No. 8. Mr. Kuroda. Mr. Shibuya. Miss Yamaki. (The other member of the R.C.M.P. will sit with the chauffeur.)</p> <p>(9) The Imperial Party will proceed to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel via Windsor and St. Catherine (West) Streets so as to turn to the right when entering Sherbrooke Street and to reach the south side of Sherbrooke without turning on that street.</p> <p>(10) The Imperial Party will be conducted to their rooms on the second floor of the hotel.</p>
Thursday, April 30	11.00 a.m.	<p>Leave Ritz-Carlton for visit to points of interest.</p> <p>(1) Captain C. H. Hill will superintend the seating in the four motor cars.</p> <p>(2) The City of Montreal will provide police motor-cyclists.</p> <p>11.05 a.m. Arrive McGill University. The Secretary of State will present to T.I.H. the Principal of the University who will await their arrival at the entrance of McGill College.</p> <p>11.35 a.m. Leave McGill University,</p> <p>11.45 a.m. Arrive Sun Life Building. The Secretary of State will present to T.I.H. the President, Mr. T. B. Macaulay, who will await their arrival at the entrance.</p> <p>12.15 p.m. Leave Sun Life Building.</p> <p>12.30 p.m. Arrive Ritz-Carlton Hotel.</p>
	1.30 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests at Luncheon of Mr. J. W. McConnell at the Mount Royal Club.</p> <p>1.25 p.m. Leave the Ritz-Carlton Hotel.</p>

MONTREAL

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Thursday, April 30	3.00 p.m.	<p>Visit to The Harbour, The Bank of Montreal, and The Royal Bank of Canada.</p> <p>(Car No. 4 with Mr. Kuroda, Mr. Shibuya and Miss Yamaki will leave the Ritz-Carlton Hotel at 2.55 p.m. and join The Imperial Party at the Mount Royal Club.)</p> <p>The Imperial Party will drive to the offices of the Montreal Board of Harbour Commissioners. The Chairman, Mr. J. H. Rainville, K.C., will await the arrival of T.I.H. and will then be presented by The Secretary of State.</p> <p>4.30 p.m. Leave the Harbour by motor.</p> <p>4.40 p.m. Arrive at the Bank of Montreal, 119 St. James St. West, where the President, Sir Charles Gordon, G.B.E., will await the arrival of T.I.H. at the entrance and be presented by The Secretary of State.</p> <p>5.15 p.m. Leave the Bank of Montreal.</p> <p>5.20 p.m. Arrive at The Royal Bank of Canada, 360 St. James St. West, where the President, Sir Herbert G. Holt, will await the arrival of T.I.H. at the entrance and be presented by The Secretary of State.</p> <p>5.55 p.m. Leave The Royal Bank of Canada.</p> <p>6.00 p.m. Arrive Ritz-Carlton Hotel.</p>
Thursday, April 30	8.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of the Government of Canada at a Dinner presided over by the Secretary of State of Canada, at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel.</p> <p>(1) At 7.55 p.m. Mr. Beaudry will call at the Apartments of T.I.H. and conduct the Imperial Party to the Reception Room, where the Secretary of State will await them.</p> <p>(2) The guests will be presented to T.I.H. by the Secretary of State.</p> <p>(3) Toasts:—(1) His Majesty the King; (2) His Majesty the Emperor of Japan; (3) Their Imperial Highnesses.</p> <p>(4) There will be no speeches.</p> <p>(5) Evening Dress. Decorations.</p>

MONTREAL

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Friday, May 1	Morning	Rest.
	1.30 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of Sir Henry Thornton at Luncheon at Laval (on the Lake) Club.</p> <p>(1) The Imperial Party will leave the hotel at 12.30 p.m. and drive to the Club.</p> <p>(2) City police motor cyclists will clear and direct the route.</p> <p>(3) Sir Henry and Lady Thornton will await the Party at the entrance of the Club.</p> <p>(4) There will be no speeches.</p> <p>(5) T.I.H. will leave the Club at 3.00 p.m.</p> <p>(6) 4.00 p.m. Arrive at the hotel.</p> <p>(7) 4.00 to 8.00 p.m. Rest.</p>
	8.00 p.m.	Their Imperial Highnesses will have dinner informally.
Saturday, May 2	9.20 a.m.	<p>Leave Montreal.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <p>(1) The Imperial Party will proceed from the hotel at 9.00 a.m.</p> <p>(2) The city police motor cyclists will direct the route.</p> <p>(3) The Guard of Honour (Black Watch) will be drawn up in the Station Concourse facing the Railway tracks.</p>

OTTAWA

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Saturday, May 2	12 (noon)	<p>Arrive Ottawa.</p> <p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be welcomed by Representatives of His Excellency The Governor General, by the Prime Minister of Canada and Members of the Cabinet, the Chief of the General Staff and Officers, and the Mayor of the City of Ottawa, at the Union Station.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <p>(1) The Public Works Department will make arrangements for the decoration of the station and other arrangements relating to the arrival on the platform.</p> <p>(2) The Guard of Honour (Ottawa Highlanders) will be drawn up on the platform.</p> <p>(3) The Secretary of State will commence the introductions immediately on arrival.</p> <p>(4) The Diplomatic Representatives will be presented to T.I.H.</p> <p>(5) There will be no addresses.</p> <p>(6) A detachment of "A" Division, R.C.M.P., will form a double line from the train to the tunnel leading to the Chateau Laurier Hotel.</p> <p>(7) The Imperial Party will proceed to the hotel through the tunnel, at the end of which they will be awaited by C.N.R. officers who will conduct them to their rooms.</p>
	1.00 p.m.	<p>Luncheon (informal).</p>
	3.00 p.m.	<p>Motor drive to points of interest: Experimental Farm.</p> <p>(1) There will be four 7-passenger limousines waiting at the Ball Room Entrance of the Hotel.</p> <p>(2) The seating in the cars will be as follows:—</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">No. 1. T.I.H. and A.D.C. Mr. Tokugawa.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">No. 2. The Secretary of State. Mr. Yamagata.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">No. 3. Dr. Sakamoto. Mrs. Ochiai. Mr. Beaudry.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">No. 4. Mr. Kuroda. Mr. Shibuya. Miss Yamaki.</p>

OTTAWA

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
<p>Saturday, May 2</p>	<p>3.00 p.m.</p>	<p>(3) Another car, containing officials, will accompany the Party.</p> <p>(4) The R.C.M.P., The City of Ottawa, and Province of Quebec Police motor cyclists will co-operate in the provision of traffic control; preceding and following the Imperial Party for the entire route.</p> <p>(5) The contemplated route will be as follows:— Chateau Laurier Ball Room Entrance, McKenzie Ave., The Plaza, Wellington St. Parliament Hill East Entrance, East side of East Block, North of Parliament Buildings East side of West Block, Central exit, Wellington St., Turn South at Post Office to Driveway to Dow's Lake, Experimental Farm (no stop).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Return</p> <p>Carling Avenue, Island Park Drive, Champlain Bridge, Aylmer Road, Hull, Alexandra Bridge, Sussex Street, Turn North at Printing Bureau, Driveway to Rockcliffe.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Return</p> <p>Via Minto Bridges, King Edward Avenue, Laurier Ave. East, Laurier Ave. Bridge, Turn left near Drill Hall, Cartier Square, Driveway, Plaza, Chateau Laurier (Ball Room Entrance).</p> <p>(6) Informal Tea en route as the guests of Lady Perley at the Country Club.</p>
	<p>6.00 p.m.</p>	<p>Return to Chateau Laurier. Rest.</p>

OTTAWA

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Saturday, May 2	8.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests at Dinner of Their Excellencies The Governor General and The Countess of Bessborough, at Government House.</p> <p>(1) 7.45 p.m. Leave Chateau Laurier.</p> <p>(2) Evening Dress. Decorations.</p>
Sunday, May 3		<p>Rest.</p> <p>(1) 8.00 p.m. T.I.H. will be entertained privately by The Japanese Minister at his residence.</p>
Monday, May 4	11.00 a.m.	<p>Visit to Parliament Buildings.</p> <p>(1) On arrival at Main Entrance T.I.H. will be met by the Prime Minister who will introduce to T.I.H. The Speaker of the Senate and Madame Blondin, and the Speaker of the House of Commons and Mrs. Black.</p> <p>(2) Suitable airs will be played on the carillon from 10.53 a.m. to 10.58 a.m., and from 11.03 a.m. to 11.15 a.m.</p> <p>(3) Visit to:— Senate Chamber, Commons Chamber, The Library, Memorial Chamber, The Tower.</p> <p>(4) 12.15 p.m. Return to Chateau Laurier.</p>
	1.00 p.m.	Lunch (informal).
	2.30 p.m.	<p>Visit to the Dominion Archives.</p> <p>(1) On arrival at the Archives Building, The Secretary of State will introduce to T.I.H. the Dominion Archivist, Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G.</p> <p>(2) Leave Archives Building at 3.30 p.m. It is expected that T.I.H. will visit The Victoria Museum. In such case, arrangements will be of an informal character.</p> <p>(3) The arrangements will be made accordingly by the Deputy Minister of Mines and the Director of the Art Gallery.</p>

OTTAWA

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Monday, May 4	5.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests at a Reception given by The Speaker of the Senate and Madame Blondin and The Speaker of the House of Commons and Mrs. Black, at The Parliament Buildings.</p> <p>(1) T.I.H. will be met at the Main Entrance.</p> <p>(2) Suitable airs will be played on the carillon from 4.53 p.m. to 4.58 p.m., and from 5.03 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.</p>
	6.15 p.m.	<p>Return to Chateau Laurier.</p>
	8.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests at Dinner of the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government of Canada, at the Chateau Laurier.</p> <p>(1) At 7.55 p.m. Mr. Beaudry will present himself at the apartments of T.I.H. and conduct the Imperial Party to the Drawing Room (near Ball Room Entrance) where the Prime Minister will await them.</p> <p>(2) The guests will be presented to T.I.H. by the Prime Minister.</p> <p>(3) Procession to Banquet Room.</p> <p>(4) Toasts:—(1) His Majesty The King. (2) His Majesty The Emperor of Japan. (3) Their Imperial Highnesses.</p> <p>(5) There will be no speeches.</p> <p>(6) Evening Dress. Decorations.</p>
Tuesday, May 5	11.00 a.m.	<p>Visit Mills of the E. B. Eddy Co.</p> <p>(1). 10.50 a.m., leave Chateau Laurier. Upon arrival at offices of the E. B. Eddy Co., the Secretary of State will introduce to T.I.H. the President, Mr. Victor Drury, who will conduct the Imperial Party.</p> <p>(2) 12.15 p.m., return to Chateau Laurier.</p>
	1.00 p.m.	<p>His Imperial Highness will be the guest at Luncheon of the Canadian Club of Ottawa at the Chateau Laurier.</p> <p>(1) 12.55 p.m. Mr. Beaudry will present himself at H.I.H.'s apartments and conduct him to the Reception Room downstairs, where the Secretary of State will introduce to H.I.H., the President of the Club, Mr. Arthur Beuchesne, K.C.</p> <p>(2) Her Imperial Highness will lunch informally with Mrs. Ochiai.</p> <p>(3) 2.30 p.m. H.I.H. returns to his apartments.</p>

OTTAWA

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Tuesday, May 5	4.00 p.m.	<p>Canadian Motion Pictures.</p> <p>3.55 p.m. T.I.H. leave Chateau Laurier (Ball Room Entrance) via McKenzie Avenue to Sussex Street.</p> <p>4.00 p.m. Arrive National Research Building, John St., near Sussex St. The Secretary of State will introduce to T.I.H., Mr. F. C. T. O'Hara, representing the Minister of Trade and Commerce.</p>
	6.00 p.m.	Return to Hotel.
	7.30 p.m.	Their Imperial Highnesses will be the Guests at Dinner of the Japanese Minister at the Chateau Laurier.
	9.30 p.m.	<p>Reception by Japanese Minister.</p> <p>(1) The Reception will be held at the Chateau Laurier.</p>
	Morning.	<p>Rest.</p> <p>(1) 12.30 p.m. T.I.H. will lunch privately.</p>
Wednesday, May 6	2.20 p.m.	<p>Leave by Train for Toronto.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <p>(1) 1.50 p.m. T.I.H. will leave Chateau Laurier for Government House to say Goodbye to His Excellency The Governor General.</p> <p>(2) 2.08 p.m. Leave Government House.</p> <p>(3) The Governor General's Secretary with an A.D.C. will accompany T.I.H. to the station.</p> <p>(4) 2.15 p.m. Arrive Union Station.</p> <p>(5) The Guard of Honour (Governor General's Foot Guards) will be drawn up on the station platform.</p>

TORONTO

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Wednesday, May 6	8.00 p.m.	<p>Arrive Toronto.</p> <p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be welcomed by a representative of His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor, The Premier of Ontario and the members of his Government, the Mayor of the City of Toronto, the District Officer Commanding M.D. No. 2.</p> <p>Guard of Honour.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) The Secretary of State of Canada will make the introductions. (2) There will be no addresses. (3) The City of Toronto will provide police protection at the station. (4) Arrangements will be made by the City authorities and the Canadian National Railways to organize a clear passage from the railway tracks to Front Street. (5) The Guard of Honour (Royal Canadian Regiment) will be drawn up on Front Street, facing the Station. (6) A place will be reserved for the Japanese residents to welcome T.I.H. (7) T.I.H., accompanied by the Secretary of State of Canada, reaching the Royal York Hotel across the Street, will be directed to their rooms.
	8.30 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will have dinner informally.</p>
Thursday, May 7	11.00 a.m.	<p>Leave to Visit the University of Toronto.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Captain C. H. Hill will superintend the seating in the 4 motor cars, which will be available at the door of the hotel. (2) The City of Toronto will provide police motor cyclists. (3) The Imperial Party will leave for the University at 10.50 a.m. (4) The President of the University of Toronto, Sir Robert Falconer, will await the arrival of T.I.H. at the entrance and will be presented to T.I.H. by the Secretary of State. (5) 12 (noon). Leave the University of Toronto and return to the hotel.

TORONTO

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Thursday, May 7	1.00 p.m.	Luncheon (informal).
	3.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will visit the Parliament Building.</p> <p>(1) The Imperial Party will leave at 2.45 p.m. (2) They will be met at the entrance by the Premier of Ontario, who, with his colleague the Attorney General, Lieut.-Col. the Hon. W. H. Price, will conduct the visit. (3) Return to the hotel, at 4.30 p.m. (4) Rest, till 8 p.m.</p>
	8.00 p.m.	<p>Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Ontario at Dinner at Government House.</p> <p>The Imperial Party will leave the Royal York at 7.45 p.m. and proceed to Government House.</p> <p>(1) Evening dress. Decorations. (2) Toasts. As previously indicated.</p>
	9.30 p.m.	Official Reception at Government House.
Friday, May 8	Morning	Rest.
	1.00 p.m.	<p>His Imperial Highness will be the guest of the Premier of Ontario at Luncheon in the Parliament Building.</p> <p>(1) The Imperial Party will leave the hotel at 12.45 p.m. (2) The Premier will await the arrival of H.I.H. at the entrance of the Building. (3) Her Imperial Highness and Mrs. Ochiai will lunch privately.</p>
	3.00 p.m.	<p>Drive around Toronto.</p> <p>(1) After the luncheon by the Provincial Premier, His Imperial Highness and Suite will join Her Imperial Highness at the hotel, whence the whole Imperial Party will leave for a drive to Sunnyside. (2) The Imperial Party will proceed in the cars made available at the hotel.</p>

TORONTO

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME (1 HOUR IN ADVANCE OF EASTERN STANDARD TIME)

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Friday, May 8	3.00 p.m.	(3) Another car, occupied by Officials, will accompany the party. (4) 4.00 p.m. Return to the hotel.
	5.00 p.m.	Their Imperial Highnesses will be the guests of the Chairman and Council of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at Tea at the residence of Mrs. D. A. Dunlap. (1) The Imperial Party will leave the hotel at 4.30 p.m. and proceed to 93 Highlands Avenue. (2) 6.00 Return to the hotel.
	8.00 p.m.	Their Imperial Highnesses will have dinner informally. (1) At 9.00 p.m., T.I.H. will pay an informal visit to the Horse Show.
	Morning	Rest.
Saturday, May 9	2.50 p.m.	Leave Toronto. Guard of Honour. (1) At 2.40 p.m., the Imperial Party will leave the hotel. (2) The Guard of Honour (Royal Canadian Regiment) will be drawn up on Front Street. (3) Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable W. H. Price, Attorney-General of the Province of Ontario, will accompany the Imperial Party to Niagara Falls and Windsor. (4) Mr. R. Home Smith, Chairman of the Niagara Parks Commission, will accompany the Imperial Party to Niagara Falls.

NIAGARA FALLS, ONTARIO

DATE	HOUR	EVENTS
Saturday, May 9	4.20 p.m. (Standard Time)	<p>Arrive Niagara Falls, Ontario.</p> <p>(1) The visit to Niagara Falls will be of an informal character.</p> <p>(2) The Mayor of Niagara Falls and the Hon. James D. Chaplin, M.P. (St. Catharines), will be at the station to extend greetings.</p> <p>(3) Major Bond, manager of the National Parks Commission, will make arrangements relating to the visit.</p> <p>(4) The Imperial Party will drive from the station to Mr. Grant's House, where tea will be served.</p> <p>(5) 5.30 p.m. (Standard Time). T.I.H. will go to the General Brock Hotel.</p> <p>(6) 8.00 p.m. (Standard Time). Illumination of the Falls.</p>
Sunday, May 10	1.00 p.m. (Standard Time)	<p>Leave Niagara Falls.</p> <p>Before leaving, T.I.H. will go under the Falls. The Imperial Party will travel to Detroit without breaking their journey.</p>

NIAGARA FALLS, ONTARIO

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DOCKET ENDS:

IMPERIAL HIGHWESSES

VISIT TO CANADA

(from JAPAN)

SENDAGAYA MACHI
TOKYO

July 10th 1931

My dear Sir Arthur

I have great pleasure in introducing to you my friend Prof. Tatsunosuke Ueda who is one of the professors of Tokyo University of Commerce & is in charge of a course for English & American ideas & Institutions. His official mission in Canada & in the United States is to study Economic Conditions with special reference to recent developments in business methods. I shall be most grateful to you if you

will see him & give him necessary
suggestions.

Princess & I were very pleased
to welcome you & Lady Currie
here & trust both of you have
returned home safely after a
long & pleasant trip.

Believe me

Yours most sincerely

Tokujiro

August 17th, 1931.

On the fifteenth your friend Professor Tatsunosuke Ueda called on me at my house on McTavish Street. It was Saturday and he caught me just as I was leaving to spend the day in the country. As he went on to New York that night it was impossible for us to have more than a brief ten minutes conversation. We had no time to discuss schools of commerce or business conditions in Canada and I was indeed sorry, because he seemed to me a most pleasant, well informed man, and it would have given me great pleasure to have shown him some courtesy while here. I was glad to be told that her left you and the Princess in excellent health.

My wife and I reached home on the twenty-sixth of April. It was a fast trip across the Pacific as the Empress of Japan on that occasion broke the trans-Pacific record. We remained three days in Victoria, our old home, and after two days in Vancouver came direct to Montreal.

Shortly after reaching home we had the pleasure of participating in a number of functions in honour of Their Imperial Highnesses the Prince and Princess Takamatsu.

Just lately in Montreal we have had further functions in honour of His Majesty, the King of Siam and his Queen. They seem to have enjoyed their stay in Eastern Canada. I understand they are now at Banff, Alberta, which is, as you know, a very pleasant spot.

Our Mr. Marler has been at his home here in Montreal for the past month or so. Just now he is on some sort of speaking tour in Western Canada, after which he returns to Montreal to undergo an operation. Let us hope it will be most successful. He then proposes to hurry back to Tokyo. I believe Canada has increased his staff and his responsibilities.

