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Valentine S. McClatchy, for many years secretary of the California Joint Immigration Committee, shortly before his death in 1938 evaluated the collection of "Japanese pamphlets" by placing a symbol on the cover of each pamphlet. The symbols used and their meanings are as follows:

- c - Japanese exclusion
- ⊙ - opposed
- - statistical non-partisan
- x - objectionable to both sides


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J. P. ... 1920

Our New Racial Problem

Va. T. S. M. S. L. ...

Japanese Immigration and Its Menace

Startling Results of Congressional Inquiry

Why Japan's "Peaceful Penetration" of Continental
United States? — Using American Citizenship to
Foster Japan's Plans — The Birth Rate as an
Agency for Colonization — Control of Lands and
Localities in California — Colonization in Other
States.

IN THE statement made by V. S. McClatchy before the House Committee on Immigration and Natruralization during its hearings in California in July, 1920, in connection with the subject of Japanese immigration, was included much interesting and startling and theretofore unpublished matter casting light on various phases of the problem which is now receiving not only State, but National attention.

From a digest of that statement it appears that the economic question of today will develop into a grave racial problem, unless the proper remedy be at once applied; that the Japanese have determined to colonize favorable sections of the United States, and permanently establish their race in this country; that they openly preach their plans of peaceful penetration, "get more land and beget many children," as the most certain method of accomplishing the purpose; that in so doing they do not contemplate assimilating as American citizens, loyal to the country of their birth or adoption, but plan to serve the ambition of Japan in world subjection as taught in her religion and in her schools; that American-born Japanese on whom we confer citizenship are being trained here and in Japan to use their American citizenship for the glory of the Mikado and the benefit of the Japanese race; that through violations of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese have increased many fold in this country, while the declared intent of the agreement was to restrict Japanese immigration as the Exclusion Act restricted Chinese immigration; that the Japanese birth rate per thousand in California, now three times that of the whites, exists in face of the fact that the proportion of adult females among the Japanese is less than one-third as great as among the whites; that such birth rate will be very greatly increased if success attends the efforts of the Japanese to bring in a large number of females; that Orientals, largely Japanese, already control, through ownership or lease, one-sixth of the rich irrigated lands of the state, and, in some of the larger counties, have control of a majority acreage of such lands; that the results as to Japanese control already seenred in Hawaii, and fast developing in California, are contemplated in other states as shown by preliminary colonization; and that American missionary and church influence is being exerted in behalf of Japanese propaganda and this Japanese program, in the mistaken belief that Japan in return will aid or encourage Christian evangelization of the Japanese here, and in Japan.

The statement, of which the following is a digest, supplements other statements on the subject made during the year preceding by V. S. McClatchy, before the Committees of Congress and in public print, and generally avoids repetition of matter contained in such previous statements.

The Japanese Problem Before the House Immigration Committee

The following article contains the important parts of a statement made before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in connection with the subject of Japanese Immigration by V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Sacramento Bee, at hearings held by the committee in Sacramento, California, on July 13 and 14, 1920. In preparation of the article from the original transcript of the hearing, there have been omitted repetition of facts and deductions, and, so far as seemed desirable, the dialogue with members of the committee which elicited the facts. In this way brevity has been served without impairing the value of the article.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization:

My first appearance before the House Immigration Committee in connection with the subject of Japanese immigration was in June, 1919—not in person, but by a written statement hurriedly prepared and mailed, at the telegraphed suggestion of the Chairman. The statement was in answer to the claims of Sidney L. Gulick, the most prominent opponent of Japanese exclusion, who asked your committee to approve a certain measure (fath-tered by his League for Constructive Immigration Legislation), which proposes to regulate immigration on a percentage basis, and to extend to all Asiatics the same privileges as immigrants and citizens, as are accorded Europeans. In September, 1919, I appeared before the committee personally and made a more comprehensive showing of the grave danger to the Nation threatened by Japanese immigration even under existing conditions.

Statements made by me at that time have been severally criticised both as

to facts and deductions by advocates of the Japanese, and particularly by Mr. Gulick, who has issued and widely circulated, under the authority of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, two leaflets devoted largely to an attempt to discredit those statements.

My present statement before your committee is supplemental to, and should be considered in conjunction with, that previous statement, since it avoids, so far as possible, repetition of matter contained in the other. It is intended to answer conclusively the arguments and statements since put forth by Mr. Gulick and other proponents of Japanese immigration, and contains in addition a mass of valuable and unpublished matter secured, in large part, from Japanese sources. In the preparation of this statement, care has been taken to secure authenticated facts, and to draw deductions which cannot be assailed with justice.

I view the Japanese themselves without prejudice, and do not even suggest that there is involved in the present problem a question of racial inferiority. The problem at present, I insist, is an economic one, due to certain advantages possessed by the Japanese in economic competition, and to their determined utilization of those advantages in securing permanent place for their race in this country through their systematized plan of peaceful penetration.

But I insist also that continuance of existing conditions is developing, and will in time make certain a racial problem of most grave character.

THE PAST YEAR'S INVESTIGATION.

Since my appearance before the committee, nearly a year ago, the Pacific Coast generally has awakened to a realization of the gravity of the situation, and there has been a deal

of investigation, some of it on the part of Eastern newspapers and periodicals. I might mention, in that connection, "The Country Gentleman," which sent Freeman Tilden, a New England writer, to the Pacific Coast to make a special investigation of the problem. In the issues of that periodical of May 1, 8, 15 and 29, 1920, you will find the result of those observations.

Sentiment on the Coast has crystallized. The California State Board of Control, under instructions from the State Legislature, has been securing data for a year past, and has prepared a preliminary report for the Governor. That report has gone to the Secretary of State at Washington and to the public, with a very strong letter from Governor Stephens, calling attention to the facts, to the urgency of the menace which they indicate and urging that the matter be taken up with our friend, Japan, in order that a speedy adjustment, which will preserve the country for the white race and maintain our friendly relations with Japan, may be had.

This report of the Board of Control, with its introductory letter by Governor Stephens, furnishes a comprehensive review of the Japanese problem as presented in California, and is the most convincing document which has been offered, partly because of its official character, and partly because of the fair manner in which the presentation has been made. I cannot too strongly endorse and praise the manner in which that work has been done. That report, as I understand, is before your committee, and I shall refer to it only in instances where it corroborates and substantiates the various matters which I shall place before you.

It is no small gratification to me, who am in certain phases of this

question a pioneer, to see that the various investigations made, official and non-official, not only fully confirm the statements which I had the honor to make to your committee in September, 1919, but show that the danger is, if anything, greater and more immediate than I represented then.

POINTS ESTABLISHED BY EVIDENCE.

May I ask you to consider carefully, as the facts are developed, how conclusively they establish these points:

1st. The practical impossibility of assimilating the Japanese, or making good and dependable American citizens out of them.

2nd. The determination with which they are bent on making a permanent place for themselves in this country through their methods of peaceful penetration, and notwithstanding any objection we may have thereto,

3d. The hopelessness of any attempt by Americans to meet them in economic competition, or in birth rate.

4th. The certainty that, unless protective measures are at once adopted, they will secure control of the country, first through economic competition, and finally through force of numbers.

5th. The criminal unwisdom of permitting any foreign Nation, however friendly, to be the sole judge of what immigration shall be admitted to our land. That is our present policy with Japan.

6th. The absolute necessity, along the line of self preservation, of applying the same exclusion policy as to Japanese that has been effective for years in regard to Chinese.

7th. The imperative necessity of applying the remedy now, while we can.

Determined to Colonize.

As to the second point, the determination of the Japanese to secure a footing in this country, through peaceful penetration, regardless of our objections thereto, let me ask careful consideration by the committee of Exhibit "Z," extract from the "Sacramento Bee" of October 22, 1919, in which appears a transla-

tion of an article published a few days before in "Shin Sekai," "The New World," a Japanese newspaper of San Francisco. The article is called forth, by the opposition in California to Japanese immigration, and increase of Japanese population through "picture brides," etc. Following are a few sentences quoted from the article:

"When we of the Yamato race arise with a mighty resolve, their (the Americans') opposition will be as futile as an attempt to sweep the sea with a broom."

"We should advance, and not recede. To stop is to retreat. While we push forward boldly the enemy has no chance to form plans. . . . These maxims are suitable for the present situation."

"Even if photograph marriages should be prohibited, we cannot be stopped from leaving our descendants on this American continent. Even if not a single Japanese woman comes, it is not possible to prevent the seed of our great Yamato race from being sown in this American continent by marriages with Americans, with French, with Indians, and with negroes; especially since there already are 100,000 Japanese here, and 5,000 children are born annually."

Supposing we Japanese were prohibited from owning or cultivating the land. * * * * If we cannot conveniently do so in California, we shall go to other States and devise some plan. Even the laws of California are not forever unchangeable."

"The day will come when the strength of the Japanese will make a clean sweep of all laws."

"Even the Kaiser's Empire was destroyed when its time came."

"What can Phelan and Inman (leaders of the anti-Japanese movement) * * * * do to stop the forward movement of our Yamato race?"

THE "CONSTRUCTIVE IMMIGRATION" BILL.

Let me call to your attention briefly the claims of Sidney Gulick and other friends and proponents of the Japanese, as presented to the American public.

Mr. Gulick, since I first opposed his demands on behalf of Japanese immigration, in June, 1919, has been steadily giving ground, when he found that ground absolutely untenable. He withdrew from his proposed Constructive Immigration Bill, one by one, several ridiculous provisions to which attention had been called;—the grandfather clause, which, by the importation of a few thousand octogenarians who could send for all their blood relatives, would have opened our gates to an unlimited number of Japanese; the student provision, under which any number of laborers could have come over as students, and gone to work at once in our fields, without any power on the part of our Government under the bill to prevent it; the religious persecutee clause, which opened our gates to any one claiming religious persecution. Let me add, that these provisions are also in the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Dillingham.

These are a few of the "jokers" in the original Immigration Bill under which Mr. Gulick insisted that Japanese immigration would be materially cut down. Under the circumstances, it is not strange that I am forced to question either his good faith or his intelligence. He is still on the retreat, as noticed in his recent leaflets, but he persists in fighting for what has always been his real objective, though camouflaged carefully in the beginning. I refer to that because it is the objective of all the proponents of the "Constructive" Immigration Bill, and all the opponents of the views which I present—the passage of an Act which will approve Mr. Gulick's so-called "New Oriental Policy," placing Asiatics on the same plane as to immigration and American citizenship as European races, and which, under his percentage basis plan, will admit ten times as many Japanese as Chinese, and a still greater number of Japanese as compared with other Asiatics.

It would also compel us, for each immigrant admitted from France, Holland, Wales or Mexico, to admit the following number from each of

the respective countries named: Germany, 60; Ireland, 30; England, 15; Canada, 15; Russia, 10; Austria, 8; Sweden, 7; Norway, 6; Scotland, 4; Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland, each 2.

"CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS STATEMENTS."

Mr. Gulick says that I use unscientific statistics and sensational exaggerations, and that my statements are so far from the facts that the "argument for the legislative program (against Japanese immigration) falls entirely to pieces." He makes that general charge against my estimate of the Japanese population in California, which becomes an important factor in various phases of the problem. The population cuts a figure in the Japanese birth rate in California and is of importance in connection with statements as to non-assimilability of the Japanese, and as to violations of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

He insists that Japanese own but little land in California, that there is no evidence that Japanese fail to make good citizens, that increase of Japanese population under the Gentlemen's Agreement has been only 55 per cent; that picture brides are not as efficient agents of reproduction as I have represented and that I have exaggerated the proportion of Japanese school children in certain Florin districts.

He attacks the five planks of the anti-Japanese platform as first proposed by me in June, 1919, and since generally adopted by all enlisted in the movement, and bases his arguments against them, directly or indirectly, on his insistence that my statement of facts and statistics are untrustworthy.

As to each and all of these matters, there is now evidence so complete and so unquestionable in its character as to readily convince any jury of intelligent and unprejudiced and competent investigators. So much of that evidence as may be necessary for the purpose will be laid before your committee.

With the proof now available that

the Japanese population of California is about 100,000, it is evident that such population has been increased about 50,000, most of them laborers, since Japan asked for and secured a Gentlemen's Agreement, because the population prior thereto was less than 30,000, and births less deaths up to last year, when my statement was made, were about 20,000, as stated by Mr. Gulick. It is true that the Japanese population of continental United States is about 150,000 (since Mr. Gulick concedes 50,000 outside of California), and it is true that the

Japanese population of the United States has increased six-fold since 1900, nearly all under the protection of the Gentlemen's Agreement; all of which statements of mine were earnestly denied by Mr. Gulick and apparently disproved by a skillfully selected and plausibly arranged lot of statistics.

With these suggestions and the evidence and statistics which are to follow, I feel that those who have attacked my statements, including Mr. Gulick, are completely answered.

Increase of Japanese Population

Hawaii Already Inundated—Six-fold Increase in Continental United States in 20 Years—In California With Less Than One-Third Proportion of Adult Females the Japanese Have Three Times the Birth Rate of Whites—Whites Forced Out of Selected Districts—Results in Public Schools.

Population is a very important factor in the problem you are to consider. First, as to total Japanese population. The number in Hawaii is conceded to be between 112,000 and 120,000, out of a total population of all races, say of 250,000. I haven't seen the census figures. These are estimates from the Secretary of the Interior, and the Hawaiian Board of Education and other official sources. But more than 50 per cent of births and more than 50 per cent of new school registrations in Hawaii are Japanese.

The Japanese have already in Hawaii four times as many as the Chinese, or Hawaiians, or Portuguese, or other whites, and within twenty years will cast more votes, as American born citizens, than all other races combined.

In continental United States, outside of California, Sidney Gulick concedes that my estimate of 50,000 Japanese is correct. In California, where I have estimated 100,000—say 25,000 children, 60,000 adult males and 15,000 adult females—Gulick insists that there are not more than 72,000 or 73,000, and on that difference of 30,000

he hangs his argument through several pages of his pamphlets as to a number of different points. These arguments all fall to the ground if I am right and he is wrong; and that has been demonstrated.

Mr. Gulick and others have based their demonstration as to the number of Japanese in California on the theory that there are none in the State who had not entered legally, and that the population, according to the census of 1910, with allowance for arrivals and departures, and births and deaths, since, as furnished by official statistics, would give the present population. The State Board of Control, in its report, estimating in this same manner, places the total at 87,279, but explains that this estimate makes no allowance for the number who have entered the State surreptitiously. The Japanese Association of America advises the Board of Control that a census recently undertaken by the Japanese, shows 78,628 in the State, and says there are in addition about 5,000 California born Japanese in Japan, who will return here.

It is not generally known that a census taken in California in 1910, by order of the Japanese Government,

showed 53,000 Japanese in this State, while the United States census enumerated only 41,000. This shortage of 12,000 in the data used by the State Board of Control (for it took the United States census of 1910 as basis, and added births and legal recorded entries, and subtracted deaths and departures, to give the present population) would raise its estimate of the present population to 99,000, without illegal entries. From this it would appear that an estimate of the actual Japanese population (including illegal entries) based on mortality tables as hereinafter referred to—of 109,000—is probably not far from correct.

100,000 Japanese in California.

In view of the apparent present desire of the Japanese to conceal their real numbers, the Japanese census of this year cannot be accepted as of much value. In San Diego County, for instance, where the Japanese originally reported 800 residents, a report by the United States census enumerators disclosed 1,200, as published a few months ago. Too much reliance cannot be placed even upon the final figures of the United States census of 1920, so far as they may indicate the actual Japanese population of California, in view of the apparent and determined effort to conceal their real numbers, and the ease with which, under present conditions and methods, enumeration may be avoided, and the great error conceded in the 1910 census.

Mr. L. E. Ross, Registrar of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health, gave out on June 7, 1920, his latest figures on population and birth rate in California, which appeared in the Sacramento Bee of that date. (Exhibit "A.") Mr. Ross' estimate of the total population of the State in 1919 is 3,234,204, and of that number he estimates 96,000 Japanese. He states that this estimate of the Japanese population is based on data secured by the Board of Control, and from the United States census and the Japanese census, and includes those who have illegally entered the State.

While Mr. Ross has thus used 96,000 as his official estimate of the State's Japanese population, he evi-

dently believes the total to be much higher. In the current number of the State's monthly Health Bulletin, appears an article by him explaining a method which he has developed for estimating the population from the known ratio of males and females and from the established death rate in each sex. Applying this ratio to determine the present percentage of race distribution in the State, on the assumption that the entire population is 3,234,299 (his estimate for 1919), he finds that it gives results as to decrease of Chinese, slight increase of Indians, and material increase of Negroes, in accordance with the known facts. The same process indicates a Japanese population in the State of 109,000.

With the Japanese population of the State thus fixed conservatively at say 100,000, all the estimates which I have made as to present and future conditions in this State, and in this Nation, receive final verification; for this was the only factor assailed by Mr. Gulick which I was not in position to establish beyond question.

ESTIMATES OF FUTURE JAPANESE POPULATION.

The tables heretofore presented by me to this committee, indicating the increase of Japanese population in the United States in the future, if existing conditions continue, are now placed beyond criticism. My estimate of the present population, which was one of the factors, has been verified by official authority. The birth rate, as will be found later, has also been verified officially, but it is to be remembered that, in those tables, as a factor indicating natural increase due to births less deaths, is used a number one-half as large as what was then indicated by known instances in certain communities, and apparently confirmed by the birth rate as published by the State Board of Health. The State Board of Health published for 1918 a birth rate of sixty-two for Japanese, and sixteen and a fraction for whites; but that was based on the population which the Japanese then said they had in this State, seventy thousand. The Board of Health has proved to its satisfaction that the

Japanese were mistaken, that their population was then a great deal more, and that their birth rate was therefore proportionately smaller. It must be remembered in connection with the Japanese birth rate in California that the proportion of males to females is four to one, while the proportion of males to females among the whites is one to one. If the Japanese population included females in the same proportion as the whites have, their birth rate would be multiplied by three or four. So that my factor of natural increase under conditions outlined is well below what may be expected.

The tables made by me showed that if the Gulick plan of percentage immigration were adopted, and admissions confined absolutely to "allotments," eliminating all of his exceptions—and the same is true of the Dillingham Bill—the Japanese population of the United States in forty years would be two million; in eighty years, ten million; and in one hundred and forty years, one hundred million.

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement, the increase of Japanese population indicated in these tables would be just as inevitable, but would be accomplished in greater or less time, according to the character and extent of the violations of the agreement by Japan.

THE FLORIN SCHOOL DISTRICT.

When I was before the committee in September, 1919, attention was called to the conditions in the Florin District. I said that in certain sections the Japanese had entirely displaced the whites in some strawberry and grape fields, and that the Japanese children were rapidly supplanting the white children in the schools. Mr. Gulick endeavored to throw discredit upon my statement by publishing total attendance statistics for six school districts around Florin. In these six districts he stated that the white children numbered 517, of whom 209 were under 6 years of age, and that there were 530 Japanese, of whom 292 were under six.

My statement as to certain sections of the area, which Mr. Gulick thus

consolidates, is entirely true. Three of the school districts in this section are named respectively Enterprise, Sierra and Florin. The Sacramento County Grand Jury, in its report, published May 31, 1920, states that in the Enterprise District, out of forty-six pupils, seventeen are Japanese. In the Sierra District, out of sixty-four pupils, forty are Japanese. The report adds, "There is evidence here of rapid increase of Japanese to the exclusion of the whites."

In the Florin District, out of one hundred and thirty-five pupils, eighty-five are Japanese. The report adds, "So rapidly is the Japanese population growing to the exclusion of the whites that in a year or two all children in school will consist of Japanese. The upper and outgoing grades have the only white enrollment?"

The County School Superintendent of Sacramento County reports that in the Florin district there were in the fourth grade in 1918 five Japanese and nine whites, and in 1920 thirteen Japanese and no whites; in the fifth grade there were in 1918 six Japanese and four whites, and in 1920 fourteen Japanese and three whites. At present there are in the first and second grades in this district forty-one Japanese and fifteen whites; in the third and fourth grades, thirty-five Japanese and ten whites; in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, fifteen Japanese and eighteen whites. It is only in the higher grades that at present the whites predominate. All the lower grades in the three districts show a rapid increase in Japanese and an equally rapid decrease in white attendance.

Even the statistics quoted by Mr. Gulick show that in a much larger area—in six districts about Florin—the number of Japanese under 21 already exceed the whites, while among children under 6 years the Japanese exceed the whites nearly 50 per cent. These figures themselves prove the rapid displacement of the whites, the great excess of very young children being peculiarly significant.

THE JAPANESE BIRTH RATE.

The comparative birth rate per thousand of the Japanese becomes a

vital factor in this problem; for, if it be true that though they constitute to-day less than one-thirtieth of the population of the State, their birth rate, notwithstanding the small proportion of females among them, is three times as great as that of the whites, then it is only a question of time when they will outnumber the whites. That would be true even if immigration were to cease entirely. Continue to admit immigration, or increase the proportion of Japanese females, and the day when the white race in California will be in the minority will be brought much closer. In Hawaii it is now at hand. A continuance of existing conditions will produce in all other States of the Union the result which is looming above the horizon in California.

When it is remembered that this prolific race is unassimilable in the great American melting pot, and invincible in economic competition with our people, the gravity of the problem is apparent.

The birth rate of the Japanese per thousand of population in California, as given by the State Board of Health for the year 1918, was nearly four times that of the whites; that is to say, sixty-two and a fraction as against sixteen and a fraction. These figures were based, as I explained, however, on the population then claimed by the Japanese of only 70,000. If we take the official estimate of the Board of Health of the Japanese population of 96,000 in the State, the Japanese birth rate per thousand for 1919 becomes, as announced by the board, 46.44 as against 16.59 for all other races in the State, including all whites—that is nearly three to one.

The total births in the State in 1919 were 56,521, and the whites were 51,316; so that there were, other than whites, 5,205. Of that 5,205, 4,458 were Japanese, and included in the balance of 747 were all the other races except the whites and the Japanese—the negroes, the Indians and the Chinese. The Japanese had over six times the number of births of all other races, aside from whites, in the State of California in 1919.

Mr. Taylor—The Japanese that you

have in California are middle-age, or below, are they not?

Mr. McClatchy—The figures show, Mr. Taylor, that of all the Japanese that came over here in twenty years past, 90 per cent were between 14 and 44 years of age; that is to say, of the mature, of the prolific age.

In Sacramento City the Japanese a year or so ago claimed 2,580 population, and the census of the total population now shows 66,000. I am assuming that no less than 60,000 are white. If that is so, the recorded births in 1918 and 1919 would indicate that the Japanese birth rate in Sacramento City is four times that of the whites, provided they have only 2,500 population. If they have 3,000 population, then the birth rate of the Japanese in Sacramento City would be three and a third times that of the whites.

The suggestion is made that this is an unfair comparison, because the Japanese are in the prolific period and we are comparing them with whites who are not all productive. If you will turn to the report of the State Board of Control—page 34, the census of 1910 shows in California 313,281 married white women under 45 years of age. The number of white births was 30,893, therefore the percentage among white women of this age was 9.9. In contrast, the Board's report quotes figures secured in the special census of the Japanese Association of America, made in 1919, as follows: Total married Japanese women in California, 15,211; number of births, 4,378; percentage 28.8, which is three times the percentage of the whites in the corresponding period of life.

The Japanese have been in control in Hawaii for a long time, and their birth rate, as shown by the official figures, is forty-five or fifty or more in the thousand, and that includes, you must remember, a number of old men and women. This, taken with the probability that the proportion of females will increase, is the most practical answer to the suggestion that the Japanese birth rate in California will soon decrease.

Why Japanese Prefer California.

Mr. Siegel—Have you given any thought to the fact that before long Japan will have a large part of Siberia, and that, therefore, the drift will be over there instead of over here?

Mr. McClatchy—The drift will never be to Siberia as long as the Japanese are encouraged, or permitted, to come here. California is the paradise of the Japanese and they settle here in preference to any part of the United States, and in preference to any part of the world. They can make more money, under more favorable conditions, and with less effort, in California than anywhere else, and naturally they come here. And, even if there were a great drift over toward Siberia, it must be remembered that the net increase of population in Japan each year is said to be six or seven hundred thousand. It would take but a very small proportion of that net increase, if permitted to come in here, to inundate us in a comparatively short time. When they have occupied the most desirable portions of California, they will follow a similar policy as to other States. They have already commenced.

Number and Occupation of Immigrants.

Mr. Siegel—What about the report introduced yesterday, showing that a number of Japanese had left this country, from July 1st to June 30th, greater than those that came here?

Mr. McClatchy—I have this suggestion to offer in regard to that phase of the subject: Let me say of arrivals and departures, that we are interested in what is designated in official reports as "immigrant" arrivals and departures; we are not interested in the "non-immigrant" arrivals and departures, since they do not stay here; they are supposed to be tourists, travelers, students, and they come and go. The "immigrant" arrivals are permanent that settle and become a part of the population; it is those in which we are interested.

In view of the enormous increase of Japanese population in Continental United States since 1900, and particularly since the "Gentlemen's

Agreement" was negotiated, it is absurd to make a claim as to departures exceeding arrivals in the aggregate.

Mr. Raker—Mr. McClatchy, can you segregate these arrivals as to occupation?

Mr. McClatchy—You will find in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for each year a segregation by occupation of all the Japanese and Chinese, and perhaps other races which have entered. May I direct the attention of the Committee to the fact that, in every one of those enumerations, will be found a large number of immigrants classed as laborers. Each year since 1908, according to the official reports, you will find from one to three thousand Japanese laborers have been admitted, which is in direct violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, unless those laborers were previous residents of the United States—and all of them could not have been.

Startling Increase of Japanese Births.

In the report of the Board of Control at page 34 you will find a very striking diagrammatic illustration, Chart 4. That chart, interpreted, shows the high number of Japanese births per hundred registered births in eighteen of the rich agricultural counties of the State for the years from 1910 to 1919, that number being nowhere below ten, and being in certain years above fifteen in eleven of the counties, above twenty in seven, above twenty-five in two, and above thirty in one. That is to say, of the entire number of births in those counties, in some counties, in some years, the Japanese furnished nearly a third, and nowhere less than a tenth, and from a tenth it ran up to a third. And this notwithstanding the great disparity in population between whites and Japanese.

