

Secretary Hughes Restates America's Policy In the Far East

Supporters Say U. S. Position Is Based on Historical Precedent

"Open Door" in China Has Been Indorsed by All Great Nations Interested; Ishii-Lansing Pact Confirmed Japanese Attitude

By William L. McPherson

LAST Sunday's Magazine Section of "The New York Times" contained a sardonic article, entitled "Wilsonizing Secretary Hughes." It was written by the still unidentified author of "The Mirrors of Washington" and was intended to discredit Mr. Hughes's conference policies by placarding him as an unconscious imitator of the faults of the Wilson diplomacy at Paris.

In view of the wreck of Mr. Wilson's work and hopes and the verdict passed on them at the 1920 election, it is a refinement of cruelty to picture any American statesman as following in the footsteps of the Father of the Fourteen Points. But "The Times" article went the whole route. An accompanying cartoon represented the ex-President laying a hand out of the shadows of Paris on Mr. Hughes's shoulder and saying in benediction, "He's good enough for me."

Thus, the Harding Administration was ironically drafted to be the heir and carrier-on of the Wilson Administration's international maladroitnesses. The ex-President went to the peace conference and, like the man who traveled from Jerusalem down to Jericho, he fell among thieves, who despoiled him of his stock of precepts and principles. It is intimated that Mr. Hughes is now going to make the same sort of journey, with equally insufficient precautions, and is equally likely to be stripped of his intellectual baggage. The indictment is brought against the Secretary of State that, uninstigated by Mr. Wilson's errors, he is innocently preparing to duplicate them by practicing "open diplomacy," championing definite principles and laying his conference cards light-heartedly on the table.

Problems Uncamouflaged In Conference Agenda

President Harding has invited the other four great powers and a few of the minor powers to consider the question of the open door in the Far East and the question of the maintenance of China's territorial integrity and political independence. These problems appear uncamouflaged in the conference agenda. American ideas about them have not been kept cautiously in the background. We go into the gathering with a definite Far Eastern program.

But here is an invitation to those whose notions about international conferences have been curdled by the souring experiences of Paris. The sneer comes forth naturally: "We (Americans) bring to the mart only a packful of moral ideas. . . . So long as we maintain our partial isolation we cannot bring to a counsel table the goods in which other nations trade. Other nations seek guaranties of their own security. We can offer no allures. Therefore, we bring fine phrases, lofty aspirations, noble examples, splendid moralities and go away with—well, it is too soon to say what we shall go away with. Mr. Wilson was every American statesman internationally. So is Mr. Hughes."

Or again: He [Mr. Hughes] simplifies life into a set of facts and a set of principles. . . . In the conference there will be few facts when Mr. Lloyd George gets through with

them and no principles that any one but the Secretary of State will recognize."

Mr. Wilson's unhappy adventures in international politics have made it easy to travesty the naive expectations and glittering moral admonitions with which he appeared on the world scene. There is a sharp reaction against uninformed idealism in foreign policy. But some of the disillusioned have been converted to a realism in world affairs so rabid that it shies at anything bearing the remotest resemblance to a program based on moral conviction or any other sort of conviction. National selfishness is, in such minds, the only standard of international action, however mean a form it may assume. A world conference is looked on as a gathering of horse traders, and the keenest trader is apostrophized as the most competent statesman.