I have urged Professor Tatsunosuke to return to Montreal. If he does I shall be very happy to look after him.

I am, Your Highness,

Ever yours faithfully,

His Excellency,
Prince Tokugawa Iyesato,
Sendagaya Machi,
Tokyo, Japan.

" A CANADIAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST"

Paper given by Professor Norman MacKenzie,
Department of Law, University of Toronto,
before the
American Historical Association,
December 29, 1932.

"A CANADIAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST"

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:-

Before attempting to enunciate a Canadian Policy for the Far East I feel it is essential to discuss the basis of all Canadian Foreign Policy; to give a short resume' of the development of that policy; to suggest the two or three outstanding factors in it at the present time; to indicate what I believe to be the attitude of the present Canadian Government toward the situation in the Far East, with reasons for that attitude; and, finally, to express my own views on the subject.

The Basis of Canadian Foreign Policy.

As one distinguished Canadian statesman has declared: "Foreign Policy is in a large measure the extension of domestic policy. It depends upon the balance of social and political forces, upon the industrial organization, upon the racial aspirations, upon the whole background of the people's life. Again, foreign affairs, nowadays, have to do very largely with economic questions - trade, tariffs, coal or oil or railway concessions, international debts, immigration, fishery or power or navigation rights in boundary waters. They are largely neighbours' disputes, naturally arising most frequently with the countries which have most intercourse with it." Or, as another authority puts it in a recent number of FOREIGN AFFAIRS: "Canada, it must be remembered, is a North American federal state, whose population is approximately 58 per cent of British origin, 27 per cent of French, and the rest of mixed descent, mostly European. She is a member of the League of Nations as well as of the British Commonwealth. Before the present depression began, she ranked fifth amongst the countries of the world in absolute volume of foreign trade and second in per capita volume. From such data the study of her international situation must start; the inquiry, indeed, will largely be an analysis of the details and implications of these fundamental facts." In brief Canada's foreign policy is determined by her geographical position on the North American continent, by her political ties with Great Britain and the League of Nations, and by her dependence, in such large measure upon world conditions and international trade for her prosperity.

The Development of Canadian Foreign Policy.

Canadian foreign policy, in so far as it has been determined or even influenced by the government and people of Canada, is a very recent development. From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 down to 1854, at about which time Canada had obtained her fiscal independence and entered into a treaty of reciprocity with the United States of America, Canada was but a pawn in the general foreign policy of Great Britain; and while Great Britain did not sacrifice Canadian interests unnecessarily, those interests were considered, not as they affected Canada, but as they affected the British Empire in general, and Great Britain herself in particular. From 1854 onward, however, Canadians began to press for a voice in the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States that affected Canada, and this was, by degrees, granted, although Sir John A. MacDonald, who represented Canada in the

negotiation of the Treaty of Washington in 1871 wrote: "The (British representatives had only one thing in their minds: to go home to England with a treaty in their pockets settling everything, no matter at what cost to Canada."

In the main, however, Canada had no particular interest in the foreign policy of the Empire, and her attitude as late as 1911 was summed up by Sir Wilfred Laurier at the Imperial Conference of that year, where he took the view that consultation in matters of foreign policy implied responsibility, and he stated that: "If a Dominion insisted on being consulted in regard to matters which might result in war, that would imply the necessity that they should take part in the war", and that he did not want to do.

This attitude, and this desire, as he might have foreseen, did not keep Canada out of the Great War, and as the material consequences of that war to Canada became apparent in 1915, 1916 and 1917, one finds a changed attitude on the part of the Canadian leaders toward the foreign policy of the Empire, for they realized, as Laurier did not, that continued membership in the British Empire carried with it, willynilly, responsibilities, and that even Canadians did not live in a North American vacuum but in a complex international society that had very little semblance of law and order about it or its relations. And it was largely the result of the insistence of Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues that the Imperial War Conference of 1917 passed the equality resolution in the following terms: "That a special Imperial Conference should be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities to consider the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire, and they feel that it is their duty to record their view that any such readjustments, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same, and should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern and for such necessary concerted action grounded on consultation as the several governments may determine."

And it was largely due to the efforts of Sir Robert, aided and abetted by General Smuts, that Canada and the other British Dominion were represented at the Peace Conference, were signatories of the Treaties of Peace, and were original members of the League of Nations. Side by side with this insistence upon representation and consultation went the reluctance to commitments that might again involve Canada in hostilities or even the possibilities of military action, as instanced by the clause in the abortive guarantee of Great Britain to the United States to France, in which it was stated that: "The present treaty (of guarantee) shall impose no obligation upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominion concerned." This reluctance was responsible too for Canada's attitude and action toward Article X of the Treaty of Versailles, which states that "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. For if the attitude and action of Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Doharty, Mr. Fielding and Mr. Lapointe be examined, it will be seen that they foresaw the possibility of action under this section and we

alarmed by it. This reluctance, again, is emphasized in Canada's failure to support Mr. Lloyd George in the Chanak affair, in Canada's controversy with Britain over the Treaty of Lausanne, and over the treaty-making power generally, and in fact goes a long way toward explaining the post-war development of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Fundamental Factors in the Forming
of Canadian Foreign Policy.

With this historical introduction, I would like to suggest the three or four facts or circumstances that I consider of primary importance in any consideration of Canadian Foreign Policy.

The first of these is the natural desire to be allowed to develop her own resources and to build up her own industrial and economic order unhampered by the troubles of Europe and Asia. This desire has been and still is one of the principal factors in American foreign policy, and those of you who are Americans will understand this feeling, and sympathize with us in our fear of entangling alliances.

At the same time it must be admitted that this desire for freedom from responsibility, however natural, is an indication of adolescence not of maturity, and is a further proof, if proof is necessary, that both of our countries are comparative new-comers in the field of international relations and diplomacy. The older countries of the world, France for instance, realize from bitter experience that immunity from responsibility and from action cannot be achieved in this day and generation by refusing to face facts and by adopting an attitude of isolation. They seek safety in a multitude of guarantees and mutual commitments, both open and secret.

The second factor in order of importance in shaping Canadian foreign policy is our political attachment to Great Britain and our membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The full extent of the responsibilities arising out of these relationships are a constant source of uncertainty and anxiety in all parts of the Empire, but nowhere more so than in Canada because of our position vis-a-vis the United States. Without going into the pros and cons of this, I think it can safely be said that most responsible Canadians assume that if Great Britain is involved in any war of major importance, that Canada will inevitably be drawn in, with one exception - trouble between Britain and the United States.

And that brings me to the third important factor in Canadian foreign policy, namely, the economic and geographical attachment of Canada to the United States. This is of a more permanent nature than our relationship to Great Britain and is in many respects of greater importance; and its existence forces alert Canadian statesmen to scrutinize with the greatest care every difference of opinion between the United States and Great Britain, or between the United States and the rest of the world, as witness for instance, the stand of Mr. Meighen in 1921 toward the situation in the Pacific Area, or more recently our concern at the possibility of naval competition between Great Britain and the United States.

The fourth factor of importance is Canadian membership in the League of Nations and our responsibility for safeguarding the collective system as set out in the Covenant of the League, the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, and the other post-war treaties of a similar character. This factor is so new, and procedure under it so uncertain, that Canadians, like the citizens of other countries are divided in their opinions with regard to it and their responsibilities toward it. Some are whole-hearted believers in it and would support it to the limit. Others, usually of the old guard, do not understand it - it is new; are suspicious of it - it is untried; and in so far as it costs money; or imposes possible obligations; or restricts Canadian or British freedom of action; would cheerfully see it thrown into the discard.

But in so far as Canadian prosperity is dependent upon world stability and world prosperity, and because uncertainty, fear and war even though Canada herself may not be actively engaged, are detrimental to Canadian trade and a menace to Canadian security, my own conviction is that this fourth factor should and will eventually come first in order of importance.

The Situation in the Far East.

With this preliminary sketch of Canadian foreign policy in general I propose to examine very briefly Canadian interests in the Far East, and her attitude toward the trouble there. To do this it is essential to examine Canada's relations with the three countries whose interests are most vitally affected there: China, Japan and Russia. And here may I suggest that Canada's interests are somewhat at variance with those of Great Britain. In the first place, we are much nearer Yokohama and Shanghai than is London, and we have problems of race, population and immigration to consider, that worry the statesmen in London not at all. In the second place, Moscow is nearer London than it is to Canada, and we do not fear for our interests in Persia and India: the British do. On the other hand, we rightly or wrongly seem to be more alarmed by the dangers inherent in new ideas - or ideas newly expressed - than are the British; and incidentally see more danger of competition in the markets of the world from Russian wheat, lumber, furs, etc., and fewer markets for our manufacturers and primary products in Russia, than do the British, which may account in no small measure for our moral indignation toward things Russian, such as com.

Our relations with Japan have been, on the whole, friendly and of first-rate importance. Canada under the old Empire scheme of things was an unconsulted party to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and Canadian boys cheered with approval at the success of our valiant allies over "the bear that walks like a man". During the World War they were our allies, assisted in the defence of the Pacific and we thoroughly approved of them; though if the facts be examined in an objective fashion it seems probable that important elements in Japan would have preferred alliance with Germany, and in any event, Japan did not do badly by herself in the great adventure. Since the war the Japanese have taken an active interest in the League of Nations and have played an important part in its Councils; and finally, Canadian exports to Japan increased from \$6,479,298.00 in 1921, to \$42,106,953.00 in 1929, so why should we not love a country that provides us such a rapidly growing market and with a favourable trade balance of some thirty millions of dollars a year? All of which accounts for the fact that one of the three Canadian Ministers resides in Tokio, while an able son of the historic Tokugawa family represents Japan at Ottawa. Incidentally, the one probable source of ill-feeling, namely immigration, was removed, temporarily at least by a "Gentle

agreement", under which the Japanese Government itself restricted the number of Japanese permitted to emigrate to Canada to a nominal figure. Minor difficulties have occurred in British Columbia from time to time over the reluctance or refusal of the citizens of that province (where the bulk of the Japanese in Canada reside) to grant the Japanese certain social, economic or political privileges, but none of these proved to be of major importance. The only serious concern was occasioned by growing tension between the United States and Japan following the Great War, and this was considered so grave by Mr. Meighen, then Prime Minister, that he insisted on the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Of this incident, writers in FOREIGN AFFAIRS and the EDINBURGH REVIEW commented as follows:

"The episode of the Anglo-Japanese alliance provided the first instance of the complete deflection of British foreign policy through the action of a Dominion. . . . The Foreign Office had definitely made up its mind to renew the pact, and Australia and New Zealand were prepared to fall into line. But Mr. Meighen, the Canadian Premier, who had a better knowledge of American repugnance to the Alliance, took a very resolute stand against renewal."

"Considerations of honour, of gratitude and of appreciation of the needs of Australia and New Zealand inclined the Imperial Government to desire the continuance of the Alliance; the two Dominions favoured the same course on the understanding, fully accepted by Great Britain, that it must be made clear that in in possible circumstances could the Alliance be effective against the United States. But Mr. Meighen, influenced undoubtedly by political sentiment in Canada and by the hope of winning fresh support for a moribund ministry, appeared as the outspoken protagonist of the denunciation of the Cou

Canadian relations with China have not been important save in the fields of missions and trade, and even in these despite the size of the country and its tremendous population it was completely overshadowed by Japan. Coupled with this was the realization of the weakness and instability of the Chinese government, and the insecurity of life and property in that country. As a consequence, Canada has treated China in a very cavalier fashion in regard to immigration and other matters. For while the Japanese were accorded the privilege of adjusting the number of Japanese coming to Canada, the Chinese immigrants are completely barred by virtue of Canadian immigration laws and despite the fact that Canadian exports to China had grown from \$4,911,023.00 in 1921, to \$24,246,292.00 in 1929, no Canadian Minister was despatched to Nanking or Peiping, and no Chinese Minister came to Ottawa. That this state of affairs was unsatisfactory to the Chinese is common knowledge, and it has even been hinted that had the trouble with Japan not come to a head when it did, certain among them were contemplating a boycott of Canadian goods in the hope of bringing their alleged grievances more forcibly to the attention of the Canadian government.

Canada's attitude toward Russia has been hinted at above. Trade with that country was negligible, and the possibilities of increasing it were pretty effectively quashed by an Order-in-Council of the Bennett government passed in 1930, prohibiting the importation into Canada of Russian coal, wood-pulp, pulp-wood, lumber and timber of a kinds, asbestos and furs. At the same time Russian exports of wheat and timber to the markets of Great Britain and other European countries began to compete so effectively with Canadian exports that one of the

major issues at the Ottawa Conference between Mr. Bennett and the representatives of Great Britain, was Great Britain's trade with Russia.

With this background, let us turn finally to the Canadian attitude toward the Far East; and may I suggest that we consider it in the light of the four major factors I mentioned above, namely: our natural desire to do nothing about it; the attitude and action of Great Britain; the attitude and action of the United States; and finally our commitments under the collective system.

On the whole, I think I can safely say that the first of these has counted most with the Canadian government, and as this happens to be the policy of the British Foreign office, our government has had a two-fold excuse for saying little and doing less.

In October of 1931 Mr. Bennett in his wire to the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations then meeting at Shanghai, said as follows: "I trust your deliberations may result in promoting the cause of Peace and of mutual understanding among the peoples of the Pacific. Canada's interests in the Pacific are rapidly developing and her earnest desire is to maintain most cordial relations with all peoples. Canada firmly believes that international disputes should be settled by peaceable means, and she has evidenced this faith by participation in and support of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and the General Act providing for peaceable settlement of all international disputes."

In the Canadian House of Commons on November 21st, last, in answer to the question: "What, if any, is the policy of His Majesty's Government in Canada in regard to the situation in the Far East and to the Lytton Report?", he replied: "Perhaps I can best serve what I conceive to be the public interest by indicating that it is not thought desirable to enter into a discussion at this time with respect to a matter of this kind, for it not only cannot serve the public interest but would be anticipating action that might be taken and is therefore to be deprecated. Our relations to this matter arise primarily from the fact that we are a member of the League of Nations, and we must sit on that report and determine what action shall be taken to give effect or otherwise to the recommendations therein contained--but the broad general rule is that a matter that is sub judice, that is to say a matter that is being considered by a body charged with authority as is the League of Nations - the Assembly - with quasi-judicial powers, should not be the subject of expressions of opinion publicly---".

The British policy of Sir John Simon and the government he represents seems to be that of a benevolent onlooker, whose chief concern is to do nothing himself and refuse to co-operate with anyone else in doing anything. This policy he summed up in the words: "(British) Peace and Trade", and gave in more detail in his announcement of January 9th, 1932, that the British Government had decided not to follow the example of the United States Government in addressing a note to China and Japan regarding Manchuria; and in the Communique of the Foreign Office that: "His Majesty's Government stand by the policy of the open door for international trade in Manchuria...since the recent events the Japanese representatives at the Council of the League at Geneva stated on October 13th that Japan was the champion in Manchuria for the principle of equal opportunity and the open door for t

economic activities of all nations. Further, on December 28th, the Japanese Prime Minister (since assassinated) stated that Japan would adhere to the open door policy and would welcome participation and co-operation in Manchurian enterprise. In view of these statements His Majesty's Government have not considered it necessary to send any formal Note to the Japanese Government on the lines of the American Government's Note, but the Japanese Ambassador in London has been requested to obtain confirmation of these assurances from his Government.

Unfortunately, since Japan had taken the aggressive and was in a position, because of the strength of her military and naval forces relative to those of China, to impose her own conditions on China, this do-nothing policy amounted to passive support of the Japanese attitude and action.

The United States, on the other hand, for obvious reasons that I need not go into here, but which can be summed up in the question: "Who is to control the Pacific? - the United States or Japan?", viewed the conflict in the Far East with alarm, and Mr. Stimson, acting on behalf of his government showed himself, not only ready to co-operate with the other powers in finding a solution of the difficulties there, but despite American readiness to ignore international responsibility in Europe, proved the leader in such negative action as has been taken to hamper Japan. His views are embodied in the following passages:

"The United States Government cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto, nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments or their agents which impairs the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China.

"The United States Government does not intend to recognize any situation or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants of the Pact of Paris of August 27th, 1932, to which both Japan and China as well as the United States are parties
(Note, Jan. 7th, 1932, Mr. Stimson)

"The Nine Power Treaty forms the legal basis upon which now rests the Open-Door policy toward China.

"At the time that this treaty was signed it was known that China was engaged in an attempt to develop the free institutions of a self-governing republic after her recent revolution from an autocratic form of government; that she would require many years of both economic and political effort to that end; and that her progress would necessarily be slow. The treaty was thus a covenant of self-denial among the signatory powers in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggression which might tend to interfere with that development.

"It must be remembered that this Treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various Powers concerned, all of which were inter-related and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. The Washington Conference was essentially a disarmament conference aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world, not only through the cessation of competition in

naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world particularly in the Far East.

"These problems were all inter-related. The willingness of the American Government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction, and to leave its position at Guamm and in the Philippines without further fortifications, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine Power Treaty, which assured the Nations of the world not only of an equal opportunity for their Eastern trade but also against the military aggrandisement of any power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating these provisions of the Nine Power Treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent". (Letter: Mr. Stimson)

"The change of attitude on the part of world public opinion toward former customs and doctrines, which is evidenced by these two treaties is so revolutionary that it is not surprising that the progress has outstripped the landmarks and orientation of many observers. The Treaties signalize a revolution in human thought, but they are not the result of impulse or thoughtless sentiment. At bottom they are the growth of necessity, the product of a consciousness that unless some such step were taken modern civilization would be doomed. Under its present organization the world simply could not go on recognizing war, with its constantly growing destructiveness, as one of the normal instrumentalities of human life. Human organization has become too complex, too fragile, to be subjected to the hazards of the new agencies of destruction turned loose under the sanction of international law. So the entire central point from which the problem was viewed was changed. War between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. This means that it has become illegal throughout practically the entire world. It is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which the duties, the conduct, and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. Hereafter when two nations engage in armed conflict either one or both of them must be wrongdoers - violators of this general treaty law. We no longer draw a circle about them and treat them with the punctilios of the duelist's code. Instead we denounce them as lawbreakers.

"Another consequence which follows this development of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, which I have been describing, is that consultation between the signatories of the pact when faced with the threat of its violation becomes inevitable. Any effective invocation of the power of world opinion postulates discussion and consultation."

(Mr. Stimson)

From this it will readily be seen that British and American views on the Far East do not coincide, and in that lies the possibility of a difficult decision for some future Canadian government, and even a menace to Canadian peace and security. For if Great Britain continues to support Japan - even passively - and the United States to oppose her ambitions, it is not inconceivable that Canada will have to decide which side she is on.

Norman Mackenzie

And that brings me to my final point: Canadian responsibility for the collective system. The pre-war history of the relations of nations was one of irresponsible individualism, in which every nation looked after its own interests alone and the devil took the weak and the small. The results of that method were exemplified by the Great War, with its appalling losses and dislocations. The collective system is a substitute for it, and presupposes a measure of co-operation, or of willingness to submit to international control, probably both. Its success, in so far as it prevents wars and brings some guarantee of security and stability, is of importance to all countries, and to all individuals, but particularly to the smaller nations, for it alone offers them freedom from the burden of armaments, from the fears of invasion, and some hope for the future. Canada, because of the British Navy and the Monroe Doctrine, is not likely to be invaded-- unless those two defences clash; but Canada is a small nation and vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the world; and the failure of the collective system now almost inevitably spells war in the not distant future, in which, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, she will be actively engaged, or from the economic consequences of which, as a member of the family of nations, she will suffer.