In these eighteen counties the average births of Japanese have risen from 3.2 per cent of the total births in 1910, to 12.3 per cent in 1919; that is to say, their average proportion of the total has quadrupled in the past nine years.

In 1910, the Japanese births represented one out of every forty-four

children born in the State. In 1919, nine years later, the Japanese had one out of every thirteen born in the State. In the eighteen agricultural counties used by the Board of Control in its chart, which has just been considered, the Japanese had one out of every eight children in 1919. In Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, the Japanese births in 1919 were 49.7 per cent, of the total births—more, therefore, than the whites, since there were Chinese, Indians, and negroes included in the total.

According to the California school census, the number of Japanese minors in the State in 1919 was 21,611, an increase in the past years of 252 per cent. The Chinese minors numbered 4,805, showing a decrease in the same period of 17.6 per cent. The white minors in that same period increased 18.5 per cent; so that the percentage of increase among the Japanese minors in California during the past nine years, is fourteen times as great as the percentage of increase among the whites.

Permit me to commend to your careful consideration what has happened in Tunisia, in North Africa. Tunisia is a French protectorate. France, many, many years ago, tried to make it a French colony, and through force of special inducements to French emigrants, in time was gratified to find that the French in the colony exceeded all other Europeans in number. Then, the French Government rested, thinking that its work was well done. It committed, however, a grave blunder. It admitted a number of Italian immigrants. The number was small, and cut no figure as compared with the resident French population. Possibly the Italians were admitted to do some of the labor which the French preferred not to do. The stork labored for the Italians, and did not labor for the French, with the result that the Italians very steadily and rapidly increased in number, while the French slowly decreased. Today, Tunisia, though still a French protectorate, is an Italian colony, in

which the French population cuts very little figure. Let us remember, however, in applying this lesson to our own case, if the time should ever come when this country, because of the number of immigrants ab-

sorbed, and because of their superior birth rate, has become a Japanese colony, it is certain that the United States will no longer be able to exercise a protectorate over it.

A Gentlemen's Agreement

Japanese Labor Admitted in Quantity and Our Japanese Population Multiplied Notwithstanding the Announced Intent of the Agreement—Japan Decides What Immigrants Shall Be Admitted by Us—Evasions: Laborers, Picture Brides, "Yoshi," Surreptitious Entries—Japan's Knowledge of Acts for Which She Disclaims Responsibility.

The Gentlemen's Agreement is at the bottom of all the present trouble. Mr. Gulick and the Japanese insist that it is a very excellent arrangement, and that its terms have been faithfully kept. The facts, on the contrary, demonstrate that, so far as concerns the interests of this Nation and the declared intent of the Agreement, it is an iniquitous arrangement, and its terms have been constantly violated, in letter and in spirit, by Japan, and not properly enforced by this country.

The Agreement was made at Japan's request, rather than have the Exclusion Act made to include the Japanese. It was supposed to secure, so far as concerns Japanese immigration, and through the acts of Japan herself, results similar to those which were secured by the Exclusion Act against the Chinese. Its terms provided that Japan was to prevent the importation into continental United States of Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, and she afterwards voluntarily agreed to maintain the same policy as to immigration into Hawaii. The plan adopted was to admit into continental United States, even from Hawaii, no Japanese who did not bear Japan's passport, her word as a gentleman, certifying in effect that his entrance did not mean the entrance of a laborer.

Gulick says at page four of his pamphlet, "The New Japanese Agita-

tion—1920": "Californians were demanding that the Chinese exclusion laws be applied to Japanese. Japan wished to avoid the humiliation of such an action, and accordingly made an arrangement with the United States to stop all new labor immigration. This is known as the Gentlemen's Agreement. Her faithful observance of that agreement has been sufficiently shown by the writer in another paper."

Surrendering Our Powers to Japanese.

The basic difference between the policies of the United States as to Chinese and Japanese immigration, respectively, is that, in the one case, we retained absolutely the right to decide the admissibility of the applicant; in the other case, we surrendered that right entirely to the other Nation, a blunder on the part of a first-class Power for which there can be no possible excuse.

The following language is from the report of the State Board of Control: "The Gentlemen's Agreement, intended to stop the indirect route of immigrant labor to continental United States through the Hawaiian Islands, Philippines, Mexico, Canada, etc., opened, however, the direct route from Japan to the United States by giving Japan exclusive power to determine who is eligible for a passport. A Japanese bearing a passport as a farmer probably cultivates in his own country an area not exceeding

the size of a city lot in America. When he comes here he at once goes to labor on a farm."

Exclusion and Agreement Compared.

The result of the two methods adopted by the United States for the purpose of excluding the Chinese and Japanese, respectively, is shown by the following facts: According to the Board of Control report during a period of a little less than ten years, that is from April 15 1910, to December 31, 1919, the number of Chinese immigrants admitted to the State of California under the Exclusion Act, was 11,914, and the number of emigrants departed was 11,125, a net increase in Chinese immigration of 789 in those nine years. During the same period, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement, Japanese immigrants admitted to the State were 32,196, and the departures 7,110, a net increase in Japanese immigration of 25,086. That is to say, for every Chinaman admitted under the Exclusion Act there were thirty-two Japanese admitted under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which, it was understood, would accomplish in the matter of Japanese immigration the same result as the Exclusion Act does for the Chinese.

Under the Exclusion Act, the Chinese population of continental United States decreased 50 per cent in the twenty years between 1890 and 1910; that is to say, from 72,422 to 36,248. Since 1910 it is estimated there has been a further decrease of 10 per cent. The Japanese, in the same territory, have multiplied six-fold in the twenty years from 1900 to date; that is, from 24,326 to 150,000, which is the present estimated population.

It is true, as Mr. Gulick says, that all of this increase has not been under operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, but that which is not properly chargeable to the Gentlemen's Agreement was induced by the threatened closing of the gates against Japanese immigration on the demand of the Pacific Coast States. The Agreement was adopted in 1907, and, as will be later shown, is properly chargeable with the immigration during 1907 and 1908, though Japan did not put it into operation until

July 1, 1908. The Japanese population of continental United States in 1900 was 24,326, and in 1910 was 72,157, a gain of 47,831. In California, the Japanese population in 1900 was 10,151, and in 1910 was 41,356, quadruple, an increase of 31,205. The total Japanese immigrant admissions to the United States, including Hawaii, for the ten years, 1901 to 1910, inclusive, were, in round figures, 129,000, while the admissions for the years 1901 to 1906, inclusive, were 77,937. In the absence of exact data on the Japanese population in 1906, I have estimated that if 129,000, total admissions in the ten years, gave an added population in continental United States of 48,000 in round numbers, of which a little over five-eighths came to California, then the total admissions of 77,937 between 1901 and 1906 would have given an added population in continental United States, in round numbers, of 29,000, of which California would have received 18,000; so that it is fair to assume that the Japanese population of California in 1906 was approximately 28,000, and of Continental United States was, say 53,000.

THE AGREEMENT HAS FAILED.

Clearly then, the Gentlemen's Agreement, which was intended to prevent further increase of Japanese labor in this country, has really permitted the increase of our Japanese population three-fold in continental United States, and four fold in the State of California—this on the assumption that the Japanese population of California is over 100,000, as I have already established. And most of the increase is in the ranks of labor.

So then, the Agreement, whether its terms have been carried out in good faith or not, has failed to serve its clearly defined purpose, and, on the contrary, has done, or permitted, the very thing which it was intended to prevent. Therefore, it should be abrogated at once, while at the same time there should be put into force a plan which will accomplish the purpose desired.

VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT

The Agreement, however, has been constantly and wilfully violated and

evaded, sometimes on a large scale. The Agreement was framed in 1907, following lengthy negotiations, and these were induced on Japan's part by an agitation in this country, for some time previous, for exclusion of Japanese, as well as Chinese. While the Agreement was made in 1907, Japan postponed putting it into effect for a year, until July, 1908. In the two fiscal years, 1907 and 1908, while Japan was negotiating the Agreement, and after it had been made, but while she deferred putting it into effect, she rushed over 46,029 Japanese immigrants, nearly all laborers, of which number 19,774 entered continental United States.

In other words, Japan asked that our gates be not forcibly closed against her people, promising that she would herself keep them closed. But after she had obtained the concession asked for, she held the gates open for another year; and while, under her plea during negotiations, we had failed to close the gates, and while she herself held them open for a year after negotiations had been closed, she rushed through those gates over 46,000 of her people, the greater portion of whom were of that class which she had told us would not be permitted to pass through the gates; and nearly 20,000 of them came into continental United States, for whose particular protection the Agreement was framed.

Pollteness might term that act on the part of Japan an evasion, and not a violation of a gentleman's word. Mr. Gulick claims it was a legitimate procedure under the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement, and that these 46,000 coming in in 1907 and 1908, or the net increase which they added to the population, should not be charged against the Gentlemen's Agreement. On the contrary, I cannot see in this action of Japan anything but a piece of sharp practice, and insist that the 46,000 are properly chargeable against the agreement. This is a question of international ethics, which may well be left for decision to any fair-minded individual.

In 1909 and 1910, immediately after Japan put the Agreement into operation, the total immigrants admitted, included Hawaii, were 3,100

and 2,730, respectively. Since then, the numbers have steadily increased, until the admissions for continental United States alone exceed 10,000 annually.

For the fiscal year ending July 1, 1920, I have figures from Commissioners of Immigration at San Francisco up to June 12, 1920, and at Seattle up to May 31st, each for less than the year, showing a total Japanese immigration into continental United States of 10,823. (See Exhibit B.) I have here, in the shape of an exhibit, the distribution of these: Received at the Port of San Francisco, Angel Island, that is, from July 1, 1919, to June 12, 1920: From Japan, males 2,944, females 2,541; from Hawaii, males 89, females 37. At Seattle: Arrivals of the Japanese from July 1, 1919, to May 31, 1920, say eleven months, from Japan, males 3,175, females 1,988; from Canada, males 25, females 14; from Hawaii, no record, insignificant number. These figures, I understand, do not include tourists, students, merchants, etc.

Admission of Laborers.

The Agreement was violated next by Japan sending over a large number of laborers, and numbers of others not classed as laborers, but who came to labor, and who were not prior residents of the United States. In the years 1918 and 1919, the official reports, segregated by occupations, show each year as high as 3,000 laborers admitted, all of whom certainly were not prior residents.

The Board of Control, in its report, calls attention to the fact that during the years 1910 to 1919, there applied for admission to this country 610 Japanese laborers not entitled to passports, and of these all but twenty-five were admitted. There were also 325 admitted who were without proper passports. The board asks, "Why the admission of those not entitled to passports, and those without proper passports?" This is an illustration of the suggestion which I have made earlier, that even within the very limited area in which we could restrict immigration, apparently, our Government has been derelict.

As has been shown already, the

Japanese population of continental United States has increased 96,000 since 1906, and that of California 72,000. Of this increase, a certain portion is due to births less deaths, while the balance is due to those who have entered the country from Japan or Hawaii, legitimately or surreptitiously. The great majority of this increase, who have thus entered in the period named are laborers, as any one knows who is familiar with the occupations of the Japanese now in this country; and every Japanese laborer within this category marks a violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. In California alone the population of the State has been increased within the period named by admissions, about 50,000, and most of these were, or are, laborers.

Ichihashi, a Japanese member of the faculty of Stanford University, published in 1915 a book on immigration, in which he claimed that the total Japanese population of California, including women and children, was then 55,000; and that of this number 25,000 were farm hands. The greater portion of this 25,000 must have come in from Japan in violation of the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement, since the total Japanese population in California in 1906 was only 28,000.

Mr. Siegel—I understand that a great many aliens enter illegally as sailors, whether from Japan or otherwise, and we have not been successful in getting any of these people back, or shipping them out of the country.

Mr. McClatchy—Let me offer this suggestion: It is a very difficult thing to apprehend the Japanese, while it is not so difficult to apprehend the Chinese. A Chinese must have a certificate showing that he is entitled to be here; the Japanese need not; and, after three and five years, the Japanese are permitted to remain here, even though not legally admitted. So there ought to be a system of registration for Japanese; and any Japanese who cannot show a certificate entitling him to residence here, should be at once deported. At present, the Japanese may exchange

papers, or they may claim three or five years' residence.

"Picture Brides."

The original Japanese immigrants as a rule, did not bring wives with them. Very few of them had wives. In 1900, according to the United States census, the proportion of Japanese females to males in this country was one to twenty-five. Wives were needed in order that Japanese colonies in this country might rapidly increase, so Japan utilized the plan of the Picture Marriage, and recognized it officially in order that each Japanese in America who had no wife could acquire one by the simple expedient of sending his photograph over to Japan and having a complainant maiden found who would wed him. The Gentlemen's Agreement recognized the right of each Japanese in this country to bring his wife over from Japan, and his picture bride was given a passport identifying her as his wife, armed with which she entered this country.

In 1910, the proportion of adult females to males in this country among the Japanese had increased to one to seven and thereafter nearly every year the number of females shipped over was in excess of the males, sometimes two to one. They were more necessary at that time, and are now, than males in the carrying out of Japan's plan of peaceful penetration. The present proportion of females to males in California is estimated at one to four. The Japanese census figures show about one to-three and one-half.

That the practice of shipping picture brides was encouraged for the express purpose of aiding Japan's plan of "peaceful penetration" of this country, by increasing the number of resident Japanese and assisting thereby in securing gradual control of certain sections, is apparently verified by the following extract from an editorial published in the "Asahi Shimbun," one of the leading newspapers of Tokyo, in commenting on the order abolishing picture marriage:

"As a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, by which our Government restricted emigration to

America, Japanese in America lost the means of increasing their numbers by immigration. But afterwards relief from their difficult position was provided in the permission to send for women as photograph brides. By this it was possible for our unmarried compatriots in America to establish families without taking the trouble to go home to get wives. This had the double advantage that while on one hand it enabled them to enjoy the pleasures of family life, on the other hand it enabled them to escape the cruel persecution of all sorts of anti-Japanese laws by the power of their children who are born with the rights of citizens."

"Educating Girls For Picture Brides."

Further evidence as to the intent which lies behind the importations of "picture brides" into the United States is to be found in the article published in the "Northman," a Swedish publication published in Portland, Oregon, in its issue of June 10th, 1920; the article being composed of extracts from a letter written by Miss Frances Hewitt, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children, and whose long and intimate acquaintance with the Japanese in that relation gave her opportunities for acquiring knowledge denied to ordinary tourists, or even residents, in Japan.

"Tourists do not learn that every girl (school girl) is thoroughly drilled in the doctrine that, should she become a 'picture bride' in America, or an immigrant to other lands, her loyal duty to her Emperor is to have as many children as possible, so that the foreigners' land may become in time a possession of Japan, through the expressed will of a majority of the people." (See Exhibit "AA.")

END OF PICTURE BRIDES.

During the year 1919, following the publication of my first articles on the subject, public sentiment in this country became so strong against this picture bride feature that Japan, in December, 1919, announced that, after February 25, 1920, she would cease to issue passports to picture brides. Note, however, that everything was done to issue as many pass-

ports as possible during the three months preceding February 25th. The Japanese Consulates at San Francisco and Seattle cabled the necessary certificates for picture brides at a probable cost of \$25 each, and the Japanese Government announced that it would permit brides securing passports prior to February 25th to have until August 25th to embark for America. In consequence, they have been coming over steadily, from 60 to 130 in a single ship, while other travelers have been forced to postpone their journeys if accommodations on any ship were insufficient after the picture brides had been taken care of.

Following is a translation from the "Great Northern Daily News," a Japanese newspaper published in Seattle. The article (embodying information from Tokyo) appeared in the issue of June 2nd, 1920: "Photograph brides must go to America by the end of August. The foreign office has sent private (secret) instructions to the responsible authorities at the ports of sailing that this class of brides must be shipped as speedily as possible. Consequently, the hotels at Nagasaki, Kobe and especially Yokohama, present remarkable spectacles like human whirlpools on account of these brides. The ordinary passengers for America have to postpone their sailings. Twenty per cent of the passengers on every vessel are women, according to the statement of a recent arrival from Japan."

Substitutes For the Bride Plan.

The action of the Japanese Government in refusing further passports to picture brides was taken on the recommendation of the directors of the Japanese Association of America. This action was repudiated by the membership of the Association and by the local Japanese Associations throughout the Coast, and resulted in a fight to turn out the old directorate, and a most vicious attack on Consul General Ohta, at San Francisco, who was held responsible for the directors' action. General demand was made upon Japan for withdrawal of the order as to picture brides, and failing to

secure such withdrawal a commission was sent over, and is now in Japan, to induce the Japanese War Department to lengthen the term of visit permitted to Japanese in their native land without being subject to the enforcement of the conscription law, from one month, the present regulation, to six months, so that they might have time to secure wives.

In the Japanese newspaper, "Shin Sekai" of San Francisco, "The New World," of June 9th, Noriyuki Toyama, a delegate to the commission from the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, expresses himself as follows:

"The inability on the part of those whose conscription has been postponed to stay more than thirty days in Japan is a great obstruction to the overseas development of our people."

"The Sacramento Daily News," a Japanese daily newspaper in Sacramento, in its issue of June 29th of this year, declared that Consul General Ohta, when complaint was made to him as to his action in recommending, through the Japanese Association of America, that the granting of passports to picture brides be stopped, said: "In compensation for the abrogation of the photograph marriage, we intend to take steps to secure the passage of a definite number of women under the name of extending the period of conscription." The paper insists that the Consul thereby conveyed the intimation that before enforcement of abrogation of picture bride marriages was announced he had taken the necessary steps with the authorities of the War Office to insure the substitution of some plan which would obtain similar results in the importation of brides. Because the Japanese War Department has declined to reconsider the picture bride order, or, up to this time, to provide some compensatory arrangement, the recall of the Consul General has been demanded by a number of his indignant countrymen in California.

Other subterfuges have been resorted to to maintain the continuance of the supply of picture brides. One

of the plans was to secure the necessary number of women from Hawaii, and a regular business for the purpose was established by a Japanese in Stockton, whose naive advertisement in one of the Japanese newspapers, of San Francisco, the "Shin Sekai," ("New World") June 9, 1920, reads as follows: "MARRIAGES MEDIATED—The abrogation of photograph brides is positively nothing to grieve over.

We have formed a connection with reliable parties in Hawaii, and will undertake to make all investigations of character and other particulars, and mediate marriage. Applicants should send photographs, personal history, and consular certificate to the undersigned, Furuya, 124 S. Center Street, Stockton, California."

"Yoshi—Adopted Children."

The Gentlemen's Agreement provided that Japanese already entitled to residence in this country had the right to send back for their wives and children. The Japanese, as a rule, had no wives, so wives were made for them in Japan by the picture bride method. They had no children, so children were provided for them by the "yoshi" plan of adoption. Any Japanese in this country may formally adopt a number of children, men or women, in Japan, younger than himself, and these "yoshi" children after a certain period have the right of entry into this country. The "yoshi" after they arrive here, may, if they desire, divorce themselves from their adopted parents, and then bring over their own blood relatives; and so the flow of Japanese is maintained, notwithstanding our understanding of the agreement.

The "Shin Sekai" in its issue of May 25, 1920, quotes Vice Consul Tanaka, at San Francisco, as saying that between April 1st and May 24th of this year, he had issued eighty certificates for "yoshi." In the report of the Board of Control, mention is made of the fact that the Japanese Consul at Los Angeles reported that out of 176 declarations by Japanese on behalf of relatives coming from Japan, he filed in the

two years preceding, approximately twenty-three were filed in behalf of "yoshi."

It is not improbable that the "yoshi" plan is being used, as it can be used, for the purpose of bringing over more brides, since the picture bride plan is about to be abandoned, because the plan of adoption is used for females as well as for males. Female adopted children are called "yoji." There is nothing at all to prevent a "yoji," on entrance into California, divorcing her adopted parent and becoming his bride.

Coming in Over the Border.

It is not thinkable that Japan, through her Consular system and agents, is not fully aware of the manner in which the intent and letter of the Gentlemen's Agreement is being violated by surreptitious entries over the border. Through the various local and district organizations, under control of the Japanese Association of America, with headquarters at San Francisco, which in its turn is entirely directed by the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco, as openly declared by the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco, "Nichi Bei," she keeps careful tab upon the Japanese in California, all of whom she claims as her citizens, and exacts from them duties and obligation as such.

One of the proofs of her complicity in the matter is found in the recent secret order for a Japanese census in California, as directed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under order of Premier Hara. (See Exhibit "V"). A correspondent in Los Angeles, writing in the "Shin Sekai," the "New World" of San Francisco, May 19th, says that secret instructions to the Japanese Consul at Los Angeles are to the effect that this registration must be completed by August 31, 1920. The order calls for the most minute details as to the occupation and income of each registrant, but allows the most astonishing latitude as to inaccuracy in the names. This is opposed to all methods and regulations ordinarily exercised by the Japanese Government in such mat-

ters. The order provides that the name by which any registrant is known here, or even his initials, will be sufficient for the purpose of this census. The reason is that a large number of Japanese here are without passports, or only with borrowed passports, and under false names; and there are in addition hundreds of "yoshi" whose family connections have become complicated with that of the adopted parents.

Consular Knowledge of the Situation.

Another proof of Japan's knowledge of the fact that much of the Japanese population of California is here illegally, is found in the procedure under which the Japanese Consulate issues certificates to Japanese residing here who go back to Japan for a visit, intending to return. They have not been obliged in the past to show to the Consulate proof that they came to California originally legally, and in accordance with the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Within the past few weeks because of public criticism, the Consulate has given notice that it would require such evidence in the future.

Still another proof of surreptitious entry across the border and of knowledge thereof on the part of the Japanese Consulate will be found in certain Court proceedings in San Francisco, in February, 1920 (See exhibit "E"). Seventeen "picture brides" were detained at Angel Island by the Immigration Commissioner on the charge that the bridegrooms to whom they had been consigned had no right to be in the country, having entered surreptitiously, and without passports from Japan.

If that were true the Consulate would be properly chargeable with knowledge of the fact, since each prospective bridegroom in sending back his photograph for acceptance by some Japanese woman, to be selected for him, must accompany it by a certificate from the Japanese Consul at San Francisco, indicating his business, standing, etc. The consulate would therefore know, unless it deliberately failed to inquire, wheth-

er the prospective bridegroom had a right, under the agreement with Japan, to be in this country.

Writ of habeas corpus was sued for on behalf of these picture brides, and they were finally released and turned over to their picture bridegrooms when it was shown that the latter, though they had entered the State surreptitiously, without passports, had been here five years and therefore could not be deported under general immigration regulations.

Evidence of Illegal Entry.

Incontrovertible evidence of the surreptitious entry of Japanese across the border is furnished in the present estimated population of California, which is 100,000 or more. Up to the present time, Sidney Gulick and the Japanese have claimed that the Japanese population of California was from 69,000 to 73,000, and have offered in substantiation figures based on the United States 1910 census, with the record of arrivals and departures, and births and deaths. If their estimates were correct, any excess population in the State over the number claimed by them must have been added by surreptitious entry, or come from other States. As the Japanese population of other States has increased, rather than decreased, conclusion as to surreptitious entry is inevitable.

Again the Board of Control estimates that, assuming there have been no surreptitious entries, the Japanese population of States outside of California has decreased 10,000 since 1910, as indicated by official data. Any one familiar with conditions in Washington, Oregon, and other States which have been colonized by the Japanese, knows that there has been nowhere a decrease, but everywhere a marked increase of Japanese population in the past ten years. And the difference between the Board of Control estimates (assuming them to be correct) and the actual population in these various outside States will indicate with certainty the number of Japanese who have entered surreptitiously.

Still further evidence is found in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1919, in which attention is called to the fact that there are 180 miles of California-Mexican frontier to guard, the physical character of which makes it impossible to prevent surreptitious entry even with a large force, while big Japanese fishing fleets ply between American and Mexican waters, providing convenient means of unlawful entry.

Japanese farm laborers in the Imperial Valley on both sides of the border are passing constantly to and fro across the line. The report says that confidential information of unquestionable authenticity shows conclusively that the smuggling of Japanese across the border is carried on successfully, and doubtless to a very large extent.

The Commissioner's report also declares that because of reduction of his force on June 30, 1919, there will probably be an enormous falling off of arrests and "instead of apprehending some 6,000 aliens of all classes and degrees of undesirability, following surreptitious entry, it is only reasonable to assume that many will cross the frontier during the ensuing year with absolute impunity and merge their identity." The report does not make it clear whether the 6,000 come across our 180 miles of State border or across the entire Mexican frontier; nor does it indicate what proportion may be Japanese.

Coming Through Mexico.

Mexico is at this time the most available avenue for the surreptitious entry of Japanese. The gentlemen's Agreement was entered into for the specific purpose of preventing entry of Japanese labor into this country through Hawaii, Mexico, Canada, etc. Mr. Gulick said, in his last pamphlet, "Japan and the Gentlemen's Agreement": "For many years Japan has been voluntarily restricting immigration to Mexico, applying to that land, also the general principles of the Gentlemen's Agreement." That may or may not be true, but as a matter of fact Japan is sending a great num-

ber over every month. The Fall Senate Committee of Congress, which has been investigating Mexican conditions, says that it is reliably reported that Japanese liners arrive at the port of Salina Cruz every ten days and that Japanese are entering through that port in increasing numbers, and that they practically control commerce on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Tehuantepec is a far cry from the American border; but a press news item of May 15th, 1920, from the City of Mexico, published generally throughout the United States (see Ex-

hibit "C"), called attention to the fact that the newspapers of that city are very much concerned as to the increased immigration of Japanese into Mexico; that the arrivals during the month of March had been 5,000, and that the total for the year was expected to be 100,000; and that most of the arrivals were going to the agricultural districts of Sonora and Sinaloa.

Sonora is on the American border. It is generally conceded that no Japanese stays in Mexico when he can cross into the United States.

