

of the war. Of this arrangement China of course knew nothing.

The war is over, and the Powers, sitting in conference, have agreed that this secret understanding is to be recognized and that Japan is to have as reward for her services the rights and privileges previously held by Germany in the province of Shantung. China declares emphatically that Japan has no right to these privileges, and further that the Powers have no authority to bestow them; that there was no question of any Power inheriting the grants forced from China by Germany, which Japan herself stated must eventually be returned to China. Also China insists that the railway concessions which the Powers would now transfer to Japan were not in the nature of Government transactions, but were entered into as individual enterprises—obligations which hitherto international law has invariably protected.

The Chinese authorities furthermore assert that Japan is not qualified to take into her keeping the destinies of millions of people who bitterly—and, they say, with reason—oppose her guardianship. They state that the province of Shantung with its enormous population is to be abandoned to a people who have sinister designs upon its welfare. They declare that during the period of the war Japanese traders, with or without the sanction of their Government, have flooded China with morphine to an enormous profit to themselves. This despite the fact that Japan was a signatory to the International Opium Convention drawn up at The Hague in 1912, by which the Powers of the world agreed to assist China in her fight against the opium curse and therefore to restrain the trade in drugs detrimental to the Chinese people.

Chinese statistics now go to prove that Tsingtao, the town which the Powers are unreservedly placing in the hands of the Japanese, is the place which has been chosen as the center of the trade. Through this gateway to northern China drugs are now pouring—seeping into the Yangtze Valley, and so into the very heart of China.

For a century and a half China has been handicapped and benumbed by this curse, and the wonder is that as a nation she still exists. Through the co-operation of the world and under the leadership of the United States a great campaign had been waged against opium and all but won. The third International Opium Conference, which met at The Hague in 1914, was about to put its seal upon the

accomplished work when the intervention of the war brought it to a sudden halt. This, with the activities of the Japanese drug traders during the war, has further endangered and canceled the good already achieved.

The Chinese contend that by allowing Japan this foothold in China not only will the Powers establish a permanent seat of irritation to the Chinese Government, but will seriously menace the great international movement which was on the verge of its fulfillment. It is true that the opium question has been inserted into the text of the Peace Treaty for further consideration, but the Chinese claim that, if the obligation imposed by an International Convention was not sufficient to restrict the activities of the Japanese, the League of Nations, which is to take this question under its administration, is not likely to be more successful, particularly in view of the great temptation which this trade presents to the Japanese.

These, in brief, are some of the objections which China raises against the turning over of her people to the jurisdiction of Japan. It would seem that the Powers in conceding this point are not paving the way for peace, but rather for inevitable and almost immediate strife.

There seems, in fact, but little difference between the question of Shantung and that of Alsace-Lorraine, which rankled for sixty years in the hearts of the French and was one of the indirect causes leading to the recent calamity. Chinese sentiment and psychology are not diametrically different from those of France, and the world need only wait long enough to see history repeat itself. And this will be when China has armed herself and recovered by force that which was her own and which was arbitrarily taken from her. No injustice can permanently remain if society is to progress. If the elimination of a wrong cannot be achieved through the offices of reason and justice, then it will inevitably be achieved through force. This is a law which no league or measures of men can affect.

But the result of this decision in Paris will reach far into the future. The knowledge of this injustice will spread to the farthest limits of China and seep into the minds of hundreds of millions of men. A common thought, a common resentment, can make prodigious strides towards solidifying a people. These millions of simple, plodding natives, tilling their soil, eating rice, and loving peace, rather despised by the rest of the world, are going to react against a common

wrong—three hundred millions of them. This is a thought to consider—the rousing into action of 300,000,000 of angry and resentful people.

The Shantung award hurts not only China but Japan—China very obviously and immediately. But its harm to Japan is infinitely more subtle and fundamental.

Japan is to-day at the turning of the ways and in sore need of wise and just direction. The foundations on which for thirty years she has laboriously built have suddenly given way. The whole theory of her modern development founded on the precepts of Germany has proved to be unsound. Therefore the Powers are doing her an ill turn when they urge her to pursue still further this sinister will-of-the-wisp and permit her to inaugurate the new and better era by an act not unworthy of Germany herself.

It must always be an extraordinary and regrettable fact that Japan, after centuries of striving for the high and beautiful, should upon contact with the West have abandoned her own traditions and aspirations for the ugliest and least convincing of all possessions—namely, blatant materialism. Japan has been great because of the tenor of her mind, because of her high conception of beauty and the strength and simplicity of her expression, because of her high patriotism and her grim adherence to principle. These are the attributes in which Japan excels, this is her contribution to the world, not her materialism and the ugly lessons the West has taught her.