Then what is my own opinion of the attitude and action of the Canadian government? It is extremely difficult to form an opinion of a government that, publicly at least, has said nothing and done nothing. It would be very simple for me, a private citizen without any of the responsibilities of office, to criticize the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and to suggest to him what a wise man would do in Utopia. But I do not propose to do that. I suggest, however, that Canada was not in a position, and is not in a position, to do anything about the matter alone. But I wish that over a year ago Mr. Bennett had copied the example of Mr. Meighen, and had brought very forcibly to Sir John Simon's attention the dangers to Anglo-American relations of the trouble in the Far East, and the menace to the whole collective system in that conflict. Unfortunately, I am afraid that Mr. Bennett has been so absorbed in our own economic difficulties that he has had little time to advise Sir John Simon regarding this matter, or even to give it the attention, from a purely Canadian point of view, that it deserves. Unfortunately too, I am by no means sure that Sir John Simon and certain of the members of the government that he represents, are whole-hearted admirers and supporters of law, order and justice in international affairs as represented by the League. For if they were, I feel sure that Great Britain and the United States could have agreed upon some policy in common, in regard to Manchuria, that would have won the support of the bulk of the League Members, and would have avoided many of the difficulties that now face the world. For I believe that the Japanese are in Manchuria to stay - until the Chinese push them out. I believe further that this fact is certain to shake the confidence of any nation in the security offered by the League. This in turn indicates a return to pre-war individualism and irresponsibility, and that means w:

In conclusion, may I quote briefly from the very interesting speech of Mr. Cahan, delivered a short time ago before the special Assembly of the League; and from the editorial columns of the Montreal "Star" of December 22nd, which reported his speech:-

Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 22/32.

'Hon. C.H. Cahan, K.C., Secretary of State for Canada, who represented the Dominion at the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, called to deal with the Sino-Japanese dispute over Manchuria, set forth Canada's views as follows:

"Mr. President, and gentlemen: as the delegate of one of the two North American States which are members of this Assembly, it is perhaps befitting that I should crave the indulgence of my fellow members while I presume to discuss certain of the grave issues with which we are now confronted.

"Owing to the distance now separating me from the seat of my Government and the difficulties in communicating fully to my Government, the views of the several delegates who have addressed this Assembly, the opinions which I am about to express are more or less personal, but nevertheless, I think they are opinions in which my Government will concur.

.....
"It seems to me that the institution and maintenance by the Chinese Government or with its passive approval of attempts at intimidation against the citizens of any state which is a party to that treaty or any attempt by unilateral action to abrogate or diminish the treaty rights of any other state in or in respect of China, must be regarded as a grave infringement by China of the existing rights of other states and manifestly provocative of emergency action by such other state for the purpose of protecting such rights. In our law, we affirm as an invariable maxim of good conduct that he who seeks equity must first do equity.

.....
"But even if the Japanese Government felt impelled to deal suddenly and temporarily with similar conditions in a great emergency, it would now be impossible to justify the development, out of its own emergent action, of a permanent occupation of any part of a neighboring State, or the permanent extension of its own territorial rights therein.

.....
"It seems to me that this Assembly may not wholly disregard the emphatic statement made at the opening of this discussion by M. Matsuo, the delegate of Japan, that the Japanese Government has not at any time allowed itself to be connected with the independence movement in Manchuria, that it did not then and does not now want Manchuria, but that it only desires the preservation of its rights and interest therein.

"In applying Article X. to the present issue care must therefore be taken not to establish a precedent which in the future may be deemed to exceed the terms of this Article as already construed by competent authority. In attempting a solution of these very difficult and delicate problems it appears to my Government desirable that the Assembly should first exhaust the possibilities of conciliatory settlement under Paragraph 3 of Article XVI. Any discussion of sanctions or actions against a party unwilling to accept settlement would be out of place at this stage of our proceedings.

.....
"These principles embodied in the Lytton Report appear to constitute the framework of a permanent settlement. Their detailed application would depend upon the development of the situation, but on the whole the recommendations made in this report appear useful and reasonable.

"It appears to my Government very desirable as a life-long friend of Japan, that the Government of that country should not take up

"irrevocably a position of isolation and hostility to the League, and
"I trust that with reasonable patience it will be possible for the
"League to work out a settlement which Japan can see its way to ac-
"cept. If Japan indicates any genuine readiness to seek a solution
"consistent with League obligation as well as her own special in-
"terests in Manchuria, it would seem undesirable to make such a settle-
"ment difficult by precipitate action. At the same time, after having
"exhausted all available means for effecting the reconciliation and
"amicable agreement of the two parties, further delay without any
"clear evidence of readiness to co-operate on the part of Japan might
"prove most unfortunate.

"If, as has been suggested, the United States of America and
"Russia should be asked to co-operate with the Committee of Nineteen
"or with some other special committee of the Assembly, the Canadian
"Government would endorse the adoption of such a procedure. Above all
"we desire the permanent reconciliation and agreement of our two
"friendly neighbours, China and Japan, and the continued co-operation
"of both as members of the League in fulfilling its paramount purpose
"of preserving the peace of the world."

- - - -

From the extracts which I have read above, you will see that on the whole
Mr. Cahan excuses Japan, condemns China because of her chaotic condition,
and deprecates League, or in fact any, action. But he does plead with
Japan to be reasonable, and to accept any satisfactory solution offered
by the League. In another section of his speech (which I have not time
to read) he cites with approval the British action in China in 1927 and
offers it as an excuse for Japanese action in 1931. In all this he, too,
is basing his statements on the first two essentials of Canadian Foreign
policy, and is ignoring the other; and quite frankly, I do not think
that is enough, or good enough, for as the Star points out in its
editorial:

Montreal Daily Star, Dec. 22/33 (Editorial)

"Two other factors enter here which concern the world. Is the
"talk about extending the rule of the young Emperor to Peiping all
"moonshine? Or do the astute Japanese envisage the gradual creation
"of a mighty Nippon-North China nation, two hundred million strong,
"with the best military material in the world, under Japanese drill-
"masters? Uncle Sam might become thoughtful about this, even if he
"does think of abandoning the Philippines. Then there is Russia.
"China, having apparently given up all hope of being rescued by
"Washington, seems to be turning to Moscow. That might make many
"people thoughtful, first and foremost the very Japanese who have
"been so persistently prodding the Dragon."

And as I might suggest further, it does not strengthen the position of
the League, or give any nation - among them France - any guarantee that
if they disarm, or give up any of the obvious if unfair advantages
they now possess, that they will not suffer the fate of China when the
suitable occasion arises.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are my comments on a Canadian Policy
in the Far East. I regret the might-have-beens, if this or that had
been, done or happened, but at the moment I have nothing to suggest to

to you or to the Canadian Government, save, that while keeping one eye on the first two essentials they keep the other on the two latter, the policy of the United States and the fate of the League. For these, in the long run, will determine whether we can give our undivided attention to the task of social and economic reconstruction, or whether we must devote an increasing proportion of our incomes to aeroplanes, and chemical and physical research in the means of destruction.

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

July 24, 1933.

Dear Sir,

Will you be good enough to furnish me with information regarding the following points.

1. Whether classes for teaching the Japanese language or the Japanese culture are now held in your University? If not, whether the desirability to maintain such a course of study has ever been suggested or would possibly be considered in the future?
2. Would it be considered desirable to exchange professors or students between your University and Japanese universities, in case it would be found feasible?

The above information is desired for the private use of this Legation and I should be grateful if you would kindly communicate with me at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

H. Kawamura

Chargé d'Affaires of Japan.

Professor Ira A. MacKay, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,
The Dean of the Faculty of Arts,
McGill University,
Montreal, P. Q.

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Office of the Principal
and Vice Chancellor.

July 27th, 1933.

H. Kawamura, Esq.,
Chargé d'Affaires of Japan,
Japanese Legation,
O t t a w a .

Dear Sir,

Your letter of July 24th, addressed to Professor Ira MacKay, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science of this University, has been handed to me.

In reply to your first question, let me say that no teaching of Japanese language or Japanese literature is at present done in this University, although the matter has at times received consideration. You may know that a few years ago, because of the presence in our Library of the East Chinese Research Library, we inaugurated a Department of Chinese Studies, with Professor Kiang Kang-hu in charge. Professor Kiang Kang-hu is a graduate of the Imperial University of Tokyo and is quite competent to teach the Japanese language.

I may say that when we set up the Department, it was not our intention by any means to confine it to the study of Chinese language, literature, history, etc; but we envisioned a Department of Far Eastern Studies, which would embrace the whole field of far eastern studies. I had in mind that some time we would add to it an Indian scholar, a Japanese scholar, and men of other tongues, who could be classed as scholars in far eastern culture. Lack of funds for extension in the last few years has curtailed our plan, and at present we are doing nothing other than keep the Chinese classes going.

In reply to your second question, as to whether it would be considered desirable to exchange professors or students with a Japanese University, I would say, yes; although for the present I should much prefer to exchange professors than to contemplate an exchange of students, unless it were post-graduate students. I would sympathize very much with the exchange of, say, a Professor of Political Economy, Social Economics, or an allied subject. I shall always be glad to hear of any progress in making such a plan feasible.

Yours faithfully,

Prin

JAPANESE LEGATION
OTTAWA

August 1, 1933.

Dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of July 27th with many thanks.

The information contained in your letter, especially with regard to the comprehensive plan on which your Department of Chinese Studies was set up, and the expression of your sympathy with the exchange of professors in certain lines of study, will help greatly in our examination of the possibilities of promoting a closer contact between the universities of Canada and Japan.

While I am not certain if any immediate progress will follow or not, I earnestly hope for an opportunity of communicating with you further on the matter.

Thanking you again for your prompt and cordial reply, I am,

Yours faithfully,

H. Kawamura
Charge d'Affaires of Japan.

Sir Arthur W. Currie, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,

Principal,
McGill University,

Montreal, P. Q.

TANAKA MEMORIAL

Published By

THE CHINA CRITIC

SHANGHAI, CHINA.

1931

TANAKA MEMORIAL

THE CHINA CRISIS
SINGAPORE
1937

TANAKA MEMORIAL

*Memorial Presented to the Emperor of Japan on July 25, 1927,
by Premier Tanaka, Outlining the positive
policy in Manchuria.*

(Reprinted from THE CHINA CRITIC Vol. IV No. 39,
Sept. 24, 1931.)

Since the European War, Japan's political as well as economic interests have been in an unsettled condition. This is due to the fact that we have failed to take advantage of our special privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia and fully to realize our acquired rights. But upon my appointment as premier, I was instructed specially to guard our interests in this region and watch for opportunities for further expansion. Such injunctions one cannot take lightly. Ever since I advocated a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia as a common citizen, I have longed for its realization. So in order that we may lay plans for the colonization of the Far East and the development of our new continental empire, a special conference was held from June 27th to July 7th lasting in all eleven days. It was attended by all the civil and military officers connected with Manchuria and Mongolia, whose discussions resulted in the following resolutions. These we respectfully submit to Your Majesty for consideration.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The term Manchuria and Mongolia includes the provinces Fengtien, Kirin, Heilungkiang and Outer and Inner Mongolia. It extends an area of 74,000 square miles, having a population of 28,000,000 people. The territory is more than three times as large as our own empire not counting Korea and Formosa, but it is inhabited by only one-third as many people. The attractiveness of the land does not arise from the scarcity of population alone: its wealth of forestry, minerals and agricultural products is also unrivalled elsewhere in the world. In

order to exploit these resources for the perpetuation of our national glory, we created especially the South Manchuria Railway Company. The total investment involved in our undertakings in railway, shipping, mining, forestry, steel manufacture, agriculture, and cattle raising as schemes pretending to be mutually beneficial to China and Japan amounts to no less than Yen 440,000,000. It is veritably the largest single investment and the strongest organization of our country. Although nominally the enterprise is under the joint ownership of the government and the people, in reality the government has complete power and authority over it. In so far as the South Manchuria Railway Company is empowered to undertake diplomatic, police, and ordinary administrative functions so that it may carry out our imperialistic policies, the Company forms a peculiar organization which has exactly the same powers as the Governor-General of Korea. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate the immense interests we have in Manchuria and Mongolia. Consequently the policies of the successive administrations since Meiji towards this country are all based on his injunction, elaborating and continuously completing the development of the new continental empire in order to further the advance of our national glory and prosperity for countless generations to come.

Unfortunately, since the European War there have been constant changes in diplomatic as well domestic affairs. The authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces are also awakened and gradually work toward reconstruction and industrial development following our example. Their progress is astonishing. It has affected the spread of our influence in a most serious way, and has put us to so many disadvantages that the dealings with Manchuria and Mongolia of successive governments have resulted in failure. Furthermore, the restriction of the Nine Power Treaty signed at the Washington Conference have reduced our special rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia to such an extent that there is no freedom left for us. The very existence of our country is endangered. Unless these obstacles are removed, our national existence will be in-

secure and our national strength will not increase. Moreover, the resources of wealth are congregated in North Manchuria. If we do not have the right of way there, it is obvious that we shall not be able to tap the riches of this country. Even the resources of South Manchuria which we won by the Russo-Japanese War will also be greatly restricted by the Nine Power Treaty. The result is that while our people cannot migrate into Manchuria as they please, the Chinese are flowing in as a flood. Hordes of them move into the Three Eastern Provinces every year, numbering in the neighbourhood of several millions. They have jeopardized our acquired rights in Manchuria and Mongolia to such an extent that our annual surplus population of eight hundred thousand have no place to seek outlet. In view of this we have to admit our failure in trying to effect a balance between our population and food supply. If we do not devise plans to check the influx of Chinese immigrants immediately, in five years' time the number of Chinese will exceed 6,000,000. Then we shall be confronted with greater difficulties in Manchuria and Mongolia.

It will be recalled that when the Nine Power Treaty which restricted our movements in Manchuria and Mongolia was signed, public opinion was greatly aroused. The late Emperor Taisho called a conference of Yamagata and other high officers of the army and the navy to find a way to counteract this new engagement. I was sent to Europe and America to ascertain secretly the attitude of the important statesmen toward it. They were all agreed that the Nine Power Treaty was initiated by the United States. The other Powers which signed it were willing to see our influence increase in Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may protect the interests of international trade and investment. This attitude I found out personally from the political leaders of England, France and Italy. The sincerity of these expressions could be depended upon. Unfortunately just as we were ready to carry out our policy and declare void the Nine Power Treaty with the approval of those whom I met on my trip, the Seiyukai cabinet suddenly fell and our policy failed of fruition. It was indeed

a great pity. After I had secretly exchanged views with the Powers regarding the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, I returned by way of Shanghai. At the wharf there a Chinese attempted to take my life. An American woman was hurt, but I escaped by the divine protection of my emperors of the past. It seems that it was by divine will that I should assist Your Majesty to open a new era in the Far East and to develop the new continental empire.

The Three Eastern Provinces are politically the imperfect spot in the Far East. For the sake of self-protection, as well as the protection of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of "Blood and Iron." But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us by China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future, if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence.

The Nine Power Treaty is entirely an expression of the spirit of commercial rivalry. It was the intention of England and America to crush our influence in China with their power of wealth. The proposed reduction of armaments is nothing but a means to limit our military strength, making it impossible for us to conquer the vast territory of China. On the other hand, China's resources of wealth will be entirely at their disposal. It is merely a scheme by which England and America may defeat our plans. And yet the Minseito made the Nine Power Treaty the important thing and emphasized our *trade* rather than our *rights* in China. This is a mistaken policy—a

policy of national suicide. England can afford to talk about trade relations only because she has India and Australia to supply her with foodstuff and other materials. So can America because South America and Canada are there to supply her her needs. Their spare energy could be entirely devoted to developing trade in China to enrich themselves. But in Japan her food supply and raw materials decrease in proportion to her population. If we merely hope to develop trade, we shall eventually be defeated by England and America, who possess unsurpassable capitalistic power. In the end, we shall get nothing. A more dangerous factor is the fact that the people of China might some day wake up. Even during these years of internal strife, they can still toil patiently, and try to imitate and displace our goods so as to impair the development of our trade. When we remember that the Chinese are our sole customers, we must beware, lest one day when China becomes unified and her industries become prosperous. Americans and Europeans will compete with us: our trade in China will be ruined. Minseito's proposal to uphold the Nine Power Treaty and to adopt the policy of trade towards Manchuria is nothing less than a suicidal policy.

After studying the present conditions and possibilities of our country, our best policy lies in the direction of taking positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia. These will enable us to develop our trade. This will not only forestall China's own industrial development, but also prevent the penetration of European Powers. This is the best policy possible!

The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretence of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish themselves on Continental Asia. Final success

belongs to the country having food supply; industrial prosperity belongs to the country having food-supply; industrial prosperity belongs to the country having raw materials; the full growth of national strength belongs to the country having extensive territory. If we pursue a positive policy to enlarge our rights in Manchuria and China, all these prerequisites of a powerful nation will constitute no problem. Furthermore, our surplus population of 700,000 each year will also be taken care of. If we want to inaugurate a new policy and secure the permanent prosperity of our empire, a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia is the only way.

MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA—NOT CHINESE TERRITORY

Historically considered, Manchuria and Mongolia are neither China's territory nor her special possessions. Dr. Yano has made an extensive study of Chinese history and has come to the positive conclusion that Manchuria and Mongolia never were Chinese territory. This fact was announced to the world on the authority of the Imperial University. The accuracy of Dr. Yano's investigations is such that no scholars in China have contested his statement. However, the most unfortunate thing is that in our declaration of war with Russia, our government openly recognized China's sovereignty over these regions and later again at the Washington conference when we signed the Nine Power Treaty. Because of these two miscalculations (on our part) China's sovereignty in Manchuria and Mongolia is established in diplomatic relations, but our interests are seriously injured. In the past, although China speaks of the Republic of five races, yet Thibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria have always remained special areas and the princes are permitted to discharge their customary functions. Therefore in reality the sovereign power over these regions resides with the princes. When any opportunity presents itself, we should make known to the world the actual situation there. We should also wedge our way into Outer and Inner Mongolia in order that we may reform the mainland. So long as the princes there maintain their former administrations, the sover-

eign rights are clearly in their hands. If we want to enter these territories, we may regard them as the ruling power and negotiate with them for rights and privileges. We shall be afforded excellent opportunities and our national influence will increase rapidly.

POSITIVE POLICY IN MANCHURIA

As to the rights in Manchuria, we should take forceful steps on the basis of the Twenty-One Demands and secure the following in order to safe-guard the enjoyment of the rights which we have acquired so far:—

1. After the thirty-year commercial lease terminates, we should be able to extend the term at our wish. Also the right of leasing land for commercial, industrial and agricultural purpose should be recognized.
2. Japanese subjects shall have the right to travel and reside in the eastern part of Mongolia, and engage in commercial and industrial activities. As to their movements, China shall allow them freedom from Chinese law. Furthermore, they must not be subject to illegal taxation and unlawful examination.
3. We must have the right of exploiting the nineteen iron and coal mines in Fengtien and Kirin, as well as the right of timbering.
4. We should have priority for building railroads and option for loans for such purposes in South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia.
5. The number of Japanese political, financial and military advisers should be increased. Furthermore, we must have priority in furnishing new advisers.
6. The right of stationing our Police over the Koreans (in China).

7. The administration and development of the Kirin-Changchun Railway must be extended to 99 years.
8. Exclusive right of sale of special products—priority of shipping business to Europe and America.
9. Exclusive rights of mining in Heilungkiang.
10. Right to construct Kirin-Hueining and Changchun-Talai Railways.
11. In case money is needed for the redemption of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Japanese Government must have the first option for making loans to China.
12. Harbour rights at Antung and Yingkow and the right of through transportation.
13. The right of partnership in establishing a Central Bank of the Three Eastern Provinces.
14. Right of Pasturage.