Control of the Soil

Alien Control of Soil, Products and Markets, a Menace to the Nation—A Basic Factor of Japanese "Peaceful Penetration"—They Already Control Most of the Rich Irrigated Acreage in Several Large Counties of California—Organization for Control of Markets—Colonization in Other States—Fisheries.

As a result of the advantages possessed by the Japanese in economic competition, they are gradually securing control of the soil in the richest agricultural districts of the State, control of the products thereof, and control of the markets. If a unified interest like the Japanese can thus obtain control of the soil and its products in this country, even while their numbers be comparatively few, they will be able to secure in time a strangle hold on the economic development of the country itself.

What they already have accomplished in California is thus briefly indicated.

Their apologists insist that the Japanese have only reclaimed or improved land which was practically worthless and unoccupied. That is true in a few instances only. The Japanese are concentrating their efforts in securing control of the richest lands of the State, following always their clearly defined policy of penetration by concentrating effort in localities and occupations where least efforts will produce greatest results. They have only say 100,000 in our total State population of 3,400,000, but

nearly all that hundred thousand is found in 29 rich agricultural counties out of the State's total of 53. Most of it is found in 18 of those counties, and 75 per cent, if births be a fair indication of population, is settled in seven counties, and concentrated in the most favored portions of those seven counties. May I ask this committee to bear in mind that this is not a weak solution of a hundred thousand Japanese in 3,400,000 whites; it is a concentrated essence placed in a few special spots, and for a special purpose.

Sidney Gulick—and reference to Sidney Gulick applies equally to the pro-Japanese in general—belittles the control of the soil by the Japanese, saying that they own a comparatively small acreage; but the fact is that the Japanese control of the land by lease is practically as bad for State interests as control by ownership, since the lease establishes Japanese residence and control, and drives off the whites. Short term lease is as bad in effect as long term, since at the end of the short lease the injury has been done to the community, and the owner must either renew the lease

to Japanese or let the land lie unproductive.

Placer County and other districts of the State, which the Japanese claim to have made, were highly developed before the first Japanese came into these districts.

That was so also in Florin. In my memory before the Japanese were seen there, Florin strawberries were shipped in carload lots as far East as the Missouri River. In those days "The Sacramento Bee" had a little newspaper route there. A woman in a sulky distributed the paper to about sixty subscribers through the strawberry fields. Each family had a five or ten acre piece, not more than that, and that route meandered through those strawberry fields. The Japanese came in time, and they worked, and then they leased and then they bought, and the whites left, and in a few years there wasn't a single subscriber for that route. The whites had melted away from that particular district.

Securing the Rich Lands.

It has been claimed that the Japanese have been cultivating the lands which are worthless. Now, the rich lands are the irrigated lands. The fact that they are irrigated is proof of their richness. The report of the Board of Control showed that in this State there are 3,329,500 acres of irrigated land. On December 31, 1919, Orientals occupied 623,752 acres of this total, in the proportion of six acres by Japanese, one by Chinese, and one by Hindus. Of the total acreage, 534,808 acres were held under lease on crop contract, and 88,944 acres owned in fee. A large portion of the acreage held in fee has been acquired by Japanese since 1913, through violation or evasion of the Alien Land Law. The Japanese Agricultural Association of California states that the acreage occupied by Japanese in 1909 was 83,252, and in 1919 the Association quotes the acreage as 427,029, an increase in the ten years of 400 per cent. The discrepancy as to acreage occupied in 1919 between these figures and those of the Board of Control may be due to a difference in the time of year that

their respective figures were gathered; or it may be due to the fact that the Board of Control figures include acreage secretly owned by Japanese through white agents. The same Japanese Association indicates the valuation of Japanese crops in 1909 as \$6,235,856, and in 1919 as \$67,145,730; the 1919 crop being more than ten times the value of the 1909 crop.

The following quotations are from the Board of Control's report: "It is interesting to note that in some of the richest counties of the State, Orientals occupy a total acreage ranging from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total irrigated area; notably, San Joaquin County, with a total of 130,000 irrigated acres with Orientals occupying 95,829 acres; Colusa, with a total of 70,000 acres, with Orientals occupying 51,105 acres; Placer County, with 19,000 total, Orientals occupying 16,321 acres; and Sacramento County, 80,000, Orientals occupying 64,860."

In general truck farming, small fruits and berries, the Japanese have for some years produced most of the crop, the proportion in many products running up to, as high as 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the total crop. Two years ago, through control of the strawberry market, the Japanese were enabled to raise the price to such an extent that the public and the commission dealers united in a refusal to buy.

Organizing For "Market Control."

The Japanese are now organizing throughout the State, on recommendation of the Japanese Agricultural Society of Central California, for the purpose of controlling all markets in products raised by them. An editorial in "Shin Sekai," the Japanese "New World" of San Francisco, June 2, 1920, advises its readers that the fears formerly expressed by it as to an organization of this character being opposed to the Anti-Trust Law have been dissipated by the bill recently passed by Congress excepting farmers and stock raisers from the operation of such a law. "Hence," says the editorial, "farmers can now combine to control the marketing of their output. We rejoice in this opportunity on behalf of the Japanese

farmers for whom co-operation is so necessary."

The leaders among the Japanese fully recognize the importance to them of possession of the land in their plan for peaceful penetration and ultimate control in this country. An editorial in the "Nichi Bei" of San Francisco, June 5, 1920, urges the Japanese to cease wasting their money in gambling houses and invest it in land. It tells them "land is the very life of the Japanese race in California. Land is the foundation of our development."

You have in the report of the Board of Control some very illuminating charts showing the manner in which the Japanese ownership and leases have dotted and spotted the rich agricultural lands of this State, and it is important to know that the lands which are thus spotted are the richest lands of the State.

Various articles concerning the work of Japanese in securing control of land and markets in California, are included in Exhibit "D."

Japanese Penetration in Other States.

What the Japanese are fast accomplishing in California in the way of peaceful penetration and control of land, they are attempting elsewhere in the United States, although knowledge thereof has not reached the people of the country generally.

In Washington and in Oregon, the Committee's investigations will secure knowledge of the extent of this penetration. Seattle in Washington, and the Hood River Apple District in Oregon, are notable examples. In other States, in which the Committee will perhaps not have opportunity to investigate at this time, there are sufficient proofs of the determination of the Japanese to get a foothold in any locality where conditions of soil and climate and environment will make their plans for colonization and penetration easy or profitable.

For instance, in Colorado they have already secured control of the Rocky Ford Melon District. The "Country Gentleman" of August 16, 1919, gives full account of how that was accomplished. They are now running over

into the adjoining State of Nebraska and according to Japanese authorities have already in those two States about 5,000 colonists, who farm on the average eighty acres of leased land to the family. The Christian churches have done what they could to allay alarm and uneasiness on the part of the white population of Colorado and Nebraska and make penetration of the Japanese colonists easier. See in this connection in Exhibit "X," extract from "Shin Sekai" of July 21, 1920.

In Florida, according to item published in "Shin Sekai" of July 20, 1920, (See Exhibit "X") 200 Japanese settlers have purchased holdings averaging 150 acres each, in the northern part of the State, and through publicity are encouraging more of their countrymen to follow their example.

In Texas, as indicated by a news item in the Sacramento Bee, reproduced in Exhibit "X," the Japanese have purchased 1,000 acres of good irrigated land in the Rio Grande Valley, near El Paso, which is to be planted in cotton. This adjoins the district in New Mexico, in Dona Ana County, where the Japanese are already established in the cantaloupe industry. In El Paso, the Japanese are interested in a large market house and refrigerating plant about to be constructed, which will handle their products from the lands in the Rio Grande Valley and the adjoining State of New Mexico. In Eastern Texas, in Orange County, there is a Japanese rice colony of over 3,000 acres.

The Japanese in Fisheries.

The Japanese have invaded and taken practical control of some of the important fisheries of the State, as they have secured control of the various agricultural activities. In the southern part of California, it has been represented to the Federal Government that, in violation of the Federal statutes, the greater portion of the fishing fleet centered about San Pedro is owned or manned by Japanese to the number of 2,000 or more.

Complaint has been made recently as to this situation, but it develops that while the operation of these fish-

ing boats by aliens is a clear violation of the Federal statute, through a curious omission in the law, there is no penalty provided under which the law can be enforced.

This matter has been called to the attention of the Administration, and of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, through Hon. C. F. Curry, from California, and in a bill introduced by Chairman Green of the committee named, House Resolution 12102, there has been inserted a provision, Section 5, which it is assumed will remedy the defect in the law. This section provides a penalty of \$500 at every port of arrival for any vessel engaged in the American fisheries and not documented as a vessel of the United States, it being understood that vessels owned or manned by aliens cannot be so documented.

The State of Washington has protected itself against a similar situation by passing a law under the provisions of which vessels engaged in

the fisheries within the State's jurisdiction must be owned and manned by those who are citizens of the United States, or who have declared their intention to become such.

To leave the fisheries in practical control of the Japanese creates a very serious situation: First, They assist materially in smuggling Japanese into California from Mexico. Second, they place in the hands of aliens an adjunct to the Navy which was found most valuable to Great Britain in the recent war. Third, the fisheries in the Territory of Hawaii are an absolute Japanese monopoly, and in the event of war with Japan, the sampans and power boats of the Japanese, which are sea-going vessels, could very easily secure from Japanese cruisers or transports arms and munitions and land them on the coast of Oahu, the principal island, on which are located our defenses, and therewith arm the Japanese population, the greater portion of whose adult male members are trained soldiers.

The Japanese As Citizens

A Dangerous Experiment—The Japanese Are Non-assimilable—They Cannot, May Not and Will Not Make Good American Citizens—Conclusive Proofs From Japanese Authorities—The Missionary Delusion That Christianization Will Transform Them—Japanese Claims All American-born Japanese and Trains Them For Japan's Service.

There are three principal elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration. They are:

First. The non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.

Second. Their unusually large birth rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 1 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.

Third. The great advantages which

they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction and aid from their Government. These advantages make it hopeless for American whites to compete with them.

It should be evident that we cannot encourage or permit in our midst the development of an alien element possessing these characteristics without inviting certain disaster to our institutions and to the Nation itself. The evidence which will be presented on each of these points is incontrovertible, and the conclusions inevitable.

NON-ASSIMILABILITY OF JAPANESE.

As to non-assimilability, the first element mentioned in the Japanese menace, there are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens out of Japanese material, save of course in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese cannot, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship:

First, the Japanese CANNOT assimilate and make good citizens, because their racial characteristics, heredity and religion prevent.

Second, the Japanese MAY NOT assimilate and make good citizens, because their Government, claiming all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens, does not permit.

Third, the Japanese WILL NOT assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown not only no disposition to do so, but pronounced antagonism.

JAPANESE MAINTAIN RACIAL PURITY.

There can be no effective assimilation of Japanese without inter-marriage. It is perhaps not desirable for the good of either race that there should be inter-marriage between whites and Japanese. The laws of some States forbid such marriages but even where such marriages are permitted and encouraged, the Japanese themselves will not take advantage thereof. That is best demonstrated in Hawaii, where there is a great commingling of races; but the Japanese, comprising nearly half of the entire population of the Territory, and steadily increasing in number, maintain in wonderful degree their racial purity. With a population of 112,000 or more the Japanese in Hawaii in five years have contracted marriages with other races, according to the report made this year by the Survey Commission—at the request of the Commissioner of Education, at Washington—Bulletin No. 16-1920—as follows: Thirty-two Japanese men and four women were married to Hawaiians, a few Japanese men to Portuguese women, one Japanese man to

an American woman and a few Japanese women to Chinese and Koreans.

The Mikado—the Japanese God.

The Japanese hold that their Mikado is the one living God to whom they owe their very existence, and therefore all obedience. It is not possible to make of an individual in whom that belief is deeply and firmly grounded an American citizen who can be relied upon in a crisis. This worship of the Mikado (Mikadoism, or Shintoism) is a part of the education of each child in Japan, and school children are by Government decree forced to worship at the Shinto shrines.

Buddhism, which is tolerated in Japan, has Shintoism grafted onto it. Baron Goto, a prominent Japanese statesman, at a gathering of Foreign Board Mission Secretaries, at New York, in June, 1919, said he was almost persuaded to embrace Christianity; that with slight modifications he could do so.

It is upon such suggestions that his American missionaries hang their hopes that by placating the Japanese in various ways, and more particularly as to their demands for free immigration and citizenship privileges in the United States, the evangelization of the Japanese, both in Japan and in this country, will be made very much easier through Japanese Government suggestion or influence.

The modification necessary or desirable in Christianity before Baron Goto would embrace it is probably a modification similar to that which has been made in Buddhism; that is to say, the incorporation therein of Mikadoism, or Shintoism, which recognizes the god character of the Mikado, and insures thereby the loyalty of the individual Japanese to the Japanese Empire, through the Mikado.

Professor Kunitake Kume, in "Fifty Years of New Japan," the English version of which was revised and authorized for publication by Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, "the grand old man of Japan," said: "He (the Mikado) is regarded as a living Kami (God), loved and revered by the Nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation,

who are deemed sons of Kami Nagara, and are entrusted to his care by the Kami. This mutual understanding obtains between every individual Japanese and the Emperor."

Why Japanese Should Rule the Earth!

It is declared in the book, "The Political Development of Japan," written by Etsujiro Uyehara, member of the Imperial Japanese Parliament, and head of one of the war commissions from Japan to the United States in 1917, that "The Emperor of Japan can say without hesitation, 'L'etat c'est moi,' 'I am the State,' more effectively than Louis XIV, not because he can subject the people to his will, but because he is morally so recognized. Theoretically, he is the center of the State, as well as the State itself. He is to the Japanese mind the Supreme Being in the cosmos of Japan, as God is in the universe to the pantheistic philosopher."

In the Japan "Advertiser" of May 9, 1919, there appeared a translation of an editorial in the "Niroku Shimbun" of Tokio, from which the following quotation is made:

"The Imperial Family of Japan is as worthy of respect as is God. The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes therefore may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations, proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head, for, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of super-national and super-racial character, and this force can only be found in the Imperial Family of Japan."

From a writer long resident in Japan, and fully conversant with its language, its religion and its people, is quoted the following statement on this matter: "Mikadoism, or Emperor worship, is the sheet anchor of patriotic fervor in Japan—the soul of the body politic. The vast majority of the people have no other religion. It is not a relic of bygone days, but the

very heart of present-day Japan."

In the Los Angeles "Examiner" of June 1st, 1920, appeared a series of resolutions adopted the preceding day at a picnic held in Elysian Park by the Japanese Christian Laymen, at which Seimatsu Kimena, the Japanese "Billy" Sunday, was present. These resolutions recite the belief of these Christianized Japanese that Japanese cannot make good American citizens unless they become Christians. While the reason for this statement is not given, it is clearly to be found in the Japanese worship of the Mikado. They also declared their intention of giving their children only an American education, and their willingness to be regarded in consequence by their fellow countrymen as a forsaken band.

A Dangerous Evangelical Experiment.

The plea of Sidney Gulick, and a number of his Christian friends, that we make citizens of the Japanese and then trust to making good citizens of them by Christianizing them, advocates an experiment dangerous in the extreme, doubtful even as to a superficial change in religion, and certain to end in disaster. There are 150,000 Japanese in continental United States, and it is estimated that but 4,000 of them have embraced Christianity, although between 30,000 and 40,000 of those now living were born in this country, and although 70,000 of them have been here from ten to twenty years. It may be assumed that if any large body of Japanese become Christians, their brand of Christianity will have been modified by Shintoism, as is their brand of Buddhism.

In addition, it may be remembered that a few years ago Japan sent a commission over to this country for the express purpose of ascertaining the benefits conferred upon us by Christianity; for Japan, if she sees a good thing in other nations, is quite willing to adopt it herself. The report of the mission was to the effect that, judging by the effects of Christianity on our people, it would not be a desirable belief for Japan to embrace.

The principal opponents, in this country, to Japanese exclusion are the American missionaries and church organizations interested in the evan-

gelization of the Japanese. Apparently, they assume, aside from their claim that a Japanese can be made a good American by Christianization, that if this country will yield to the demands now made by Japan for the same privileges as immigrants and citizens for their people as are extended to Europeans, the work of the missionaries in Christianizing Japanese, both in this country and in Japan, will be materially promoted through Japan's friendly offices.

Japan Really Unfriendly to Christianity.

The attitude of Japan as to Christianization of her people has been sufficiently indicated within the past year through her action in Korea, where the Korean Christians were subjected to the greatest persecution and torture, the evident attempt being made, as claimed by some writers, to exterminate the Korean Christians, on the theory that their Christianity imbued them with liberal ideas more or less dangerous to the maintenance of Japan's power.

The attitude of the Japanese government toward practical evangelization in Japan, itself, is well illustrated by the manner in which the institutions established by various missionary organizations have been confiscated for government use, either directly or through enforced incorporation as Japanese institutions. The following extract from a letter from Guy M. Walker to the New York Evening Sun, dated July 27th, 1920, gives detailed information as to Japan's act in connection with this policy:

"There is another thing concerning what has happened in Japan in the last few years on which our people should be enlightened, and that is the confiscation by the Japanese of all mission property created by the millions of money sent by our religious people to Japan for the Christianization of the Japanese. In order to prevent the confiscation of all of the mission property, there was a few years ago a feverish and hurried effort on the part of many denominations to organize Japanese churches such as the Methodist-Japanese, the Japanese Presbyterian Church and

the Japanese Baptist Church, and a hurried transfer by the American missionary societies to these Japanese churches of the missions schools and properties, in order to prevent them from being seized and confiscated by the Japanese Government, or of being appropriated by the Japanese trustees, in whose name they stood. Many of these properties have since been converted into secular or pagan institutions, and the Japanese have cut out everything connected with the Christian propaganda, although they were created by Christian money from America. If these facts were known, as they should be, I am quite sure that no sensible American would ever give one penny further for the education or civilization of the Japanese."

In the "Japan Advertiser" (Tokyo) of June 20th, 1920, is a lengthy article by Charles A. Perry, calling attention to the little interest shown by Japanese in the matter of Christianization as indicated by the small number of Christian converts in Hamamatsu, a manufacturing town in Japan, of about 19,000 inhabitants, and the high cost of their conversion. He gives statistics and experiences from the various missionaries and missions, and quotes Rev. W. A. Richards, one of the resident missionaries, to the effect that the baptized converts of all sects by the various missions on an average cost Y200 per head (a yen is worth 50 cents). Mr. Perry adds: "I am inclined, though without precise figures, to think that this is an underestimate, for Mr. Richards' own three converts (secured in four years) work out at Y4,000 per head."

The inherent incapacity of the Japanese for assimilation, their religious belief and ideals, bred in them for generations and taught to them the world over, which foreign birth and foreign residence does not modify, create a permanent and insurmountable barrier between them and that real American citizenship which would be of value, and not a grave menace, to this Nation. They cannot be transmuted into good American citizens.

Japan Opposes Expatriation of Her Citizens.

The second point made by me against the possibility of making American citizens out of Japanese is based upon my statement that Japan does not permit it. We come now to the curious and inconsistent policy of our Government as to dual citizenship, the full viciousness of which is most apparent in the case of the Japanese. We recognize as an American citizen and extend all rights and privileges as such to any one born under the American flag, including of course, the Japanese. Japan, on the other hand, rigidly insists that every Japanese, no matter where his parents were born, and no matter what nation may have conferred citizenship on him, with or without his request, is a Japanese citizen, and must perform all the obligations as such.

Every Japanese born here, even if his forbears for generations were born here, but had not been permitted to expatriate, is subject to orders from Japan; is kept track of through the Japanese Consulate, and other organizations, and is subject to call for military duty. Authorities on international law agree that, since the United States confers its citizenship on the Japanese born here, unasked and with full knowledge of Japan's claims, we must, in the event of war, recognize those Japanese as the citizens of Japan.

We are thus conferring upon the Japanese born here all the rights and privileges of citizenship, without any of the obligations; and we are certainly breeding in our midst a class of American citizens whose hand, we know in advance, must be against us in possible case of war.

The Japan Parliament passed, some years ago, and the Emperor afterwards promulgated, what is known as the "Nationality Option Law," which is supposed to permit a Japanese born on foreign soil to expatriate himself. Examination of its terms and operation shows it does nothing of the kind. Under it, a Japanese born on foreign soil may, between the ages of 15 and 17, and with the consent of his guardians,

apply to the Japanese Government for permission to renounce his allegiance: Under the circumstances, that application is not often made, but, if made, it has no effect unless permission be granted by the Japanese Government. The Board of Control report quotes the Japanese Vice Consul Ishii, at San Francisco, to the effect that not to exceed a dozen American born children have signed the "Declaration of Losing Nationality," and that, so far as learned, permit has not been granted by the Japanese Government in any of these cases.

How Japan Trains Her American-Born.

Japan not only claims as her citizens all Japanese born on American soil, but she takes great care that they grow up really as Japanese citizens, with all the ideals and loyalty of the race, untouched by the notions prevalent in this country, which would weaken that loyalty.

The Japanese children born under the American flag are compelled to attend Japanese schools, usually after the public school hours, where they are taught the language, the ideals, and the religion of Japan, with its basis of Mikado worship. Here they are taught by Japanese teachers, usually Buddhist priests, who frequently speak no English, and who almost invariably know nothing of American citizenship. The text books used are the Mombusho series, issued under the authority of the Department of Education at Tokio. These schools are located wherever there are Japanese communities, and teachers in the American public schools testify that the Japanese children frequently are studying their Japanese lessons in their public school hours.

In Hawaii, this system of Japanese schools and its effect in preventing any chance of inculcating the principles of American citizenship in the Japanese upon whom we confer such citizenship, caused such wide-spread comment that the Hawaiian Legislature in 1919 attempted to pass a law providing that teachers in foreign language schools must know sufficient English and enough American

history and civics to ground the pupils in the principles of American citizenship. That bill was defeated on the demand, and through the influence, of the Japanese, who said its effect would be to destroy their schools.

Now, the Survey Commission appointed by the Commissioner of Education of the United States, reports in Bulletin No. 16 of 1920, that these Hawaiian-Japanese schools, if not anti-American, are at least not pro-American, and recommends that all foreign language schools in the Hawaiian Islands should be abolished, except for foreign children who can never become American citizens.

Not Disposed to Become Real Americans.

It has been shown already why the Japanese cannot make good citizens, because of their religion and heredity and non-assimilability; it has been shown also why they may not make good citizens, because the laws of Japan, efficiently and rigorously administered in the United States, as well as in Japan, do not permit them; it is equally true that they will not make good citizens, and that the evidence of the acts of those who have resided under the American Flag for many years is conclusive on this point.

In Hawaii, where their numbers make them independent, and where they are now in a position to practically control the Territory, the Japanese form a separate, alien community; observing the laws, customs, and the ideals of Japan; using the Japanese language, both in their business and in their schools, and bringing up their children to be, not American but Japanese citizens, with all that loyalty to the Mikado which is a part of the Japanese religion.

The statement made as to Japanese policy in Hawaii is equally true of the Japanese in California, though, because of differences in conditions, the evidence has not forced itself as yet so strongly on public attention. The Japanese schools are found in every Japanese community in California where there are enough children to support them.

The Japanese, however, are not content to depend upon education of their American-born children in this country in order to make them loyal subjects of the Mikado. In the report of the Japanese Association of America, concerning its California census, as quoted by the State Board of Control, appears the statement that there are in Japan at this time about 5,000 California-born Japanese. That statement carries little significance to most people. It means, however, that there are at this time 5,000 of the Japanese born in California, that is to say, 20 per cent of California's Japanese minors, upon whom the United States conferred citizenship, who are now back in Japan being thoroughly instructed in the religion and ideals of Japan; so that when they return here they may serve, not as American citizens, but as loyal subjects of the Mikado, to do his will and serve his interests.

The Immigration Commissioners of San Francisco and Seattle testify to this custom of many California Japanese to send their children back to Japan when between 8 and 10 years old and bring them back when they are 17 to 19.

The Japanese writer, C. Kondo, Chief Secretary of the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, in a very able article published in "Nichi Bei" of January 8th and 9th of this year, frankly acknowledges that the Japanese of California show no disposition to Americanize themselves, and that to this fact largely is due the antagonism which they have created. He warns them that this antagonism will increase rather than disappear, and suggests that they should move to the Southern States, where their characteristics are as yet unknown. He adds, however, that if they pursue the same methods there that they have in California, they will encounter the same bitter experience that they are now undergoing here.

Consider Themselves a Superior Race.

One reason why the Japanese show no disposition to Americanize themselves lies in their belief, passed down through generations, grounded

into them in their schools, and a part of their religion (for is not their Nation the only one on earth whose ruler is the living God?), that they are superior to any race on earth. Why, then, should they be willing to expatriate themselves and become citizens of an inferior Nation?

The cockiness which many have noticed in the Japanese under certain conditions and on certain occasions, their pride and sensitiveness, their intolerance of criticism or opposition, are all due to this inbred and firmly established belief in their superiority. In exhibit "AA" appears an article from the issue of June 10, 1920, of "The Northman," a Swedish publication printed at Portland, Oregon, in which Miss Frances Hewitt, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children in the public schools there, says: "Neither do the tourists learn that these children are taught that they, being children of the Son of Heaven, are superior to all foreigners, and that their natural destiny is to bring all other peoples to subjection."

Under such conditions, it is not only probable but practically certain that the majority of Japanese who are now endeavoring to secure for themselves the privileges of American citizenship, are doing it not from any desire to help the American Nation, or to become an integral part of it, but that they may better serve Japan and the Mikado. A striking evidence of this is found in an article which appeared in the Sacramento "Daily News," a Japanese newspaper, February 4, 1920, a translation of which appears in Exhibit "K" herewith. This article calls the attention of the Japanese to the dual citizenship situation, and suggests that for the present they cease registering births with the Japanese authorities, but register only with the American authorities. They are advised that they need not fear thereby to lose Japanese citizenship, because at any time they can make good their claim to it by proof of birth, etc. The article closes

with the statement that the American citizenship can be used for furthering the purposes of Japan in this country. Following is part of the article:

"It is urged then when as American citizens (by birth) the opportunity comes for them to reinforce the Japanese residents in America who have no citizenship rights, they must, on behalf of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, become the loyal protectors of the race."

