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BY HIS ASSISTANTS

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Books of Special Interest

Three Leagues in One

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS
VIEWED FROM GENEVA. By WILL-
IAM E. RAPPARD. New Haven: Yale
University Press. 1926. \$2.50.

Reviewed by HAMILTON HOLT
Rollins College

PROFESSOR RAPPARD is one of that brilliant group of internationally-minded young men and women of both achievement and promise who comprise the membership of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. A Swiss by birth, a student by training, a cosmopolitan by circumstance, he served as Secretary of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations from the establishment of the League in 1920, until his elevation a year ago to full membership in the Commission. Last summer he was the chief protagonist of the League of Nations at the Williamstown Institute of Politics. The present volume comprises the six formal lectures he delivered there on the League.

A book compiled from lectures, however brilliant, is usually more compendium than treatise. The volume under review is no exception to the rule. Nevertheless, as a penetrating analysis of the League and its working, it is perhaps the most stimulating and illuminating collection of League essays yet published in English.

Professor Rappard opens his first lecture by declaring that a close study of the Covenant as well as a cursory review of the history of the League shows that what came into being at Paris in 1919 was not one League of Nations, but in reality three Leagues in one: A League to execute the peace treaties; a League to promote progress; and a League to outlaw war.

The first of these functions has been carried out by the few countries most interested. However, "The only member of 'The League to Execute the Peace Treaties' who is in a position to do so in a spirit of independence, impartiality, and disinterestedness is Sweden. Her example has given a foretaste of what a country no less independent, impartial, and disinterested, but incomparably more powerful might be and do in the interests of peace, if she could see her way to accept the moral leadership which awaits her representative at the Council table." Professor Rappard concludes that "The League to Execute the Peace Treaties has weakened rather than strengthened the League as a whole, but it has, on the other hand, strengthened rather than weakened the peace settlement as a whole."

The League to Enforce the Peace Treaties is therefore the League that has principally injured the League of Nations' reputation. But as the post-war issues are settled this League is destined to atrophy and die while the other two Leagues grow in prestige and power.

The League to Promote Progress has already shown extraordinary vitality. All the members of the League of Nations have taken part in its activities. Even the outside nations have joined it or cooperated with it. This is the League to which America has sent her unofficial observers and delegates.

The League to Outlaw War is considered by Professor Rappard under two heads; the substitution of law for war, and the sanctions to preclude war. The States within this League might be divided into three main classes whose dominant policies might be respectively characterized by the mottoes "Security first," "Peace first," and "Justice first." In the first category are France, Belgium, Poland, and Little Entente, and the new Baltic States. The commonwealths of the British Empire constitute almost by themselves the second group. In the third group are the former European neutrals, all the Latin American States, and the Central Powers.

As the effort to substitute justice for war has culminated in the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the progress of the League to Outlaw War will be measured by the gradual transference of its chief functions from the political Council to the judicial Court.

Professor Rappard has not only brought out in clear relief the three Leagues now functioning at Geneva, but he has discussed with some thoroughness the truly remarkable accomplishments of the League in saving Austria from dissolution and bankruptcy, in the regulation of the drug traffic, in the simplification of customs formalities, in the burning question of the forty million minorities, and in the mandates over those conquered territories twice the size of the United States who were not divided up as the spoils of war, but are now held "as a

sacred trust of civilization" under the aegis of the League.

There can be no doubt as to the author's belief in the beneficence of the League: "I believe its essential aim," he says "the substitution of law and order for chaos in international relations, to be so absolutely beneficent and so clearly in line with human evolution that no one but a madman or a criminal can repudiate it." But he sees both sides of the shield, for over and over again he points out the imperfections in the structure of the League and the results attempted and attained.

The book is written with lucidity and charm. I commend it to all interested in the greatest political experiment since the establishment of the United States of America.

Japan Resurgent

A HISTORY OF JAPAN, VOLUME III.

The Tokugawa Epoch, 1652-1868. By the late JAMES MURDOCH. Revised and edited by JOSEPH H. LONGFORD. New York. Greenberg. 1926.

Reviewed by WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS

ALTHOUGH Japan today is a World Power, it was only seventy-six years ago, that Perry's sometime flagship, the U. S. S. S. Susquehanna was launched on the Delaware; only sixty-seven since the American pioneer teachers (after a voyage from New York, occupying three-fifths of the year) began hiding the Occidental leaven in the Japanese mass; only fifty-eight since the feudal system was abolished and the men of the New Japan—mostly trained American missionaries—introduced modern material forces, sent students, young men and women abroad, and introduced from many a country from 1870 to 1900, no fewer than five thousand *yatoi* (salaried foreigners) to direct the Mikado's subjects in every line of human achievement—army, navy, banks, schools, mills, railways, machinery, etc. (though this fact is not often told about in native histories); while in the same epochal year of 1868, Old Japan passed away forever and New Japan started toward her goal—equality among the nations.