Political Observers Begin to Predict Failure

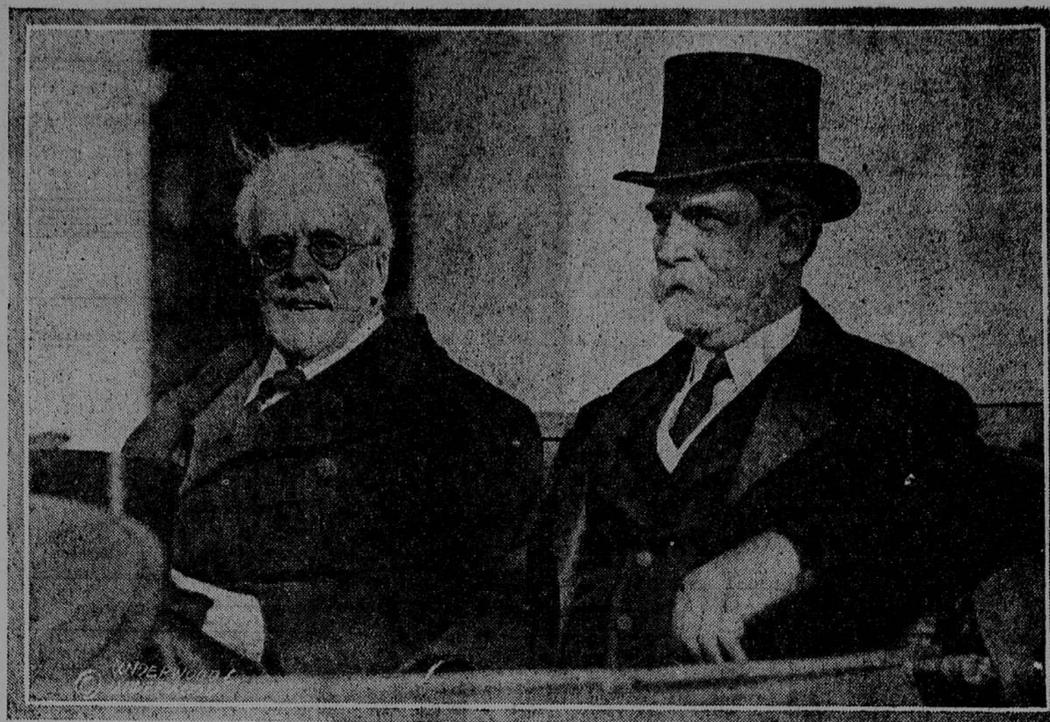
There is nourishment for the political satirist in this view. It would also act as a useful enough corrective were it kept within the limits of satire. But, unfortunately, it has been taken up by political observers who are not humorists, as the author of "The Mirrors of Washington" is, and who are busy predicting utter failure for Mr. Hughes because he has had the courage to lay down a principle or two, not intended to be traded off for islands, mandates, spheres of influence, territorial leaseholds or economic concessions.

The theory that Mr. Hughes has fatally handicapped his diplomacy by repeating Mr. Wilson's idealistic blunders rests on a double misconception. It mistakes the character of the principles which he has affirmed and also the underlying purpose of the conference. The Harding Administration is not concerned about huckstering for small advantages in the Pacific or about forcing the United States into the ranks of those who are trying to benefit from an adroit exploitation of China. We have never been in that business, and don't want to break into it, after William II's manner of squeezing at the last minute into "a place in the sun." If we are isolated because we have kept out of the Chinese scramble it is of the utmost importance to find out whether or not the conditions which isolate us are to continue. We want to know where and how we stand. To discover that is from the American point of view one of the fundamental purposes of the conference.

Likening of Hughes's Policy To That of Wilson Is Absurd

To say that the Harding-Hughes policy at Washington is a replica of the Wilson policy at Paris is a peevish absurdity. Mr. Wilson took with him abroad in 1918 a single, definite proposal, as Mr. Lansing tells us. It was a plan to create at the peace conference an international organism with superstate powers. This body was not only to guarantee against external aggression the existing territorial boundaries of all its member states, but was also to have the power, by a three-fourths vote, to rearrange those existing boundaries, if a plausible demand for "self-determination" on the part of a subject race or people should

Two Leading Figures of the Conference



Arthur James Balfour and Secretary Hughes.

seem to make such a rearrangement desirable.

This idea had no root in American experience or tradition. It was a purely personal conception. It had figured in an abortive secret draft for a Pan-American treaty, which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing pressed on the Latin-American republics for a time in 1916 and then suddenly abandoned. It had only an unacknowledged, tenuous association with our foreign policy. Yet for this private novelty in statesmanship Mr. Wilson was willing to barter off, in one form or another, practically every commitment he had made in his points and principles and in the negotiations with Germany which preceded the armistice. He was even ready for a time to throw overboard the Monroe Doctrine in order to facilitate the adoption of the league covenant.

Wilson Dealt Exclusively With Own Moral Principles

If Mr. Wilson was dealing in moral principles at Paris he was dealing exclusively with his own moral principles. The country had never given him a mandate to spread them out on the peace conference table. Mr. Hughes's principles are of an absolutely different character. They are not his alone. They are embodied in our history from the beginning of American relations with the Far East. They have been stated and restated in agreements with foreign nations. They have been incorporated in compacts among other powers. They are not only American in origin and in acceptance, but they are existing written law governing the relations of the great powers to one another and to China.