POSITIVE POLICY TOWARDS INNER AND OUTER MONGOLIA

Since Manchuria and Mongolia are still in the hands of the former princes, in the future we must recognize them as the ruling power and give them support. For this reason, the daughter of General Fukushima, Governor of Kwantung, risked her life among the barbarous Mongolian people of Tushiyeh to become adviser to their Prince in order that she might serve the Imperial Government. As the wife of the Prince Ruler is the niece of Manchu Prince Su, the relationship between our Government and the Mongolian Prince became very intimate. The princes of Outer and Inner Mongolia have all shown sincere respect for us, especially after we allured them with special benefits and protection. Now there are 19 Japanese retired military officers in the house of the Tushiyeh. We have acquired already monopoly rights for the purchase of wool, for real estate and for mines. Hereafter we shall send secretly more retired officers to live among them. They should wear

Chinese clothes in order to escape the attention of the Mukden Government. Scattered in the territory of the Prince, they may engage themselves in farming, herding or dealing in wool. As to the other principalities, we can employ the same method as in Tushiyeh. Everywhere we should station our retired military officers to dominate in the Princes' affairs. After a large number of our people have moved into Outer and Inner Mongolia, we shall then buy lands at one-tenth of their worth and begin to cultivate rice where feasible in order to relieve our shortage of food-supply. Where the land is not suitable for rice cultivation, we should develop it for cattle raising and horse breeding in order to replenish our military needs. The rest of the land could be devoted to the manufacture of canned goods which we may export to Europe and America. The fur and leather will also meet our needs. Once the opportunity comes, Outer and Inner Mongolia will be ours outright. While the sovereign rights are not clearly defined and while the Chinese and the Soviet Governments are engaging their attention elsewhere, it is our opportunity quietly to build our influence. Once we have purchased most of the land there, there will be no room for dispute as to whether Mongolia belongs to the Japanese or the Mongolians. Aided by our military prowess, we shall realize our positive policy. In order to carry out this plan, we should appropriate Yen 1,000,000 from the "secret funds" of the Army Department's budget so that four hundred retired officers disguised as teacher and Chinese citizens may be sent into Outer and Inner Mongolia to mix with the people, to gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, to acquire from them rights for pasturage and mining and to lay the foundation of our national interests for the next hundred years.

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROTECTION OF KOREAN IMMIGRATION

Since the annexation of Korea, we have had very little trouble. But President Wilson's declaration of the self-determination of races after the European War has been like a divine revelation to the suppressed peoples. The Koreans are no exception. The spirit of unrest has permeated the whole

country. Both because of the freedom they enjoy in Manchuria due to incompetent police system and because of the richness of the country, there are now in the Three Eastern Provinces no less than 1,000,000 Koreans. The unlooked for development is fortunate for our country indeed. From a military and economic standpoint, it has greatly strengthened our influence. From another standpoint, it gives new hope for the administration of Koreans. They will both be the vanguard for the colonization of virgin fields and furnish a link of contact with the Chinese people. On the one hand, we could utilize the naturalized Koreans to purchase land for rice cultivation, on the other, we could extend to them financial aid through the Co-operative Society, the South Manchuria Railway, etc., so that they may serve as the spear-head of our economic penetration. This will give relief to our problem of food supply, as well as open a new field of opportunity for colonization. The Koreans who have become naturalized Chinese are Chinese only in name: they will return to our fold eventually. They are different from those naturalized Japanese in California and South America. They are naturalized as Chinese only for temporary convenience. When their numbers reach two million and a half or more, they can be instigated to military activities whenever there is the necessity, and under the pretence of suppressing the Koreans we could bear them aid. As not all the Koreans are naturalized Chinese, the world will not be able to tell whether it is the Chinese Koreans or the Japanese Koreans who create the trouble. We can always sell dog's meat with a sheep's head as sign-board.

Of course while we could use the Koreans for such purposes, we must beware of the fact that the Chinese could also use them against us. But Manchuria is as much under our jurisdiction as under Chinese jurisdiction. If the Chinese should use Koreans to hamper us, then our opportunity of war against China is at hand. In that event, the most formidable factor is Soviet Russia. If the Chinese should use the "Reds" to influence the Koreans, the thought of our people will change and great peril will befall us. Therefore, the present Cabinet

is taking every precaution against this eventuality. If we want to make use of the Koreans to develop our new continental empire, our protection and regulations for them must be more carefully worked out. We should increase our police force in North Manchuria under the terms of the Mitsuya Treaty so that we may protect the Koreans and give them help in their rapid advance. Furthermore, the Eastern Development Company (Totoku Kaisha) and the South Manchuria Railway Company should follow then to give them financial aid. They should be given especially favourable terms so that through them we may develop Manchuria and Mongolia and monopolize the commercial rights. The influx of Koreans into these territories is of such obvious importance both for economic and military considerations that the Imperial Government cannot afford not to give it encouragement. It will mean new opportunities for our empire. Since the effect of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement is lost after the Washington Conference, we can only recover our interests through the favourable development arising out of the presence of several millions of Koreans in Manchuria. There is no ground in international relations for raising any objection to this procedure.

RAILROADS AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NEW CONTINENT

Transportation is the mother of national defence, the assurance of victory and the citadel of economic development. China has only 7,200 to 7,300 miles of railroads, of which three thousand miles are in Manchuria and Mongolia constituting two-fifths of the whole. Considering the size of Manchuria and Mongolia and the abundance of natural products, there should be at least five or six thousand miles more. It is a pity that our railroads are mostly in south Manchuria, which cannot reach the sources of wealth in the northern parts. Moreover, there are too many Chinese inhabitants in South Manchuria to be wholesome for our military and economic plans. If we wish to develop the natural resources and strengthen our national defence, we must build railroads in Northern Manchuria. With the opening of these railroads, we shall be able

to send more people (Japanese) into Northern Manchuria. From this vantage ground we can manipulate political and economic developments in South Manchuria, as well as strengthen our national defence in the interest of peace and order of the Far East. Furthermore, the South Manchuria Railway was built mainly for economic purposes. It lacks encircling lines necessary for military mobilization and transportation. From now on we must take military purposes as our object and build circuit lines to circle the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may hamper China's military, political and economic developments there on the one hand, and prevent the penetration of Russian influence on the other. This is the key to our continental policy.

There are two trunk lines in Manchuria and Mongolia. These are the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchuria Railway. As regards the railroad built by Chinese, it will doubtless become very powerful in time, backed by the financial resources of the Kirin Provincial Government. With the combined resources of Fengtien and Heilungkiang Provinces, the Chinese railroads will develop to an extent far superior to our South Manchuria Railway. Strong competition will inevitably result. Fortunately for us, the financial conditions in Fengtien Province are in great disorder, which the authorities cannot improve unless we come to their succor. This is our chance. We should take positive steps until we have reached our goal in railroad development. Moreover, if we manipulate the situation, the Fengtien bank-notes will depreciate to an inconceivable degree. In that event, the bankruptcy of Fengtien will be a matter of time. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia will be out of the question for them. But we still have to reckon with the Chinese Eastern Railway. It forms a T with the South Manchuria Railway. Although this system is in a convenient shape, it is by no means suitable for military purposes. When the Chinese build railroads as feeders of the Chinese Eastern Railway, it is best that they run parallel to it, west and east. But with the South Manchuria Railway as main line, we must have these lines run north and

south. For the benefit of the Chinese themselves, there are also advantages for these lines to run in this direction. Consequently our interest does not necessarily conflict with the Chinese. Now that Russia is losing influence and is powerless to advance in Manchuria and Mongolia, it is certain that the Chinese must act according to our beckoning in the development of railways in the future. Much to our surprise the Fengtien Government recently built two railroads, one from Tahushan to Tungliao and the other from Kirin to Haining both for military purposes. Those two railroads affect most seriously our military plans in Manchuria and Mongolia as well as the interest of the South Manchuria Railway. We therefore protested strongly against it.

That these railways were built was due to the fact that our official on the spot as well as the South Manchuria Railway authorities miscalculated the ability of the Fengtien Government and paid no attention to it. Later when we did intervene the railways were already completed. Besides, the Americans have been anxious to make an investment in developing the port of Hulutao through British capitalists. Taking advantage of this situation, the Fengtien Government introduced American and British capital in these railways in order to hold our interest at bay. For the time being we have to wink at it and wait for the opportune moment to deal with China about these two railroads.

Recently, it is rumoured that the Fengtien Government is planning to build a railroad from Tahushan to Harbin via Tung Liao and Fu Yu, so that there may be a direct line between Peking and Harbin without touching either the South Manchuria Railway or the Chinese Eastern Railway. What is more astonishing is that another railway beginning at Mukden passing through Hailung, Kirin, Wuchang terminating at Harbin is also under way. If this plan be realized, then these two lines would encircle the South Manchuria Railway and limit its sphere of activity to a small area. The result is that our economic and political development of Manchuria and

Mongolia will be checked and the plan for curtailing our power provided by the Nine Power Treaty will be carried out. Moreover, the completion of these two railroads will render the South Manchurian Railway completely useless. The latter Company will be confronted with a real crisis. But in view of China's financial conditions today, she cannot undertake these two railroads unless she resorts to foreign loans. And on these two railways the transportation charges will have to be higher than on the South Manchuria Railway. These considerations give us some comfort. But in the event of these two railroads becoming an accomplished fact and the Chinese Government making especially low freight charges in order to compete with the South Manchuria Railway, not only we but the Chinese Eastern Railway will also sustain great losses. Japan and Russia certainly would not allow China to carry out such obstructive measures, especially as the Chinese Eastern Railway depends upon Tsitsihar and Harbin for the bulk of its business. The consequence would be even more serious to both Japanese and Russian interests when the new railways are completed.

Let us now consider more in detail the competitive railways projected in Manchuria and Mongolia.

China contemplates:

1. Suolun-Taonan Railway.
2. Kirin-Harbin Railway.

Soviet Russia proposes:

1. Anta-Potung Railway.
2. Mienpo-Wuchang-Potuna Railway.
3. Kirin-Hailin Railway.
4. Mishan-Muling Railway.

The Russian plans are designed to strengthen the Chinese Eastern Railway and thereby to extend its imperialistic schemes. For this reason the railways projected mostly run east and

west. For although the power of Soviet Russia is declining, her ambition in Manchuria and Mongolia has not diminished for a minute. Every step she takes is intended to obstruct our progress and to injure the South Manchuria Railway. We must do our utmost to guard against her influence. We should use the Fengtien Government as a wedge to check her southern advance. By pretending to check the southern advance of Soviet Russia as a first step, we could gradually force our way into North Manchuria and exploit the natural resources there. We shall then be able to prevent the spread of Chinese influence on the south and arrest the advance of Soviet Russia on the north. In our struggle against the political and economic influence of Soviet Russia, we should drive China before us and direct the events from behind. Meanwhile, we should still secretly befriend Russia in order to hamper the growth of Chinese influence. It was largely with this purpose in view, that Baron Goto of Kato's cabinet invited Joffe to our country and advocated the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia.

Although we have an agreement with the Chinese Eastern Railway concerning transportation rates, according to which 45% go to the Chinese Eastern Railway and 55% to us, yet the Chinese Eastern Railway still grants preferential rates detrimental to the interest of the South Manchuria Railway. Moreover, according to a secret declaration of Soviet Russia, although they have no territorial ambition they cannot help keeping a hand in the Chinese Eastern Railway on account of the fact that north of the Chinese and Russian boundary the severe cold makes a railway useless. Furthermore, as Vladivostok is their only sea-port in the Far East, they cannot give up the Chinese Eastern Railway without losing also their foothold on the Pacific. This makes us feel the more uneasy.

On the other hand, the South Manchuria Railway is not adequate for our purpose. Considering our present needs and future activities, we must control railways in both North and South Manchuria, especially in view of the fact that the re-

sources of North Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia will furnish no room for expansion and material gains. In South Manchuria the Chinese is increasing at such a rate that it will surely damage our interests politically and economically. Under such circumstances, we are compelled to take aggressive steps in North Manchuria in order to assure our future prosperity. But if Soviet Russia's Chinese Eastern Railway should spread across this field our new continental policy is bound to receive a set-back which will result in an inevitable conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future. In that event we shall enact once more our part in the Russo-Japanese War. The Chinese Eastern Railway will become ours as the South Manchuria Railway did last time, and we shall seize Kirin as we once did Dairen. That we should draw swords with Russia again in the fields of Mongolia in order to gain the wealth of North Manchuria seems a necessary step in our program of national aggrandisement. Until this hidden rock is blown up our ship can have no smooth sailing. We should now demand from China the right of building all the important military railroads. When these railroads are completed, we shall pour our forces into North Manchuria as far as we can. When Soviet Russia intervenes, as they must, that is our opportunity for open conflict.

WE SHOULD BUILD THE FOLLOWING RAILWAYS

1. Tungliao-Jehol Railway. This line is 447 miles long and will cost Yen 50,000,000. When it is completed it will be of great value to our development of Inner Mongolia. As a matter of fact, this is the most important of all the railways in the whole undertaking. According to the careful surveys of the War Department, there are in Inner Mongolia large tracts of land suitable for rice cultivation. After proper development there will be room for at least 20 millions of our people. Besides there, is the possibility of turning out 2,000,000 head of cattle which may be transported by railways for food supply and for purposes of exporting to Europe and America. Wool also is a special product. While the sheep in Japan yield only

two catties of wool per head per year, the sheep in Mongolia can yield six catties. The South Manchuria Railway has made many experiments, all of which confirm this fact. Besides, the wool is many times better than that of Australia. Its low cost and high quality combined with its abundance in quantity make Mongolia a potential source of great wealth. When this industry is enhanced by the facilities of railway development, the total production will increase at least ten-fold. We have withheld this knowledge from the rest of the world, lest England and America compete with us for it. Therefore, we must first of all control the transportation and then develop the wool industry. By the time the other countries know about it, it would be already too late to do anything. With this railroad in our hands, we can develop the wool industry not only for our own use, but also for exporting to Europe and America. Furthermore, we can realize our desire of joining hands with Mongolia. This railway is a matter of life and death to our policy in Mongolia. Without it, Japan can have no part in Mongolia's development.

2. Suolun-Taonan Railway. This line is 136 miles long and will cost Yen 10,000,000. Looking into the future of Japan, a war with Russia over the plains of North Manchuria is inevitable. From a military standpoint, this line will not only enable us to threaten Russia's rear but also to curtail its re-inforcements for North Manchuria. From an economic standpoint, this road will place the wealth of the Tao Er Ho Valley within our reach, thereby strengthening the South Manchuria Railway. The princes nearby who are friendly to us can also use this road to extend our influence in order to open up their respective territories. Our hope of working hand in hand with the Mongolian princes, of acquiring land, mines and pasturage, and of developing trade with the natives as preliminary steps for later penetration, all depends upon this railway. Together with Tungliao-Jehol Railway, they will form two supplementary routes into Mongolia. When the industries are fully developed, we shall extend our interests into Outer Mongolia. But the danger of this line is that it might provide facili-

ties for Chinese migration into a new region and spoil our own policy. Look at our experience with the South Manchuria Railway. Hasn't that served the interest of China? The redeeming feature, however, is the fact that the land and mines along this railway are in the possession of Mongolian princes. If we can gain possession of them first, we need have no worries about Chinese migration. Moreover, we can make the princes pass laws discriminating against Chinese immigrants. When life there is made miserable for the Chinese, they naturally will leave for places afar. There are other methods to bar the Chinese. Only if we try hard enough, no Chinese foot-prints will be found on Mongolian territory.

3. A Section of Changchun-Taonan Railway. As this line runs from Changchun to Fuyu and Talai, the section between Changchun and Taonan is about 131 miles and costs approximately Yen 11,000,000. This line is immensely important from an economic standpoint, for the wealth of Manchuria and an easy access to North Manchuria on the one hand, and prejudice the Chinese Eastern Railway to the benefit of the South Manchuria Railway on the other. It runs through the upper valley of the Sungari River where the soil is fertile and agricultural products abound. Further, in the vicinity of Talai there is the Yuehliang Falls which could be harnessed for electric power. That this section of the railway will be a prosperous center for industry and agriculture, is beyond doubt. After the completion of this line, we shall be able to make Talai a base and advance on Siberia through three directions; namely, by ways of Taonan, Anshan and Tsitsihar. The wealth of North Manchuria will then come to our hands. This will also be the first line of advance to Heilungkiang. It will further form a circuit with the railway between Changchun and Taonan, which will serve well for military purposes when we penetrate into Mongolia. Along this whole line the population is sparse and the land is rich and extensive. No fertiliser will be required on the farms for fifty years. A possession of this railway will ensure the possession of all the wealth of North

Manchuria and Mongolia. In this region there is room for at least 30 million people more. When the Tunhua Railway is completed and joins up with the line running to Hueining in Korea, the products will be brought to the door of Osaka and Tokyo by a direct route. In time of war our troops could be despatched to North Manchuria and Mongolia via the Japan Sea without a stop, forestalling all possibilities of Chinese forces entering North Manchuria. Nor could American or Russian submarines enter the Korean Strait. The moment the railways between Kirin and Hueining and between Changchun and Talai are completed, we shall become self-sufficient in food-stuff and raw materials. We shall have no worries in the event of war with any country. Then, in our negotiations about Manchuria and Mongolia, China will be cowed to submission and yield to our wishes. If we want to end the political existence of Manchuria and Mongolia according to the third step of Meiji's plan, the completion of these two railways is the only way. The Changchun-Talai Railway will greatly enhance the value of the South Manchuria Railway, besides developing into a profitable line itself. It is an undertaking of supreme importance in our penetration into this territory.

4. Kirin-Hueining Line. While the Kirin-Tunhua Line is already completed, the Tunhua-Hueining Line is yet to be built. The narrow gauge of 2 ft. 6 inches of the tracks from Hueining to Laotoukow is inadequate for the economic development of the New Continent. Allowing Yen 8,000,000 for widening the tracks in this section and Yen 10,000,000 for completing the section between Laotoukow and Tunhua, the whole undertaking will cost approximately Yen 20,000,000. When this is done, our continental policy will have succeeded. Hitherto, people going to Europe have to pass through either Dairen or Vladivostok. Now they can go on the trunk line directly from Chingchinkang via the Siberian Railway. When we are in control of this great system of transportation, we need make no secret of our designs on Manchuria and Mongolia according to the third step of Meiji's plans. The Yamato Race is then embarked on the journey of world

conquest! According to the last will of Meiji, our first step was to conquer Formosa and the second step to annex Korea. Having completed both of these, the third step is yet to be taken and that is the conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia and China. When this is done, the rest of Asia including the South Sea Islands will be at our feet. That these injunctions have not been carried out even now, is a crime of your humble servants.

In history the people living in Kirin, Fengtien and part of Heilungkiang, are called Sushan. They are now scattered along the sea coast and in the basins of the Amur and Tumen Rivers. They were known as Kulai, Sushan, Hueibei, Palou, Wotsu, Fuyu, Kitan Pohai and Nuchen at different stages of history. They were of a mixed race. The forefathers of the Manchurian dynasty also began in this vicinity. They gained control of Kirin, first, and then firmly established themselves in China for 300 years. If we want to put into effect our Continental Policy, we have to note this historical fact and proceed to establish ourselves in this region first also. Hence the necessity of the Kirin-Hueining Railway.

Whether the terminus of Kirin-Hueining Line be at Chingchin or Lochin or even Hsiungchi, we are free to decide according to circumstances. From the standpoint of national defence at present, Lochin seems the ideal harbour and terminus. Eventually it will be the best harbour in the world. On the one hand it will ruin Vladivostok, and on the other it will be the center of the wealth of Manchuria and Mongolia. Moreover, Dairen is as yet not our own territory while Manchuria is yet not a part of our empire, it is difficult to develop Dairen. That being the case, we shall be in a precarious situation in time of war. The enemy could blockade the Tsushima and Senchima Straits, and we shall be cut off from the supplies of Manchuria and Mongolia. Not having the resources there at our command we shall be vanquished, especially as England and the United States have worked hand in hand to limit our action in every possible direction. For the sake of self-preservation and of

giving warning to China and the rest of the world, we must fight America some time. The American Asiatic Squadron stationed in the Philippines is but within a stone's throw from Tsushima and Senchima. If they send submarines to these quarters, our supply of food-stuff and raw materials from Manchuria and Mongolia will be cut off entirely. But if the Kirin-Hueining Railway is completed, we shall have a large circuit line through all Manchuria and Korea, and a small circuit line through North Manchuria. We shall have access in all direction gaining freedom for the transportation of soldiers and supplies alike. When our supplies are transported through this line to our ports at Tsuruga and Niigata, enemy submarines will have no way of getting into the Japanese and Korean straits. We are then entirely free from interference. This is what is meant by making the Japanese Sea the center of our national defence. Having secured the free transportation of food and raw materials, we shall have nothing to fear either from the American navy because of its size, or the Chinese or Russian army because of their number. Incidentally, we shall be in a position to suppress the Koreans. Let me reiterate the fact that if we want to carry out the New Continental Policy, we must build this line. Manchuria and Mongolia are the undeveloped countries in the East. Over this territory we shall have to go war with Soviet Russia sooner or later. The battle ground will be Kirin.