If Japan has failed to see this lesson, and the subtle thought of German methods still persists, then come the danger and the menace to her national life—to all that has contributed to that life, to *bushido*, to Nogi, to men of like faith. To possess the world as Germany would have possessed it would mean the ultimate annihilation of her soul.

With her cleverness and industry, her initiative and power of assimilation, Japan need have no fear of honest competition. Her occupation of Shantung would be at best but a temporary thing, and at a price that she and the world could ill afford to pay. It is inconceivable that her friends should for a moment urge her to follow such a course, that the Powers in Paris should acquiesce in such a purpose. In it lies not only injustice to China, but unsound counsel to Japan and rank disloyalty to the millions of men who fought and gave their lives that such ideas and ideals should perish forever from off the earth.

Paris, June 21, 1919.

## II—THE CASE FOR JAPAN

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER

ONE of the articles in the Treaty of Peace now before the Senate which has been most severely censured is Section 8, Part IV, entitled "Shantung." By this section Germany renounces in favor of Japan all her right, title, and

privileges which she acquired under the treaty with China, March 6, 1898, in the province of Shantung, including railways, mines, and other appurtenances. The same treaty provides for the renunciation by Germany in favor of China of all

other German rights and cessions of property in that country and for the return of the Boxer spoils. It cannot, therefore, be said that the interests of China have been neglected. But China desires also to obtain the entire invest-

ments that the Germans have made in the province of Shantung. The facts of the case have been ignored in much of the debate that has taken place. It is necessary to understand them in order to come to an intelligent conclusion on the subject.

China is a country of great size, extending over most of the southeastern third of Asia. It has a population that has never been counted and extensive and undeveloped mineral resources, especially iron and coal, both anthracite and bituminous. The coal, however, has not been mined. This is partly due to the want of capital, engineering skill, and enterprise, and partly due to a superstitious regard for the ghosts of ancestors, whom it is supposed would be disquieted by mining. The consequence is that fuel in China is scarce. The forests have long since disappeared, and the people are driven to utilize every scrap of refuse that can produce a little heat. Notwithstanding this utilization, the suffering every winter from cold and all the year from lack of fuel for cooking and manufacturing is great. A recent letter from Shanghai gives the price of coal there at thirty dollars per ton.

Another great deficiency in China is transportation. Few railways have been built. The first, which was built in 1876, between Shanghai and Wusung, was much used, but was bought and destroyed by the authorities because of local prejudice against it. Others have been built since, mostly by foreign capital and in pursuance of concessions granted by the Chinese Government. "The Shantung Railroad was built with German capital, is 256 miles long, and began operation in 1904." Shantung, be it noted, is one of the provinces that are rich in coal.

The rights granted by the Chinese Government in 1898 to Germany in this province were not rights of sovereignty. They were similar to those granted in the United States whenever a corporation is formed. They authorized the grantees to do what it was greatly for the interest of China should be done—that is to say, to build railways, establish terminals, create a port with docks and other terminal facilities, mine coal, bring it to tidewater, and sell it. We have no definite information as to the amount invested by the Germans in these enterprises, but it must of necessity be many millions.

When Japan declared war against Germany, these properties were in the peaceable possession of Germany. It was essential to the cause of the Allies that these harbors, mines, railways, and other property should be taken from the Germans. The Japanese sent an army and captured them. Not a tael of Chinese money, not a drop of Chinese blood, was expended in the conquest. China was not at war with Germany. The extraordinary statement made in the Senate that by international law all the rights of Germany ceased at the beginning of the war is entirely unwarranted. It was the right

of a belligerent to seize them, and this was done, but after these rights had been conquered by Japan China had no right to revoke them, and never did.

What possible equity has China to deprive Japan of these fruits of the war, conquered by her own energy and courage, at the cost of Japanese lives and with the expenditure of Japanese money?

Is it in the interest of China that these concessions to Germany thus acquired by Japan and this property which is the result of intelligent expenditure of capital should be forfeited? To answer this question we must look a little into the history and conditions of China.