Are the open door in China and the guaranty of the republic's political independence and territorial integrity to be ranked with the "fine phrases and lofty aspirations" which Mr. Wilson

drew out of the upper air and took with him to Paris? They cannot be minimized as a single statesman's happy improvisations. They have long ago been translated into legal touchstones of the good faith of the many nations which have promised to live up to them.

Commodore Perry opened Japan to the world in 1854, when he obtained the Shogun's signature to a treaty of peace, amity and commerce with the United States. The formal commercial treaty was not signed until July 29, 1858. It was not the American policy to seek exclusive privileges. Townsend Harris, our negotiator, tactfully explained to the Shogun's agents that it would be advisable for them to make a treaty with this country which would serve them in good stead as a model and a protection when the European naval powers came along later and demanded treaties. Mr. Harris practiced the open door policy even then, and Japan profited by his friendly suggestions.

When General Grant visited the Orient in 1879 and was asked to arbitrate the Ryukyu Islands and Korean suzerainty disputes between China and Japan, he said to the two nations: "America has great commercial interests in the Far East, but she has no interests, and can have none, that are inconsistent with the complete independence and wellbeing of all Asiatic nations, especially Japan and China. . . . It is the policy of America in the Orient, and I may say it is the law of our empire in the Pacific, that the integrity and independence of China and Japan should be preserved and maintained."

Grant Warned Against War Between Japan and China

The ex-President also warned Japan and China against going to war with

each other. It was their true policy, he argued, to give no cause for self-seeking interference on the part of European nations. "Your quarrels," he said, "are their opportunity for unfriendly intervention, and if war should ensue between the two countries over either of these questions the powers of Europe will end it in their own way, in their own interests and to the lasting and incalculable injury of both nations." This prophecy was amply fulfilled when Japan and China did go to war over Korea in 1894.

In the treaty of Shimonoseki, April 17, 1895, China ceded to Japan Formosa, the Pescadore Islands and the Liaotung Peninsula and acknowledged the independence of Korea. But the European powers saw their opportunity and intervened. Germany, France and Russia compelled Japan to cede back Liaotung. Then a European scramble for Chinese leaseholds and spheres of influence began. Germany had already fixed her eyes on Kiaochow. In November, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in the interior of Shandong Province. In addition to the customary reparations Berlin demanded a ninety-nine-year lease on Kiaochow and railway and mining rights in Shandong. Russia countered by securing a twenty-five-year lease of Port Arthur, Dally and the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula. Weihaiwei fell to Great Britain. France received the Bay of Kwangchow, in Kwantung Province. Great Britain then secured a lease of the Kowloon Peninsula, opposite Hong Kong. Italy asked for a lease of Sanmen Bay, in Chekiang, but China felt strong enough to refuse it.

European "spheres of influence" were also established. France secured a promise in 1907 that China would never cede the Island of Hainan to any other foreign power. Great Britain put in a first claim on territory ad-

joining the Yangtze River. France obtained a second priority option on the province of Kwantung, Kwangsi and Yunnan. China then assured Japan that she should have a similar priority in the province of Fukien. Russia began to mark off Manchuria for her own.

Encroachments Met With Disfavor by United States

These encroachments in China were highly unwelcome to the United States, which in 1898 acquired Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines, and was thus brought into close political contact with the Orient. In 1899 Secretary Hay sent his famous open door note to the governments of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Italy and Japan. It asked each of these powers to give an assurance that it:

"First—Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of influence' or leased territory it may have in China.

"Second—That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said 'sphere of interest' (unless they be 'free ports'), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese government.

All the powers gave their assent to the Hay note. This formulated what is known as the open door policy. But it had simply followed the long established precedents of American di-

Critics Liken American Stand To That of Wilson in Paris

Political Observers, Mistaking Character of Principles, Begin to Predict Failure for U. S. Policy in Conference

plomacy in the Far East. Mr. Hay broadened his exposition of the American view in a circular which he sent to the powers on July 3, 1900, while the Boxer troubles were at their height and an international military force was about to proceed from Tientsin to the relief of the legations besieged in Peking. He said that America's purpose was "to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." Thus the open door and Chinese territorial integrity were linked together in one doctrine.

These two principles were reasserted in the Root-Takahira note of November 30, 1905. By that time Japan had dispossessed Russia in southern Manchuria and taken over Korea. The Japanese and American governments agreed to defend the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China and to support, by all pacific means at their disposal, the open door and the independence and integrity of China.