The following is a portion of a statement made on his return to San Francisco from Japan by Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President Emeritus of the University of California (Exhibit "T"), and republished in the "Japan Advertiser" of Tokio on May 22, 1920. Dr. Wheeler had gone to Japan as a member of an unofficial mission headed by Mr. Wallace M. Alexander of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to discuss with leading Japanese the feasibility of a friendly understanding between the two countries. "The two civilizations cannot mingle, and the leaders in Japan agree that it is not well to attempt to amalgamate them. They cannot and will not understand our civilization, and no matter in what part of the world he is, a Japanese always feels himself a subject of the Emperor, with the Imperial Government backing him, much as a feudal retainer had the support of his overlord in exchange for an undivided loyalty."

Arguments for Immigration.

I have heard but three arguments in favor of Japanese immigration— or rather all pleas may be reduced to these three:

First. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man plea. The Japanese want to come here because this is a better place than Japan for them, and we ought to welcome them.

That plea is a legitimate one within limits. It ceases to have force when you invite destruction for yourself and your posterity and your Nation in order to give some one something which he does not need, but which he wants. A Nation has no

right to disregard the first principles of self-preservation.

Second. It is declared we cannot do without Japanese labor; that with exclusion enforced, lands will lie idle, and productivity decline.

So far as our small farmers are concerned, the evidence is that they get no benefit from Japanese labor. The Japanese work lands on lease, and those who work for wages work for their countrymen, usually on the co-operative plan, and not for whites. The Board of Control says in California there are fewer Japanese working for white men than white men working for Japanese.

It is the absentee landlord, the large land holder, who wishes to reside in the city, who profits through the presence of Japanese, by leasing to them.

We can afford to have less profit made by these land owners—we can even afford, if necessary, to see our total production decrease, rather than promote the control of this country by Japanese. Besides, the future exclusion of Japanese will not decrease their number here. Their birth rate will prevent that.

There are many experienced California farmers, agriculturists, and orchardists who insist that activities in the agricultural sections of the State can be continued successfully without Japanese labor, and who themselves furnish proof thereof in the management of their own properties. They do it usually by providing conditions which will offer attractions to help of this character to remain, particularly where they have families. For the picking of fruit a number report that they find no difficulty in securing families and girls, providing the necessary conditions are furnished. Some use Mexican labor, which has to be handled courteously and fairly, but is declared to be excellent labor if so handled, particularly if the laborers have their families with them, and a small house with an adjacent piece of ground is provided for each.

As indicating the sentiment of California farmers on this subject, it is sufficient to say that the California

Farm Bureau Federation, representing an affiliation of thirty-three County Farm Bureaus, covering 85 per cent of the agricultural area of the State, with a membership of 20,000, voted by referendum in July, 1920, on a long list of topics of importance to the California farmer. The result as to matters connected with Japanese was as follows: Against Japanese immigration, 12 to 1; against leasing land to Japanese, 12 to 1; against ownership of land by Japanese, 40 to 1; against Japanese as bonded laborers, 7 to 1; against importation of "picture brides," 27 to 1.

3rd. It is urged that to enforce exclusion against the Japanese may produce friction and international complications.

That is not the plea of a good, red-blooded American. The question is: "Are we right in this matter, and is Japan wrong?" Canada and Australia and New Zealand say we are right, and Japan has tacitly acquiesced in the protective measures which those countries maintain. Our own experience with Japanese immigration under presumed restriction proves con-

clusively that the interests of the Nation demand exclusion. That being so, the true American will say frankly to Japan: "You see the facts; our people cannot assimilate. Continuation of existing conditions will make us enemies where we are now friends. Let us adopt the only possible means which will prevent such an unfortunate result."

If Japan insists on finding cause for friction in such a frank statement—why, this is a good time to learn that fact. Certainly it is the time to act in our own protection.

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, who returned recently from a visit to the Hawaiian Islands, where he had investigated the problem of Japanese immigration, said in a talk before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco: (See Exhibit "S.") "Put the boot on the other foot. Suppose 100,000 American laborers settled on one of Japan's small islands. Suppose they brought with them American customs, traditions, habits, and means of permanent establishment through propagation. Would this be tolerated by the Japanese Government? The Japanese themselves admit that it would not."

A Government Within a Government

The Cancerous Growth We Are Fostering—Its Organization, Object and Plans and the Inevitable Results if Not Checked—We Are Admitting and Giving Citizenship to Those Who Will Absorb Us in Peace and Oppose Us in War—Immediate and Absolute Exclusion the Only Remedy.

I cannot too strongly impress upon this committee the evidence which is indisputable, and which steadily accumulates, that, through encouragement or tolerance of Japanese immigration we are developing in our midst an unassimilable alien community which has no sympathy with American institutions; out of which we cannot in any way and in any time mould American citizens; which is here simply for its own selfish purposes and for the aggrandizement of Japan and the Mikado, who is its god; and that this alien community is al-

ready commencing to secure economic control of certain sections of the country.

Every utterance and every act of the Japanese, properly understood, points to their determination to develop the Japanese race in this country, and to create for them a position which cannot be attacked—to make, in short, of this country a principality of Japan. They never discuss or consider the development of themselves or their children as American citizens who have severed all connections with Japan, but only as Japanese who

are establishing their race in a particularly favored land. It is for this end that they are openly urged by their speakers and writers, in district meetings and in newspaper editorials, to secure land and beget children. (See Exhibit "E.")

The three Pacific Coast States are generally designated by the Japanese as "New Japan." Florin, in Sacramento County, now a Japanese village and district, is called "Taisho-ku." Taisho is the name of the present Imperial family of Japan. The model Livingston colonies in Merced are called the Yamato Colonies. Yamato is one of the favorite names of the Japanese for their home land. The Imperial Valley is always called Tei Koku, a term employed in speaking of the Japanese Empire. Japan always changes the names of new territories annexed by her. Korea is Chosen (which was the ancient name); Formosa is Taiwan, etc. It would seem that they already regard the Pacific Coast as an outlying province.

Children are more frank than their elders, and they usually reflect the sentiments which they hear expressed by these elders. In the "Washington Farmer," June 3d, W. S. Charles tells of the frequently expressed sentiment on the part of Japanese school boys in the Pacific Northwest, when they have physical differences with the American boys, to the effect that Japan will come over here some day and take possession of this country. Similar evidence appears in the statement of Mrs. J. M. MacClatchie of Berkeley—see Exhibit "U"—clipping from Sacramento Bee, July 28, 1920.

Japanese kultur is as insidious and much more dangerous than German kultur. The propaganda and the agencies which it employs, some of which were exposed by me in my previous hearing before the committee, are such that, at first, mention of them produced among the uninformed only incredulous smiles. And Japanese kultur is not making a mistake which German kultur made—it does not encourage, much less permit, the Japanese to become real American citizens.

Organization of the Japanese.

This alien community has an or-

ganization and practices a degree of co-operat on which makes it invincible in certain matters, notwithstanding its comparatively small membership. The Japanese have their local associations, which are controlled by five district organizations centered at Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and Vancouver. They have in California 55 agricultural associations, each of which is affiliated with one of the three large central agricultural associations.

The district organization centered at San Francisco, is known as the Japanese Association of America and its jurisdiction covers the States of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and all that portion of California north of the Tehachapi. There are 39 local organizations affiliated with it.

The Japanese Association of America, the district organization located at San Francisco, while ostensibly an independent organization acting only in the interests of the individual Japanese in a certain district of the United States who swell its revenues, is really ruled by the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco for the glory of Japan and her illustrious ruler, the Mikado. That is not my statement, but the declaration of "Nichi Bei," the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco. There is offered as an exhibit (see Exhibit "P") a translation of an article, one of several of similar character which appeared in that newspaper, in which it openly charged that the Japanese Association is only the tool of the Consul General, operated from his office, and that he names its executives and dictates their action.

The Japanese have boasted that through various influences they have "scotched" or delayed adverse legislation in Colorado and in Oregon. Their California journals have called attention to the fact that they are raising a fund of \$100,000, \$50,000 to come from Japan and the balance to be collected here, for the purpose of "persuading" the next California legislature against action adverse to Japanese interests here (see Exhibit "Q").

An investigation of the Japanese

communities in this State will convince this Committee that we are harboring a most dangerous character of alien Government within our Government; that this alien Government controls the education, the religion, the acts and the lives of the members of these resident communities; and the sacred privilege of American citizenship conferred on them by birth is of no value in inducing assimilation, but simply places in their hands a weapon which will be used against us in peaceful penetration, or in open warfare.

RECAPITULATION.

It will be agreed, I think, that the facts now before us conclusively establish that the Japanese are undesirable as immigrants, and as citizens, not because they are of an inferior race, but because they are superior in certain characteristics, which, if the issue were forced, would determine the possession of this country between two unassimilable races.

The Japanese are unassimilable with our civilization and our people. Their racial characteristics would soon give them economic control of this country if they secure a foothold, and their natural increase would give them in time superior numbers to the whites. Under such conditions it would be national suicide to encourage or permit the Japanese to secure a foothold here.

The Gentlemen's Agreement, under which Japanese immigration is at present regulated, was a grave blunder. It has failed utterly to accomplish the purposes for which it was intended. In twenty years our Japanese population in continental United States has increased six-fold; while since 1906, and directly chargeable to the "Gentlemen's Agreement," that Japanese population in continental United States has multiplied three times, and in California has multiplied four times.

It has been established that the Agreement is being constantly and deliberately violated. Admissions coming through the open ports under passports from Japan are largely in violation of the intent, if not the ac-

tual wording, of the Agreement, while there has been coming in over the border surreptitiously in violation of the Agreement, but certainly with the knowledge of Japan, a steadily increasing number.

It is certain that under either the Gentlemen's Agreement, or the proposed percentage immigration plan, an encouragement of further admission of Japanese means that the Japanese population in this country will so increase as to run into millions in a comparatively few years, and ultimately become so large as to dispossess the white race.

What has happened in Hawaii, which is apparently already lost to the United States and to the whites, is happening in certain localities in California. A continuance of these conditions will make the situation general throughout the favored portions of the United States. We are permitting to develop in our midst an alien, unassimilable community whose continued presence means international conflict, and whose growth without conflict, would mean the subjugation of this country.

In Exhibit "R" will be found an interview from the "Japan Advertiser" of Tokyo, May 7, 1920, with Dr. H. H. Powers, who has been a member of the faculties of the Universities of Stanford and Cornell for fifteen years, and who is the author of a number of books. Dr. Powers is frankly telling the people of Japan, through the "Advertiser," that they are being misled in reference to this immigration question; that Mr. Frank Vanderlip wrongs both peoples when he holds out the hope that America will abandon her policy of exclusion towards the peoples of the Far East. I shall quote a small portion only of that interview:

"Unfortunately the Japanese would not make Americans at all. No race ever makes itself a part of another race except by intermarriage and physical fusion. That would not happen in the case of any Far Eastern race, or at least would not happen fast and soon enough to destroy the consciousness of race separateness. The Japanese would remain distinct.

They would rapidly displace our own more exacting race. As we felt ourselves to be losing ground, we should turn upon the aggressive race with bitterness and fury. That race would lean on the home country, and enlist its support.

"In a word, if we want war between the two countries, that is the best way to get it. Keep the sea between us and we can be friends. Very good friends; but, bring the two races together under conditions that ensure competition on unequal terms, and where the necessary fusion is not to be expected, and a bloody clash is inevitable. The American people feel this, though they do not wholly understand it. Their policy is the instinct of self-protection."

The Remedy.

To remedy the National situation which has thus been outlined, the State of California can do very little because of lack of authority. What she may do within her own borders, she is attempting to do, through an initiative measure, in closing up the loop holes which have been found to exist in her Alien Land Law, so that the Japanese will no longer be able to secure control of the rich agricultural lands in the State, either through ownership or lease. (See Exhibit "W.")

It is to be remembered that in the existing treaty with Japan there is no provision for extending to Japanese the right to own or lease agricultural lands, and that the present Alien Land Law, and the amendments thereto now being provided for by initiative, specifically guarantee to aliens ineligible to citizenship, as to the acquisition, ownership, occupation and disposition of agricultural lands, all the rights granted them by treaty, and not otherwise.

It is noted, too, that the plan outlined by California to prevent ownership or lease of agricultural lands by Japanese, against which there was such protest on the part of the Japanese, has already been embodied in a law passed by the Philippine Legislature and now effective with the formal or tacit approval of the President of the United States.

The effective remedy for the situation, in this country, must lie with the Federal Government, which made the original blunder and created the existing situation, and which alone has the power to provide the remedy. That remedy will probably have to come partly from the Executive Department because of the existing Gentlemen's Agreement, and perhaps partly through Congress in adopting legislation.

What is necessary, apparently, on the part of the United States Government to remedy the existing situation is:

1st—A policy of absolute exclusion of the Japanese, either under a treaty or written agreement with Japan, or by act of Congress, as in the case of China. This should be as rigid in its terms as our Exclusion Law affecting the Chinese, and should forbid the importation, under any pretext, of women or wives of Japanese men whose right to reside in this country has been recognized. It has already been shown in this statement that the Japanese birth rate in California is three times that of the whites, though the Japanese have but one woman to three or four men; that they have urged that they be permitted to import enough women to serve as wives for all adult Japanese men; and that their speakers and newspapers have constantly urged the necessity of raising large families in order to establish the Yamato race permanently in this country.

2nd—Any necessary precautions to enforce such understanding by guarding against surreptitious entry.

3rd—Formal adoption of the clearly defined principle that Japanese and other unassimilable Asiatics shall never be admitted to citizenship by naturalization. To make exceptions to such a rule in favor of Japanese already here, as is now being urged, would be a grave blunder, establishing a precedent which would make for present complications with other Asiatic countries, and future friction with Japan—for the concession would be used by her as an entering wedge. Aside from these considerations, it would be a National crime to confer citizenship on Japanese sat-

led with the ideals and religion of Japan, and who came over here after reaching maturity. The evidence seems conclusive on that point.

4th—A modification of our present policy which permits dual citizenship and its grave consequences in the case of the Japanese. Apparently the latter can be done only by amendment to the Federal Constitution, confining citizenship by birth to those whose parents are eligible to such citizenship.

How to Apply the Remedy.

Exclusion can be accomplished under proposed bills in Congress by extending the boundaries of the zone in Asia from which immigration is barred, to include Japan. Action along these lines has been recommended by the Commissioner General of Immigration in his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, at page 59, in the following language:

"The bureau respectfully suggests consideration of the extension of the barred zone to such parts of Asia as are not now included therein, nor affected by exclusion laws or agreements, and also to Africa and adjacent islands so as to exclude inhabitants who are of the unassimilable classes, or whose admission in any considerable number would tend to produce an economic menace to our population."

The immediate settlement of this very grave question along lines of exclusion is manifestly in the interests of both nations, since both nations wish to maintain, and will find it advantageous to maintain, friendly relations.

Apparently the leaders in Japan, as

well as those who have investigated the subject on behalf of the American people, find convincing proof that neither race is desirous of assimilating, even if it can assimilate. Under such conditions to maintain side by side, in this country two unassimilable races would be to invite friction and bring about conflict ultimately.

The effective remedy indicated in the four proposed measures outlined above should be applied, if possible, in such a manner as to avoid hurt to Japan's pride, and thereby prevent friction and possible international complications. That could be accomplished either by a treaty, or by the passage of identical laws by Japan and the United States under which each nation would decline to admit to its shores, either as immigrants or citizens, the nationals of the other, making, of course, due provision for officials, tourists, students, commercial men, etc.

Japan could offer no reasonable objection to such an arrangement, since she would be excluding from Japan the same classes which we desire to exclude from the United States, and she would be doing it presumably in the interests of her own people, as we would be doing it in the interests of ours. I commend to your committee careful consideration of this suggestion as a possible solution for this serious problem.

In Harmony With Previous Suggestions.

The five remedial measures suggested by me originally and afterwards adopted by the American

Legion in national convention, and by the several exclusion organizations of the Pacific Coast, would be sufficiently covered in the plan as now proposed. These five remedies appear at page 36, of "The Germany of Asia," and include (1) cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement; (2) stopping of "picture brides"; (3) future exclusion of Japanese with other Asiatics as immigrants; (4) formal recognition of the policy excluding unassimilable Asiatics from citizenship; and (5) amendment to the Constitution so that citizenship by birth will not be conferred on those whose parents are ineligible to such citizenship.

There was a sixth suggestion credited to me as to admission of Chinese labor in limited numbers for a limited time, under restriction as to locality of residence and occupation. I did offer that suggestion in the inception of the discussion, to meet the declaration that the interests of the Nation demanded introduction of some Oriental labor. That suggestion was withdrawn within two weeks, and I have since uniformly opposed it. The reason is that if we refuse admission to Japanese on the plea that our policy bars Asiatic labor generally, we cannot consistently admit Chinese. If more Oriental labor is really necessary to maintain or to increase production (which we are not prepared to admit) it is better to see production decrease somewhat than to permit and encourage the evils which must follow in the wake of Oriental immigration.

Japan's Secret Policy

Her Immigrants and American
Born Citizens Using Their
Position to Aid Japan.



*The Startling Statement of a
Japanese Professor at the
University of California.*

by Yosh. K.



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EVIDENCE of a startling character was produced in the hearings of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, held on the Pacific Coast in July and August, 1920, to show the manner in which the Japanese in California are using their privileges as immigrants and as citizens (American born) to foster the interests of Japan in antagonism to those of this country. Much of that evidence appeared in the statement of V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Sacramento Bee, and in the exhibits offered in corroboration.

In the introduction to a published digest of that statement it is said that it would appear therefrom, among other things, "that the economic question of today will develop into a grave racial problem, unless the proper remedy be at once applied; that the Japanese have determined to colonize favorable sections of the United States, and permanently establish their race in this country; that they openly preach their plans of peaceful penetration, 'get more land and beget many children,' as the most certain method of accomplishing the purpose; that in so doing they do not contemplate assimilating as American citizens, loyal to the country of their birth or adoption, but plan to serve the ambition of Japan in world subjection as taught in her religion and in her schools; and that American-born Japanese on whom we confer citizenship are being trained here and in Japan to use their American citizenship for the glory of the Mikado and the benefit of the Japanese race."

Three months after these charges were heard by the House Committee they received further confirmation from an entirely unexpected source. Dr. Yoshi S. Kuno, son of General Kuno of the Imperial Army of Japan, has served for a number of years as a professor of Oriental Languages and History at the University of California. He published in the Oakland (California) Tribune in the latter part of October, 1920, a series of articles telling the facts as to the policy and acts of the Japanese in this country, impelled, as he says, by the conviction that further deception will be certain to lead to strained relations between the two countries, and determined to do what he can as a loyal Japanese and a friend to America to avert that calamity.

In the following digest of those articles will be found the main points of Dr. Kuno's statement:

Dr. Yoshi Saburo Kuno, Professor in the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California and son of General Kuno of the Imperial Japanese Army, has brought down upon himself the indignation and antagonism of his countrymen in California by declaring in public print that the secret policy of Japanese generally in this country is antagonistic to American interests and if not discontinued, must result in serious misunderstanding between the two countries. As a lover of Japan and a real friend of the United States he conceived it to be his duty to tell the truth and thus force an adjustment which would prevent a breach of friendly relations. His statement was first given to the public through a series of copyrighted articles in the Oakland (California) Tribune in the latter part of October, 1920.

Grave Charges Against the Japanese.

Dr. Kuno directly charges that Japan has established in this country a Government within a Government; that through consular offices and organized Japanese associations (which latter he says should be abolished), she is controlling the acts and policies of all Japanese here, whether they came as immigrants or were born here and enjoy therefore the rights and privileges of American citizens; that such control is exerted in the interests of the ambition of the dominant military party of Japan for world conquest; that a skillful propaganda system is maintained in this country, supported by the Japanese Government; that many American universities are innocently assisting this propaganda through the work of exchange Japanese professors or dishonest American professors who are paid by Japan; that the continued increase of unassimilable Japanese in this country—with their advantages of economic competition—marks a danger which Japan

would not tolerate in her own country; that in California, even without immigration, the 100,000 Japanese would double that number, because of the birth rate, approximately every ten years and in time overwhelm the whites; that the separate Japanese schools are used to make loyal Japanese out of children born here on whom this country has conferred citizenship and that such schools should be abolished; that the laws of Japan directly encourage the use of American citizenship in this way and the return of the individuals at any time to Japan with full restoration of all rights as Japanese citizens; and that American "investigators" visiting Japan are so entertained and honored and allowed no opportunity for learning the truth, that they frequently return active propagandists for Japan.

Dr. Kuno says that he is forced to the course upon which he has embarked because the Japanese have been sympathetically building a wall of lies about the true conditions both here and in Japan. He declares that Missionaries returning to America, after living for many years in Japan, grossly misrepresent conditions there to Americans. As an offender in this regard he mentions Dr. Sidney Gulick particularly. "Friendly relations between the United States and Japan cannot be builded upon lies," he says. "The truth must be told at all cost." He declares that the Japan Society of America and similar organizations, composed of Americans and Japanese and formed ostensibly to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, are really used as means for distribution of Japanese propaganda and the deception of the American public as to Japan's acts and policies.

Curiously enough the publication of Dr. Kuno's articles was made three months after the House Committee on Immigration, at hearings

in California, listened to similar charges offered in a lengthy statement by V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Sacramento Bee, and substantiated by various proofs and exhibits, including translations from a number of Japanese newspapers of the Pacific Coast. A digest of that statement has been printed in leaflet form for distribution.

Dr. Kuno's Credibility.

As to Dr. Kuno's integrity and trustworthiness, and partly also as to some of his charges, witness is borne by David P. Barrows, President of the University of California, and by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President Emeritus of the institution. Dr. Barrows in a published interview said that Dr. Kuno had been associated with the faculty in various capacities for a score of years, had been a student before then and had thus imbibed a love for truth and fair play in association with American ideals, and had established a reputation for accuracy which lent importance to the charges. He said also:

"As early as 1916 a cabal was organized by a professor no longer associated with the university to oust Dr. Kuno from the faculty. This professor and his associates were undoubtedly acting in the interests of the Japanese Government. The motive behind the plot was the opposition to the teaching of any kind of Japanese history in the university which was not approved by the Japanese Association of California. Dr. Kuno was too independent a man and too high a scholar to be sacrificed in this way. He is a learned scholar and an accurate, independent and fearless teacher. I attest my sincere respect and admiration for him as a result of ten years' of acquaintanceship."

Dr. Wheeler, in an interview published at the same time as Dr. Barrows' statement above, said:

"Professor Kuno, in my opinion, is a man whose judgment can be wholly respected and who is not accustomed to saying or doing wild things. He

knows whereof he speaks, and while all of us may not agree with him in some statements, his declarations must be respected as coming from a man who knows whereof he speaks."

Japanese Government in America.

The situation in California (which it may be assumed would be extended in time, under existing conditions, to other States) is thus outlined by Dr. Kuno:

"The Japanese are not living in this State as emigrants. In my opinion they are establishing plantations of their own, introducing their peculiar civilization and governmental, as well as educational, institutions right in the midst of American civilization. With the recognition of their home Government through their consulate offices, they have established a sort of quasi-government in leading cities, towns and districts, wherever the size of the Japanese population warrants. They levy a tax on Japanese males and Japanese families under the caption of a membership fee. With the permission of the consulate, they collect fees for all official services rendered the Japanese by that office. All the Japanese who live in the United States, whether they were born in this country or have come from Japan have many affairs to be attended to in connection with the home Government, because all are claimed as subjects by the Japanese Government. However, though these matters must be handled in the Consulate office, that office will have nothing to do with anything that does not reach it through the channels of the quasi-Japanese Government established in the towns and cities in California, and otherwise known as 'The Japanese Association.'

"In the State of California, the Japanese Government maintains two Consulate offices; viz., a Consulate-General at San Francisco and Consulate at Los Angeles.

"Under the control of each of these offices, there is one central Japanese association. Under the control of each central association, there are in

turn numerous local Japanese associations. For example, the Central Japanese Association at San Francisco has forty local associations under its control, while the one at Los Angeles has twelve.

"In San Francisco, there are practically three sorts of Japanese Government; viz., the office of the Consul General, which represents the Japanese Government directly; The Central Japanese Association, and the Local Japanese Association. The Central Association supervises all the forty Local Associations in its district, in behalf of the office of the Consul General. In case a local association should disobey, conduct itself with too great independence, or commit any irregularity, the Consul General's office, upon the advice of the Central Association, would deprive it of all rights and privileges, such as the issuing of certificates.

"The Japanese in the State hold an annual assembly corresponding somewhat to the California State Assembly. This assembly is composed of delegates sent by the Local Associations. There is also another assembly held annually, which may be likened unto the California State Senate, in that only the managers of the various Local Associations are entitled to sit in that august body.

"The purpose of the Japanese association, quoting from the regulations of that in Berkeley, 'to defend, protect and guard Japanese interests and privileges against the outside, and to maintain and establish unity and harmony in the inside, that they may enjoy full benefits.' All Japanese in the United States, including native sons and daughters, being, from the standpoint of Japan her subjects, are obliged to report births, marriages, and deaths, besides movements of the families to the Japanese Government. This can be done only by paying the fee to the association and transmitting the information through that channel."

Using Universities for Propaganda.

Concerning the manner in which American universities have been utilized for spreading misleading Japanese propaganda, Dr. Kuno makes some startling statements. He says that Japanese scholars are unfit to be exchange professors in this country "because of their blind and burning patriotism and because they count scholarly veracity and honor as naught when they have opportunity to defend their country's policies." He says:

"A man in the employ of the San Francisco Association is now teaching at Stanford University, and until a recent date, a member of the University of California faculty, who has since resigned, was in the service of the Japanese Government and was writing magazine articles supporting the Japanese holding of land."