When we carry out the third step of Meiji's plans with regard to China, we shall have to do the following things:—

1. Mobilise the army divisions in Fukuoka and Hiroshima, and send them to South Manchuria via Korea. This will prevent the northern advance of Chinese soldiers.
2. Send the army divisions in Nagoya and Kwansai by sea to Chingchin, and thence to North Manchuria via the Kirin Hueining Line.
3. Send the army in Kwantung through Niigata to Chingchin or Lochin, and thence by Kirin-Hueining Line to North Manchuria.

4. Send the army divisions in Hokkaido and Sendai to embark the ship at Aomori and Hakodato, and sail for Vladivostok and thence, via the Siberian Railway, to Harbin. Then they can descend on Fengtien, seize Mongolia and prevent Russian forces from coming south.
5. Finally these divisions in all directions will meet and form themselves in two large armies. On the south, they will keep Shanhaikuan and close it against the northern advance of Chinese forces: on the north, they will defend Tsitsihar against the southern advance of the Russians. In this way we shall have all the resources of Manchuria and Mongolia at our command. Even if the war should be prolonged for ten years, we need have no fear for the lack of supplies.

Let us now analyze once more the Kirin-Hueining Railway from the standpoint of its access from our ports.

First, with Chingchin as starting point:

1. To Vladivostok130 miles
2. To Tsuruga475 miles
3. To Moji500 miles
4. To Nagasaki650 miles
5. To Fusan500 miles

Second, take Tsuruga as the port of entry and compare it with Dairen. In this case we should consider it from the point of view of Osaka an industrial center.

1. From Changchun to Osaka via Lochin, the distance is 406 miles by land and 475 miles by sea. In point of time the route will take 51 hours.
2. From Changchun to Osaka via Dairen and Kobe, the distance is 535 miles by land and 870 miles by sea. In point of time it takes 92 hours.

If Tsuruga instead of Dairen is made the connecting link, there is a saving of 41 hours. Calculated at the rate of 30 miles an hour on land and 12 miles an hour by sea, we can use fast boats and trains and cut the time in half.

Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East. In the Great War, Belgium was the battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the United States, we must also make Manchuria and Mongolia suffer the ravages. As it is evident that we have to violate the neutrality of these territories, we cannot help building the Kirin-Hueining and Changchun-Talai Railways in order that we may be militarily prepared. In time of war we can easily increase our forces and in time of peace we can migrate thousands upon thousands of people into this region and work on the rice fields. This line offers the key to economic development as well as to military conquests.

In undertaking the Kirin-Hueining Railway, it is necessary to take advantage of the dry season and finish it at one stretch. The mountains it must go through are all granite. The tunneling would need modern and up-to-date machines. As to the sleepers and ballast required, there is an abundance all along the line. Limestone and clay for making tiles and brick are also to be had for the taking. Only rails, cars and locomotives have to be brought in. The cost of construction could therefore be reduced at least thirty per cent and the time required forty per cent.

Now, let us look into the economic interests along this line. According to the careful investigations of our General Staff and the South Manchuria Railway, the total reserve of timber is 200,000,000 tons. If one million ton is fallen and imported to our country each year, it will last two hundred years. This will stop the import of American timber which has been costing us Yen 80,000,000 to Yen 100,000,000 a year. Although our information is reliable we cannot make it known to the world; for if China or Russia learns that we get so much timber from America, they would try to interfere with the construction of

this line. Or else, the United States may buy from the Feng tien Government all the timber rights on the one hand to protect their own trade with us; on the other, to control the monopoly and incidentally kill our paper industry.

Kirin was known as the "ocean of trees" even in the days of Emperor Chien-Lung. Added to the original forests are the growths in the intervening years since that time. Imagine the vastness of the resources! To transport this timber from Kirin to Osaka via Changchun and Dairen, there is a distance of 1,385 miles. For every cubic foot, we have to spend 34 cents. Because of this high cost of transportation, we cannot compete with the United States. If the Kirin-Hueining Line is completed, the distance is reduced to about 700 miles. We can then ship timber to Osaka at the low rate of 13 cents per cubic foot. We can certainly defeat the timber importation from the United States then. Supposing we calculate the profit at Yen 5.00 per ton timber and supposing there are two billion tons of timber, the construction of the railway will bring to us the easy profit of 10 billion yen. We will bar the import of American timber into our country. Furthermore, the industry of paper manufacture furniture making, and wooden wares which the cheap timber makes possible will add 20 million yen more to our country's annual income.

There is also the Hsinchin coal mine, which has a reserve of 600,000,000 tons of coal. The quality of this coal is superior to that of Fushun coal, easy to excavate and suitable for the extraction of petroleum, agricultural fertilizers and other chemical by-products which we may both use at home and sell in China. There are numerous other advantages which will come to us from the building of the Kirin-Hueining Railway. It is all gain without labour. The coal will supplement the Fushun collieries. With both coal mines in our control, we hold the key to the industries of all China. Speaking of the Hsinchin coal, we shall reap a profit of Yen 5.00 on each ton when it is shipped to Japan. With additional chemical by-products, we shall reap a profit of Yen 16.00 from each ton of

coal. Taking an average profit of Yen 15.00 a ton, the total profit will amount to 200 billion yen. All this comes as a by-product from the operation of the Kirin-Hueining Railway. There are, besides, the gold mines along the Mutan River. The acquired rights of the South Manchuria Railway in the gold mines of Chiapikou in the province of Kirin and the timber in its neighbourhood will all be within reach of exploitation once the Kirin-Hueining line is in operation.

In the vicinity of Tunhua the agricultural products, such as oats, wheat, millet and kaoliang, yield an annual output of over a million cattles. There are twenty distilleries of wines, thirty oil mills yielding an annual output of about 600,000 cattles of oil and 600,000 of bean cakes, besides many places for making vermicelli. All these will depend upon the new railway. The trade along this road may be estimated at 4 million yen a year. The transportation charges of farm products alone will not only defray the running expenses, but also yield a net profit of Yen 200,000 a year. Including the profit from timber, coal and its by-products transported by the railway, we can safely count on a profit of Yen 8,000,000 a year. Besides, there are indirect benefits such as the strengthening of the South Manchuria Railway, the acquisition of rights over forests, mines and trade as well as the migration of large numbers of our people into North Manchuria. Above all, is the shortening of distance between Japan and the resources of wealth in North Manchuria. It only takes three hours from Chingchin to Hueining, three hours from Hueining to Sanfeng and three hours more from Tumen river to Lungchingtsun. In 60 hours we can reach the wealth of North Manchuria. Hence the Kirin-Hueining Railroad alone can enable us to tap the immense wealth of North Manchuria.

4. *Hunchun-Hailin Railway.* This is 173 miles long and costs Yen. 24,000,000. All along this line are thick forests. In order to strengthen the Kirin-Hueining Railway and to exploit the forests and mines in North Manchuria, this line is needed. In order to transfer the prosperity of Vladivostok to Hueining, this line is also urgently needed. The greatest hope for

prosperity, however, is the fact that south of Naining and north of Tunhua there is Lake Chungpo which can be used to generate electric power. With this electric power, we shall have control over the agricultural and industrial undertakings of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia. No amount of China's agitation can matter in the least to our industrial developments. According to the investigations of the South Manchuria Railway, the water power in the lake can generate at least 800,000 horsepower. With such an enormous quantity of electric power, the industrial conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia can be easily accomplished. In the neighbourhood of this immense power plant, there will be phenomenal growth of wealth. We must build this railway quickly, in order to provide facilities for transportation. Lake Hsingkai, which is owned jointly by China and Russia, can also be developed for the generation of electricity. In order that these two countries may not combine to frustrate our plans, we should introduce a resolution in the International Conference of Electrical Engineering to be held in Tokyo this year, to the effect that in the same area of electricity supply there should not be two power plants. Besides, in the vicinity of Niigata and Hailin, the Oju Paper Mill has acquired extensive rights of lumbering. They need the immediate establishment of the power plant at Lake Chingpo and the early completion of the Hunchun-Hailin Railway in order to bring to the factory at home the raw materials growing wild in Mongolia.

Moreover, the reason that the Fengtien-Kirin-Wuchang Railway and the Kirin and Fengtien authorities intend to build the Wuchang Railway and the Kirin-Mukden Railway, with Hulutao or Tientsin as sea-port, is that they want to recover to themselves the wealth of North Manchuria. By building the Hunchun-Hailin Railway we shall not only strengthen the Kirin-Hueining Railway, but also defeat the Chinese scheme and draw the wealth of Manchuria to Chingchin harbour. The transportation charges will be two-thirds less compared with the Chinese line and one-third less compared with the Siberian line. They cannot compete with us. Our victory is a foregone conclusion.

The total trade in Manchuria is seven or eight billion yen a year, all of which is in our hands. The business we do in wool, cotton, soybeans, bean cakes, and iron, forms one-twentieth of the total volume of world trade. And it is steadily increasing. But the Namihaya Machi at Dairen (the wealthiest street in the city) is still in Chinese possession. The sad story goes further. Oil is a basic industry in Manchuria. We control only 6 percent of it. Of the 38 oil mills in Yingkow, there is not one Japanese; of the 20 oil miles in Antung there is only one Japanese and of the 82 or 83 oil mills in Dairen there are only seven owned by Japanese. This is by no means an optimistic outlook for us. In order to recover the lost ground, we must first of all develop transportation. Then, by securing a monopoly on both finished products and raw materials, we shall be able to gain the upper-hand eventually. Furthermore, we ought to assist our people in oil business by extending to them financial credit, so that the oil industry of the Chinese will be forced out of the market. There are many Chinese on Kawaguchi Machi in Osaka who are dealers of our manufactured goods in Mongolia and Manchuria. They are strong competitors of our own business men in China. Our people are greatly handicapped because of their high standard of living which compels them to figure at a higher percentage of profit. On the other hand, the Chinese also have their disadvantages. The goods that they get are of an inferior quality, but the price that they pay is at least 10 percent higher than what our own people pay. Besides, they are also obliged to pay Yen 2.70 more than our people for every ton of goods transported, and yet they can undersell our merchants in Manchuria. It clearly shows the inability of our own people. When one thinks of it, it is really pathetic. The Chinese is single-handed, receiving no assistance from the government. But the Japanese in Manchuria has every protection from the government and long term credit at a low rate of interest. Still there are innumerable cases of failures. Hereafter, we should organize a cooperative exporting house to China. The steamship lines and the South Manchuria Railway should give it special discounts, and the government in Kwangtung should

extend to it financial credit at a very low rate of interest. Then we can hope to beat the Chinese merchants and recover our trade rights, so that we may develop the special products of Manchuria and send them to all parts of the world.

The first step in gaining financial and commercial control of Manchuria and Mongolia lies in the monopoly sale of their products. We must have the rights of monopoly for the sale of Manchurian and Mongolian products before we can carry out our continental policy and prevent the invasion of American capital as well as the influence of the Chinese traders.

Although the products of Manchuria and Mongolia may go through any of the three ports, Dairen, Yingkow and Antung, nevertheless Dairen holds the key to the situation. Every year 7,200 ships pass through this port with a total tonnage of 11,565,000 tons. This represents 70 percent of the total trade of Manchuria and Mongolia. Fifteen navigation routes radiate out from it with definite sailing schedule. Most of it is costal sailing. We have in our grasp the entire transportation system of Manchuria and Mongolia. The monopoly sale of Manchuria's special products will eventually come into our hands. When that come true, we can develop our oceanic transportation in order to defeat both Yingkow and Antung. Then the large quantities of beans which the central and southern parts of China consume, will depend upon us entirely. Moreover, the Chinese are an oil eating people. In time of war, we can cut off their oil-supply and the life of the whole country will become miserable. Bean-cakes are important as fertilizers for the cultivation of rice. If we have control of the source of supply as well as the means of transportation, we shall be able to increase our production of rice by means of a cheap supply of bean-cakes and the fertilizers manufactured as a by-product, at the Fushun coal mines. In this way, we shall have the agricultural work of all China dependent upon us. In case of war, we can put an embargo on bean-cakes as well as the mineral fertilizers and forbid their exportation to Central and South China. Then China's production of food-stuff will be greatly reduced. This

is one way of building up our continental empire which we must not overlook. We should remember that Europe and America also need large quantities of beans and bean-cakes. When we have monopoly of the supplies and full control of transportation, both on land and sea, the countries which have need of the special products of Manchuria and Mongolia, will have to seek our good-will. In order to gain trade monopoly in Manchuria and Mongolia, we must have control of the complete transportation system. Only then can we have the Chinese merchants under our thumb.

However, the Chinese are adepts in learning our tricks and beating us at our own game. We have yet found no way by which we can compete successfully with them in oil-making and sail-boat transportation. After building up the new system of transportation, our policy should be two-fold. On the one hand, wreck the sail-boat trade by means of heavy investment in our own system. On the other hand, encourage our men to learn all they can from the Chinese about sail-boat business. Another thing we should be careful about is teaching the Chinese our industrial methods. In the past we have established factories in Manchuria and Mongolia, and carried on industries near the source of raw materials. This gave to the Chinese the opportunity of learning our secrets and establishing competitive factories of their own. Hereafter, we should ship the raw materials back home and do the manufacturing there, and then ship the finished products for sale in China and other countries. In this way we shall gain in three ways: (1) provide work for our unemployed at home, (2) prevent the influx of Chinese into Manchuria and Mongolia, and (3) make it impossible for the Chinese to imitate our new industrial methods. Then iron of Penhsihu and Anshan and the coal of Fushun should also be sent home to be turned into finished products.

For all these considerations, the development of ocean transportation becomes the more necessary. The Dairen Kisen Kaisha Company should be enlarged, and our government should extend to it loans at low interest through the South Manchuria

Railway Company. By next year, we should complete 50,000 tons of new ships for oceanic transportation. That will be sufficient to dominate over the traffic of the East. For on the hand, we have the South Manchuria Railway for land transportation; on the other hand, we control the large quantities of products in Manchuria and Mongolia waiting to be transported. The success of this enlarged activities in oceanic transportation with Dairen as centre is assured by the iron laws of economics.

GOLD STANDARD CURRENCY NECESSARY

Although Manchuria and Mongolia are within our field of activities, yet the legal tender there is still silver. It often conflicts with our gold basis and works to our disadvantage. That our people have failed to prosper as they should in these places, is due to the existence of silver monetary system there. The Chinese have persistently upheld the silver basis, and therefore have made it impossible for us firmly to establish our colonization plans on a firm economic foundation. We have suffered from it the following disadvantages:

1. The money that we bring into Manchuria is of gold standard. When we use it either for daily livelihood or for industry and trade, it has to be exchanged into Chinese silver dollars. The fluctation of exchange is not infrequently as much as 20 percent, resulting in serious loss to our people. Speculation becomes a regular business and investing money becomes a matter of gambling. When one plans an investment of two hundred thousand yen, one may suddenly find that his capital has been reduced to one hundred fifty or one hundred sixty thousand dollars due to the drop in exchange. The creditor would then have to call in the loan and business failures have often resulted.

2. The Chinese businessmen use silver money throughout and are free from the effects of exchange fluctuations. Therefore their "junk" trade is prosperous. Although they have no scientific knowledge of exchange value of gold and silver, they always gain in the transaction. They have a natural gift for

it, we suffer the more. And we lose in spite of our control of transtation and special backing of banking houses. Because of the handicap of monetary system, people in Central and South China always buy beans and bean-cakes from their own people. We have no chance against them. In consequence, we cannot conquer the whole of China.

3. With the silver standard in existence, the Chinese Government can increase their notes to counteract our gold notes. Consequently, our banks will fail to carry out the mission of extending our country's influence.

4. If the gold standard is adopted, we can issue gold notes freely. With the credit of the gold notes, we can acquire rights in real property and natural resources and defeat the credit of the Chinese silver notes. The Chinese will be unable to compete with us; and the currency of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia will be in our control.

5. The Government Bank of the Three Eastern Provinces, the Bank of Communications, the Frontier Development Bank and the General Credit & Finance Corporation have in circulation silver notes amounting to 38,000,000 dollars. Their reserve funds in the form of buildings and goods are estimated at 1,350,000 dollars. It is natural that the Chinese notes should depreciate. It is only by acts of the Government that these notes are still in circulation. Until we have entirely discredited the Chinese silver notes, we will never place our gold notes in their proper place in Manchuria and Mongolia, much less obtain the monopoly in currency and finance of these countries. With the depreciated and inconvertible silver notes, the government of the Three Eastern Provinces buys all kinds of products, thus threatening our vested interests. When they sell these products, they demand gold from us which they keep for the purpose of wrecking our financial interests including our trade rights in special products. For these reasons, our gold notes are having a harder time and a gold standard for currency becomes the more urgently necessary.

In view of the above-mentioned considerations, we must overthrow Manchuria's inconvertible silver notes and divest the government of its purchasing power. Then we can extend the use of our gold notes in the hope of dominating the economic and financial activities of Manchuria and Mongolia. Furthermore, we can compel the authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces to employ Japanese financial advisers to help us gain supremacy in financial matters. When the Chinese notes are overthrown, our gold notes will take their place.

THE NECESSITY OF CHANGING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTH MANCHURIA RAILWAY

The South Manchuria Railway Company functions in Manchuria as the Governor-General of Korea did there before the annexation. In order to build up our new Continental Empire, we must change the organization of that Company so as to break away from the present difficulties. The functions of this Company are varied and important. Every change of Cabinet involves a change of the administration of the South Manchuria Railway, and conversely every activity of the South Manchuria Railway also has important consequences on the Cabinet. This is because the South Manchuria Railway is semi-governmental, with final authority resting in the Cabinet. For this reason, the Powers invariably look upon this railway as a purely political organ rather than a business enterprise. Whenever a new move is made for the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, the Powers would invoke the Nine Power Treaty to thwart the plans of the South Manchuria Railway. This has greatly damaged the interests of our empire.

Considered from the point of view of domestic administration, the South Manchuria Railway is subject to a quadruple control. There are the Governor of Kwantung, the Chief Executive of Dairen, the Consul-General at Mukden, besides the President of the South Manchuria Railway itself. These four officers must meet and exchange views at Dairen before anything is undertaken. What is discussed in the meeting held in

camera often leaks out to the Chinese authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces. They in turn would try to obstruct any forward movements of the South authorization, it again has to run the gauntlet at the Departments of Foreign Affairs, of Railways, of Finance and of Army. If these ministers do not agree, the matter is dropped. Therefore, although the present prime minister realizes his own incompetence, he has nevertheless taken concurrently the port-folio of foreign affairs, so that our movements in Manchuria may be kept confidential and the execution of our plans may be swift and decisive. On account of these reasons, the South Manchuria Railway should be radically re-organized. All appurtenant enterprises which are profit-making should be made independent companies under the wings of the South Manchuria Railway, so that we may take determined steps on the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia. On the other hand, Chinese, Europeans and Americans should be invited to invest money in the South Manchuria Railway on the condition that we have a plurality of its stocks. In that event the control of the Company is in our hands, and our mission from the empire can be discharged more vigorously. In short, by inviting international participation in the South Manchuria Railway, we can blind the eyes of the world. Having achieved that, we can push our advance in Manchuria and Mongolia at our will, free ourselves from the restraint of the Nine Power Treaty and strengthen our activities in that country with foreign capital.