American missionaries of the ablest sort mastered the language, made the dictionaries and grammars, and in many ways, were the *pontifices maximi* in bridging gulfs, linguistic, racial, and ethnic, while the brilliant young university-bred men at the British Legation opened the mines of history.

From the launching of the Susquehanna in 1850 to the coming of the first Japanese embassy in 1860, the vanguard of the army of students to America, and those thrilling years, in both a feudal interior city and the national capital, when ancient Japan through historical research stood forth in resurrection—I remember it all! *Pars fui*.

James Murdoch from the University of Aberdeen, professor of Greek, language-tamer, with prodigious power of memory, after experiences in Australia, China, and South America, and protracted readings in the British Museum, came to Japan as teacher. He soon became an eager inquirer into the past of a fascinating people. Rare was the opportunity of studying this ethnic composite made up of four races, with literature from the eighth century. The Japanese had passed through the political experiences of monarchy, duarchy and a feudal system that was alive and vigorous down to 1868,—and in spirit still lingers. Two great continental religions with civilizations in their train had come to the islands. The reactions of the nation towards these social and religious importations have made Japan, in a sense, an epitome of all Asian history. As surely as the American story throws light on European development, so Japan reflects light on the Mother Continent.

Thus the tools were ready and the adit to the Japanese mine opened, when Murdoch came about 1889; but none before him had so profound and critical knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish fathers of the sixteenth century. Great was the assistance given him and most happy was his friendship, as co-worker, with Mr. Isih Yamagata, now editor of the Seoul Press in Korea.

Murdoch had planned a fourth volume treating of the era from 1868-1912, but he died in Australia in May, 1922. His MS was edited and enriched with notes by the able historian and long resident in Japan, Joseph H. Longford. I was at the home of the latter in London when he was about half through this work. Alas, within a few days, I was mourner at Longford's funeral, on May 16, 1925. Today, of that brilliant group in the Tokio of the

seventies, probably only Satow and Chamberlain survive.

The present volume, like its two portly predecessors, is nearly exhaustive of the subject and period treated. Of the general work, one can say little but praise. No book gives so detailed account of events and persons during the Tokugawa era (1604-1868). Every respectable library in the United States should have these three volumes. There is nothing else like Murdoch's volumes and the maps, tables, and indexes lend value.

One notable feature in a British book is the fairness of treatment and space given to the work of American authors. In matters of religion this agnostic author is trustworthy. At the native literature, he scarcely more than glances. Its prose, in size of volumes, is Brobdignagian, its poetry, in form, dwells in "the land of Liliput." It is hard for a Briton to be fair to the Dutch—the only foreigners trusted by the Japanese for over two centuries—but Murdoch gives a fairly judicious summary of their work in preparing for the New Japan. He tells some amusing facts underlying the Perry reception in 1853. He brings out the large part played by Matsudaira of Echizen and is very full—wonderfully so on the interior phases of interior Japanese politics during the era of the double clash, between Yedo and Kioto, Shogun and Mikado, of what was historically a usurpation and a foundation—principle (Camp and Court), and also a modern industrial system, suddenly catapulting a hermit's isolation. Not least is his care to tell what the women have been and done in the national story. For a detailed history of Japan before 1868 there is nothing to be compared to Murdoch's work.

Coal Mining

THE COAL MINER'S STRUGGLE FOR
INDUSTRIAL STATUS. By ARTHUR
E. SUFFERN. New York: The Mac-
millan Company. 1926. \$2.50.

Reviewed by WINTHROP D. LANE

THE Institute of Economics, established some years ago by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and indebted to it for money with which to make its studies, has started out to tell the people of the United States what is wrong with the industry of coal-mining. Three books have now appeared. One was "Miners' Wages and the Cost of Coal," by Isidor Lubin. The second was "The Case of Bituminous Coal," a brilliantly-written statement of the points at which the organization of the industry falls down, by Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright. Now comes the third. Mr. Suffern goes back to 1861 and traces the evolution of relations between employer and employee in the industry, both for bituminous and anthracite mining, down to the present time. He tries to state the principles that have governed such relations, and the changes in them.