He shows by extracts from official publications of Stanford University, that in 1913 "the Trustees accepted a gift of several Japanese gentlemen to maintain an instructorship in Japanese history and government"; and that there was received "from the Japanese Consul, San Francisco, \$1,800 for the salary of an instructor in Japanese history and government for the academic year 1918-19." The inference is that while it may not be objectionable for Japanese gentlemen and the Japanese Consul to pay the salary of an instructor of history, such instructor, either under suggestion of his patrons, or at the order of the Consul, should not deceive his pupils in his lectures or use his position to strengthen the antagonistic policies of Japan in this country.

He insists that Japan, through her Consuls and influential Japanese in this country, is urging these college professors to use their positions, not for the teaching the truth, but for such concealment or coloring thereof as will suit Japan's purpose. He instances his own case. His first trouble was with the Japanese Consu

at San Francisco, who summoned him and requested that he do not teach the sordid side of Japanese history to his classes. Dr. Kuno declined to conceal or misrepresent the facts, either as to Japan's history or as to living and social conditions in that country. Since that time, the Japanese have barred him from their associations and their meetings. He has been continually warned by letter to desist from his announced use, and since publication of his articles, has appealed to the police for protection because of threats made against him.

Picture Brides.

Concerning "picture brides" and manner in which they have been used to evade the intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement as to introduction of Japanese labor into Continental United States, Dr. Kuno calls attention to the fact that Chinese laborers in the United States are not permitted to send back to China for wives, while Japanese laborers in California have imported hundreds of picture brides every month." He further says:

"Because the Japanese are able to live so cheaply at present, many Japanese men in the State, who would otherwise have been unable to marry, have gotten wives from Japan. Upon the arrival of the wife, she generally works with her husband in the field. In fact, female labor has thus been imported under the caption of wives. Though this is not a legal violation of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement,' the effect is substantially the same. This is not all. Even after children have been born, the wife often works in the field."

That Remarkable Birth Rate.

Dr. Kuno declares that the real danger to California and the United States from an increase of assimilable Japanese population is not so much in immigration from Japan as in the great birth rate among the Japanese already

here. He says that the Japanese are "a marvelously prolific race" and then prophesies as follows:

"Should all the plans and propositions regarding the Japanese now advocated by Californians materialize, and everything asked be secured, still, I venture to prophesy that by the end of another decade, these same Californians would be confounded to find that despite all their well-planned measures, the Japanese population in the State had doubled. This is no dream. A little scientific investigation will prove the plausibility of such conclusion."

Dr. Kuno evidently regards the situation in California even after further Japanese immigration is excluded as subject of grave concern. He says:

"Under normal conditions, it will be next to impossible for California to rid herself of the Japanese already within her confines. The bloodless struggle has been waged and will continue to be carried on between the whites and the Japanese in the State. The one uses the legislative power of the commonwealth as its weapon, while the other wields the economic sword. Under existing conditions, the bitterness seems to be augmented year after year on the one hand, while on the other, through the birth of children, the Japanese population will practically double itself each decade.

Should this condition persist uncorrected, it is but a matter of time before there will be a serious clash between the United States and Japan. The question is, indeed, one of great gravity."

Besides Dr. Kuno's prophecies as to natural increase of the Japanese population in this country, the tables offered by Mr. McClatchy a year ago are mild and conservative. In those tables it was shown that assuming the Japanese birth rate would be very much less than that now established in California, and with "re-

stricted" immigration under the Gulick plan or under violations of the intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement as now practiced, the Japanese population of Continental United States would double in a little less than twenty years, and under such conditions would reach 2,000,000 in forty years, 10,000,000 in eighty years and 100,000,000 in 140 years.

Separate Japanese Schools.

The attention of the House Committee on Immigration was called by Mr. McClatchy in his statement to the manner in which the separate Japanese schools in the United States are used to make faithful subjects of the Mikado of Japanese children born in this country upon whom our law confers American citizenship. The Survey Commission appointed by the United States Commissioner of Education at Washington was so impressed by the menace these schools in Hawaii offered that it recommended they be abolished. (See Bulletin No. 16, 1920, of Department of Education.)

Dr. Kuno evidently agrees fully with the impropriety of Japanese maintaining such schools in this country. He says:

"Whenever a Japanese association exists a school is generally established under its auspices. Most Japanese children are thus obliged to attend two schools. They attend the regular American public school from 9 to 3, and after school hours they have to go to the Japanese school, where they study from texts prepared for use in the schools of Japan. Thus these children while being served with a double amount of education, which is in violation of physical law, have instilled into them two codes of morality and two loyalties. The Japanese conduct these schools in a most official way. In the city or town, there is a Japanese Board of Education. In Berkeley, for example, if I understand correctly, this board consists of about twenty members."

Dr. Kuno calls attention to the dangers of dual citizenship to the interests of this country. He points out that Japanese who expatriate themselves, with the permission of Japan, may become Japanese citizens again at any time provided they establish a domicile within the bounds of the Japanese Empire; and he thus comments thereon:

"Though probably remote from the purpose of the framers of the law, one might reasonably interpret it as an artifice on the part of Japan by which her subjects might become citizens of foreign nations in order to enjoy full rights and privileges in other countries, with the view of later returning to allegiance to their mother country."

The Economic Problem Involved.

California's claim is that the Japanese, because of certain advantages in economic competition offered by their thrift, different standards of living, long working hours, concentration and co-operation, are enabled to displace the white race in any localities and industries selected by them for "peaceful penetration"; and that the economic problem thus created must rapidly develop into a racial problem with its attendant complications. On this subject, Dr. Kuno says:

"Let us now take up the economic condition of the Japanese in California. Japanese labor is often mistakenly termed "cheap labor." However, the Japanese charge almost as much as do workmen of almost any other nationality. They also prove higher bidders when buying an unharvested crop in the fields. The Japanese are able to pay higher for crops because they live in shacks and their food is exceedingly plain and cheap. Therefore, the trouble in California is not that the Japanese are cheap laborers, but that they have wonder-

ful saving capacity. Within a few years those who started as common laborers have often either become land owners or amassed sufficient capital to purchase standing crops. Because of this difference in the standard of living of the Japanese and the American farmer, the former has been able to encroach upon the production of agricultural products to such an extent that the Japanese have come to control from 80 to 90 per cent of such important crops as potatoes, tomatoes, asparagus, spinach and berries."

Again he says:

"The Japanese should realize that the economic question constitutes an important factor whenever foreign laborers come into a country and, while living under a lower standard, compete with the citizens of that country. The Japanese have simply to look at home conditions in Japan for a good example of this. Some time after the Russo-Japanese war, the cost of living as well as wages took tremendous leaps. Chinese laborers were brought into Japan by a number of promoters. Anti-Chinese agitation followed, and the Japanese Government was forced to strictly prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers. The anti-Chinese agitation, however, did not end there, but developed into race prejudice. In fact, the Japanese studying in California, those engaged in trade and industry, and even the laborers, have, notwithstanding the present agitation, much better treatment than is accorded the Chinese by the Japanese in Japan."

Dr. Kuno's Program.

Dr. Kuno says that the articles in the Oakland Tribune mark but the beginning of work which will perhaps extend into years; that he proposes to compel the Japanese in California to understand their own situation, and to listen with profit to the criticism of

others. He insists that Japan must change her present policy of framing foreign relations and demands entirely upon her selfish interests, or she will have misunderstandings, not only with the United States, but with all other nations with which she comes in intimate relation.

He offers several suggestions looking towards remedying the existing situation, including exclusion of further Japanese immigration; abolishment of Japanese associations and Japanese schools in this country; reliance by Japanese here in the American Government and school system raising the standard of living of Japanese here to that of the middle class American family, and naturalization of Japanese now here.

The "Japanese Association of America," located in San Francisco, a claiming jurisdiction over the Japanese in the greater part of California and in all of Nevada, Colorado, Utah, through its Secretary, K. Kazaki, has issued a general denial of Dr. Kuno's charges, so far as they affect the objects and acts of the Association. He declares there is no relation between the Association and the Japanese Government, that it is an entirely independent body, working for the benefit of its members and a better understanding between them and the Americans. He says that the Japanese have never persecuted Dr. Kuno because of his views, that they do not wish to attach importance to his expressions on public matters, and that he is avoided by the Japanese because he "is utterly unacquainted with the amenities of social life and has a disposition which makes it impossible for anyone to associate with him." It is insisted in this statement that Dr. Kuno's outline of Japanese conditions in this country, and particularly in California, is entirely misleading.

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Do Americans Know?

By
Montaville Flowers
Monrovia, Los Angeles, California



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Do Americans Know?

By MONTAVILLE FLOWERS

Monrovia, Los Angeles, California

Do one hundred thousand ministers of America know that they are committed en masse to a definite campaign to give the Japanese the rights of American citizenship?

Do seventeen million members of all our Christian denominations know that they are contributing regularly to promote the mixing of all Asiatics with our race in our country by means of citizenship, intermarriage, and social assimilation, the amount levied and paid annually being one dollar for each thousand members?

Do the political parties of America know that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing the aforesaid ministers and members, has adopted, presented to the government, and is promoting a definite program on immigration and Oriental relations completely reversing the present status, upon the conceptions of one man who for nearly thirty years has lived in Japan and who is now in her employ?

Do our one hundred million American people of all religions and no religion know that these one hundred thousand ministers and seventeen million members are being systematically schooled in this program and pledged to this campaign under the cloak of its being the only right interpretation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

Who is the man? What is the program? By whom and how is this campaign conducted?

The People of California

Should give careful study to the inclosed booklet,

Do Americans Know?

For nearly three years its author, Mr. Montaville Flowers, has fought California's battle in the East and the South. Immediately after the passage of the famous California anti-alien land bill, when the tremendous campaign to discredit California and to promote the cause of Japan was begun in Eastern states, "operating by various processes in America," Mr. Flowers took the platform to champion the cause of California and the American people.

Mr. Flowers has appeared in more than five hundred cities and towns, where, on the lyceum and chautauqua, in churches, schools and colleges, and on the public rostrum, he has pleaded for the better understanding of California's position. He has done this work single-handed and alone, everywhere overcoming prejudice by his great powers as a thinker and orator. Three-quarters of a million Americans have heard his plea.

Now comes the article, "The Japanese Menace," by Thomas F. Millard, in *The Century* for March, which to many is the greatest sensation in magazine literature in the last two extraordinary years. Yet for three years Mr. Flowers has been driving home these facts with surprising similarity of statement and prophecy, commending the same course—to "maintain the *status quo*."

His work has been done under great criticism and opposition, but it has been thorough and

incessant. He has spent weeks at Washington securing facts from original sources. He has courteously, but fearlessly assailed the leaders of the pro-Japanese campaign in America, challenging to debate such men among them as Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent*, and the whole Japan Society of New York City; but they fear to meet him. He has submitted to the press articles far less accusing than *The Century* now uses, to have them refused over and over again, until at last public opinion has been aroused to accept them. The inclosed article, *Do Americans Know?* (three times rejected), reprinted from THE PLATFORM, is one of these. Read it and pass on it, and if you have any interest whatever in your state and nation, register your address for further information, and give to Montaville Flowers the moral support which this great cause and his patriotic service merit.

Read *The Century* for March.

From — THE PLATFORM

64 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.

THE PLATFORM,
601 Steinway Hall,
Chicago, Illinois.

Please put my name on your mailing list for information on the Japanese Problem in America.

Name

Occupation

Address

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick, M. A., D. D., is the man. He gives his address as Japan, "professor in Doshisha University and lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto." He was born in 1860 in the Marshall Islands, of missionary parents, and reared in the Orient with adopted Oriental children whom he regarded as his kin. Educated in America, he returned to Japan about thirty years ago as a missionary, later entering Japan's employ as a teacher. He is in love with Japanese ideals, has acquired the Japanese language, and has mastered their form of argumentation. He is the author of several books on the Japanese, all highly laudatory of their virtues and apologetic for their possible shortcomings. If he admits that truth and chastity and other virtues form little part of their moral code, he explains away those defects by blaming them on their origin, and overbalances the deficiency by other virtues for which they are alleged to surpass the world.

His recent volume, issued in March, 1914, on the American-Japanese problem is an arraignment of the intelligence and morality of the people of California and other states for recent legislation which affects the Japanese in America. But especially he outlines and promotes what he terms "A New Oriental Policy." Since January 1, 1914, while on a furlough from Japan, he has been in the employ of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ at a salary of three thousand dollars per year and expenses. His services consist in writing books, articles and tracts, and delivering addresses under the most influential auspices—all to promote his New Oriental Policy. These facts and those to follow

are derived from his writings, from the Annual Reports of the Federal Council, and will be sustained by direct quotations therefrom.

A New Oriental Policy.

What is this New Oriental Policy?

The quotations taken from his books will outline it sufficiently, although he uses twenty-five pages to outline it and about 280 pages to sustain it.

In his term Oriental are embraced "the eight hundred millions of Asia," about one-half of the population of the earth, all of whom under the laws of the United States are now and always have been aliens who cannot become citizens of the United States. This status of theirs is the concrete result of the wisdom of American statesmen for one hundred and twenty-five years, beginning with George Washington's first recommendation for a naturalization code. Mr. Gulick says:

(1) "The present Oriental policy of the United States as a whole is in important respects humiliating to the Oriental and disgraceful to us."

(2) "We should grant to Asiatics in this land the same privileges which we grant to the citizens of 'the most favored nations.'"

This would give the Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, Syrians, Koreans, and all the Mongolians and Malahs of Asia and its islands the full rights of American citizenship and equal social rights of intermarriage with the white race.

(3) "A new general immigration law is needed which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment even as regards immigrants."

(4) "A fresh definition of eligibility for

American citizenship is needed. Race should not be a disqualification of citizenship."

(5) "Direct Federal responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens is essential."

(6) "It logically follows that legal proceedings involving aliens should be handled exclusively in Federal and not in state courts."

This would require the total revision of the Constitution of the United States regarding functions of State and Nation, taking from the states and giving to the nation all the right of land laws, deeds, conveyances, leases, and all laws of domestic relations of marriage, parentage, divorce, inheritance; and all business relations in which an alien may be a party; and an entire revision of our Judiciary pertaining to these.

It is thus seen that the New Oriental Policy pivots all American government, not upon our own citizens, but upon the viewpoint of the Oriental alien.

(7) "A national commission on biological and social assimilation is needed."

This is to establish his theories of intermarriage of races, "social inheritance" and "social assimilation," to which he devotes about a hundred pages. In one paragraph toward the end of his treatise he declares himself opposed to intermarriage of races. Yet he approves all the individual instances—Japanese who have married white girls, mentioning Takamine, Fukushima, Oaki, Kawakami, all of whom he indorses and each of whom indorses him, and who are engaged in this campaign for race mixture. Kawakami, head of the Japanese Association of America, comes out openly for intermarriage and

cites Dr. Gulick as one of the best friends of the Japanese cause. Dr. Gulick uses many pages of pictures to show the results of these marriages, and one hundred pages to prove the assimilability of Orientals. This form of argument, the academic denial of a general principle coupled with the hearty support of its concrete facts, is a fair illustration of what President Charles W. Eliot calls Oriental dissimulation.

(8) "Regulation of international news should be an integral part of the New Oriental Policy. To suppress the suspicious exaggeration and even malicious fabrications of irresponsible news mongers—the Yellow Press is the real Yellow Peril."

Let the American Press take note.

Mr. Gulick says this New Oriental Policy will produce these results:

(a) "Existing anti-Japanese legislation in California and all other states would at once be void and all future legislation be impossible."

(b) It would provide for the "rights of aliens regardless of the ignorance and prejudice of unfriendly localities."

(c) "The Japanese government would be intensely gratified." "It would also satisfy and even please Japan."

(d) "America would rightly be called the 'melting pot of the nations,' from which we may expect the advent of astonishing variants. Would we not be gainers by including Asiatic ore in this great melting pot?"

(e) "The condition most favorable for race assimilation is that which arises when an alien father enters into the civilization of the mother

and is accepted by her kindred. Where such ideal conditions can be assured, it would probably make no difference whether the father were Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, Arab or Negro."

(f) "The early adoption of some such policy is important; there is every reason to anticipate further anti-Japanese legislation in California with the next session of its legislature, which meets in 1915."

The Campaign Organization.

One would not think that so radical and difficult a procedure would secure any serious indorsement by the great men of America. Mr. Gulick's book was printed in March, 1914, yet he wanted all this radical legislation completed before the California Legislature could meet in January, 1915, and he put into use the greatest piece of machinery for sentiment making there is on the continent—the entire Christian Church. How?

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized about six years ago. Its name describes it. It is an attempt to federate into a single force all the Protestant denominations. Its Year Book for 1914, issued in March, 1915, page 4, gives the list of constituent churches, thirty denominations in all: Baptist, Christian, Congregational, Disciples, Friends, German-Evangelical, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist (all branches), African (all branches), Presbyterian, Episcopal, Reformed, United Brethren, and others.

They enumerate 103,023 ministers, 138,995 churches, 17,438,826 members. **These denominations are assessed one dollar for each thousand members, and in 1914 this yielded nearly \$17,000.** The total

receipts from all sources for 1914 were about \$62,000.

It has a national office in New York with a secretary and assistant receiving \$6,200 per year salary. Its mailing list exceeds 75,000 names. It works through several Commissions or Committees. One of these, created in April, 1914, is called "The Commission on Relations with Japan." There is no such commission for any other nation, but about **one-seventh of the total funds expended in 1914** were used by this **Commission on Relations with Japan**.

Sidney L. Gulick began work for this Federal Council about January, 1914, and is now definitely engaged by it to promote what both Mr. Gulick and the Federal Council term "The New Oriental Policy."

Results.

Let us now establish several facts: (1) That those who engaged him knew his program. (2) That they gave it direct and full endorsement and made it their own. (3) That they have used the funds collected from these church members to promote this program and are now using them. It will be demonstrated:

(A) That this use of Mr. Gulick and his program is a definite attempt to shape the political policies of America on many extremely vital, national and international questions.

(B) That Mr. Gulick and the Federal Council assault the intelligence and the morality of the people in those states having anti-Asiatic laws.

(C) That the Commission exhibits unreasonable prejudice and partiality in its make-up and in its consideration of the problems involved.

(D) That the cross-lines of influence and the powers allied to promote this movement are great

enough to affect seriously the action of the government and the political and social welfare of the United States.

Mr. Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent*, is the acting chairman of the Commission on Relations with Japan and one of the five men who engaged Mr. Gulick. In the Annual Report referred to, from which I shall take all my quotations, Mr. Holt says: "WE RECOMMEND HIS VIEWS IN GENERAL to the people of the United States, to the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, Congress, and the Governor and Legislature of California."

The secretary of the Federal Council writes: "Japanese scholars, statesmen and diplomats have given its proposals cordial approval."

Fifty thousand ministers were asked to preach on Peace on May 17, 1914. The letter of instructions to them contains this sentence: "The Council has secured the services of Rev. Sidney L. Gulick of Japan to assist in the work directed by the Committee on Relations with Japan, which is to take up this question of international and race relationship from the point of view of the Christian Gospel. The plans of the committee are of great moment."

Again, the Commission sent "An Appeal to Congress and the People of the United States for an Adequate Oriental Policy," asking that they "adopt an Oriental Policy providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question, and providing for the naturalization of immigrants."

Mr. Gulick was sent to Japan on January 9, 1915, bearing the message of the Federal Council to Japan, which contains this credential: "The Rev. Sidney L.

Gulick, Doctor of Divinity, needs no introduction to you, for he was a missionary in Japan for many years. Since his return to America on his furlough he has been invited to our most prominent pulpits, has secured a hearing for the cause of Japan by the foremost men of our nation and returns to you not only as your Brother, but also is entrusted with a duty of representing The Federal Council."

Propagandists.

Let us see now how and to what extent this program of Mr. Gulick so adopted by the Federal Council et al., and so endorsed by Japan, has been promulgated. I submit the Report of the Secretary:

"Two pamphlets have been published giving an exposition of the main points of his New Oriental Policy."

"Some 20,000 of these pamphlets have been freely distributed."

"Ten thousand copies have been published for use during the coming winter (1915-1916)."

"*The Survey* syndicated one of his articles to 150 dailies."

"*The American Leader* published two articles which went to 650 foreign language papers published in the United States."

"The Federal Council syndicated an article to 500 religious and secular papers."

"The Church Peace Union sent copies of his 'Solution of America's Oriental Problem' to 10,000 ministers."

"Fifty thousand ministers were asked to preach on 'Peace,' instructed as indicated above."

Dr. Gulick himself has delivered his message about

one hundred and fifty times within the year in the great centers from Boston to the Pacific Coast, as arranged by the Federal Council, with the finest auspices in universities, seminaries and clubs, including "the guest of honor at fifty banquets."

The Secretary of the Council makes this sensational appeal, "It is increasingly clear that we have entered upon this work none too soon." Our government "has by no means satisfied the Japanese people that we are meeting the issue." "Both on the Pacific Coast and in Japan the situation invites difficulty. It would take little to arouse bad feeling. We are living over a powder magazine. No one knows when someone will touch a match."

A One-Sided Commission.

Let us now have a look at the composition of this Commission on Relations with Japan in the Federal Council. It has fifteen members. Eight of them live in New York City. Two of them live in New Haven, Connecticut. Fourteen of them are east of the Rocky Mountains. The remaining member is Rev. Doremus E. Scudder of Honolulu, who, like Mr. Gulick, thirty years ago became a missionary in Japan and Oriental countries. Mr. Scudder long since declared himself strongly pro-Japanese and is quoted by the Japanese in their attacks on California, in which he joins.

Not one of the Pacific Coast States is represented in this Commission, nor is any state which has an Oriental problem or even a race problem. The Pacific Coast is entitled to a large representation on this Commission, unless it proposes that New York City and New Haven shall control the destinies of

ten millions of people directly interested, in a part of America three thousand miles from the program-making center. As three-fourths of all the Japanese in America are in California, that state is entitled to a large representation on that Commission if America and the Christian Church are to maintain representative governments.

Why Not Laymen?

A few laymen of these churches also should be permitted to shape the politics of this Commission. On the Commission at present are eight ministers, two more are heads of Missionary Boards, and four others preach. I suggest that Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California; Chester P. Rowell, editor and publicist; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California; Dr. Francis M. Pottenger, eminent physician; John D. Francis, eminent educator, and James E. Phelan, Senator, be considered sufficiently intelligent, Christian and American to assist in the formation of our Oriental Policy. To offset Hamilton Holt, Sidney L. Gulick, Doremus E. Scudder and Charles S. McFarland, who are avowed champions of Japan, decorated by her Emperor for services to Japan, and who are advocates of the "great melting pot," let an equal number of Christian gentlemen be chosen who are as avowedly the champions of racial purity.

Prejudiced Reports.

As a further instance of undemocratic procedure, I wish to cite one more fact. The Annual Report referred to says that the Federal Council has secured "Professor H. A. Millis, of the University of Kansas, to visit the Pacific Coast to make a special study

of the Japanese situation. His report is now in the process of preparation." As this report will be widely distributed and used as a basis for further action, let us see who Mr. Millis is.

He is the man who in 1913, just after the California law was passed, was asked by *The Survey* (which syndicated Mr. Gulick's propaganda) to write a "distinctive interpretation of the social aspects of the situation." Mr. Millis published his report in *The Survey* of June 7, 1913. He set down his verdict in the opening paragraph and repeated it as his final word. It is this: "This measure, in the opinion of the writer, is unjust, unnecessary and impolitic." He also says, "This action of the people of California is not to be explained in the light of reason." And now this same judge who had rendered this verdict two years ago, whose bias they already knew, was asked by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to render another judgment upon the same people, in the same case, with the intention to print and distribute this "special study" and "report" to mold American opinion. Is this fair? Is this investigation? Is this Christianity?

Cross Influences.

Mr. Gulick dedicated his book on the New Oriental Policy to "Andrew Carnegie and his co-workers." Mr. Gulick's books are listed and distributed and his policies recommended by The World Peace Foundation of Boston, The American Peace Society of Washington, and The Church Peace Union of New York, the latter two of which are supported by The Carnegie Foundation.

Hamilton Holt, Chairman of the Commission on

Relations with Japan that engaged Mr. Gulick, is editor of *The Independent*, which freely uses its editorial columns in approval of Mr. Gulick. *The Independent* is the official mouthpiece of the great **Chautauqua Institution of Chautauqua, N. Y.**, and of the **C. L. S. C. of all the United States**. These Circles now number probably 100,000 readers and 250,000 additional members. What an opportunity to promote the New Oriental Policy!

The Independent, whose editor was decorated by the Emperor of Japan with the "Order of the Sacred Treasure" for "promoting better relations between Japan and the United States," is now apparently the **American official mouthpiece of the Government of Japan**, for through it **Count Okuma, the Prime Minister**, makes his diplomatic announcements. See issues of August 24, 1914, and April 3, 1915.

Hamilton Holt's pamphlet advocating American citizenship for Japanese is printed and distributed by **The American Association for International Conciliation**, which is supported by **The Carnegie Foundation**.

The President of the Board of Directors of *The Independent* and Hamilton Holt, the editor, are Founders of **The Japan Society of New York**, which has a thousand members, sixty of whom are Japanese, all working for the Gulick policy.

And this is only a condensed outline of these tangled cross influences!

Does Chautauqua Institution endorse *The Independent* and Hamilton Holt in his Japanese editorials and propaganda? Do all of these students and Chautauquas stand for Mr. Gulick's "social assimilation" in the "great melting pot" with "Asi-

atic ore" and its "astonishing variants"? Do they know?

Will the Federal Council next ask all the Conferences and Synods of all the churches to pass resolutions approving Mr. Gulick's Oriental Policy, and convey them to the President and Congress?

Churches, Peace Societies, Japan Societies—will all these be developed into a pro-Japanese Party?

I believe that the New Oriental Policy of Sidney L. Gulick is wholly political and entirely without relation to the spiritual mission of the Churches of Christ. I believe that the Christian Churches have not adopted it, and that the mass of their ministers and members who now unknowingly are paying for it, will repudiate it. I believe that this entire Oriental campaign in the United States will be opposed by the whole American people when they know of it and see where it will lead. I believe that for both races there are higher, purer destinies than this program will attain. I believe that it will lead America from her goal as a land of PEACE, the home of Americans and their children's children, and, should it prevail, I believe that its ultimate end will be as evil as if it had been planned by conscious but silent traitors to both Church and Country.