The important appurtenant enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway are:—

1. *Iron and Steel*

Iron and steel are closely connected with national development. Every country today attaches great importance to it. But because of the lack of ores, we have found no solution to this problem. Hitherto we have had to import steel from the Yangtze Valley and the Malay Peninsula. But according to a secret survey of our General Staff, a wealth of iron mines are found in many places in Manchuria and Mongolia. A conser-

vative estimate of the reserve is 10 billion tons. At first when there was a lack of technique, the Anshan Iron and Steel Works was involved in an annual loss of Yen 3,000,000. Later, new methods were discovered, and the technique developed so that during 1926 the loss was only Yen 150,000 and a year later there was a profit of Yen 800,000. If the furnace is improved, we ought to earn at least Yen 4,000,000 a year. The quality of the ore at Penhsihu is excellent. By amalgamating it with the Anshan Iron Works, we shall have the comfort of being self-sufficient in iron and steel.

The iron deposits in Manchuria and Mongolia are estimated at 1,200,000,000 tons; and coal deposits, 2,500,000,000 tons. This coal ought to be sufficient for smelting the iron ores. With such large amounts of iron and coal at our disposal, we ought to be self-sufficient for at least seventy years. At the rate of \$100.00 profit on each ton of steel, for 350,000,000 tons of steel we shall have a profit of Yen 35,000,000,000. This is a tremendous asset to our economic resources. We shall save the expense of Yen 120,000,000 which we pay for the importation of steel every year. When we can have sufficient iron and steel for our own industries, we shall have acquired the secret for becoming the leading nation in the world. Thus strengthened, we can conquer both the East and the West. In order to attain this goal, the iron works must be separated from the South Manchuria Railway. Such unified control will keep China from preventing us to become self-sufficient in iron and steel.

2. *Petroleum*

Another important commodity which we lack is petroleum. It is also essential to the existence of a nation. Fortunately, there lie in the Fushun Coal Mine 5,200,000,000 tons of shale oil, from every hundred cattles of which six cattles of crude oil may be extracted. By means of American Machinery, every hundred cattles will yield nine cattles of refined oil good for motor cars and battleships. At present, Japan imports from foreign countries 700,000 tons of mineral oils every year valued at Yen 60,000,000. These figures are on the increase. As there are 50 billion tons of shale in the Fushun Mines, the yield

calculated at five percent would be 250,000,000 tons; at nine percent, 450,000,000 tons of oil. Taking an average of the two, the yield would be 350,000,000 tons, and assuming the value of the oil to be fifteen yen a ton, the oil shale contained in the Fushun Mine would bring us Yen 2,250,000,000. This will be a great industrial revolution for us. From the standpoint of national defence and national wealth, petroleum is a great factor. Having the iron and petroleum of Manchuria, our army and navy will become impregnable walls of defence. That Manchuria and Mongolia are the heart and liver of our empire, is a truthful saying. For the sake of our empire, we should be congratulated.

AGRICULTURAL FERTILIZER—AMONIA SULPHATE AND OTHER PRODUCTS

Agricultural fertilizer is a great necessity for the production of foodstuff. Chemical fertilizers depend upon the ammonia sulphate extracted from coal. The Fushun coal yields especially good results. At present, our total consumption of ammonia sulphate is 500,000 tons. Of this, only half is manufactured at home, using the coal from the Kailan or the Fushun Mining Companies. The remaining half is imported from abroad at the cost of Yen 35,000,000 a year. With our agricultural work daily increasing and in view of the development of our new empire in Manchuria and Mongolia, we shall easily need 1,000,000 tons of ammonia sulphate every year during the next ten years. From the soot gathered from the burning of Fushun coal connected with the manufacture of steel, we could produce large quantities of ammonia sulphate. If the yield is put at 300,000 tons a year, we shall add an annual income of more than Yen 40,000,000. In fifty years, this will mount up to Yen 2,000,000,000. This money could be used for the improvement of our agriculture. If there is any surplus, we can buy bean-cakes with it and then invade the farms all over China and in the South Sea Islands. In order to accomplish this, we must separate this enterprise from the South Manchuria Railway. We shall then be able to control the fertilizers of the Far East.

SODA AND SODA ASH

We import 100,000 tons of Soda Ash at the cost of more than Yen 10,000,000 a year. Both soda and soda ash are valuable materials for military and industrial purposes. Soda is derived from nothing more than salt and coal, both of which are cheap and abundant in Manchuria and Mongolia. If we go into this manufacture, we can supply not only ourselves but can also sell it to China with a view to controlling its industrial products. We ought to gain from it a profit of at least Yen 15,000,000 a year. We can also supply our own military and chemical needs. Again this industry must be separated from the South Manchuria Railway.

MAGNESIUM AND ALUMINIUM

According to the independent surveys of the South Manchuria Railway Company and Dr. Honta of Tohoku University, magnesite and aluminium is a very promising business (in Manchuria). Magnesite is found in the surroundings of Tashichiao, and aluminium in the vicinity of Yentai. The deposit is one of the largest in the world. A ton of magnesite is worth Yen 2,000 and a ton of aluminium is worth about Yen 1,700. An estimate of the deposits of both minerals in Manchuria is Yen 750,000,000. These substances are especially useful for making aeroplanes, mess kits in the army, hospital apparatus and vessels, and other important industries. The United States alone has extensive deposits of these substances. The output of our country is one ton a year! Such materials are becoming more useful every day, but the supply is insufficient. Its price is growing high, as if never reaching a limit. The deposits in our territory of Manchuria and Mongolia, are nothing less than a God-given gift. The metal is really precious, being indispensable to both our industry and national defence. It also should be made in independent business, separate from the South Manchuria Railway. Its manufacture should be in Japan, so as to keep the Fengtien Government from imitating it on the one hand and to avoid the watchful eyes of the British and American capitalists on the other. After we

have gained control of it in the Three Eastern Provinces, we may harness the water power of the Yalu River to work on these metal ores. In view of the development of aircraft, in the future all the world will come to us for the materials necessary for aeronautics.

If all the enterprises mentioned above are made independent undertakings, they would make rapid progress and bring us at least a profit of 60 billion yen a year. The industrial development in South Manchuria means much to our national defence and economical progress. It will help us to build the foundation of an industrial empire. As to the cultural undertakings such as hospitals, schools and philanthropic institutions, they are our signal towers in the advance into Manchuria and Mongolia. They are the institutions for spreading our national prestige and power. More specifically, they are the baits for rights and privileges. Let us separate all these from the South Manchuria Railway in order that we may redouble our efforts and advance into North Manchuria to reclaim the sources of great wealth there.

When these important undertakings become independent and are free to develop without the interference of our officials, they will naturally become channels of national prosperity. On the wings of economic development, we could make rapid advance without either arousing the suspicion of the Powers or the anti-Japanese activities of the people of the Three Eastern Provinces. Such hidden methods would enable us to build the New Continent Empire with ease and efficiency.

The foreign loans for the South Manchuria Railway must be confined to those railroads already completed. Other railways built by us but nominally under Chinese control, can either be amalgamated with the completed lines or made independent according to the desire of the investing nations. The slogan of "Equal Opportunity" helps us to get foreign loans as well as to dispel suspicion of our designs in North Manchuria. At any rate, we shall need foreign capital to develop our continental empire. When the South Manchuria Railway is open

to foreign investments, the powers will be glad to lend more to us and China can do nothing to block it. This is an excellent way to further our plans in Manchuria. We should lose no time in doing it. As to the wealth concentrated in the northern part of Manchuria and Mongolia, we should be likewise. The two new railways from Kirin to Hueining and from Changchun to Talai, as well as the lumber and mining interests, should also be managed as separate institutions.

The South Manchuria Railway will also be greatly enriched by our exploits in North Manchuria. Already Chinese immigrants are pouring into South Manchuria in large numbers. Their position will become stronger every day. As the right of renting land in the interior is not yet secured, our immigrants are gradually losing ground. Even if our government's backing will maintain our people there, they cannot compete with the Chinese due to the latter's low standard of living. Our only chance now is to defeat the Chinese by heavy capitalization. This again necessitates the use of foreign loans. This is so, especially because the riches of North Manchuria are even not accessible to the Chinese immigrants. We must seize the present opportunity, and hasten the progress of immigration by our own people and take possession of all rights there so as to shut out the Chinese. But in order to encourage immigration, rapid transportation is essential. This will both afford facilities to our people and bring the natural resources there to the world market. Moreover, both Russia and ourselves have been increasing armaments. On account of geographical positions, we have conflicting interests. If we want to obtain the wealth of North Manchuria and to build up the New Continent according to the will of Emperor Meiji, we must rush our people into North Manchuria first and seek to break the friendship between Russia and China. In this way, we can enjoy the wealth of North Manchuria and hold at bay both Russia and China. In case of war, our immigrants in North Manchuria will combine with our forces in South Manchuria, and at one stroke settle the problem forever. In case this is not possible, they can still maintain their own in North Manchuria and supply the rest of

us with food-stuff and raw materials. As the interests of North Manchuria and our country are so wrapped up, we should march directly into North Manchuria and pursue our settled policy.

THE NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHING A COLONIAL DEPARTMENT

Our exploitation of Manchuria takes a variety of forms. Often those in authority take such different views that even the most profitable undertaking for our country cannot be carried out. Because of the lack of speed, our secrets are often exposed and are made propaganda materials by the Mukden government much to the detriment of our country in international relations. Whenever a new undertaking is projected in Manchuria and Mongolia, it will become the subject of discussion of tens of meetings and conferences in Dairen. Not only the approval of the four-headed government there is necessary, but also the sanction of the cabinet at home has to be secured before anything can be carried out. Because of all these obstacles, any undertaking will take months and months before any definite results are seen. In the process it is possible for the Chinese to employ Japanese adventurers to steal our secrets so that before a project is launched it is often reported to the Chinese and in turn it becomes common property of the world. We are suddenly brought under the check of world opinion, and more than once we have incurred hardship in putting into practice our policy toward Manchuria and Mongolia. Furthermore, the opposition party has also made capital out of what they find in these regions in order to attack the government. All these have many serious have with our diplomatic relations. Henceforth, we must change our practice in order to proceed adroitly. The centre of control must be in Tokyo. That will (1) insure secrecy, (2) stop China from knowing before-hand our plans, (3) avoid the suspicion of the powers before a thing is done, (4) unify the multiple control in Manchuria and (5) bring the government agencies in Manchuria and Mongolia in close touch with the central government so as to deal with China with undivided power. For these reasons we should follow the original plan for absorbing Korea laid down by Ito and Katsura

and establish a Colonial Department, the special function of which is to look after the expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia. The administration of Formosa, Korea and Saghalien Island may be its nominal function, but our expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia is its real purpose. This will blind the eyes of the world on the one hand and forestall the disclosure of secrets on the other.

It is my personal conviction that the fact that the absorption of Korea could not be effected during the administration of Ito, is due to the lack of a special office for control. Therefore, there were always differences of opinion and secret policies were impossible. Such a state of affairs played into the hand of international obstruction and Korean opposition. Then a number of propagandists went to Europe and America as well as Korea itself, declaring that we firmly respected the independence of Korea and had no designs on an inch of Korean territory. The result of their work was the recovery of international confidence. After that, a colonial department was established under the pretence of Formosa, Then we seized the opportunity and the object was gained! It goes to prove that in order to undertake colonization and immigration, a special office for it is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the creation of a new empire in Mongolia and Manchuria is of utmost importance to the existence of Japan. It is necessary to have a special colonial office in order that the politics in that vast territory may be controlled from Tokyo. The officers in the field should only take orders: they should not interfere with the execution of policies where they please. This will insure secrecy; and the opposition nation have no chance of getting into the secrets of our colonial activities. Then our movements regarding Mongolia and Manchuria will be beyond the reach of international public opinion, and we shall be free from interferences.

As to the subsidiary enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway such as the Development Company, the Land Company, and the Trust Company, the power of supervision and planning should also be in the colonial office. They should all be under united control, in order that they may all help in the general

policy of expansion in Mongolia and Manchuria of the Imperial Government and complete the creation of the new empire.

TALING RIVER VALLEY OF PEKING-MUKDEN RAILWAY

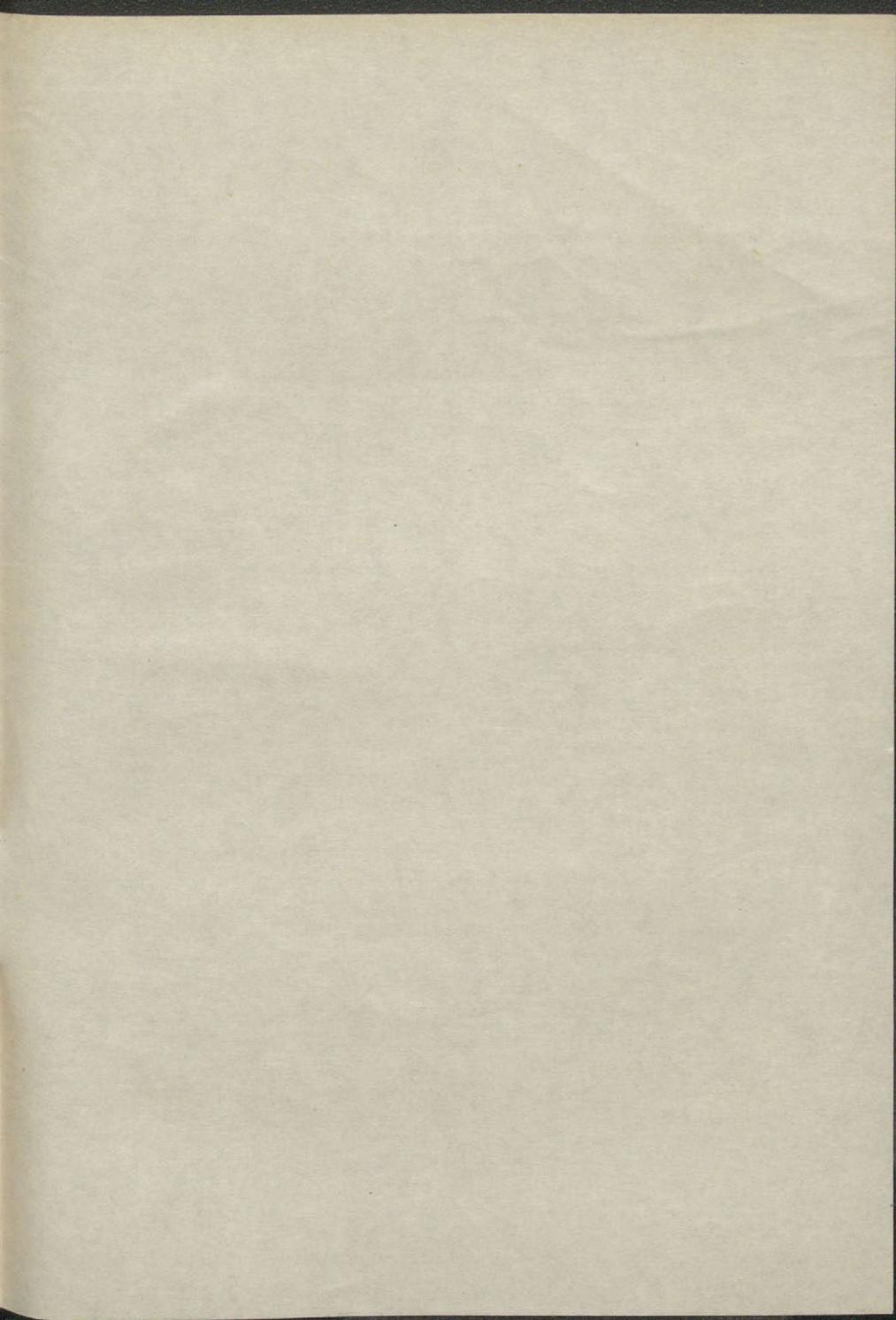
The Taling River Valley is a wide area sparsely populated but infested with bandits. Many Koreans have made investments here, especially in rice field. Judging from its resources, this region is bound to be prosperous. It will also be an advantageous foothold for us if we want to expand into the Jehol region. We should give full protection to our Korean subjects here and wait for an opportunity to secure from China the right of colonization so that our immigrants may live here and act as our vanguards to Jehol and Mongolia. In case of warfare, this valley will be a strategic point to quarter large armies of soldiers. We shall then not only check the Chinese soldiers from advancing north but also hold the key to the immense wealth of South Manchuria. When Koreans come into this region we should finance them through our Trust and other financial organs with a view to gaining for these organs the actual ownership while the Koreans may satisfy themselves with the right of farming only. Ostensibly the ownership of land must reside with the Koreans. It is a convenient way of securing rights from the Chinese government. Henceforth the trust companies and financial organs should give them full backing when our own and Korean subjects wish to gain land ownership. If they need money to buy farms from the Chinese, the financial organs should also come to their aid. Unnoticeably we shall gain control of the better rice fields which we may give to our own emigrants. They shall displace the Koreans who in turn may go on opening new fields, to deliver to the convenient use of our own people. This is the policy with respect to the colonization of rice field and bean farms. As to the policy for herd farming, the Development Company should be especially entrusted gradually to expand, eventually placing all the wealth of herds at the disposal of our country. This same company may also take care of horse breeding and select the best out of Mongolia for the use of our national defence.

PRECAUTION AGAINST CHINESE MIGRATION

Recently the internal disturbances in China have driven large hordes of immigrants into Mongolia and Manchuria, thereby threatening the advance of our migration. For the sake of our activities in this field we should not fail to take precautions. The fact that the Chinese government welcomes this migration and does nothing to hold back the tide oppresses our policy even the more seriously. A noted American sinologue has made the statement that the Mukden authorities are carrying out such effective government that all people are moving into their territory. Therefore, the influx of immigrants is looked upon as a mark of effective government of Mukden authorities. We, of course, are concerned. Unless we put a stop to it, in less than ten years our own policy of emigration will prove an instrument for China to crush us with. Politically we must use police force to check this tendency as much as possible and economically our financiers should drive the Chinese out with low wages. Furthermore, we must develop and expand electric power to displace human labor. This will keep out Chinese immigrants as well as monopolize the control of motor force as a first step toward controlling the industrial development of this vast region.

HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS

Hospitals and Schools in Manchurira must be independent of the South Manchuria Railway. For the people have often considered these as institutions of imperialism and refuse to have anything to do with them. When these are separated and made independent institutions we shall be able to make the people realize our goodness so that they will feel thankful to us. . . . But in establishing schools emphasis should be laid on normal schools for men and women. Through these in educational work we may build up a substantial good-will among the people towards Japan. This is our first principle of cultural structure.



“A WAY OF ESCAPE”

AN ARMISTICE DAY ADDRESS
AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

BY

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

*Very
interesting*

“A WAY OF ESCAPE”

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT AN
ARMISTICE DAY MEETING IN PRINCETON,
NOVEMBER 11, 1931

BY
RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

PRINTED AT THE
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FOREWORD

To
The Alumni of Princeton:

On Armistice Day a mass meeting was held in Alexander Hall, sponsored by the University and the citizens of the town of Princeton, in support of the adherence of the United States to the World Court at The Hague. The speaker of the evening was Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, of the Class of 1905, a Charter Trustee of the University. Mr. Fosdick's interest in our international responsibilities and opportunities is well known. His address was such a clear and cogent exposition of this important subject that I am sending it to the whole body of our alumni.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

Princeton, N.J., November 21, 1931.

WHEN Walter Lippmann was asked why, after writing for a liberal paper like the *New York World*, he consented to write for a conservative paper like the *New York Herald Tribune*, he said that he did not want to spend his days exhorting the saints; he wanted to convert the sinners. From what President Hibben has told me of the purpose of this meeting, I have the impression that my task tonight is to exhort the saints. Probably there are few doubters among us. Rather we have come together on this Armistice Day to renew our recollections of thirteen years ago, and to justify the faith that is in us.