Ishii-Lansing Agreement Renewed Open Door Pledge

In the Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1917, although the United States recognized that Japan had "special relations" with China, due to proximity, and thus "special interests" in the part of China to which her territory was contiguous, the same mutual pledges were given, as follows: "The governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called 'open door' or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China."

These same pledges are incorporated in treaties between Japan and other powers. The British-Japanese treaty of alliance declares one of its objects to be: "The preservation of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

Secretary Hughes is, therefore, not offering the conference any untried, idealistic abstractions after the Wilson pattern when he asks it to say whether or not the open door is to be kept open and whether or not China is to be protected further against encroachments on her independence and territorial integrity. Japan, under the shelter of her alliance with Great Britain, has done many things recently to excite the distrust of other nations. She has shown a disposition to establish monopolistic control of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. The methods by which she acquired Germany's rights in Shandong still rankle. The twenty-one demands of 1915, if China had been coerced into accepting them in their entirety, would have reduced Chinese sovereignty to a shadow. Japan has agreements with the Peking government which haven't yet seen the light of day. What are they? Do they leave

the open door principle and the principle of an independent, undimembered China in such a shape that American diplomats can no longer recognize them?

Mr. Hughes thinks that these doctrines are still applicable and that it is the duty of the United States to find out whether or not any other powers with interests in the Pacific are of a different opinion. In a letter which he wrote some weeks ago to the Chinese Minister in Washington, he said: "The government of the United States has never associated itself with any arrangement which sought to establish any special rights or privileges in China which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of other friendly states, and I am happy to assure you that it is the purpose of this government neither to participate nor to acquiesce in any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of foreign interests any superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in designated regions of the territory of China, or which might seek to create any such monopoly or preference as would exclude other nationals from undertaking any legitimate trade or industry, or from participating with the Chinese government in any category of public enterprise."

Hughes's Policy Identical With Historical U. S. Position

This is the historical American position, established for more than half a century. Some of the realists who went through the Paris conference say that Mr. Hughes fails to distinguish between China and the map of China—between a political and geographical entity still intact and an actual aggregation of parts—cities and provinces which have already passed, under diplomatic fictions of one sort or another, to new owners. Is he right or are they right? That is the thing which America needs to know and wants to know in order to shape her future policy.

The conference is in one sense a venture in public education. For Americans appreciate the complexities and dangers of the Far Eastern situation—a situation into which we have been inextricably drawn by the extension of our western boundary across the Pacific almost to the shores of southern China. We have sought so territorial footing or exclusive privileges from the Chinese. In that our policy has differed from the policy of the other major powers. We are in a manner dissociated from them. If that dissociation cannot be overcome, it must be reckoned with soberly and anxiously by our statesmen.

President Harding and Secretary Hughes are pursuing a course which leads toward knowledge. Their aims are practical, not visionary. Whether a limitation is put on naval armament or not, the conference cannot be a failure. The American people will at least be able to discover through it what they have to expect from other nations in the Far East and can govern their future action accordingly.

Cambridge Students Riot When Girls Demand Equal Standing

Lay Siege to Women's College and Demolish the Gates of Newham in Celebration of Rejection of Claim by Graduates

By Warre B. Wells

LONDON, November 2.

IT WAS the women who began it, of course. They wanted to be admitted as members of Cambridge University and to be able to take degrees on the same footing as men. So they now are in every other British university, and so, sooner or later, they will be at Cambridge, but Cambridge for the moment apparently is anxious to usurp Oxford's traditional reputation as the home of lost causes.

In the Senate House one day last week elderly graduates of Cambridge voted on the question whether women should or should not be admitted. And while they voted the present generation at the university organized a mammoth "rag" gazing the proceedings. In the evening, to the great delight of the undergraduates, it was announced that the women's claim had been rejected by a big majority. This ought to have been enough for the undergrad, but for some of them it wasn't.

Several hundred of them proceeded to lay siege to Newham College, the women's college, which is a sort of extra-territorial enclave at Cambridge, in the university but not of it. In the course of their operations they demolished the elaborately wrought bronze gates of Newham, erected as a memorial to the founder of the college. Apologies, accepted by the authorities of Newham, from the general body of undergraduates followed, with a "confession fund" opened by "Granta," the university journal, for the repair of the damaged gates.

That, again, might well have been

the end of the matter; but again it wasn't. For it has been solemnly suggested that the wrecking of Newham gates was an exhibition of sex antagonism that has been developing at Cambridge since women first invaded the university.