Mr. Suffern's book repeats to some extent matter found in both Lubin and in Hamilton and Wright. Unfortunately, Mr. Suffern writes in a dreary style. He sets his face resolutely against allowing any trace of the interest bound up in the coal miners' wars to appear in his book. This was not necessary; economics is no longer a "dismal science." Mr. Hamilton and Miss Wright showed him a better method.

Little that is either new or constructive is offered. Mr. Suffern does not tell how to reduce the confusion of the miner's life to order. He recapitulates some of the conclusions of the late United States Coal Commission. Suggesting that the Federal and state governments ought to keep order in non-union parts of the coal fields, guaranteeing free speech and peaceable persuasion, so that unionism would have a fair chance to make its appeal, he proposes a plan that few operators would willingly accept; nevertheless, he makes it clear that many coal miners are denied ordinary civil rights by their employers. "Employee representation plans" in the industry apparently do not win his favor; he prefers collective bargaining through unions truly representative of the men employed. Mr. Suffern does not discuss the issues involved in private ownership of coal mines, and the merits and demerits of "nationalization"—a step closely related to the status of coal miners.

The book will do little to popularize facts about coal mining—its major justification. Another volume is promised, to include a discussion of "some programs for reconstruction." Perhaps this is "The Control of Bituminous Coal," to be written by Mr. Hamilton and Miss Wright. If so, the previous work of these authors gives hope that their next volume will be genuinely illuminating.

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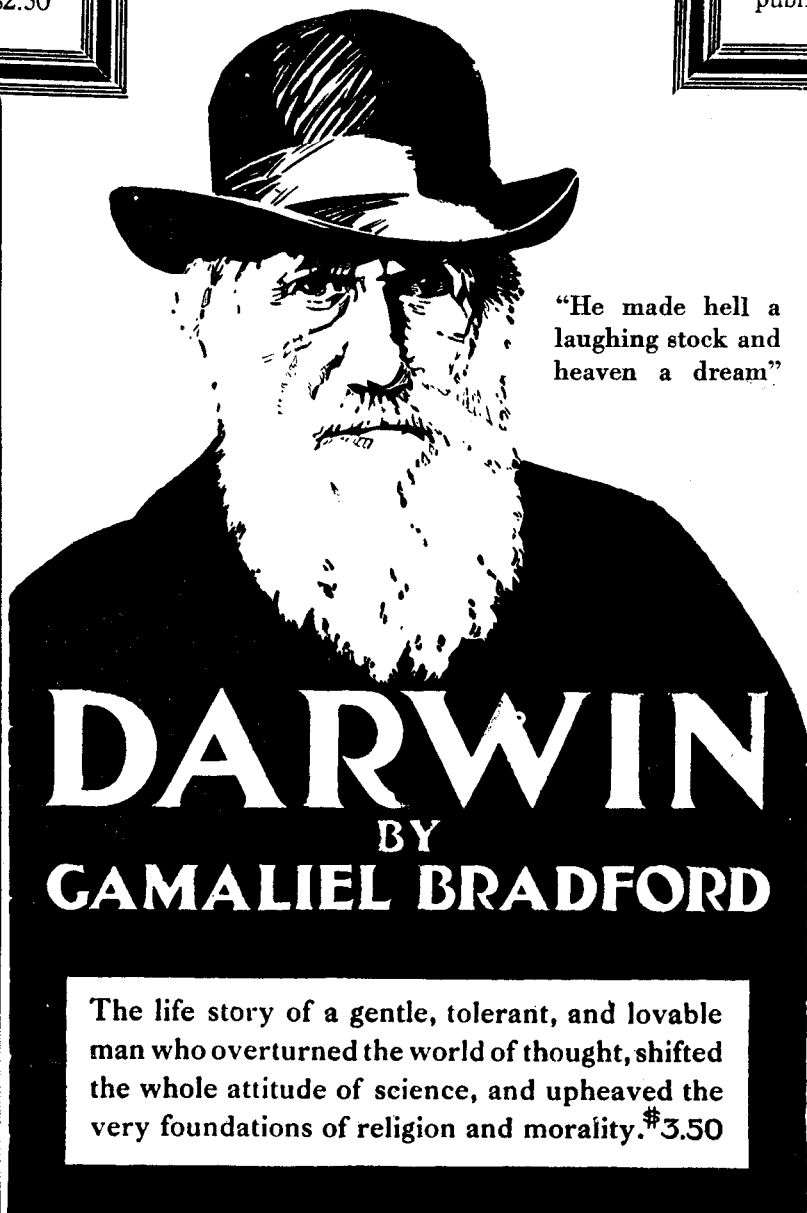
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