We have been living through an amazing two years. Up until 1929 we here in the United States thought we had successfully isolated ourselves from the consequences of any industrial or economic mishap occurring in the rest of the world. We thought we had found a magic formula which would guarantee perpetual prosperity to America. We thought we could maintain our solvency and live in an international almshouse. We had drawn a fiery circle around the United States, and inside that circle we proposed to live a charmed and uncontaminated life.

But the Great Awakening has come. Now we know that around the world prosperity and depression keep the same rhythm and rise and fall together like the ebb and flow of the sea. We know that there are no good times that can be confined to one country and no bad times that can be permanently isolated. The law of cause and effect has been extended to operate over the entire planet and nothing of good or ill can happen in any corner of the world that will not ultimately have its repercussions here.

This of course is not a new phenomenon. Ever since 1776 when a man by the name of Wilkinson discovered a cylinder that made Watt's new steam engine really run, we have been adding to the propinquity of human life and building a situation in which time and space are compressed within a small compass and men are jammed ruthlessly together in a narrow world.

Take for example the panic of 1907. We used to say that it started with the failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Company in New York City. Now we know that it started in Japan. It spread by imperceptible degrees across the United States; it landed like a thunderbolt in Wall Street; and before it was through it had affected the caravan trade across the Sahara Desert.

Or take the depression of 1921. Here was an economic mal-adjustment which began in Central Europe, affecting the purchasing power of millions of people. But it could not be confined to that area. Because Europe could not buy, we could not sell, and there were hard times in this country because there were hard times in Europe. We discovered in 1921 that hunger spreads like a pestilence and that destitution in Germany means destitution here.

But we do not have to go back to 1921 for an illustration. We are at this moment in the midst of a world wide economic depression. Everywhere there is unemployment and suffering. Everywhere there are breadlines. Sixty-five nations are companions in depression; they are roped like Alpine climbers crossing a glacier, surviving or perishing together.

Armistice Day and Peace

On Armistice Day we naturally think of war and peace, and in this new world which our machines have tied together with thousands of crisscrossing threads, the problem of war and peace is completely altered. Today we are faced with the necessity of catching up with the physical and economic facts of our new internationalism. What we are trying to do, therefore, is to create a sense of collective responsibility for peace. We are trying through different types of cooperative machinery to match an industrial life that is organized today on a collective basis.

The difficulty with our problem is that some of us are still living in the eighteenth century. Recently Senator William E. Borah made an address on the new William E. Borah Foundation established in connection with the University of Idaho. And I should like to say in passing that I have for Senator Borah great personal liking and deep respect. He is an honest but a mistaken man. In the course of that address Senator Borah made the following statement:

There are some things in this world more to be desired than peace, and one of them is the unembarrassed and unhampered and untrammelled political independence of this republic—the right and power to determine in every crisis, when that crisis comes, untrammelled by any previous commitments, the course which it is best for the people of this nation to pursue. If peace cannot be had without our surrendering that freedom of action, then I am not for peace.

Now I submit that there is a genuine ring to that statement, but it is a ring to which we have been accustomed these many years on Fourth of July. If you were to change a word or two in that paragraph, I doubt if you could really tell whether it was the ex-Kaiser addressing his troops, or Clemenceau in a fiery moment, or General Harbord speaking to the American Legion, or General Smedley Butler talking to the Marines.

With your permission may I read the paragraph again, altering merely a word?

There are some things in this world more to be desired than peace, and one of them is the unembarrassed and unhampered and untrammelled political independence of *this State of Idaho*—the right and power to determine in every crisis, when that crisis comes, untrammelled by any previous commitments, the course which it is best for the people of *this State* to pursue. If peace cannot be had without our surrendering that freedom of action, then *we of Idaho* are not for peace.

If Senator Borah had been alive in 1787 when the United States Constitution was under debate, that is precisely what he would have said. And there were plenty of people in that generation who gave expression to that exact sentiment. They did not see the necessity of moving out into a larger loyalty. They hugged to themselves the little loyalties to which they were accustomed. Always in every age there are those whose chief preoccupation is to guard the past. Always there are those who put the seal of sanctity on the social or economic arrangement with which they are familiar.

May I read Senator Borah's statement once again?

There are some things in this world more to be desired than peace, and one of them is the unembarrassed and unhampered and untrammelled political independence of *this Japanese Empire*—the right and power to determine in every crisis, when that crisis comes, untrammelled by any previous commitments, the course which it is best for the people of *this Empire* to pursue. If peace cannot be had without our surrendering that freedom of action, then *we Japanese* are not for peace.

The trouble with Senator Borah is that his feet are caught in an ancient tradition. Part of his brain is living in the eighteenth century. His narrow conception of nationalism no longer fits the facts. Today it has no more relevance than the old doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Senator Borah Abhors War

Senator Borah says that he abhors war. But there is one kind of war he does not abhor, and that is war waged to maintain the right of this country to pursue its own course under any and all circumstances.

The difficulty with Senator Borah is that he does not understand the nature of modern war. For war, like everything else, has been completely altered by our machines and our new industrial setting. War today comes as an explosion in the midst of delicately adjusted mechanism. It blows to pieces the intricately woven commercial and financial structure which constitutes the basis of our machine civilization. Consequently, under modern conditions, there is no such thing as any nation really winning a war. Everybody is defeated. Both sides—all sides—go down in one common cataclysm of ruin.

But what about the last war that came to its end thirteen years ago today? Surely there were victorious nations in that struggle. There was Great Britain for example—Great Britain under the brilliant military leadership of Haig; Great Britain led by Lloyd George and backed through four heroic years by a united loyalty such as the world has seldom seen. Surely Great Britain came out of the war a victorious country.

But look at Great Britain at the present moment—teetering on the edge of fiscal collapse, staggering under a weight of taxation that would break the back of the average nation—Great Britain with her permanent army of unemployed, and with her position as an empire irretrievably impaired. Ask the average Englishman if you care to on this Armistice Day what the fruits of that victory were. England came out of the war a defeated nation.

Well, surely America won the war. There was Pershing and all the brilliant effort of the American Expeditionary Force in France, supported by the self-sacrifice of one hundred and twenty million people here in the United States. There was that Armistice Day of thirteen years ago—those returning Divisions—those parades! Yes indeed, we won the war.

But tell me, do we look, at the present moment, as if we had recently won a war? Here is an army of unemployed far greater than Pershing's—factories shut—destitution—breadlines—the whole country facing a winter that may well appall the stoutest heart. There is no way by which we can spell victory for ourselves out of that hurricane that ended thirteen years ago. The United States came out of that conflict a defeated nation. The old order has passed. Never again can any nation win a war. Senator Borah may make his reservation as to the kind of war that is permissible, but that war will mean defeat not only to the United States, but to every other nation that participates.

I was in London in the month of August 1928 during the days that the British air maneuvers were being staged. London was being "attacked" by airplanes, and every device that modern military science could suggest was being used to defend the city. A week or two later I talked with the British Military Attache in Paris about the results of the maneuvers. What did they prove? "They proved," he said, "that a modern city cannot be defended against mass airplane attack." "And what does that mean in terms of the next war," I asked? "It means," he replied, "that when they are attacking London we'll be attacking Paris. In other words, we'll trade Westminster Abbey for the Pantheon and we'll swap the National Art Gallery for the Louvre." This is what happens when Senator Borah makes his reservation about the legitimacy of a war waged to maintain the right of a country to pursue its own course.

But the story does not end there. When the war ended in 1918

we thought we had developed a fairly effective type of poison gas. In the last thirteen years, however, our laboratories have not been idle. Today we have a gas that is infinitely more deadly than anything we dreamed of in 1918. They tell us that fifty tons of this gas dumped on a city of the size of London will wipe out every living thing in thirty minutes. Two hundred planes can carry the fifty tons. France at the present moment has two thousand military planes that can be marshalled in an hour's time at the call of the radio. This is what modern war is. This is what will happen under Senator Borah's reservation.

A Way of Escape

In the thirteen years that have elapsed since the Armistice, the whole world has been looking for a way of escape. Surely there must be some exit from this blind alley into which the human race has so unwittingly wandered. Surely the social sciences can make a contribution in constructive effort to match the destructive contributions of the natural sciences.

The first thing we have thought of is an International Court of Justice. If only we could have an institution which would determine between nations the same kind of issues that arise between the states of our Union, obviously here would be a first step forward in our search for a way of escape. Whatever mistakes we have made in these thirteen years, at least we have erected such a court. It is now in existence. Its judges sit on the bench at The Hague precisely as the judges of the United States Supreme Court sit on the bench in Washington. It is the fulfillment of an American ideal. At The Hague Conference in 1899 it was the American delegation that urged the creation of such a court. Again at the second Hague Conference in 1907 it was the American representatives that argued without avail for such an institution. Now we have it—built in accordance with American specifications, the result of influences which America herself initiated.

But oddly enough, America is not yet a member of this Court. We have shilly-shallied back and forth from one position to another. We have found a dozen objections to it. We have adopted it with minute reservations and then have claimed that the acceptance of these reservations by the other powers did not meet the points we had in mind. Recently a new argument against the Court

has been discovered. It lies in the last decision which the Court made—an advisory opinion—on the legality of the proposed customs union between Germany and Austria. That decision has been widely criticized here in the United States. It was an eight to seven decision and the critics claim that this vote in itself discloses the fact that the Court is not a court of law; it is a parliament of opinion. In a country in which the decisions of our own Supreme Court are frequently on a five to four basis, this sounds like a strange argument.

The decision has also been attacked on the grounds that it was based not on legal considerations, but on political considerations. Perhaps you have had an opportunity of reading the majority opinion. If you have, I am sure you will agree with me that it is no more political in character than John Marshall's decisions on the rights of American Indians. It is no more political than the decision of the Supreme Court on the Fugitive Slave Law. It is no more political than the progressive decisions of the Supreme Court in the insular cases or in the interstate cases. Doubtless you will remember the remark of Mr. Dooley with reference to the Supreme Court's insular decisions of 1901 to the effect that whether or not the United States Constitution followed the flag, it certainly followed the election returns.

There is a sense in which any court, if it faces facts realistically, must take cognizance of political questions. Indeed Mr. Charles Warren, our leading student of the United States Supreme Court, claims that that court exercises "essentially political functions." But for a court to be conscious of political questions is quite different from having politics in the court. And the third argument made against this recent decision of the Court of International Justice is that it was frankly the result of political maneuvering. It was a Latin block against a Nordic block. It represented the efforts of France to take advantage of discordant political elements, and line up behind the majority opinion the judges favorable to her position.

There seems to me to be little that is valid in this argument. It is interesting to note that the Chinese and Japanese judges voted on the same side of the case. The tension between France and Italy at this moment is particularly acute, and yet the French judge and the Italian judge sustained the same opinion. At a time when

France and Belgium have completed an accord that has drawn the two countries intimately together, the French judge voted on one side and the Belgian judge voted on the other. If this decision was the result of political maneuvering, it was a strange and inept kind of maneuvering. I am not arguing that we ought to agree with the decision. There are not a few decisions of the United States Supreme Court with which we disagree. My argument is that to use this decision as a further excuse for staying out of the World Court represents a kind of intellectual dishonesty from which we, as a great nation, should pray to be delivered.

Comments of the Objectors

The struggle for new social machinery is always difficult to win. Let me read to you the comments of some of the objectors:

“We resist every idea of having our suits decided by foreigners.”

Probably you think that is Mr. Hearst talking in the *New York American*. You are mistaken. It was Judge Todd of Kentucky in 1802 and he was speaking of the United States Supreme Court.

“This court has no more right to meddle with our questions than has the court of King’s Bench in London.”

Perhaps you imagine that is an excerpt from an editorial in the *New York Evening Sun*. You are wrong. It came from a paper called the *United States Telegraph* which was published in 1831, and again the comment related to the United States Supreme Court.

“We know and feel our strength and we will not have our rights destroyed by an alien court.”

Doubtless you think this is from the *Saturday Evening Post*. You are mistaken. It is from the *Boston Gazette* in 1808 and once more it related to the United States Supreme Court.

Civilization is the process of moving from one set of loyalties to another. As we grow, the loyalties become larger and wider. If we are going to live in the twentieth century, we cannot keep our feet in the eighteenth century.

The Court Is Not Enough

There are many here in the United States who think of the Court of International Justice as an end in itself. If only the United States could join the Court, that is all that would be required. No further machinery would be necessary. The Court could handle all the difficulties that in the future might arise between nations.

The difficulty with this point of view is that it overlooks the essential limitations of any court of justice. A court is confined in its work to the decision of justiciable cases, and many of the frictions that embarrass the relations of nations are not justiciable in character. If you were to make a list of the wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and analyze them as to their causes, I think you would find but few that were really justiciable in nature. There were but few that could have been brought before a Court of International Justice, even had such a court been in existence.

While, therefore, we need a court—and I would say that it is the first step forward in our search for a way of escape—a court is not enough. We are driven irresistibly to the conclusion that some method must be provided by which the nations of the world can meet together around a table to discuss problems and difficulties that are not justiciable in character.

Let us use as an illustration the problem of health and disease. A hundred years ago, health, I suppose, was largely a matter of individual concern. If a man had smallpox, that was his own hard luck. At best, it was a matter of family concern. But as men began to assemble together in communities, there developed the idea of health as a community concern, and out of that came the conception of health as a state concern. Only within comparatively recent years has there developed the idea of health as a national responsibility; only within comparatively recent years have we had such an organization as the United States Public Health Service.

In our time, however, health has become a matter of international concern. Take, for example, the influenza epidemic that devastated the American continent in 1918. Where did it come from? As far as we know, it started in the German prison camps. From Germany it came over into Spain. From Spain it crept up

into France, growing in virulence as it came. It jumped across the English Channel to Great Britain. It swept across the Atlantic Ocean; it burned its way across this continent, and down into South America; it jumped the Pacific Ocean to Asia. It laid waste the entire continent of Asia; and in the end it was down in the South Sea Islands and up among the Eskimos in Alaska. It had taken a toll of victims three times the number of those killed and wounded in the four years of the war, from 1914 to 1918. All of a sudden, the members of the human race, regardless of whether they were Englishmen, or Uruguayans, or Siamese, or Chinese, or Brazilians, found themselves confronted with a common enemy that could be fought only as common plans and measures were marshalled against it.

Take for example, the disease called infantile paralysis. We have just had an epidemic here in the United States and thousands of parents will not soon forget the terror of the visitation of 1915. Where did that 1915 epidemic come from? Apparently it came over on an Italian ship. The ship docked in Brooklyn, and the disease crept through the borough almost before the health authorities knew it was there. It jumped Long Island Sound to Connecticut; it backed down the Hudson River Valley to New York; then up the Hudson River Valley to Canada; west across Canada to the Pacific Ocean; and across the Pacific Ocean to China. And it left behind it broken bodies and ruined homes.

Whatever you may think about the new experiment at Geneva, which is called the League of Nations, this one thing it has done: it has established a Health Section, and this Section in ten years has developed into one of the important cogs of the new international machinery. There you have the best brains that fifty-five nations can bring together—epidemiologists, immunologists, bacteriologists, and other specialists chosen without regard to national boundary lines. These men are devoting themselves to a cooperative fight against the international spread of disease. In 1921, typhus began to creep out of Russia into eastern Poland. It was not a matter that concerned Poland alone, or Germany alone, or Norway and Sweden alone. It concerned the family of nations, living together in the same world. And because it was a matter of common concern, the League's Health Section took it up. They threw a sani-

tary cordon across eastern Poland, and typhus was stopped in its tracks. Not a single case seeped through the line. And why? Because behind that line you had the brains and resources, not of one nation, or of three or four nations, but of fifty-five nations.

If I had the time—which very obviously I have not this evening—I could tell you of the other cooperative activities of the League of Nations, activities which represent the attempt to handle problems that overflow geographical boundary lines. I could tell you, for example, of the work that the League is doing through its Opium Section. I could tell you of what is being done in the field of Finance and Communications. I could describe the activities of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. One has only to walk through the League's headquarters at Geneva to see this new technique in action—a score of committees working on a host of problems in which every nation has everything to win and nothing to lose.

This is what is happening at Geneva: fifty-five nations are sitting around a table. They are learning the practice of teamwork. They are learning the habit of common counsel and common action. They are learning what it is to play ball together. And the hope of the situation lies precisely at this point: that with this habit a little more thoroughly understood, with this technique a little more completely grasped, perhaps when the next great test comes, and another 1914 hurls down its challenge to mankind, there will be a better chance for sanity and self-control.

The Manchurian Situation

Perhaps you are saying that the great test is before us at the present moment. What about Manchuria? Here we have the spectacle of the League of Nations issuing its feeble orders and Japan stubbornly refusing to obey. Indeed from many quarters today come gloomy forebodings about the early demise of the League. They are saying that this rebuff which the League has experienced with relation to Manchuria spells suicide, and that once more the world is back at 1914 where it started.

In looking at this Manchurian incident, we need a sense of perspective. Precisely one hundred years ago, in 1831, the Cherokee cases came up before the United States Supreme Court. They

arose out of a treaty in which the rights of an Indian tribe living in the State of Georgia had been guaranteed by the United States government. Those rights were being overridden by the State of Georgia and the case was brought before the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error. The State of Georgia absolutely defied the Supreme Court. It treated it with studied disdain. It hanged an Indian when the Supreme Court decreed he should go free. It kept two men in prison when the Supreme Court said they should be released. The Georgia Legislature passed a resolution "enjoining the Governor and every officer of the State to disregard any and every mandate and process that may be served upon them by the United States Supreme Court or by any other court representing the Federal jurisdiction." To cap the climax, President Jackson made the statement: "Chief Justice Marshall has made his decision; now let him come off the Bench and enforce it."

Consequently the mandates of the Supreme Court for two years were unenforced in the State of Georgia. And how did the friends of the Federal Government react to this situation? This is what the *New York Daily Advertiser* said: "The failure and humiliation of the United States Supreme Court have brought us to the abyss." John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary: "The union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution. The ship is about to founder."

Even John Marshall, that heroic figure, who for nearly thirty years had led the fight for the Federal experiment, gave way to a moment of despair. He wrote to Mr. Justice Storey a letter in which he said: "I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last. Our opinions are incompatible with a united government even among ourselves. The union has been prolonged thus far by miracles. I fear they cannot continue."

What they did not understand a century ago—what we do not understand just at this moment—is that it takes courage and faith and patience to develop any new instrument of social control. No new institution ever rides into its own with one hundred per cent success. Let us not say that this collective principle which the world is trying at the present moment has failed. We have scarcely begun to use it. It is an infinitely more difficult experiment in social engineering than anything which the human race has ever attempted. It is bound to meet with setbacks and occasional breakdowns, but

I believe they will seem to our children as insignificant in their final consequences as do the Cherokee cases today, a hundred years after the event.

Collective Machinery Is Indispensable

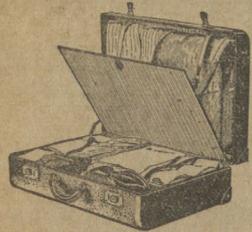
The truth is we cannot afford to let the League of Nations fail. We would be putting the hands of the clock back to 1914 when there was no cooperative machinery of any kind and no established technique by which war could honorably be averted. We would be retracing our steps to that Armistice Day of thirteen years ago when the world stood for a moment in silence and contemplated the havoc it had wrought. If the idea behind this League of Nations fails, and if the collective machinery which in the last thirteen years we have so painfully developed collapses, then we shall indeed dig for our civilization a pit so deep that no future archeologist—no Howard Crosby Butler excavating from the surface—will ever recognize it.

You who do not like this new international machinery—the World Court, the Optional Clause, the League of Nations, the General Act for Pacific Settlement, the International Labor Office, the Bank for International Settlements—have you anything else to suggest? Have you an alternative to propose? Have you a substitute to offer? For let me remind you, you who are objectors this evening, that the moral responsibility is on you to give us something that is better. You cannot be excused with a mere statement of disbelief. Nobody claims that these new institutions are perfect. Nobody claims that they cannot be improved. The only claim that can legitimately be made for them is that they represent steps toward a new collective principle. They are attempts to express in institutional form the interwoven and interrelated conditions under which nations are living at the present time.