Possibly the women undergraduates themselves have hit upon something like the true explanation. "They're jealous of them," is the terse summing-up by Florence Underwood of the Women's Freedom League, of the men's attitude to the women. "Yes," says a woman graduate who has just come down from Cambridge, where, she declares, even women who have won fellowships are leaving because the men behave so badly—"they resent our success in examinations. The real trouble is that the women at Cambridge work harder than the men, and this annoys some of the undergraduates very seriously."

It is a plausible explanation at first sight. Yet it appears to fall down in face of the experience of the sister university of Oxford, where women already are admitted on the same terms as men. There is little question that at Oxford, as at Cambridge, the women undergraduates, whether they work harder or not, do seem to get away with most of the scholastic successes. Witness this wall of an Oxford undergraduate published in the university magazine:

"I have read for two years with a crammer. But all I can get is a 'Gamma.' While that girl over there, with the flaming red hair, gets 'Alpha Plus' easily—drat her!"

Yet there is no trouble between men and women undergraduates at Oxford—unless a sudden access of sex antagonism accounts for something having gone wrong with the rhyme in the last line.

Ambassador Child Finds a Historic Home

ROME, November 1.

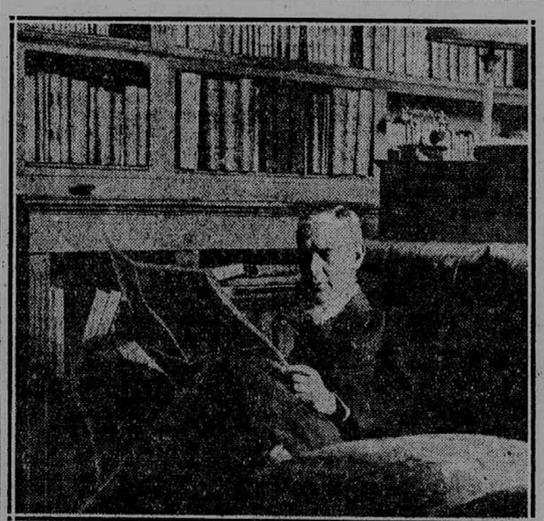
THE American Ambassador, Richard Washburn Child, is the youngest member of the ambassadorial corps in Rome, one might almost say the only young ambassador, as all his confreres are men over fifty years of age. From an Italian point of view, this is a great advantage, and exactly what they would expect from a young country like the United States.

Although he has been here only a little over two months he has captured the sympathy of the Italian people by his frank, clear expression of friendliness, not only from a personal point of view but in the name of his government. His tour to the ports of Italy—Naples and Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, Taranto and Venice—has shown his interest in Italy. He is what the Italians call "simpatico."

Ambassador Child evidently was born under a lucky star, as besides gaining the good will of the Italians he also has found a house to live in, which, in these days of overcrowded Rome, is little short of a miracle. His predecessor was compelled to live in a hotel, whereas Ambassador Child and his family managed to find a large apartment in the Palazzo Orsini. The old fable of finding a needle in the haystack was an easy job compared to renting a house in the Eternal City. But the ambassador succeeded where others failed and has now moved into his new home. The Palazzo Orsini now belongs to the Duchess of Sermoneta. The duke has decided to live for the future in Canada, and before leaving he presented the house to his wife. As her private apartment in the palace is very large, she rented forty rooms to Ambassador Child.

Child Finds a Home On Historic Spot

Here, in this wonderfully beautiful as well as historical palace, the ambassador will have his official residence. The palace is built on the site of the Theater of Marcellus. From the Montanara Square one can see the



Richard Washburn Child

outer shell of the theater, while under the building there are remains of the tiers and walls. Though, interiorly, it now seems a wonderfully lovely modern palace with a touch of the renaissance in its decorations and furniture, it was at one time the scene of great games, as Augustus built it on plans left by Julius Caesar. Probably Caesar dreamed of this wonderful theater, but it was left to his successor to erect it on the site of the old theater of Marcellus. This outer wall is all that remains, as after the fall of the Roman Empire the theater was adapted as a fortress for the Pierleoni family, who were continually fighting with the Frangipani family, whose fortress was on the Palatine.