Do Americans know?

Mr. Flowers will issue a series of pamphlets on this problem. If you are interested and desire further information, please return this blank to The Platform, 601 Steinway Hall, Chicago, Illinois.

Name

Occupation

Address

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We urge all patriotic organizations, clubs and societies, as well as public spirited citizens, to assist in giving these facts the most effective circulation. To further this campaign we will furnish these booklets at less than actual cost of printing—two dollars a hundred or ten dollars a thousand. Order a thousand and start a moral awakening in your community.

Address,

THE PLATFORM,
64 E. Van Buren Street,
Chicago, Illinois

Read THE JAPANESE MENACE by Thomas F. Millard in the March issue of *The Century*.



THE IMPUDENCE OF CHAR- LATANISM.*

It is with considerable surprise that we find in the well-known magazine *Taiyo* the advertisement of a translation into Japanese of Mr. Homer Lea's notorious book, "The Valor of Ignorance," as being published by a respectable Japanese publishing house such as the Hakubunkwan. This publishing house issues such well-known magazines as the *Taiyo* and the *Bungei Club*, and is responsible for the appearance of a large number of the most important Japanese books. Yet it does not seem to regard the publication of a translation of Mr. Homer Lea's book as likely to reflect unfavorably upon its reputation. Probably this is because the Hakubunkwan is unaware of Mr. Lea's reputation among his fellow-countrymen and other foreign residents. The advertisement, which would seem to have been inspired by Mr. Lea, shows considerable impudence. It is there stated that the

* There is perhaps no more glaring recent illustration of the charlatanism and mischief-making with which the movement for international justice has constantly to contend than the book entitled "The Valor of Ignorance," by Homer Lea, published a few years ago. Its sensational declarations about the warlike purposes of Japan and the helplessness of the American people to defend themselves from attack created a feeling among hundreds of readers little short of hysterical. The author styled himself "General" Homer Lea; and "General" Lea has become almost as notorious as Captain Hobson in the chronic effort to keep alive the Japanese war-scare. His readers have believed that he was some military expert, and that his terrifying contentions were entitled to consideration. It seems a duty to expose these charlatans, because they do distinct damage with uninformed and unthinking people. The publication of a Japanese translation of this absurd and pestiferous book in Tokyo makes this a proper occasion to expose more widely its real character and that of its writer; and perhaps, among the various critical exposures which might be published, there is no brief one better than the article here reprinted from the *Japan Chronicle* of February 11, 1912. The article is followed by a letter to the *San Francisco Chronicle* by President Jordan, of Stanford University, referred to by the writer of the article in the Japanese newspaper, in which Dr. Jordan, who happens to know all about this "General" Homer Lea, characterizes him as he deserves. It is to be hoped that we shall see no more exhibitions of "valor" from this particular charlatan; but, unhappily, his tribe is a large one.—*Editor*.

author of "The Valor of Ignorance" is "General Homer Lea, an American Staff Officer," though as a matter of fact this person has absolutely no connection with the American army. As will be seen by a letter from Dr. Jordan, of the Stanford University, which appears in another column, Mr. Lea has not had any military training or education, nor has he at any time held a military office in America. Dr. Jordan says he was a second-year student in the Stanford University, that he went to Canton in 1900, where he joined a secret society of agitators, and returned to America with a title which he translates as "Lieutenant-General." From other sources we learn that for a short time Mr. Lea was an officer in a company of Chinese cadets in California. After returning to America from China, he became a contributor to magazines and a writer of books. According to a sketch of his life published in "Who's Who in America," "General" Lea "undertook the relief of Kwang Hsu, Emperor of China, in 1900-01; he raised and commanded the Second Army Division in 1904, holding rank of Lieutenant-General over these forces." When a well-known book of reference allows such statements to appear, it is perhaps not surprising that Japanese translators or publishers should believe there is some ground for the claims made by Mr. Lea. They may perhaps be surprised to learn that there was any attempt made to relieve the Emperor Kwang Hsu, and they may wonder how it comes about that no mention of such an expedition has ever been made by any reputable authority on China; but the "Second Division" sounds good and imposing. When the compilers of "Who's Who in America" allowed Mr. Lea to pose in its pages as a "Lieutenant-General" commanding the "Second Army Division," it doubtless never occurred to them that this designation, presumably applied to Californian Chinese cadets, would be understood in Japan as having reference to the regular American forces.

Those who have read "The Valor of Ignorance" will be aware that it is written to make the flesh of Americans creep. Those who have not read it may judge of its style from Mr. Lea's fierce denunciation of the advocates of International Arbitration as "visionaries who are striving through subservient politicians, feminism, clericalism, sophism, and other such toilers (*sic*), to drag this already much deluded Republic into that Brobdingnagian

swamp from whose deadly gases there is no escape." This sounds very terrible, but all that it means is that, in Mr. Lea's view, there is no such thing as international justice,—that all nations are subject to the Law of Struggle, the Law of Survival, and that the fittest to survive will be those who pile up armaments, decorate coast-lines with fortifications, and devote laborious days to protecting themselves from possible aggression. Any plan to thwart the Law of Survival, he says, "to short-cut it, to circumvent it, is folly such as man's conceit alone makes possible. Never has this been tried—and man is ever at it—but the end has been gangrenous and fatal." How a law can be "short-cutted" we do not know, and why, having been short-cutted, the end should be gangrenous, is somewhat of a mystery; but the book has had a large sale, and we suppose appeals to minds which like to be shocked and made to shudder, knowing all the time there is no real occasion for it. "General" Homer Lea pretends to set forth the plans of Japan against the United States. He pictures a great expedition setting forth from Japan for the capture of America. Like a genuine patriot, he indicates what he regards as weak places which the Japanese would immediately seize, and where they would throw up earth works and protect the landing of their troops. As a result, the Japanese would reach a position to make their own terms, and thus the "valor of ignorance" is shown to be quite ineffective in the protection of the national security.

We learn that this precious bundle of nonsense was translated into Japanese some months ago, but the late government refused to give permission for its publication. Needless to say, we do not defend such interference with free speech. Apart from those matters of public morality upon which general agreement exists, government censorship is always to be deprecated. But private individuals or companies have a perfect right to say whether or not they will lend their services for the dissemination of a work which seeks to commend itself to public notice by a falsehood, and it is for this reason that we express surprise at finding the Haku-bunkwan associating itself with such a work or advertising it by the methods adopted in the *Taiyo*. There, as we have already stated, the work is declared to be by "General Homer Lea, an American Staff Officer," a statement that is entirely false and

calculated to discredit the officers of the American army. Its title in the Japanese version is not "The Valor of Ignorance," but "The War between Japan and America," the future being understood. Already, it is alleged, the work has reached its seventeenth edition,—apparently abroad,—and it is commended to the Japanese as a book which is arousing "the chivalrous spirit of the European and American nations." Presumably this statement is made on the authority of the writer, for we observe that the book contains not only a portrait of the famous "General," but a letter from him. As it is recognized that "The War between Japan and America," with its suggestion that the Japanese are in a position to conquer the United States, may possibly have considerable influence in Chauvinistic circles, the advertisement says, "Our countrymen should beware of pride after reading this book, for in that case they will suffer insult." Then follows a description of the work, which is worth giving at some length:—

"The translation has now been published of the 'Valor of Ignorance'—at present the most popular book in the world (*sic*). The author, notwithstanding the fact that he is an American staff officer, has been bold enough to deal with the question of war between Japan and America, and in connection therewith even predicts a great victory for Japan. Now he admires Bushido and sheds tears upon the tombstones of the Forty-seven Samurai; now he worships from afar at the Shokonsha [the shrine at Kudan, Tokyo, for the reception of those who fell in the war], and eulogizes the august Mikado of Japan. Then he is indignant at the spiritless Americans who are sunk in commercialism. Truly his utterance must arouse the world with its fervent concern for his country! The U.S. Government purchased copies of the book from the first edition down to the tenth: the Kaiser bought tens of thousands of copies of the book for distribution among his officers and men of both services. Then British millionaires, startled at this, laid out twenty thousand sterling, and endeavored to counteract its effect by hastily establishing a peace movement. All these facts demonstrate how universally popular is this book. The translator has traveled in China and French Indo-China, and immediately on his return home contributed a long serial to the *Osaka Asahi* entitled 'An Eye Witness's Account of the Chinese Revolution'—a contribution which was greatly appreciated by its readers. Such is the extraordinary history of the translator. He has now acquired the copyright of the translation, and has brandished his vigorous arm. . . . More interesting than a novel, more mysterious than philosophy, this is really excellent reading matter for Oriental men with red blood in their veins."

From this it would seem that the translator has almost as exalted an opinion of himself as the author. The interest of the American Government and the Kaiser in the book, the "chivalry" that is being aroused in Europe and America, to say nothing of the fear which spiritless British millionaires have of the teachings of the valiant "General," and their hurried organization of a peace movement by way of counteraction,—it is all too funny for serious criticism. But the curious fact is that such a book as this is put forth by a reputable Japanese publishing house, and seriously advertised in terms that are reminiscent of the most extreme parody of braggadocio in words, without any one, apparently, seeing in it aught that is amiss. It will be interesting to note the effect of the publication of this absurd book in Japan. We can only hope that our vernacular contemporaries who believe that Japan's future lies in the ways of peaceful progress will expose the pretensions of the writer and translator of "The War between Japan and America." A man who takes a title to which he has no right is a charlatan. He is not entitled to credit, more especially when he makes a great parade of patriotism, and his sincerity may justly be questioned.—*The Japan Chronicle*, Kobe, February 11, 1912.

"THE VALOR OF IGNORANCE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHRONICLE":

Sir,—Professor Fujizawa of the University at Tokyo tells me that Homer Lea's "The Valor of Ignorance" has been translated into Japanese in lurid fashion, under the title of "The Future War between Japan and America." I do not know whether you have noticed the book or not, but you will find it singularly worthless. It represents the old military theory of the times of Napoleon, of which Lea has been a persistent student, and it totally neglects moral and financial values, as, for instance, when he says that "no nation was ever poorer by a single potato" for its expenditures in armament and war!

I wish to say, also, if the book should come before your notice, that this so-called "General" Lea has not and never had any connection with the United States Army, nor with any other recognized army. He was a second-year student in Stanford University, went to Canton

in 1900, joined some secret society of agitators, and came back soon with a title from this society which he translates as Lieutenant-General.

The book is worthless, and may be mischievous in its influence. It pretends to give a detailed account of the plans of Japan against the United States, and also gives an account of how and where they will probably land to carry out these plans. It would be unfortunate if anybody in Japan should consider him as a representative of the American army.

Very truly yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 10, 1912.

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Waving The Yellow Flag in California

By JOHN B. WALLACE

*The Truth About the Japanese in California Told
by a Former Newspaper Man Who Has Lived
in the State for Many Years and Who
Is Now an Orange Grower in
Southern California*

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Waving the Yellow Flag in California

By John B. Wallace

THIS SEEMS TO BE THE OPEN SEASON for perils and menaces. With all the perils and menaces now threatening our devoted country not from without but within, it certainly looks like rocky sailing for our Ship of State. A strange thing about these menaces and perils is that they seem to run to colors. Hardly has one of our Southern brethren been persuaded to resume his seat after declaiming the dreadful menace of the black when up pops a brother from the East or Middle West and raves about the red. And now out here on the Pacific Coast we have discovered a new peril. It's a yellow one this time. And most appropriately it is the yellow press that has done the most to advertise this latest menace to our national peace and vegetable gardens.

Another peculiar thing about these perils is that we have seemed to invite them upon ourselves. We throw our doors wide open, invite in the oppressed peoples of the world and then, after they have with great enthusiasm availed themselves of the invitation, we hastily cast about for means to kick them out. Of course we didn't invite the Negroes to this country. We brought them over—rather forced our hospitality upon them, as it were. And the reds—we found one bunch of reds already in possession of the country. What we didn't swap away from them with beads and bad whiskey, we took by force and then herded what reds had survived the whiskey and buckshot on to reservations.

Perils and Perils.

The reds who are causing us annoyance now were originally whites, but underfeeding and overtalking gave them their present complexion. Short rations and an indigestible mental diet are apt to have that effect.

It is a comparatively easy thing to dispose of the black menace and the red peril.

But our yellow peril out on the Pacific Coast is indeed a peril of another color. We are not dealing with ignorant Negroes or half-starved, half-baked theorists from darkest Europe. The Japanese are a race every whit as proud and sensitive as our own—a race that considers itself to be just as good if not better than any nation on earth. And what is more to the point it is a nation that is ready to back its claims with several million trained soldiers and a big fleet of modern warships.

Once before we had an incipient yellow peril out on the Pacific Coast. A bunch of Chinamen had the nerve to think they could come to our land of the free and obtain a monopoly of the chop suey and laundry businesses. But we soon showed them where to head in, or rather where not to head in.

Now to be frank it was only a short time ago that I discovered we had

this yellow peril in the form of the Japanese in our midst. As a matter of fact, the greater part of our three million more or less white residents of California was also in dense ignorance of the fact that we were living over a smouldering volcano. We had had a few slight earthquakes, it is true, but we had never laid them to the Japanese. The first intimation came last winter when it was discovered that one George Shima, the Japanese potato king, had what virtually amounted to a corner on potatoes. Mr. Shima, it was charged, was profiteering. Of course none of his white rivals among the commission men would descend to such tactics. They laid it on to Mr. Shima. At once our little brown brothers suffered a slump in popularity. And then to cap the climax, this spring the Japanese obtained a corner on the strawberries. No more nice berries at one nickel a box. Two for a quarter was the minimum. If it looked like a glut the Japanese would destroy a large quantity of berries and keep the price up. At least that is what they were accused of doing, although it was never proved and the district attorney's office failed to prosecute. The price of everything else had aviated, but Californians demanded their inalienable rights. Strawberries always had been five cents a box. Down with the Japanese for daring to ask more!

Then a few of our enterprising politicians discovered that their fences needed repairing. What better material could be found than the carcasses of the Japanese. They had no vote, so wham! on to them with both feet.

Thus once more the yellow peril was brought to the fore after lying quiescent for a number of years while the Japanese Navy was policing our unprotected Pacific shores during the late unpleasantness and the local Japanese were supplying us with vegetables and fish. Our politicians were too busy then bringing our boys out of Siberia and the yellow press needed its space to apologize for and extenuate the depredations of the Germans.

Agitation against the immigration of the Japanese commenced in California back in 1906 and 1907 when Japanese laborers began coming into the country in such numbers as to constitute a real menace to the laboring men of the country, who at that time were finding it difficult to obtain jobs for themselves.

The matter was taken up with the Federal Government in an attempt to have the immigration laws amended. The government, not wishing to appear to discriminate against the subjects of a powerful and friendly nation, entered into diplomatic negotiations with the Japanese Government and the so-called *gentlemen's agreement* was drawn up. Under its terms the Japanese Government agreed to restrict the issuance of passports to the United States to students, business men and farmers.

After Japanese laborers had been thus excluded the state legislature of California passed a bill in 1913 forbidding Japanese to own agricultural land and limiting leases to a period of three years. This provision, of course, was only applicable to such Japanese as were ineligible to citizenship and did not affect the rights of Japanese born in the United States and therefore citizens per se.

An initiative petition has been prepared which would place a measure upon the ballot next fall that would practically prevent a Japanese from owning or leasing any agricultural land whatever in the state.

This petition is being circulated at the time I am writing this article and I do not know just what success it is having. Men who have leased large tracts to the Japanese have assured me that the proposed law is unconstitutional and that they do not fear it.

California Oriental Exclusion League.

Since the close of the World War the California Oriental Exclusion League and similar organizations have kept up a constant agitation against the Japanese. There was an attempt made by State Senator J. M. Inman, president of the league and one of the most active foes of the Japanese, and others to introduce anti-Japanese legislation at the last session of the legislature. Failing in this a determined attempt was made to induce Governor Stephens to call an extra session to consider such legislation.

Governor Stephens remained deaf to appeals, however, but instead put the State Board of Control to work gathering statistics. These statistics, to which I will refer in detail later, evidently caused the governor to experience a change of heart, for soon after receiving them he indited a letter to Secretary of State Colby asking for Federal aid in solving the problem.

Up to the present the State Department has taken no action upon the governor's letter, but a congressional sub-committee on immigration and naturalization is now out on the coast taking testimony upon the question. This committee will continue its hearings until late in the fall.

This, in brief, is the history of the legislative steps taken against the Japanese up to the present.

After reading the newspaper articles and the statements of some of our senators and other near statesmen, I was prepared to find the citizens of California in a furor of excitement over a new invasion of the Pacific Coast by the Japanese. But careful and thorough investigation found them to be in a remarkable state of calmness, considering the dire predictions daily hurled at them. Perhaps living so close to a peril has inured them to a situation that Californian representative statesmen at Washington view with alarm.

Reliable statistics have been hard to obtain. The figures furnished Governor Stephens by the State Board of Control are perhaps as nearly accurate as any. These have been gathered, I understand, largely from the Japanese consulates and correspond in many respects with figures furnished me by the Japanese themselves. The latter allege, however, that the Board of Control counted all the Japanese coming into the country but failed to allow for those returning to Japan.

No Real Anti-Japanese Feeling.

The Board of Control also included five thousand students at present at college in Japan. These latter are, therefore, not menacing us now, but constitute a reserve menace, as it were.

That the people of California are not stirred to deeds of violence against the Japanese is not the fault of some of the agitators. Their entire appeal is based upon passion and prejudice. Justice and fairness

have no part in their creed. There is also a considerable number of patriotic men who sincerely believe that it is advisable to prevent further increase of the Japanese in this country but are willing to accord to them the undoubtedly excellent qualities that they as a nation possess. These men are not responsible for the fulminations of the yellow press. But there is a certain class of politicians who are ready to stir up race hatred and bring this country to the verge of a war to gratify their own ambitions.

These men are only defeating their own ends. There is no wide-spread sentiment against the Japanese among the laboring class, the class most easily excited to riot. Their feeling as far as I have been able to learn by questioning men of various trades and crafts is largely one of indifference. The Japanese in this state are nearly all farmers. Instead of being in competition with labor they are supplying the laborers with food. Farm labor is so scarce that the small number of Oriental laborers, Japanese, Hindus or Chinese, can not fill the demand.

Farmers Not Against the Japanese.

Neither can I find any strong sentiment against the Japanese among the farmers themselves. There is some bitterness, it is true, evidenced by farmers who have been brought in direct competition with the Japanese, but even in the reports of the hearings before the immigration committee, as printed in the newspapers most strongly opposed to the Japanese, I find nearly as many farmers testifying for the Japanese as against them.

Every banker to whom I have talked has had nothing but good words for the Japanese. Business men generally speak favorably of them and deplore the agitation against them.

The greatest opposition to the Japanese seems to be in the northern part of the state. They have concentrated strongly in certain districts there, and in some cities such as Stockton and Sacramento there seems to be a decidedly bitter feeling.

In Stockton especially, some of the citizens are so opposed to the Japanese that they refused to appear before the immigration committee and testify because the committee had visited the immense ranch of George Shima who reclaimed the river delta lands.

They overlooked the fact that an investigating committee is supposed to investigate both sides of a question. Such prejudice, however, is not common, and there has been a disposition among both those opposed to the Japanese and the Japanese themselves to give the committee all the aid in their power in uncovering the real truth of the situation.

I have lived upon the Pacific Coast for thirty-odd years. During that period I have had considerable dealings with the Japanese, both as a newspaper man and an orange grower. I have known them as house servants, as railroad laborers, as orange pickers, as business men, as farmers, and during my college days as fellow students. I have found them to average just about the same as any other nationality. I have known good ones, bad ones and indifferent ones.

Japanese Comparable to Germans and Swedes.

As desirable immigrants, I would class them with the Germans and Swedes except for the fact that their Asiatic race prevents them from becoming easily assimilated.

They are industrious, thrifty, cleanly and honest. There is no class of immigrants that adopts American customs more quickly than the Japanese. A Chinaman may live in this country for a lifetime but he still clings to the dress and habits of his native land. But from the moment a Japanese lands in this country he begins to pick up our ways. It is this habit of his, in picking up our ways, that has made him unfavorable with the housewives in California. Since he has obtained control of the berry and vegetable markets he has been suspected and, I fear, justly suspected of profiteering. Anyhow he has carried coöperation to the nth degree and I'll confess has aroused a feeling of envy among farmers and fruit growers who thought they had a corner on the co-operative principle.

The Japanese are law abiding. As a newspaper reporter I worked around police headquarters in several of the larger northwestern cities and I can not recall ever having seen or heard of a Japanese being booked for theft or burglary. We have had them in for gambling and fighting among themselves and occasionally for intoxication, but they seem to have an innate respect for property rights.

Absurd Complaints Against the Japanese.

I have heard it charged that they are cunning and deceitful and were guilty of sharp practice. In some individual instances I have found this to be true, but no more so than any other race that comes to a foreign country and is made the prey of every sharper and crook. In nearly every instance where it has been charged that the Japanese attempted to take advantage in a business deal I have found that the man who made the complaint had simply been beaten at his own game. The Japanese are shrewd and when they are in doubt they go to a white lawyer. I believe that anyone who deals honestly and fairly with the Japanese will receive the same treatment. At least that has been my own experience with them. Much of the prejudice against them I have found to be due to ignorance and racial distrust. You will find the same feeling against any class of foreigners whose language and customs are different from ours.

Up in the state of Washington the Japanese have been accused of indulging in that noble indoor sport of bootlegging. This may be true. Our liquor laws appeal neither to our foreign-born population nor, it might be added, to a considerable portion of native-born residents. Bootlegging out on the coast is not a business that is monopolized by any particular race. In one of the principal cities of the northwest the mayor and a number of the higher police officials were indicted for complicity in the same sort of an offense. With such examples of citizenship is it small wonder that the Japanese try to break into the game while the getting is good?

Health inspectors have had some trouble with Japanese regarding the covering of perishables on sale at the public markets, and there have been complaints made regarding sanitation at their homes on farms and leased lands. The charge against the stall keepers is undoubtedly true, but the same difficulty has been experienced with other races as well as with native-born American citizens. They dislike to keep their wares covered because it renders them less attractive to the public and this law is evaded whenever possible.

I was surprised, however, to hear that the home surroundings of the Japanese were insanitary. This has been contrary to my experience, as I have always found the Japanese as a race exceptionally cleanly about their persons and surroundings, comparing favorably in this respect with any other class of foreign immigrants. Such farmhouses as I have visited, while rather bare and meagerly furnished, were scrupulously clean.

Alleged Evasion of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

The most serious charge made against the Japanese is that they are violating the so-called *gentlemen's agreement*. In Governor Stephens' letter to Secretary Colby he does not directly charge the Japanese Government with bad faith in this matter, but he leaves it to be inferred that the Japanese officials are not ignorant of what is taking place.

The main basis for the charge is the fact that, if the governor's figures are correct, the Japanese population in California has increased more than one hundred per cent during the past ten years. The 1910 census showed a population of 41,356. The figures gathered by the State Board of Control now show a Japanese population in California of 87,279. Of this number 5,000 are said to be in school in Japan. The Japanese associations, organizations formed by the Japanese to promote the Americanization of the resident Japanese, assert that the Board of Control has overestimated the number of Japanese in California by at least ten thousand. The census figures when released will settle this argument.

The figures compiled by the Board of Control show a total of 20,331 births among the Japanese resident in California during the ten-year period. The Japanese are great admirers of the late Theodore Roosevelt, and evidently took his admonitions respecting the desirability of large families to heart. They find, however, that there is no pleasing their critics and by following the advice of the greatest of Americans they have only succeeded in getting themselves in deeper waters.

The figures of the State Board of Control place the number of Japanese immigrants to this country since 1910 at 25,592. Of these 5,749 are said to be "picture brides."

These so-called picture brides are Japanese women who are betrothed while still in their native country to Japanese men in this country through an exchange of photographs. The scheme was adopted to give the young Japanese in the United States an opportunity to get married to women of their own race. It is patterned after our well-known matrimonial agencies, although it must be said that these marriages turn out much better than those in this country conducted under similar auspices.

The entrance of picture brides has been permitted by our immigration service under the terms of the *gentlemen's agreement*, which allowed a Japanese to obtain a passport "to resume an acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife or child residing in the United States."

Because of complaints against this practice the Japanese Government some six months ago revoked permission for unmarried Japanese women to come to this country. A number of passports issued before the order of revocation are still good but as soon as these are used no more picture brides will be allowed to emigrate, and unmarried Japanese on this side of the water will be compelled to take white brides or wait until the present generation of Japanese girls in this country grows up.

Evasions of the *gentlemen's agreement* charged by Governor Stephens are the bringing in of farm laborers under the guise of farmers and of dependents. Under the terms by which Japanese are permitted to lease land this seems to be a distinction without a difference.

Practically all land cultivated by the Japanese in this state with the exception of a very small portion that is actually owned by the Japanese or their children is leased to them by the white owners who find that they can get more in rentals than they could by working the land themselves. The land is usually subleased by the lessee to a number of his countrymen who either work it on contract or coöperatively. Whether these men are called farmers or farm laborers is largely a matter of terminology.

Another class of what might be called farm laborers is the orange and lemon pickers and pruners employed in the citrus districts of Southern California. Speaking as an orange grower, I will say we were mighty glad to get these Japanese laborers during the war when it was practically impossible to obtain men to pick our fruit and work our orchards. There was nothing said about menaces or yellow perils in those days.

It is also charged that a great many Japanese have been smuggled across the border from Mexico. Influential men among the Japanese admit that some of their countrymen have come into this country in that manner, but they say the number is very small. They tell me that there are very few Japanese in Mexico at the present time, and that those who are there are making just as much money as their countrymen in the United States and therefore have no inducement to drift across the border.