The Senior Senator from New Jersey was recently quoted as saying that these new devices—the World Court, the League of Nations, the International Labor Office—are revolutionary ideas. We cannot speak for the rest of the State, but here in Princeton we are not afraid of revolutionary ideas. This institution was born of revolutionary ideas. It bears on its walls scars gained in defense of revolutionary ideas. It has sent into the world prophets of

revolutionary ideas. We are not frightened by a label. We know we are living in the twentieth century and not in the eighteenth century. We know that this twentieth century has presented to us problems and conditions of which our forefathers did not dream. We are trying to adapt our social and economic machinery to these new conditions. If this is revolution, then let the revolution come.





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HOOF BEATS



BY DOUGLAS EPPEE
(Continued from Page One)

year that he stacked up against a notable field of distance performers in the Ontario Jockey Club and led them all to the wire. Among the horses he met and beat that memorable afternoon were Gaffman, his half-brother; the mighty Marine, to whom he conceded two pounds; Tolan, African, Cartago and Clear Sky.

Looking over his record I find that Frisius did not carry a jockey in a race until he was a three-year-old; that was in 1929, and on his second appearance under colors at Aqueduct he won an overnight stake. Following that success he came out in a mile and one-sixteenth gallop at the same course—the Broadway Handicap—and flung dust in the faces of his opponents. In this test he first ranged up against Marine and whipped the Mount Royal Stable's colt; in fact, throughout his subsequent career it always seemed as though Frisius had the measure of the son of Man O' War.

As a four-year-old he won the Empire City Handicap and six weeks later finished first in the Merchants and Citizens Handicap, disposing of such good ones as Dr. Freeland and Curate in the latter offering. Last season, his third and last on the turf, he ran second to Dr. Freeland in the Calvatin Handicap at Jamaica, and finished second to Paul Bunyan in the Dixie at Falmouth. In this mile and three-sixteenths test, Frisius gave weight to all his opponents save Dr. Freeland. Before he left Maryland for his visit to Woodbine Park that spring he added another handicap to his score, this being a mile and sixteenth tussle.

It's fresh in mind what he accomplished last May at the Ontario Jockey Club. Twice he started, and each time he came home ahead of his field. His first effort was in the King Edward Gold Cup in which he picked up 118 pounds, seven less than the handicapper had assigned to Marine in this mile and sixteenth gallop. Six horses went to the post and Harry C. Hastings, a year-old, Boys Howdy, was installed public choice. Marine followed next in favor, while the former Woodward horse was a 4-1-2 to 1 shot.

Pascuma was up and he at once sent his mount into the lead—a lead which was never relinquished until the horse passed the judges' stand despite the determined bids of Storm and Boys Howdy in the final furlong. The finish of that race was one of the closest of the season for a good-sized pocket handkerchief would have covered the leaders' three noses when they crossed the line.

Three days later Frisius, with 119 pounds on his sturdy back, sallied forth to make his bid for the Toronto Cup. Once again the handicappers and talent rejected him, this time favoring the prospects of Rideaway, a Whitney-owned three-year-old who had shown a sparkling performance earlier in the week. Jockey Pascuma pursued the same tactics in this nine-furlong struggle as he had in the shorter test of the King Edward Gold Cup. He drove the horse into the lead at the first turn and held on to his advantage thereafter, although Storm was coming fast in the final 100 yards. Frisius' margin of victory, however, was a good half-length, and despite his heavy burden he pulled up in fine condition.

That was his final triumph of the season just past, for, after the horse showed signs of soreness in his New York campaign, Mr. Woodward decided to retire the six-year-old and present him to Major Wright for stud purposes. As already noted, this horse is a half-brother of Gaffman and his blood-lines probably will be of interest to students of thoroughbred family trees. Here they are:

Sired by imported Star Hawk from imported Filante; Star Hawk by Sunstar-Sweet Finch; Sunstar by Sundridge-Doris; Sundridge by Amphion-Sierra; Doris by Loved One-Laurette; Sweet Finch by Giddin-Lucania; Giddin by Ormond-Thistle; Lucania by Sir Modred-School Girl. On the dam's side, Filante is by Sardapple-High Flyer; Sardapple by Prestige-Gemma; Prestige by Le Pompon-Orgrueilleuse; Gemma by Florizel II-Agnostic; High Flyer by Flying Fox-Altesse; Flying Fox by Orme-Vampire; Altesse by Amphion-Marchioness. Through his dam, Frisius has the St. Simon strain in his fourth remove.

Art Halliwell's six-year-old horse, Nick Cullip, scored a galloping win in the nightcap number at Jefferson Park on Wednesday, the heavy track being to his liking. If the racing strip remains in the same condition when the son of Paul Weidel next goes to the post, there's more than a Chinaman's chance that he'll repeat.

Petabit last said "How 'tys do," to the judges at the first meeting at Dufferin park last June. But she had a pretty easy time in the past six months and has been showing some fair stuff in her workouts. On Friday, the three-year-old daughter of Bracadale is entered in the opening number at Jefferson park which will be decided over a sprinting course of six furlongs, her favorite distance. With a hustling rider in the saddle I look for this filly to come home on top.

Though Pebbles' Last was down the track when Nick Cullip scored his victory, Bill Galn's horse was with the leaders for close to a mile. Seeing that it was his first racing effort since mid-October, it was a fair one and should serve to tighten him for his engagement on Friday in the fifth number, a gallop of one mile and seventy yards.

Diadora should pick up some feed money in the last race which has drawn an entry list of twelve distance platers.

MANCHURIA COSTS \$10,000,000
Tokio, Dec. 3.—The cost to Japan of occupying Manchuria was unofficially estimated today at \$10,000,000. A bond issue for this amount has been tentatively included in the new budget. Of the entire amount \$10,000,000 is set aside for covering the cost of actual hostilities, with the balance for "relief measures."

LOOKING OVER THE ENTRIES WITH JACK AYERS

(Continued from Page One)
form at the present time and has to be just two in Sweep Past and Campus Capers.

Word comes to me from where I am perched that Beauty Bride in the third is the real goods. Let's hope it's true. Peel and Miss Upset must be given a bit of consideration. Money showed for Distress Signal in his last trip to the races, but failed to click. The fourth race may be the spot to get even, Hal Riley, who sports silks in the fifth stanza, is in the hands of a trainer who is a bit better than a deck hand at prettying a nag to win a bet. Better go along with him. On dope, Stop Gap and Rocky Way will give the top one plenty to worry about. More cheap ones in the sixth, with Blushing Maiden looming up as the most probable winner. This one showed signs of returning to form last outing. The place and show honors should go to Best Balance and Interior.

Pick the winner of the nightcap and you are entitled to at least 5 to 1. My choice is Diodoro, who appears headed for a trip to the halo niche. The clockers are high on John Peel

and Water Fowl can't be given the go-by.

Selections
First Race—Downpour, Claret, Petabit.
Second Race—Lanier, Sweep Past, Campus Capers.
Third Race—Beauty Bride, Peel, Miss Upset.
Fourth Race—Distress Signal, Tardy Miss, Well Behaved.
Fifth Race—Hal Riley, Stop Gap, Rocky Way.
Sixth Race—Blushing Maiden, Best Balance, Interior.
Seventh Race—Diodoro, John Peel, Water Fowl.

SAYS FARMERS FORTUNATE

Need Never Be Unemployed As Industrial Workers

Chicago, Dec. 3.—The farmer is better off than the skilled worker in time of economic depression, said Duncan Marshall of Toronto, former Alberta minister of agriculture, in a luncheon address today. "The farmer knows he will never be in the army of unemployed," he said.

WAR MADE UNDERSTANDING

"The fine spirit of comradeship during the war did much to break down narrow sectarianism and brought about more complete understanding between races and creeds," Rev. Father McGarrity of Newman Hall told the Lions Club at their luncheon at the King Edward hotel today.

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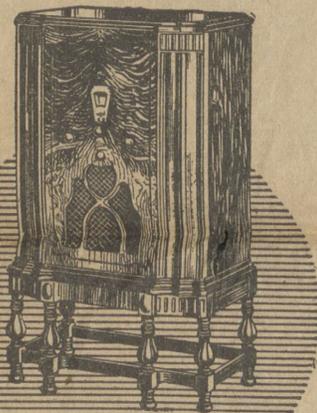
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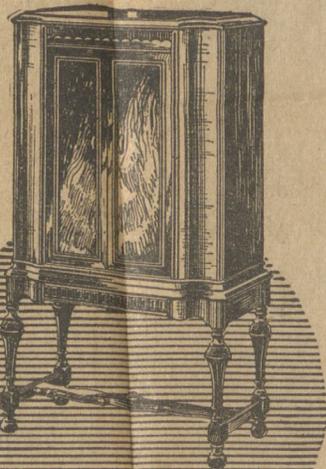


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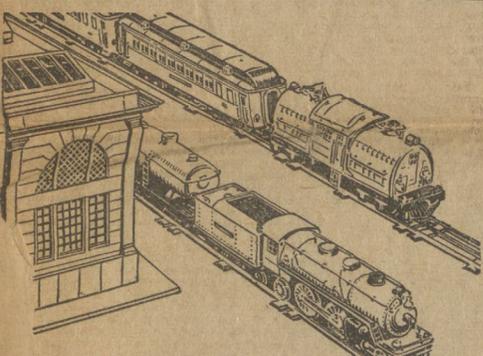


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TROUBLE BETWEEN FARMERS FIRST STEP TOWARDS WAR

N. W. Rowell, K.C., Tells Canadian Club of Present Manchurian Trouble—Fought on Water—Back of Situation Lies Hostility Over Railway Lines of Russia and Japan

"Subsequent to my return from the far east two years ago I referred to the Manchurian problem as 'the most acute, most complicated, most difficult of solution and the most menacing to the peace of Asia of any Pacific problem,'" said N. W. Rowell, K.C., in speaking to the Canadian club. "You ask what are the factors in the situation which make it so difficult and so menacing?"

"About 25,000,000 of the province are Chinese and 1,000,000 are Japanese citizens. Of the 1,000,000 Japanese citizens about 800,000 are of Korean race. The men of Japanese race have not settled upon the land, but are principally government officials, railway employees, traders, police and soldiers. In general the character of Manchuria reminds one of our western prairie provinces and it has been referred to as one of the granaries of the world."

"From the Manchurian conquest until 1907 Manchuria was governed by a Tartar general responsible to the emperor, but its government was largely independent of the rest of China. In 1907 it was declared to be an integral portion of the Chinese empire. And all the treaties under which Japan and Russia claim rights in Manchuria are based upon the government of these countries respectively. All rights, therefore, claimed by Japan and Russia in Manchuria are based upon treaties made with China."

"Japan's first political interest in Manchuria arose out of the treaty of Shimonoseki, made in 1895 at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war. By this treaty China ceded to Japan the Liaotung peninsula, the most southerly portion of Manchuria. Before the treaty was ratified, Russia, Germany and France made such representations to Japan that Japan was induced to retrocede the peninsula to China and received in return a moderate increase in the indemnity payable by China under the treaty of peace."

Railway Caused Trouble

"In 1896, when Li Hung Chang visited Russia on the occasion of the coronation of the Russian emperor, the Russian government concluded a treaty in the nature of an alliance between Russia and China to protect their respective interests and rights against Japan. Manchuria projects into Siberia much as the state of Maine projects into eastern Canada, and the most direct route from Moscow to Vladivostok is through Manchuria, just as the most direct route from Montreal to St. John is through the state of Maine. Accordingly, the Russian government asked as part of the secret treaty of alliance that it should have the right in the construction of its trans-Siberian railway to build it through Manchuria. This right was reluctantly conceded by Li Hung Chang, not to Russia, but to a corporation organized and financed by the Russian government. In 1896, by a further treaty or agreement between Russia and China, Russia obtained a lease of the Liaotung peninsula for 25 years, with certain rights of renewal. She also obtained by the same treaty, the right to fortify Port Arthur and use it as a naval base and to build a line of railway from Harbin to Port Arthur. This enabled Russia to construct a connection between her naval base and Moscow. Russia constructed the railway south to Port Arthur and strongly fortified Port Arthur."

"Japan looked upon these developments in Manchuria as a threat to her national life, and this was the real cause of the Russo-Japanese war. By the treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, which brought the war to an end, Russia transferred to Japan, subject to the consent of China, the lease of the Liaotung peninsula and

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"Japan organized the South Manchurian railway to take over the control of the railways thus acquired from Russia and the railway from Mukden to Antung. Since that date Japan has expended no less than \$1,000,000,000 in developing the railway in Manchuria."

"Describing the South Manchurian railway, Mr. Rowell said it was one of the most efficient and profitable in the world, under normal conditions. He outlined Japan's 1915 demands on China, which included an extension to 99 years of the Lieotung peninsula, the most southerly portion of Manchuria, and that Japanese subjects should be entitled to lease lands for business, industry and agriculture."

"This treaty was signed after Japan delivered an ultimatum."

Japanese Contentions

"Japan contends that she staked her national existence and poured forth blood and treasure without stint to drive Russia out of Manchuria, and that, by so doing, she saved Manchuria for China and herself; that she took over Russian rights with the consent of China, and that rights she so acquired, including further rights obtained under the treaty of 1915, she intends to maintain," Mr. Rowell said. "Japan further contends that Manchuria is her first line of defence against Russian aggression and that she is not prepared to surrender this line of defence to a power which is not prepared to defend it. She contends that it is essential to her economic life to maintain her present position in Manchuria. She points out that, with a population increasing at the rate of approximately 1,000,000 a year, and with most countries bordering on the Pacific refusing to receive Japanese immigrants, the only way she can deal with her population problem is to induce them to come to her country. To do this she needs raw materials, including food, and a market for her products. Manchuria, she says, supplies her with both."

"Japan further contends that China has violated her treaties with Japan by building lines of railway parallel to the South Manchurian railway and seriously interfering with the traffic on the route, by refusing Japanese subjects the right to lease lands in Manchuria and by failing to protect the lives and property of Japanese citizens in Manchuria."

The Chinese Claim

"Chinese contentions were that Manchuria is an integral part of China, with all rights of sovereignty vested in China, that it is her first line of defence against Russia and Japan, that the 1915 treaty was secured by duress and that she declines to recognize its validity, and that she further charges that Japan is exercising acts of sovereignty outside the peninsula and railway zone."

Japan, Mr. Rowell points out, denies the right of any nation to repudiate a treaty on the grounds of duress.

"China does not admit that she is violating her agreements with Japan in the construction of railways within Manchuria. She contends that these railways are essential to provide transportation facilities to her citizens in Manchuria to connect Manchuria with China proper through the Mukden-Pientsin Railway, and also as a means of conveying her troops from one part of Manchuria to another should occasion arise."

"The dispute reminds one somewhat of the controversy in our western Canada over the monopoly rights of the C.P.R., although China does not admit that the treaty gives Japan any monopoly right."

"China protested against the 1915 treaty at the Paris peace conference in 1919 and the Washington conference in 1921, but the powers took no action," said Mr. Rowell. "China demanded the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula in 1922 when the original lease expired, on the grounds that the 1915 treaty was not binding. The speaker then outlined the situation in Russia, with Russia in a 1924 treaty declaring the Chinese Eastern Railway a purely commercial enterprise, and China having the right to eventually take over the line, although in the interval a Russian was to manage it with a board composed of an equal number of Russians and Chinese. In 1929 China expelled the general manager, causing an invasion by Russian troops which brought Russia again into control."

"Russia, therefore, is still in control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which runs east and west across Northern Manchuria, and of the railway running south from Harbin to Changchun, which connects with the South Manchurian Railway," he said. "Russia has most important trade interests in Northern Manchuria, particularly in Mongolia, particularly outer Mongolia."

"To sum up the situation, China possesses sovereign rights over Manchuria, but both Japan and Russia, more particularly Japan, have very large interests there."

Farmers Started It

A clash between Korean and Chinese farmers over water early this summer brought intervention by police and soldiers of both countries and was the commencement of serious trouble this year, the speaker pointed out. Subsequently Koreans attacked the Chinese in Korea and were killed and millions of dollars damage done to Chinese property. China demanded redress and Japanese forces were boycotted.

"An event which further seriously aggravated the relations between the two countries was the shooting in Mongolia of Captain Naumura of the Japanese general staff and two companions," he said. "It is claimed that they were travelling as tourists or persons investigating the position. The Japanese general staff and two companions," he said. "It is claimed that they were travelling as tourists or persons investigating the position. The Japanese general staff and two companions," he said. "It is claimed that they were travelling as tourists or persons investigating the position."

"All these matters were under diplomatic negotiation between China and Japan, and both governments appeared to be anxious to reach an amicable settlement."

"The final act which led to the present military situation was the destruction of part of the tracks of the South Manchurian railway just south of Mukden on the evening of September 18. It is claimed by Japan that the tracks were blown up by Chinese soldiers in the Mukden army and that this was but the culmination of a series of acts of sabotage on the railway. The officers in charge of the military police and two companions," he said. "It is claimed that they were travelling as tourists or persons investigating the position."

"This was followed by the dispatch of Changchun and Kirin. Within a few hours after the original attack the Japanese were in control of the principal cities served by the South Manchurian railway."

"China on September 19 brought the matter to the attention of the League of Nations and appeals for its intervention. Since that date Japan has extended her operations so as to occupy Taitshar, capital of the northern province of Manchuria, and has defeated the Chinese forces stationed there on the grounds that they were menacing her railways."

"It was the crossing of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the capture of Taitshar that led to the exchange of diplomatic notes between Russia and Japan."

Drawbacks to Settlement

Discussing the desire of Chinese people to abolish what they term unequal treaties, Mr. Rowell said China is attempting to bring about, in a few years, a complete revolution of standards. Lack of a strong central government hindered this, Japan, he said, had not developed parliamentary government to its fullest extent and the army and navy claim they are responsible only to the emperor.

"This was well illustrated by the protest made by the navy against Japan's signature to the London naval treaty, which led to prolonged controversy in Japan on the question of ratification," he said. "Public opinion in Japan was behind the government and they finally succeeded in obtaining ratification. That was a real triumph for the government."

"But the information one gets from the Japanese press lends one to conclude that the military operations in Manchuria on Sept. 18 were instituted on the initiative of the army and not at the direction of with the sanction of the minister of foreign affairs. Public opinion appears to be behind the army."

"The situation would appear to be: Japan claims that she has serious grievances against China and is seeking to defend and protect her rights and interests by military operations. China claims that she has serious grievances against Japan and whether with official government approval or not, the Chinese people are seeking to secure redress for those grievances by an organized boycott."

"The whole situation involves an issue larger and more important than the merits of the immediate dispute."

"It is the issue as to whether nations, members of the League of Nations, having disputes between them such as exist between China and Japan, are entitled to settle them by force or boycott rather than by appeal to the league."

"Not only are China and Japan members of the league, but they have both signed the Kellogg-Briand pact and are parties to the 1925 power treaty."

"No action taken by the league under Article 11 is effective unless

it is unanimously approved by all members of the council, including the parties to the dispute. So that when the league requested Japan to withdraw her troops from Manchuria before Nov. 16 there was no legal obligation upon Japan to do so. Japan, therefore, cannot be said to have violated any obligation to the league by failing to comply with this request."

Not Yet Before League

"There has been much talk in newspapers of a withdrawal of diplomatic representatives and an economic boycott. No such question has yet come before the league or will come unless the council fails to effect a settlement under Article 11. "Under Article 15 China can bring the dispute before the council and the council is bound to investigate it, and if the council reaches a unanimous conclusion, apart from the parties to the dispute, the members of the league agree—and this would include the parties to the dispute—that they will not go to war with the party which complies with the recommendations. If, therefore, the council of the league were called upon to act under Article 15 and were to recommend action by either

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