Many a fight too place outside the gates, and only when the troublesome times of the eleventh century passed it was a proper palace built on the remains of the old fortress. In spite of war and destruction the outer circular wall, which to-day is still beautiful, remained intact, and Baldassare Peruzzi, who planned the new home for the Savelli family, used the material remaining from the interior of the theater to form the cornice and frames of the windows. In the middle ages it became the property of the Orsini, who held it until 1903, when it was bought by a Roman bank. Recently it changed hands again when the Duke bought it for his wife. The doorway leading to the Child

apartment is probably one of the most beautiful specimens of mediæval art, with its princely arms of the Orsini family. History also connects this palace with the fate of Beatrice and Lucrezia Cenci, who were imprisoned in the Savelli court and kept prisoners while awaiting to be executed for the death of their father. From out these portals they were led to their execution.

Place a Cheerful Palace in a Garden

The palace itself is a cheerful spot, as it is built in a garden with an interior garden around, which the reception rooms are built. In this garden the two children of the Ambassador and Mrs. Child play and scamper with their father after breakfast, which he always eats with them, admitting that it is the happiest moment of the day. He forgets the business of being an ambassador, forgets that there are anarchists and Communists who are protesting, though they do not blame him, against the death sentence passed on Sacco and Vanzetti at Dedham, and enjoys the flowers and the quiet of his secluded inner garden.

Ambassador Child is much luckier than a former ambassador, the historian Niebuhr, who came and lived here for seven years, from 1818 to 1823. Then, in order to get to his house door he had to drive over a pile of rubbish, as the palace as a residence had been abandoned for many years. Then it was considered almost in the country, away from the center, while now it forms one end of old Rome. A macadam road has been built from the Piazza Montanara up to the front door. The garden at the entrance and the inner garden are probably just as picturesque as in earlier days, with plants of jasmine and roses. The ambassador has the same view of the Tiber, St. Peter's and Monte Mario, but it is a little more modern, though none the less beautiful. Here the ambassador and Mrs. Child will entertain during the winter season.

Providence Aids Bishops' Fight On British Racing Bookmakers

Cesarewitch Favorite "Comes In Alone," as Predicted, but She's Last and Thousands Read Newspaper Attacks Eagerly

LONDON, October 29.

DO BISHOPS of the Established Church of England believe in luck? Or, if there is no such thing as luck, but only Providence, would they consider it irreverent to connect Providence with so worldly a matter as horse racing?

Without presuming to answer these theological questions, one may say that the church congress now in session at Birmingham has this year had a remarkable stroke of luck, or been the beneficiary of a special dispensation of Providence.

The church congress discussed all manner of things—industry and labor, education and adolescence, games and amusements, and various other aspects of social life. But the feature of its proceedings which attracted the greatest public interest was what it had to say about gambling. And this was where the congress had the aid of luck—or Providence.

It met and began to talk about gambling on the eve of the running at Newmarket of the Cesarewitch, one of the "classic" English races. The continuation on the second day of its discussion of gambling was reported in the evening papers along with the result of the race. And the result of the race threw into brighter relief the high spots of the congress views on gambling.

Not since The Panther, who failed so dramatically in the first Derby after so much, has a horse been written up so war as Tishy, the Cesarewitch favorite. Her name was on the tongue of every racing man in England and South Africa, for she was owned by Sir Abe Bailey, the Cape mining magnate. Such was the confidence in Tishy that she carried seven pounds more than the official weight, and, in the

language of the turf, she was to "come in by herself."

She did. But it was at the wrong end of the field, for some time after the winner had passed the post, Tishy "came in by herself"—the absolute last.

So, when the newspaper reader turned with a sigh from the racing page and found in another page a column with a heading such as "Bishops on Bookmaking," he felt more kindly toward bookmakers, than usual, and more people read, in a more receptive state of mind, what the Bishops had to say than they would have done on any other day almost of the year.

Perhaps the Bishops, no wiser than the backers, had not foreseen the result. Anyway, it cannot be said that they made the most of their opportunity. For two of the most remarkable speeches made at the congress were rather an apology for the professional backer and the occasional, modest punter than a wholesale condemnation of gambling.

The apologetic note was struck first in the presidential address of the Bishop of Birmingham, who said that in the matter of Sunday observance and so on the Church had to take account of the new age in which it was living. Then later he confessed that, though he had only once made a serious bet—"I was about seventeen years old, a time when I knew a great deal about horses"—he still was prepared to forgive the owner of a racehorse backing in a moderate way the chances of the beautiful animal that he had trained.