The great domain of China is divided into eighteen provinces. During the reign of the Manchu dynasty these provinces had a considerable measure of local independence. The extent of the country was such and the difficulty of transportation was so great that some local independence was essential. When the Manchu dynasty was dethroned and the Provisional Constitution was adopted, March 10, 1912, the power of the President of the new Republic was so limited by this instrument that the Government broke down. A new Provisional Constitution was adopted, May 1, 1914. This centralizes the powers of the General Government, which was undoubtedly wise. But, naturally, the governors of the provinces disliked any limitation of their powers. Some of these provinces are in revolt against the Central Government. In most of them the administration is corrupt and inefficient. It cannot be said that China has an orderly Government, or that investments in mines and railways are secure without other protection than that given by the Chinese police. Indeed, in all the foreign concessions, such as Shanghai, the police protection is given by foreign policemen. The tall Sikh in Shanghai is a familiar sight, and far more effective for the maintenance of order than any representative of the Chinese Government. The result of this is that which has always followed where government is inefficient, the means of transportation poor, and the natural resources not developed. The people suffer. The Chinese are industrious, thrifty, patient, and intelligent, but they live in a condition of poverty and cold that it is almost impossible for an American to conceive. I quote from the official report of the Secretary of the Maritime Commerce of China:

"To form an idea of what future prospects are, it is fair to make a comparison with India. The areas of the two empires are almost identical and their products very similar. But China has a larger, a more industrious and more intelligent population, while, on the whole, the country is probably more fertile and possesses greater mineral resources. In the former country trade is assisted by good roads, railways, and lightness or absence of taxation; in the latter, at present, it is hampered by directly opposite conditions. The result is that the exports from India are worth three times the exports from

China. With equal opportunities, which the building of railways and opening of mines will bring about, the discrepancy should disappear."

It is therefore obvious that what China needs for the comfort and happiness of its people is intelligent investment of foreign capital, directed by competent engineers and managed for the benefit not only of the investors but of the Chinese themselves. It is no new thing for railways and other public enterprises to be constructed in one country by the capital of another. The railway from Montreal to Portland, for example, which is now part of the Grand Trunk, was originally constructed by foreign capital, mostly British. It was never thought any derogation to the sovereignty of the United States or of the State of Maine that this railway should be built in American territory. The Chinese themselves granted to the Russian Government the right to build a section of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria. This has been operated for years to the mutual benefit of China and Russia. China had little foreign commerce until the ports occupied by Europeans were established in accordance with treaties made between European governments and that of China. All this has been of great mutual benefit. The Chinese people as a whole have been gainers to an extent that it is difficult to estimate by the foreign settlements and investments that have been established, and by the administration of their customs service under the direction of English and Americans. The prejudice which the Chinese had against foreigners, and which led them for a long while to shut up their country, is being dispelled in those parts of China where foreigners have made investments.

The conclusion is that the objections which have been taken to the Shantung section of the Treaty of Peace have not arisen so much from love of China as from jealousy of Japan. Nothing seems too bad to say of Japan, and yet there is no country in Asia which deserves such admiration. During the short period of seventy years which has elapsed since Commodore Perry, with American ships, landed in Japan, and Townsend Harris negotiated the treaty of commerce between the two countries, July 29, 1858, the Japanese have maintained an efficient government which has secured protection for the persons and property of its citizens and has enabled the people to make great advances in manufactures, in commerce, in transportation, in education, and in the administration of justice.

We are just at the close of the most bloody and destructive war recorded in history. The real cause of that war was national prejudice and hatred, which had been fomented for years. The writer traveled in Germany in 1902. In every important city, except Hamburg, the press continuously attacked England. The mixture of suspicion and vituperation that pervaded the German press at

that time continued down to the fatal month of August, 1914. In the light of the awful results of such persistent attacks, where peace "made war with words, edged more keen than ever were our foreign foemen's swords," the wickedness of the present attacks upon Japan becomes manifest. Who can maintain, when the facts already stated are considered, that the Japanese have not as much right to the railways and mines in Shantung, the right to make and operate which were granted to Germany by China, as America had to construct the Panama Railroad in 1850, and now has to operate the Panama Canal, the railway across the Isthmus used in connection with it, and the harbors at either end?

It may be said that the Chinese would prefer German to Japanese possession of the Shantung railways, harbors, and mines. Such a statement as this ignores the facts of history. When in 1900 the Boxer Rebellion cut off Peking from all communication with the outside world, and some of the foreign representatives there were murdered, foreign nations agreed to send troops to their relief. These were sent. The discipline of the Japanese troops was perfect; they treated

civilians with absolute consideration. On the other hand, the Germans, wherever they had opportunity, showed the same brutality that they did in Belgium and northern France. They looted some valuable Chinese possessions, which under this Treaty they are required to restore. There can be no question that it is far more to the interest of the Chinese that the railways and mines in Shantung should be managed by Japanese than by Germans.