The fact remains, however, that owing to the large stretch of border practically unguarded it is comparatively easy for aliens to pass back and forth. Federal inspectors are constantly on the alert and many who have illegally crossed have been detected and deported.

No Real Menace.

It is difficult for the average citizen to work himself into a frenzy of alarm over the danger of less than 100,000 Japanese crowding out a population of some three million Caucasians, but when the yellow press assures him that these alien residents have acquired control of practically all the good land in the state he begins to sit up and take notice.

Let us see how the facts as contained in the report of the State Board of Control bear out these ominous predictions. The total land area of California is given at 99,617,280 acres. We will eliminate the greater part of this vast territory and only consider the farm lands, of which it is alleged that the Japanese have obtained control. The total acreage of farm lands in the state is 27,931,444 acres.

Of this amount the Japanese own, or are purchasing on contract, 74,769 acres and have under lease from the white owners 383,287 acres, or a total under their control of 458,056 acres. In other words, less than two per cent of the farm lands of California is being farmed by the Japanese and all but 74,769 acres is under three-year leases that may be canceled when terminated, at the owners' option.

Thus it may be seen that the white residents of California still have a fairly good grip on their farm lands, possessing some 27,473,388 acres,

with 383,287 more that they can take away from the Japanese any time the notion strikes them.

It is true that the Japanese have under control some of the best land in the state. A good portion of their farming is devoted to truck gardening, which requires rich land. The Japanese, because of their squat stature and unremitting industry, make ideal truck gardeners. This form of farming does not come naturally to the native American. We are as a race too tall for this back-breaking work, and we haven't the patience that it requires to be a successful gardener on a large scale. The greater portion of garden truck in the United States is raised by our immigrants and of all immigrants the Japanese, because of the qualities I have mentioned, is the most successful.

Ridiculous Charges.

One of the most ridiculous arguments against the Japanese is the charge that they exhaust the soil on leased lands. Anyone who knows anything at all about gardening knows that to be profitable it requires constant and most heavy fertilization. Even if the leasers of the land were so lacking in business acumen as to allow their land to be depleted it would not pay the Japanese themselves. One reason that barnyard manures are so scarce and high is the demand for them from the Japanese truck gardeners. The Japanese are also heavy users of commercial fertilizers, especially fish scraps, the value of which they were among the first to recognize.

An argument which their opponents in California use among the workingmen to excite prejudice against the Japanese is that they work long hours and on Sundays. Both these statements are facts. Show me a successful farmer, white, black or yellow, who does not work long hours. Nature is not constructed on an eight-hour schedule. The farmer must make hay while the sun shines. Even the proletarian government of Russia recognizes that fact.

The Japanese themselves were the first to recognize the fact that unless they wished to become extremely unpopular with the working classes in this country they would be compelled to demand higher wages and work shorter hours than they had been accustomed to in their own country.

The first immigrants to come to this country were employed on the railroads as section-hands and in other forms of labor where gangs could be employed. Students coming to the United States took positions as domestic servants in order more quickly to learn our language and customs. The Japanese are proud, but they have none of that quality, only too common among our younger generation, known as false pride. Their philosophy has long embraced the Christian principle of service.

The agitation in 1906 and 1907 that led to the adoption of the *gentlemen's agreement* convinced the Japanese that they were adopting the wrong method by attempting to compete with American labor. They, therefore, sought for undeveloped fields of industry where they would not incur disfavor. They found this in farming and fishing.

Japanese Farmers in Northern California.

There are five well-defined districts in California where the Japanese have gained some ascendancy in farming over the white population.

The first district is in the northern part of the state in Glenn, Colusa and Butte counties. This is the great rice-growing district of the state and it is to the Japanese that the credit should go for developing this great industry of the Sacramento Valley. They were not the first to try rice growing in California, but it is undisputed that they were the first to make it a commercial success.

These rice fields have been developed from practically worthless land that would not bring an average of ten dollars an acre. Now, thanks to the perseverance of the Japanese who stuck to the growing of rice in the face of yearly losses, this land is now worth \$100 an acre and rents from \$35 to \$45 an acre a year. The Japanese claim no credit for superior skill in growing rice, but admit that they owe their success to following the methods advised by the United States Government experimental stations. Encouraged by the success of the Japanese the white farmers again took up rice growing, after having practically abandoned the field to the Orientals, and now outnumber them, having 107,000 acres to the Japanese 33,000.

This is what has occurred in practically every branch of farming industry in which the Japanese have assumed a dominating position. They have taken up industries and land abandoned by the white population and made a success of them. It is these very men who have failed where the Japanese have succeeded who are making the biggest outcry against them.

The second district where the Japanese have obtained a strong foothold is in sections of San Joaquin, Sacramento, Solano, Yolo, Sutter and Placer counties, where they raise asparagus, vegetables, fruits, and grapes. There they have reclaimed thousands of acres along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers from swamp and tule beds and have converted great stretches of semi-desert land where nothing was raised except scant crops of hay into orchard and garden areas.

The third district occupied by the Japanese to some extent is in Fresno, Kings and Tulare counties. Here they took what was considered practically worthless clay lands and made them into the richest vineyards of the state. They planted vineyards and orchards in pure sand and made them bear and they extended the citrus district north into Tulare County, changing sheep pasture into land worth a thousand dollars an acre.

Japanese Farmers in Southern California.

The fourth district, in Los Angeles and Orange counties, was already developed, especially the citrus districts, where the Japanese have never been able to obtain a foothold. They have rendered invaluable service here, however, as pickers and pruners in the orange groves, sharing the bulk of this work with the Mexicans and a scattering of Hindus. It is as truck gardeners that they have prospered in Los Angeles County, where they keep the city of Los Angeles supplied with fresh garden truck the year round. Even in this industry there has been no tendency to crowd out the white farmers. Out of the 418,998 acres of land under cultivation in Los Angeles County the Japanese have under lease only 40,000 acres and own but a scant 2,500 acres. The fact that they produce more

than the white farmers is because they farm more intensively, not because they own more land.

The fifth district occupied to some extent by Japanese is in Imperial County, where they have braved the intense heat of the Imperial Valley and gone extensively into the raising of cantaloupes and vegetables. Here they have also to a great extent pioneered. The white owners of the land, unable to get labor who could stand the heat of the valley, have been glad to lease their lands at large rentals to the Japanese.

What the Japanese Farmers Produce.

Last year, 1919, the cry was underproduction. This was given as the main reason for the well-known high cost of living. "Our workers are slacking on their jobs" was the universal complaint. Let us see what these Japanese whom we would now unceremoniously boot out of California did for us in the line of production. The total value of the food products raised by them in California is given at \$67,145,730.

This sum was divided among the following products:

Berries, \$3,629,400; celery, \$1,105,400; asparagus, \$1,804,860; seeds and nursery stock, \$3,369,400; onions, \$3,459,050; tomatoes, \$1,068,660; sugar beets, \$4,800,360; cantaloupes, \$2,822,150; green vegetables, \$10,997,000; potatoes, \$5,298,900; hops, \$743,400; grapes, \$8,136,900; beans, \$2,525,000; fruits and nuts, \$8,457,400; hay, grain and corn, \$2,611,100; rice, \$3,600,000; cotton, \$1,950,000; miscellaneous products, \$766,750.

In California the cost of living, especially in food products has always ranged considerably lower than in eastern states, largely because green vegetables and garden truck have been obtainable the year round. How much of this we owe to the Japanese the table plainly reveals.

The Pot and the Kettle.

These politicians who now profess such great solicitude for the California farmers and wish to protect them from the deadly Japanese were being fed during the war by these same Japanese whom, by means of the anti-leasing law, they wish to exclude from the soil altogether. They argue that if the Japanese had not been here then the lands would have been occupied by the white farmers, but this leads to the natural question, What were the white farmers doing that they let the Japanese get in on the land? This land was available here in California to the white farmer fifty years before the Japanese ever thought of coming to America.

Some of these same politicians who are now holding up their hands in holy horror, because Japan is hankering after a slice of China and Korea and is sending over a few thousands of her best citizens to California to teach us those doctrines of thrift and industry which Benjamin Franklin preached when our nation was born, are the very ones who have been urging the government to send our soldiers—these same "our boys" over whom they shed crocodile tears when they were sent to Siberia—to clean up Mexico. Of course, this was for Mexico's own good, but the Japanese say the same thing about China. I am not defending Japan's course with China. I sincerely hope that the other nations will bring her to see the error of her ways, but why should the pot call the kettle black?

We must not forget that Japan was isolated for centuries and was perfectly content in that isolation until we sent a fleet over there and awoke her. The Japanese have proved to be good imitators and in their national policy they have only imitated the so-called civilized nations of the world whose motto has ever been "to git while the gittin' was good."

Japanese Fishing.

Another charge made against the Japanese is that they have gained a monopoly of the fishing industry off the coast of California. Taking the records of the state game and fish commission we find that in 1919-20 there are 1,316 Japanese engaged as fishermen out of a total of all nationalities of 4,671, or twenty-eight per cent. The number of fishing boats operated by them is given as 355 against a total of 796 engaged in the industry.

There are several arguments advanced against allowing the Japanese to engage in the fishing industry, but the only two worthy of serious consideration are whether it is wise to allow an alien race to obtain control of an important food supply, and whether in case of war these aliens would not be able to furnish valuable information to an enemy.

As to the first contention, I can see nothing more serious than perhaps some inconvenience for a time should difficulty arise with the Japanese fishermen. The sea is open to all and fishing is not such a difficult vocation nor Americans so helpless that they could not take over the fishing fleet and operate it successfully should necessity arise.

It may be said also to the credit of the Japanese fishermen that they are more law-abiding and live up to the fishing regulations better than the other aliens engaged in that industry off the coast of California.

Just the other day the yellow press came out with big headlines accusing the Japanese of violating the fishing laws in regard to the three-mile limit and asserted that they were openly defying the authorities and had fired on the wardens. As a matter of fact it was not the Japanese fishermen at all, but Austrians who were rebelling against the government, and instead of breaking the rules the Japanese were actually assisting in enforcing them. Most of the other newspapers acknowledged their mistake, but if the yellow press showed any tendency to set the public right I failed to notice it.

Unfairness of California Papers.

I have noticed this unfairness in nearly all California papers, especially in the reports of the hearings before the immigration committee.

They have universally adopted the old trick of playing up in the headlines all testimony unfavorable to the Japanese while burying in the body of the article the testimony in their favor. In publishing the report of the Board of Control they selected and played up only the facts that militated against the Japanese, although the report comprehensively embraced a mass of testimony in their favor. Such a course when pursued by practically every newspaper in the state is bound to arouse prejudice and racial feeling against the Japanese, especially among those who have no personal acquaintance among them.

The argument against the Japanese being allowed to learn the secrets of coast defense is a valid one, but it should not apply to the Japanese

alone. There are nearly two thousand other aliens engaged in fishing off the coast of California, including Italians, Austrians, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Greeks, Danes, Chinese, Swedes, Norwegians, Finns, English, Russians, Canadians, French, and Mexicans. American fishermen number only a few over a thousand.

I do not believe that anyone except American citizens should be allowed in coastwise trade or fishing. The experience of England has shown us the value of these boats for patrol duty and they should be manned by sailors who can be depended upon to do their duty by their country.

Japanese Stock in Land-Owning Corporations.

The Japanese are charged, and justly so, with evading the statute designed to prevent them from owning land. They do this with the assistance of white lawyers who aid them in forming corporations of which there are now some four hundred in the state.

To comply with the law the majority of the stock in these corporations is issued in the name of an American citizen or citizens who act as trustees, although the business of the corporations is really transacted by the aliens. Lately it has been a favorite device of the Japanese to issue this controlling stock to his American-born children and then act as their guardian. The courts have recently taken judicial notice of these practices and have refused to sanction them.

These practices are undoubtedly plain evasions of the law and most reprehensible, but it must be remembered that they could not occur without the connivance of American lawyers. When one notes the daily formation of blue-sky corporations organized by Americans for no other purpose than to fleece the public, he finds it hard to censure the Japanese for attempting to form corporations for the pursuit of legitimate business.

Japanese Business Honesty.

The charge often made denying the honesty of the Japanese in business transactions is disproved by the fact that their operations are much more readily financed by the banks than those of white men and citizens conducting similar businesses. This is admitted by the anti-Japanese agitators themselves, and is used by them as an argument against the Japanese.

All business men know how hard it is for a man with a shady reputation to obtain credit or money from business houses and banks, yet the Japanese have no difficulty in obtaining either and they number the bankers and financiers as among their best friends.

On page 79 of the report of the State Board of Control there is the following paragraph:

“Farm advisers and others complain that American farmers, lessees and intended growers are not so liberally financed by the interests above mentioned (commission houses, canneries, packers, beet sugar factories, bankers, etc.) as are the Orientals, especially the Japanese. Difficulty in securing funds for working capital is eliminating the Americans from competition with the Japanese.”

This is a sad commentary upon the thrift, industry, initiative and honesty of the Americans who are competing with the Japanese. Banks

and business houses are not conducting operations for their health. They loan money or extend credit only to those who they have reason to believe will make good.

The Way to Settle This Trouble.

So much for the economic situation regarding the Japanese in California. There is not the slightest doubt in the mind of any thinking person that unrestricted immigration of the Japanese or any other foreign race would create a serious situation in this country. But that such a situation should arise under the workings of the present treaty with Japan would require a most pessimistic imagination. That there have been abuses of this treaty is undeniably true, but they have been abuses by individual Japanese and not by the government. The government of Japan can not guarantee the honor of all of its citizens any more than could the government of the United States. Most Japanese in the United States are just as desirous of correcting these abuses as we are and there is no doubt in my mind that they will be corrected if handled through diplomatic channels.

Matters certainly can never be amicably or satisfactorily adjusted if the bellicose, unfair and unequitable methods pursued by many of the anti-Japanese agitators in this state are continued. I have too much faith in the genius and energy of the American people to be willing to believe that they can be crowded out of any industry in which they really wish to attain success. The Japanese themselves recognized the fact that they had no chance for competition in anything but certain lines where there was opportunity for all, and Americans had not chosen to avail themselves of the opportunity. I have failed to find one American farmer in California who has suffered from the competition of the Japanese, but I have found a number who have failed through their own lack of foresight or industry and then blamed it upon the Japanese. And another thing, disabuse your mind of any idea that all the Japanese are successful. They have just as large a proportion of failures as our native farmers. Mr. Sho Inouye, president of the Japanese *Daily News*, of Los Angeles, who has since become wealthy in the importing business, told me that he made a flat failure when he tried farming and nearly went broke in the Imperial Valley. Not all Japanese are successful farmers, business men or fishermen.

No Fear of Japanese Monopoly.

No one hundred thousand nor five hundred thousand Japanese are going to monopolize any industry in this state unless our citizens are willing that they do so. The argument of lower standards of living falls flat before the fact, which opponents of the Japanese themselves admit, that the Japanese demand and get higher wages than other classes of labor in the same field. The average Japanese may live on simpler food than the American, but when it comes to other things he insists on the best. There is no more liberal spender than a Japanese youth.

Like practically all foreigners, it takes only a few years of life in America to raise their standard of living to a point equal to if not in excess of that maintained by native Americans. Compare the meals of the average prosperous immigrant, for instance, with the table set by our

frugal New Englanders or a certain class of farmers in the Middle West and South. This standard of living bugaboo is all a myth. Men, whether Oriental or Occidental, acquire material comforts just as rapidly as their purse will permit them.

The Japanese immigrants who have come to this country are young men who come here because they think they can better their condition. You may rest assured that they are not going backward but forward, and this applies to spiritual as well as material things. It is a mighty poor brand of civilization that America teaches if it will fall before the Oriental idea. The Japanese are an intensely practical people and they are not only adopting our customs and habits, but are gradually absorbing our idealistic philosophy, a philosophy whose idealism we endeavor to hide even from ourselves. But they recognize it as a practical philosophy and as such it appeals to them. If at any time in the past they were disposed to emulate the German idea of *kultur* that time has now passed, because Germany has made a failure while, on the other hand, we are left the most powerful nation on the globe. No race as intelligent as the Japanese is going to imitate a failure. The military caste that once ruled Japan is daily losing its grip and, it might be added, no small part of its slipping is due to the missionary work of Californian Japanese.

Naturalize the Japanese.

Granting that it would not be wise or practicable to add materially to the Japanese population now in California, the question arises as to what we are going to do with those already here. The position of a Japanese in this country is an anomalous one. We deny him the right of citizenship, and then point to him as a menace because he is still a subject of the mikado. Some day we are going to have a number of Japanese citizens who are native-born. There are 21,611 minor children of Japanese in California today with 5,000 more attending universities in Japan. These children become citizens of this country when of age, unless they renounce allegiance.

Much ado is being made over the fact that the Japanese Government considers the children of its subjects, although born in a foreign country, still to be subject to the nation of their parents. So do other foreign countries, and for that matter a child of a citizen of the United States does not lose his citizenship because he is born abroad.

These Japanese children plainly have the right to expatriate themselves. Section Two of Part A of the Japanese Law of Expatriation states, "When a Japanese subject obtains of his or her own accord the right of citizenship or subjectship of a foreign nation, he or she is expatriated."

Thus it can be seen that if the parents of these American-born children were allowed to become citizens it would not even be necessary for these children to expatriate themselves. I have not talked to one Japanese in this country who professed a desire ever to reside permanently again in Japan. They like our climate, our way of living and doing business, and they are willing to adopt our form of government and become loyal citizens.

After a careful study of the question based upon personal knowledge and facts compiled from reliable sources, I have reached the conclusion that there is only one serious obstacle to Japanese immigration—that is the matter of assimilation. A small leaven of unassimilated Japanese can do no harm to this country; in fact, they can be of distinct benefit, but they never could be allowed to come here in the numbers permitted persons of the Caucasian race. We are evolving a new race in this country, but in this great melting pot Asiatics and Negroes will not fuse.

The Remedy.

There is, in my opinion, a very simple remedy for the so-called Japanese problem in California. I believe that those Japanese who are now here should be granted citizenship if they wish it. Otherwise they should be deported. We want no aliens in this country, with the exception of visitors and students, who do not intend to remain as loyal citizens.

The question of further immigration should be settled through diplomatic channels. The present agreement, salving as it does the Japanese pride, is all right but it needs some amending. The burden of proof, if a Japanese is caught illegally in this country, is now upon the government. It should be the other way. The Japanese should be compelled to prove their right to be here, as the Chinese are.

Any Japanese lawfully in this country who assists in smuggling or concealing smuggled Japanese should be deported. Test of the sincerity of the Japanese Government could be made easily by the suggestion of these two measures by our State Department. The incorporation of them into the treaty would stop effectually the illegal entry of Japanese into this country.

The enactment of the initiative petition, now being circulated, into law which would prohibit the leasing of land to Japanese would, in my judgment, be an unwise move on the part of the citizens of California.

In the first place it would serve no purpose except to inflame public sentiment in Japan against the United States and make it harder for the State Department to make an amicable adjustment of the present difficulties. The law, even if passed, in accordance with Governor Stephens' own admission in his letter to Secretary Colby, would not affect the Japanese control of agricultural holdings, as it could easily be evaded through personal employment contracts.

There never was a time in the history of our nation when it was more desirable that we remain on terms of peace and friendship with other nations than the present, when we have so many pressing economic questions to settle. It would be nothing short of a crime if we should be brought into conflict with Japan through the mouthings of a few self-seeking politicians and yellow newspapers over a matter that could be settled in a few hours' friendly conference between level-headed representatives of both nations.

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JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

STATEMENT

OF

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1919



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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES

THE SECOND

BY

JOHN BURNET

1679

JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, June 20, 1919.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we are honored this morning with the presence of Senator Phelan, who desires to be heard on the subjects we have been discussing for the last few days. Senator, the committee will be glad to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES D. PHELAN, A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Senator PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee for this opportunity. I had heard that Dr. Gulick, who is the proponent of a plan by which a certain percentage of the nationals of the various countries may be admitted to the United States, has made a statement before you. I have been so busy that I have been unable to follow in detail the testimony, but the doctor has spoken and written on the subject so much that I have the general idea that he desires to admit a certain number of nationals based on the number of the people of that particular nationality who are in the country at the present time, and I can only see in his plan a desire by that means of admitting Japanese and other orientals where now the law bars them; and I am very strongly of opinion that the bar should not be let down.

Of course, you gentlemen are familiar with the condition at the present time. The immigration law gives us a certain degree of protection. The Chinese-exclusion law gives us absolute protection from the Chinese, and the gentlemen's agreement is supposed to give us protection from the Japanese. Very little is said about the gentlemen's agreement because we have been overawed constantly by the supersensitiveness of the Japanese, who are always described as a proud people and who are seeking racial equality. Hence, there has been a certain subservience on the part of the administration, both the present administration and other administrations, in a diplomatic way, to avoid any conflict or any irritation. A very desirable thing to do when your life is not at stake, but you do not put on soft gloves with a man who is making an assault upon you. If you consider that he is endangering your life, you are very apt to treat him not in a diplomatic way, where diplomacy will not serve, but in a forcible way, and hence I have very little sympathy with the manner in which we have approached the subject, but I can understand the reasons for it.

The Japanese came out of their wars in Asia as great fighting men, and they were always considered a menace to the west coast of the United States and the islands of the Pacific; and when we came out of the war as great fighting men the situation changed, and there was less need of that careful diplomacy. If we had a statement to make we were free to make it, because we had behind us a very powerful Army and a very powerful fleet, and there is no use of mincing things. A man who is able to enforce his will is much better entitled to a hearing in the court of nations than a man who is impotent and powerless, or believes himself to be impotent and powerless, as the American people to a great extent believed themselves to be noncombatant before we demonstrated to the world our extraordinary ability in men and resources to fight battles.

So I think we can now talk on this subject in a perfectly free way, whereas during the last three years and during the pendency of the war I have felt a certain restraint; and although I saw the danger in the encroachment upon my State, I did not make any loud protest, because we were associated with Japan, among the other powers, in making a war against a common enemy.

I just want to clear the atmosphere and say that there ought to be plain talking at this time. There is no need of giving offense. I was asked the other day to give an interview to two or three leading papers in Japan by their correspondent here and I gave it to him, and he said I could release it in 48 hours, so far as he was concerned, as he was going to cable it to Tokyo, and I would be very glad to give it to the committee for its record. I will not take your time in reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the statement will be placed in the record.

(The interview referred to follows:)

INTERVIEW BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JAMES D. PHELAN, OF CALIFORNIA.

[Cabled by request to the Tokyo Nichi Nichi and Osaki Nainichi.]

I am glad to have this opportunity to explain to the people of Japan the California attitude toward them, which necessarily must be the national attitude. There should be no misunderstanding, because misunderstandings breed trouble. Great numbers of Japanese, men and women, are in California, and are acquiring large tracts of agricultural land. The State law forbids ownership, but they take it in the name of their children born on the soil, in the name of the corporations, and so circumvent the intent of the law. They also lease lands and work for a share of the crop, and when thus working for themselves are impossible competitors, and drive the white settlers, whose standards of living are different, from their farms. The white farmer is not free from cupidity when tempted by Japanese to sell out at high prices, and they do sell out and disappear. The State, therefore, is obliged as a simple matter of self-preservation to prevent the Japanese from absorbing the soil, because the future of the white race, American institutions, and western civilization are put in peril. The Japanese do not assimilate with our people and make a homogeneous population, and hence they can not be naturalized and admitted to citizenship. Therefore, the question is principally economic and partly racial. Japan herself excluded Chinese in order to preserve her own people, and that is what California, Anstralia, and Canada are doing. Japanese statesmen must surely, for these reasons, acquit Americans of race prejudice. We are willing to receive diplomats, scholars, and travelers from Japan on terms of equality, but we do not want her laborers. We admire their industry and cleverness, but for that very reason, being a masterful people, they are more dangerous. They are not content to work for wages, as the Chinese, who are excluded, but are always seeking control of the farm and the crop.

Immigration and naturalization are domestic questions, and no people can come to the United States except upon our own terms. We must preserve the soil for the Caucasian race. The Japanese, by crowding out our population, produce disorder and bolshevism among our own people, who properly look to our Government to protect them against the destructive competition. California, by acting in time, before the evil becomes even greater, expects to prevent conflict and to maintain good relations with the Japanese Government.

The American Government rests upon the free choice of the people, and a large majority of the people are engaged in farming pursuits. They form the backbone of every country—the repository of morals, patriotism, and thrift, and in time of their country's danger spring to its defense. They represent its prosperity in peace and its security in war. The soil can not be taken from them. Their standards of living can not suffer deterioration. Their presence is essential to the life of the State. I therefore urge the Japanese Government and people to put themselves in our place and to acquit us of any other purpose in the exclusion of oriental immigration than the preservation of our national life and the happiness and prosperity of men and women who founded the Republic, who have developed its resources, and who occupy the land. It is theirs in trust for their posterity.

The people of Asia have a destiny of their own. We shall aid them by instruction and example, but we can not suffer them to overwhelm the civilization which has been established by pioneers and patriots and which we are dutifully bound to preserve.

Senator PHELAN. The immigration laws are working out and the gentlemen's agreement is not serving the full purpose by any means for which it was intended.

I have before me here the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration of 1908, page 125, chapter 4, "Japanese immigration," and I understand this is the only printed reference in a book which is now out of print, to the so-called gentlemen's agreement, and the purpose which it was intended to serve.

I am at a loss, Mr. Chairman, to know exactly how far you have gone into this matter, and I do not know whether I should refresh your recollection by reading this.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not heard that read.

Senator PHELAN (reading):

To section 1 of the immigration act approved February 20, 1907, a proviso was attached reading as follows:

"That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign Government to its citizens to go to any other country than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other territory or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone."

The following is the comment of the commissioner general:

This legislation was the result of a growing alarm, particularly on the Pacific coast and in States adjacent to Canada and Mexico, that labor conditions would be seriously affected by a continuation of the then existing rate of increase in admissions to this country of Japanese of the laboring classes.