But it may be said, and has been said: How can we be sure that Japan will recognize the sovereignty of China in the Shantung Peninsula? To this we reply: What reason is there to doubt it? The Japanese have been faithful to their treaty obligations in the past, and Japan has become a member of the League of Nations. Membership in this League has been offered to China, who will undoubtedly in the end accept such membership. One object of the Covenant of this League is stated to be "a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealing of organized peoples with one another." "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty" are declared to be among those which "are generally suitable for submission to arbitration." "The

members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered." In our judgment, therefore, the attempt that China has been making to obtain possession of property of great value for which it pays no price, has expended no money, and, in a word, has done nothing to create, is not justified by the law of nations or by the fair dealing which should prevail between them, and constitutes no objection to the ratification of the Treaty now before the Senate.

It should never be forgotten that the present independence of China is due in a large measure to the success of the Japanese in their war with Russia. The condition before that war is justly described by Henry Adams:

"The vast force of inertia known as China was to be united with the huge bulk of Russia in a single mass, which no amount of new force could henceforward deflect."

When Chinese statesmen recall this deliverance, may we not hope that the present jealousy of Japan will disappear, and that both countries may become loyal members of the League?

July 23, 1919.

## WHAT DOES THE NEGRO WANT?

### THE ANSWER OF THE DOUGLASS PUBLIC SCHOOL

BY R. H. LEAVELL

"WHAT all dis wah in Europe about?"

The youth who shot this abrupt question at me was a slender mulatto with the fires of race hate smoldering in his eyes. The time was a day four months after America had entered the world war. The place was a Negro churchyard in Mississippi where five hundred colored people had met at a picnic held by their Sunday school association.

Only a few hours before the lad's father had been telling me how his son hated the Southern white man. And as the boy fixed his hostile gaze upon me I realized that, although I was a stranger, he had classed me already as an enemy. And yet my errand was the not unfriendly one of trying to find out for the United States Department of Labor why so many Negroes were leaving my own native State for Northern industries.

How to answer this sullen boy so as to be honest with myself without intensifying his bitter feeling toward white Americans perplexed me for a moment. Then I fell back upon an undefined word of many syllables.

"The object of this war," said I, "is to make the world safe for democracy—in Europe."

Now I doubt whether the lad would have taken in the meaning of my somewhat oracular remark, despite his migration through eight grades of some sort of a public school, had not my guide, a

Negro teacher of shrewd intelligence, promptly translated for him:

"That means we are fighting to get freedom for the people in Europe. You are willing to fight, aren't you, to help them get it?"

"Yaas," was the quick reply. "But while I'se fightin' I'd like to get a little mo' freedom fuh myself."

As he spoke a chuckling murmur of approval spread through the group of yellow and black and brown men that stood about us.

"A little more freedom for his own race here in America," said I to myself. "I wonder what he means by 'freedom'? What is it that the Negro really wants?" And for a dependable answer to these queries I have applied to many men in each race during the past two years.

Not long ago I put the question to a discerning man of affairs in one of the chief cities of the South. For more than a generation this man has stood in the front rank of those who are wrestling with the baffling problem of safeguarding the ideals of white civilization while at the same time insuring to the Negro "a man's chance" to become American.

"What does 'freedom' mean to the Negro?" this man of business repeated thoughtfully. "What does he want of the ruling race in this 'white man's country'?" Then, after a moment, he added: "From the standpoint of the white, there is another question which is still more

vital, and that is, Can we, with justice to our own children, provide the Negro with adequate opportunity to achieve democracy? But the correct solution of this problem hinges on our learning the true answer to that first inquiry, What does the Negro really want?"

In the pause that followed my friend gazed at me in the eager, searching way that with him is the sure sign of the swift marshaling of ideas gathered from a broad experience. And then he sent me on a mission.

"Go to the Douglass Public School in Cincinnati. Perhaps that institution will throw some light on what the Negro asks of white America in the way of a fighting chance to win democracy."

And so a little later I found myself explaining the object of my visit to F. M. Russell, the Negro principal, under whom for nearly a decade the Douglass School has rendered its largest service to his people. A glance at the broad brow, the steady, direct eyes, and the smiling, friendly face told me at once that here was a man who could dream a dream and then could do his part with others in making it come true.

From the principal himself, from teachers associated with him, and from representative white citizens I gathered testimony, free of contradiction, as to the contributive work of the Douglass School. Here is the story:

Hardly more than a stone's throw