Mark you, this was in 1907:

The Japanese Government had always maintained a policy opposed to the emigration to continental United States of its subjects belonging to such classes; but it had found that passports granted by said Government to such subjects entitling them to proceed to Hawaii or to Canada or Mexico were being used to evade the said policy and gain entry to continental United States. On the basis of the above-quoted provision, the President, on March 14, 1907, issued a proclamation excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers,

skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom" (Department Circular No. 147, dated Mar. 26, 1907), which has been continued in force as rule 21 of the Immigration Regulations of July 1, 1907, outlined the policy and procedure to be followed by the immigration officials in giving effect to the law and proclamation.

In order that the best results might follow from an enforcement of the regulations, an understanding was reached with Japan that the existing policy of discouraging the emigration of its subjects of the laboring classes to continental United States should be continued and should, by cooperation of the Governments, be made as effective as possible. This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are nonlaborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists." With respect to Hawaii, the Japanese Government of its own volition states that, experimentally at least, the issuance of passports to members of the laboring classes proceeding thence would be limited to "former residents" and "parents, wives, or children of residents." The said Government has also been exercising a careful supervision over the subject of the emigration of its laboring class to foreign contiguous territory.

It will be seen, therefore, that the report for the past fiscal year covers a novel phase of the immigration question, viz. the exclusion from the continental portion of this country of certain classes of aliens, such exclusion being based in part upon the provision of law mentioned, but principally upon the mutual understanding of the two countries affected, and to be brought about largely by said two countries uniting upon a policy, agreed by both to be necessary and desirable, one of the countries exercising control over the departure and the other over the admissions of the persons whose emigration and immigration it is desired mutually to control. It is believed that the tables and comments furnished constitute a striking illustration of what far-reaching and desirable results may be expected to ensue when two equally interested countries cooperate in good faith toward their accomplishment. All that is necessary is that there shall exist a clear conception of the object sought by each country, a working understanding of the field to be covered and the administrative details to be carried out, and general good faith upon the part of all concerned.

That is the gentlemen's agreement which Dr. Gulick's plan seeks to break down. If it is true that Japan sincerely desires to keep men of the laboring classes at home, then there is no—

Mr. WELTY (interposing). Let me ask you right here, did you read the gentlemen's agreement which was promulgated by the President?

Senator PHELAN. The gentlemen's agreement has been something which nobody could put their hands on, and I stated this is the nearest expression in any public writing of the gentlemen's agreement. You will see that it avers here that the Japanese Government desires to keep its laborers out, and the United States desires to see that they are kept out, and that on that basis the Governments came together, and that constitutes the gentlemen's agreement of 1907.

Mr. RAKER. That was a verbal agreement, and this is the interpretation of it?

Senator PHELAN. It was a verbal agreement and this is the only written interpretation I know. It was after the school incident in California that President Roosevelt, I think, became greatly alarmed of the aggressive aspect of Japan, for whose fighting men he had very great respect, and he knew that our coast was not defended. So he summoned to Washington several California officials and they agreed to oblige him, in view of the serious condition which he described, to let the school question go by the board. There was an

attempt to segregate the Japanese from the whites, and that is a very serious condition to-day.

The matter came up in the last session of the California Legislature. A bill was introduced for the purpose. Where there was not sufficient room for both, boards of education were authorized to erect a school especially for orientals, and there was another outcry about that. As I recall, it passed the assembly and it was throttled in the senate by the governor and his friends, who were desirous of keeping down any Japanese agitation at that time, on the alleged ground that it would interfere with the peace negotiations in Paris.

So, because California receded from its position on the school question in 1907, the Japanese, through President Roosevelt, came to this agreement, that rather than suffer the humiliation of having the United States exclude them by law, they would exclude themselves. They would issue no passports except to certain designated classes. There would be students and diplomats and travelers and merchants and Japanese who had returned to Japan and had an interest in this country in land or who had wives or children here.

Mr. RAKER. Senator, the same question came, again, from the National Government here at Washington to the legislature and to the governor of California to throttle this legislation, did it not?

Senator PHELAN. That was subsequently.

Mr. RAKER. I mean at this last session of the legislature, was not the same effort made by the National Government?

Senator PHELAN. An extraordinary situation occurred. The leaders of the senate of the California Legislature feigned alarm. I appeared before the body and made an address at a joint session, and subsequently one of their members, Senator Inman, who is a very sincere opponent to the Japanese encroachments in California, introduced bills. Under the law there, at this period, he could not introduce a bill without two-thirds consent, and they held the thing up for days, the governor advising against any action; and finally, they passed a resolution asking the Secretary of State, then in Paris, whether it would be prudent at this time to pass such legislation, and they got the answer they expected—that it would not be prudent at this time to pass such legislation, because on the other side of the table in Paris, and negotiating on matters of much greater importance, were the Japanese. So when the California Legislature abdicated in favor of President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, the Japanese might well say to the President and Mr. Lansing, "It is up to you. Are you going to countenance this discriminatory legislation in California?" and they were fighting the Japanese demand for racial equality and free immigration at Paris. Notwithstanding the expressed views of President Wilson on this great subject, which I have here, it was a diplomatic move to say that at this time action would probably be imprudent. The legislature took that view and refused two-thirds consent to Senator Inman to even present his bill; but a resolution had been passed prior to this asking the Paris conference to deny racial equality and free immigration.

There is no question at all in my mind—absolutely no question—as to the feeling of the people of the State of California on this subject; but, as I say, they have been overawed, or, in the language of the street, they have been "buffaloed" by the Japanese Government,

through its numerous agents and representatives in this country, and by the administration itself on various occasions, warning them of the danger of legislating for their own preservation.

When President Roosevelt interfered there was a protest against Federal interference. When, under Senator (then Governor) Johnson's administration, the land question came up and we passed a law forbidding the ownership of land by aliens ineligible to citizenship, the same protest, prior to that legislation, came out from Washington, and Mr. Bryan personally visited Sacramento, and we all protested that the Federal Government should not take a hand. I was intimately associated then with this work and was in Sacramento when Mr. Bryan arrived there and met him at the governor's house, and his principal concern was to draft a law in such language, dulcet and sweet, that it would give no offense to the Japanese. The right of the State was not questioned. So the Japanese were not mentioned by name, you will recall, only aliens ineligible to citizenship were barred from owning land. Now, the California Legislature this year, instead of resenting Federal interference, as they formerly did, invite Federal interference, and appeal to the President and to Secretary Lansing to stop them; in other words, from passing laws in the interest of the people of the State, and, I think, they will be held accountable for that evasion of their duty. If the legislature acted it would have helped the President. But that does not go to the essence of the question at all except to show historically the attitude of the State of California.

Japan, by this gentlemen's agreement, as I have explained, has undertaken to keep the undesirable laborers out of this country. Well, they are coming into this country. There is a very great increase in the number of Japanese coming into continental United States, and I think it will be so determined by the next census. They come over the border. They have arrested as many as 40 in one day without passports coming over the border and deported them. I was down on the border at Mexicali and at Andrade in the last four weeks and had the personal testimony of the immigration officials and of the customs officials at those points. However, it is a matter of public record that they are arresting Japanese coming over the border all the time. There is a great Japanese fishing fleet which comes daily into San Diego and to Los Angeles Harbors. They have concessions on the Mexican coast, and these are seagoing boats, and probably go out 50 miles under motor, and they are suspected of having brought in Japanese. I accused the Japanese consul in Los Angeles with having connived at this infraction of the gentlemen's agreement, the admission of Japanese into continental United States through Mexico without passports, and he denied it; but I was able to verify it through the official records of the department.

It seems that during the war ships from Japan carrying large numbers of Japanese would lay off to Los Angeles Harbor on the way to Mexico or South America. The regulations were very strict and the customs officials would not permit anybody to board those steamers, but the Japanese consul came to the customs officials and said, "I have six or seven men I want to go on board, and I will vouch that they will not in any way trespass upon the laws of the United States, and that it is merely to give a welcome or to meet relatives on board

and greet them on the part of these Japanese." So he certified to the good faith of the Japanese who went on board, and then the collector discovered that they were given maps and information and money to facilitate their entrance into the United States by way of Mexico, where they were landed. So that work is going on all the time, and our border is inadequately protected because the immigration officials tell me they have not sufficient appropriation to police that extensive border, both north and south of us. Of course they have not. It is a very extensive border, and I should think it would be a very easy matter to get over the border unless it were thoroughly guarded. They come down from British Columbia into the United States. I have not examined that part of it because my concern was all with California. So they are spread all over California and ultimately all over the United States.

There is another way that the Japanese gentlemen's agreement is being evaded, and that is by the shipment of picture brides into this country. Under the agreement the wife of a man may come in. So it is necessary, therefore, in order to get the woman in, to make a wife of her, and they exchange photographs, and although the contracting parties have never seen each other, on the other side of the greatest ocean in the world, each of them, still the woman comes in and claims to be a wife, and because Japan certifies that she is a wife, the immigration officials have to admit her.

What is the object of this? It is twofold, as I see it. The woman coming in and taking up the duties of wifhood becomes a mother in due course, and a child born upon the soil is entitled to own land; and as a matter of fact the Japanese are now in the names of their minor children taking agricultural land for which they are by the law denied the privilege of ownership—a clear evasion of the law—and then the Japanese himself, in contempt of our law, enters upon the land and becomes a competitor with the white people. These women are not only wives but they are laborers. I have photographs in my office and I have seen with my own eyes these women side by side with the men doing exactly the same work over a period of the same hours up to the very period, almost, of bearing a child, and when the child is born, they go back to work with the child strapped like a papoose upon their backs, and they are laborers just as much as the men are laborers. So they accomplish the dual purpose of defeating the law by getting in actual laborers and in defeating the land law by getting in by the birth route persons eligible to hold land.

Why is Japan so much interested in sending its people to California? Here is a profession in this gentleman's agreement that they desire to keep their people at home. There is no such desire. It is just as helpful to Japan to have California peopled under our flag by her nationals as it would be for Japan to hold California as a tributary colony, because all the money these people make—and they have made vast sums of money, especially during the war period, and they are making money all the time—goes to Japan. They control many of our crops. That money does not circulate among the various trades and industries percolating back to its original source and like the circulating fluid in the human body giving nourishment and health wherever it goes, but it goes from the

Japanese producer who takes it out of the soil to the Japanese middleman, to the Japanese storekeeper, to the Japanese banker, and thence back to Japan. You can trace it from one stage to another; and hence all that wonderful production we hear of in California is not distributed among the people of California. It is largely confined to the Japanese.

For instance, the Japanese control the potato crop and the berry crop. They control a very large part of the fruit, bean, tomato, and garden truck crop, and I was told that in the city of Los Angeles—the name of the man was given to me but I do not recall—there is a man who controls the berry crop. He sits in his office at a telephone and dictates to the suburban towns through the several dealers there what price they shall charge for a box of strawberries on that day. In some towns in will be 12 cents and in others 15 cents or 18 cents, or 20 cents, depending upon the local supply and demand. The potato king is a well-known figure in California and controls the potato crop.

Mr. THOMPSON. Are both of those people Japanese?

Senator PHELAN. Yes. So the question is very serious economically to any State wherever they may see fit to find lodgment. Where the States have cold, winter weather, and inhospitable climates, they do not go; but California is ideal in the fertility of the soil and in the character of the climate for the Japanese, and hence it is an exposed territory and the whole question for public action here in Congress centers upon California, and it is there that you must go to seek your information, because there is where Japan is trying the experiment and trying the indulgence of the United States, and if the protest does not come from there you will find the other Pacific States peopled very soon by as large a number proportionately. There are a great many there now, already, and finally they work back through the southern and eastern States wherever they can find lodgment. I was surprised to see that in the State of Colorado, which is a very fine State, too, I know people go there for their health, consumptives, tubercular patients, and while I do not know it very well myself, it must have a fine and equable climate, and there the Japanese have made a stand and a bill was introduced in the legislature denying them the ownership of land at the last session of the legislature; and I have the testimony here which I could exhibit to you of the Japanese newspapers reporting the great alarm that was sent out by the Japanese associations, that they were sleeping at their posts, that they had allowed the legislature to introduce this hostile legislation and to get busy. It passed the house, and they got busy and the Japanese association stopped it in the senate of Colorado, and they will always do it unless there is somebody to take up a positive, aggressive opposition against them. The legislatures are poor bodies, after all. As a woman suffragist told me, you can pussyfoot anything through the legislatures, and that is why there is a strong movement, so solemn is the obligation we assume, to require the ratification of constitutional amendments by referendum.

Mr. SABATH. You have reference to State legislatures?

Senator PHELAN. Oh, wholly and exclusively. So the Colorado Legislature through its senate rejected a bill which certainly should

have been passed if they knew the menace of the Japanese. There is no reason why land legislation should not be passed because Japan, as you know, forbids ownership of her soil by foreigners, and she has denied the admission of Chinese into Japan now, adopting our policy, if you please, with respect to protection of our own people. She does not want the Japanese, who is getting a dollar a day there in industrial enterprises, to enter into competition with the Chinese, who will accept 15 cents or 20 cents a day. So the other day they shipped back to China 200 Chinese who were smuggled into their country. So Japan can not, with clean hands, make any protest whatever against any law you pass that looks to the exclusion of Japanese on economic grounds. They have established the principle themselves.

I have here the number of these picture brides that are coming into the United States. I will give you the aggregate: From 1915 to 1919, the United States, mainland, 13,913; in Hawaii, 6,864; total for the United States, 20,877.

The shiploads that are coming in—I call them shiploads, but I mean the number of brides who are coming in on the frequently arriving ships in San Francisco are progressively increasing all the time, and the Japanese press exhorts them—"Now, hurry up while the running is good." They fear there will be some restriction, and they are rushing over the border and through the ports where that is permissible, as in the case of these picture brides, their men and their women.

MR. RAKER. That means, Senator, does it not, that within a year after their arrival there is a native Japanese born who can obtain title to real estate, and they are immediately conveying real estate to those infant children almost as fast as they are born?

SENATOR PHELAN. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Senator, you are familiar with the charge that is made that the Japanese babies born in the United States are frequently sent back to Japan to be brought to young manhood because they can be raised there so much cheaper than in the United States?

SENATOR PHELAN. Oh, yes; and there is no way of identifying these children. I believe they are very particular now in bringing them to the county clerks and other officials to have their birth registered. Of course, if a child dies—and there is a tremendous infant mortality among them and among all children—they could easily substitute another child. Their object is to get Japanese born upon the soil, and our officials tell us there is no way of getting a close record and no way of following the child through his young life and to identify him later as the same child that was registered. The Japanese have a much more nearly perfect registration than our own, but that is not available to us. In the Hawaiian Islands, when I was down there two years ago, the public officials threw up their hands and said: "We have no means of ascertaining the number of births here," but the Japanese consul has, and that is another point—they owe allegiance to the Japanese consul. The consul is their man and not the county clerk or the mayor of the city or the governor of the State, or the President of the Union. Their allegiance is to the Mikado, and that vast number of Japanese on the western coast now would rise as a man in case of conflict between the

United States and Japan in support of the demands of their country, wherever they may be. They are so wedded to it and dislike the United States. There is unquestionable evidence that they have a racial loathing for the people of the United States, and it is not only an economic question, therefore, but it is a military question. In case of a conflict with Japan we would have to meet, not only a frontal attack but a rear attack, and hence the necessity of keeping ourselves prepared where we have such a large body of aliens notoriously hostile and who are still controlled by their national officers in the United States. Their consuls are the people to whom they look. They are not assimilated and they can not be assimilated, certainly not physically, and it would be after a great many generations, and perhaps hundreds of years, before they could be assimilated civilly, so that they could take up our burdens and live side by side with us on terms of social equality.

Mr. KLECZKA. Under the California law can a minor hold real estate in its own name?

Senator PHELAN. By guardian.

Mr. KLECZKA. And the transfers are made by guardians?

Senator PHELAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMPSON. Senator, you spoke about their giving birth to children within a year after their arrival. How prolific are they in the production of children?

Senator PHELAN. The Japanese are a very prolific race. Dr. Pomeroy, health officer, Los Angeles, Calif., reported last month that one-third of the births outside incorporated cities of his county were Japanese, as follows: White, 48 per cent; Japanese, 33.4 per cent; Mexican, 18.2 per cent; Chinese, 1 per cent; Negro, 3 per cent. I have here also the report of the bureau of vital statistics of the State Board of Health of the State of California, and I will read it to you. This is a table of births classified by sex and race and naming each county in the State:

Births, 52,230 babies in 1917, including 27,888 boys and 25,342 girls, while of the 50,638 in 1916 the males were 26,000 and the females 24,000. This is what will interest you. The race distribution of births in 1917 was: White, 37,313; Japanese, 4,108; Chinese, 419; Negro, 328; and Indian, 62. The figures for 1916—this is a comparison—white, 46,272; Japanese, 3,721, etc.

The percentage of white births during the 12 years has decreased thus: In 1906 it was 98.4; then it goes on year by year—the next year, 1907, 1908, etc.—until finally in 1907 it was 90.6. There was a decrease of 8 per cent in the white births during that period. While there was a decrease in the population of white babies, there was a marked increase in Japanese birth registrations, as follows:

From 1906, the same period, until 1917, as follows: 134, 221, 455, 682, 719, 995, 1,467, 2,215, 2,874, 3,342, 3,721, and 4,108. In less than 10 years there was an increase of 3,000 per cent.

Mr. SIEGEL. According to that, there has been a decrease in the white children born of about 10 per cent.

Senator PHELAN. Yes; that is the comparison between the white and the Japanese. The white is going down, while the Japanese is going up with a portentous rapidity.

Mr. SIEGEL. May I ask whether these guardians in the transfers you refer to are American citizens?

Senator PHELAN. Not necessarily. A Japanese father in Riverside, where a test case was made, was a Japanese and himself ineligible, and he took the land in the name of his child. It went to the court and turned off on a demurrer. It was not a square decision, but the court said that it saw no evidence on the part of the Japanese to evade the law, and as there was no willful violation it good naturedly let it go, and on the authority of that decision they have, right and left, gone through the State taking lands in the name of children.

Mr. SIEGEL. Does not the statute provide that the guardian must be a citizen?

Senator PHELAN. I am not advised on that point. Possibly it may, but the parent is always regarded as the natural guardian, unless there is some disqualification.

Mr. SIEGEL. The procedure, of course, is to apply to the court, I assume, to have the property sold, and really the courts themselves have got the remedy, it seems to me, by requiring the guardian to be a citizen. Of course I am frank in saying that I do not know the law of California, but I know what our procedure is in New York and in the Eastern States.

Senator PHELAN. I do not know whether an alien is disqualified from acting as guardian of his own child or not.

Mr. RAKER. There would not be any question of sale. The court would have no jurisdiction of sale unless it was necessary to provide for the infant. If the expenses are all paid, it is the duty of the guardian to hold the real estate until the child becomes of age.

Mr. THOMPSON. It is not a question of sale; it is a question of purchase. If the parent furnishes the money to purchase, there is nothing in the law of California, as I recall, because our statute in Oklahoma is taken from the California statute, that prohibits an infant from holding title to real estate.

Mr. RAKER. Surely not.

Mr. THOMPSON. Real estate can be directly ceded to the infant. Of course it is managed by a guardian.

Senator PHELAN. Yes; then the court appoints a guardian.

Mr. THOMPSON. There is nothing, as I understand, in the law of California or of any other State, or in my State, at least, that requires a legal guardian, if the question is not raised, to manage the land. The parent is the natural guardian under the law and can handle it in that way.

Senator PHELAN. That is the practice there, however.

There is another favorite way of evading the statute, and that is by organizing corporations under our lax corporation law, which I also sought to have amended by the last session of the legislature. It provides that aliens, if in the minority of persons and stock, can organize a corporation, and hence they get 45 per cent aliens and 55 per cent citizens. Now, those citizens who serve to make up the corporation are either native Japanese who are friends of the organizer or they are white who lend their names as dummies. Those corporations are being formed very generally. I have the statistics of them from the Secretary of State's office, and it is an alarming situation. Notwithstanding the expressed will of the people seeking

to deny these aliens the ownership of the soil, they are losing the soil by these subterfuges and technical evasions, and the only thing to do is to so amend the corporation law that they can not use the forming of a corporation for the purpose of evading the statute, and that would be very easy if the legislative branch would only act.

Then, when they can not buy, they lease. I want you to understand that the Japanese have no disposition to work for wages and their competition is deadly when they work for themselves, because then they work excessive hours—18 or 20 hours a day. They are tireless workers and persevering and clever agriculturists. They know how to get the last penny out of the soil; but in working for wages they are not inclined to do that for the benefit of their employer, and if they work for wages there would not be possible the same unanimity of sentiment in California, because the labor problem is always a problem. But they buy the land or lease the land, and under our statute they can lease land for three years. That should be repealed. They can lease for a share of the crop, and under those conditions they work incessantly, and their competition is such that no white man maintaining American standards can meet it. What is the consequence? The white farmer is asked for his land, and he says, "I will put such a price on it," and they take it. "How much will you lease your land for?" "So much an acre." "I will take it." They pay extraordinary rents.

I am cultivating rice in central California. My neighbor is a Japanese. He has leased from a farmer there 1,000 acres of land, for which he pays, I think, \$40 an acre a year cash in advance, and he offered my superintendent \$45 an acre for my land adjoining. It was reported to me. He had accumulated a great fortune paying those very unusual rents. He also owns 1,400 acres in fee simple.

I made a tour in the San Joaquin Valley during the recess, and I found that Tom Brown's farm and John Brown's farm and old man Kelly's farm had all been turned over on favorable terms and the Browns and the Kellys had moved out of the community and gone with their children to live in the city, enjoying comparative opulence, because the rents paid by the Japanese are highly desirable for Brown and Kelly; but what becomes of California in a generation or two generations, when the rural population will all be aliens incapable of maintaining American institutions or understanding them and ready to take up arms against American institutions should ever the appeal be made. What would be the value of a State that was peopled by an oriental colony, just as Hawaii is peopled now, where there are probably 110,000 Japanese and probably 12,000 Americans. The flag is there and that is the only thing that is American about it.

I will pledge myself that the State when thoroughly aroused will demand this legislation of its legislature. I have appealed to the governor to call an extra session in connection with the ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment, because I feel that every day is a day lost, and I want to check the cupidity of our own farmers who will lease and who will sell. Three of them came into a lawyer's office in Chico, I am told, the other day, and said, "Give me a lease for three years and give my cousin a lease upon the expiration of that time for three years, and upon the expiration of that give my uncle a lease for three years." So the leasing privilege which they

are enjoying is tantamount, almost, to ownership. So, on account of the very large number of Japanese, this has become a State-wide problem of the most serious importance. Of course, nobody will go into California under those conditions—a State we are very proud of. We look for eastern immigration all the time, and our boards of trade and chambers of commerce advertise, and yet a gentleman told me the other day that down in Louisiana his brother sold a farm for \$20,000 and thought of coming out to California until he heard of the Japanese question. Of course, he would not go then. He was not going to bring his family out there and compete with men without education, with no churches to support, and with none of the qualifications or standards of a civilized people to maintain.

I met a man at a place called Keys, I believe, in Madera County. He was there with a beautiful little child, and as I motored through and stopped to get a cigar there was nothing but broad acres about, and I said, "What are you doing here?" "I just came in to chat with the storekeeper, a white man and his wife." "Where do you come from?" "Massachusetts," and he said, "Do you know when I came out to California I not only thought it was a fertile country but I thought there was some social and community life. There are Japanese on both sides of me and I am going back." He will not stay there and raise his family amid such environments. So this means the death of California unless it is restrained, and therefore I would not consent to the admission of 1 per cent or one-half per cent or one-fourth per cent under any scheme to mollify them. I regard them in their economic destructiveness, their competitive ability as enemies to be rejected, to keep away from as a plague of locusts, not to be compromised with but to be eliminated; and if there is any way of getting rid of those who are on the soil by a slow process and give them back their investment, it ought to be done. We stopped Chinese immigration in 1879, and the Chinese have constantly diminished. If we can stop Japanese immigration absolutely and guard our borders and prevent the importation of alleged wives for breeding purposes, they will naturally in 20 or 30 or 40 or 50 years be eliminated or disappear or go hither and thither, and the white man will have a chance to regather his strength and occupy the soil. This may affect the feelings of Japan, but America comes first.

Down in the delta lands where they said the Japanese have settled, I went there and found splendid evidences of American manhood, men who had gone out there 25 years before with blankets on their backs and had grown very wealthy and had raised fine children. While I was at a place called Walnut Grove, where 25 or 30 of them entertained me, two boys came back from the war. They dropped everything to greet these boys, and I just thought, in our next war in 20 or 30 years, if an appeal were made to rural California—and we contributed more men in proportion than any other State—what response could there possibly be? There would be no boys in rural California. They would be in the cities, they would be scattered all over the world, but they could not find support and sustenance in their own State.

Now, they talk of Bolshevism and of I. W. W.-ism, and the thought occurred to me at that time, here are these fellows who 25 years ago

came down this valley and they have made themselves rich, and they are glorified American citizens and love their country, and have contributed their sons and their money, being a part of the community and of the national life, which is the greatness and strength of the State, but if this Japanese invasion is permitted, even on the basis of those who are here now, giving them the right to acquire land by lease or by stock ownership, and a man comes down the valley with a blanket on his back looking for an opportunity to work, there is no work for him. The Japanese occupy the field. They do not employ white men. There is no chance for him in the world as there was in the early days, even to get wages. He possibly might get wages in the harbors, but he would have no foothold upon the soil, no place to rest, no home, no wife and family. There would be no opportunity for him to make a settlement in that State, and what would be the result? Naturally, in the heart of that man, if he was a generous soul, he would say: "My country is not my country. It has surrendered the soil to an alien. It has deprived me of the privilege of earning an honest livelihood."

Some one has said, "I love my State because my State loves me," but there would be no such reciprocity if the State neglected to take care of the white men who are the backbone of the country, politically, socially, and racially. If the State neglected to take care of them, they would drift necessarily into Bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism and crime and theft.

I have just got news that my barn, which cost me \$11,000, was burned the other day. It was located in a very isolated part of the field, and the I. W. W.'s have burned \$10,000,000 of such property in California in the last two or three years. They are made outlaws, I think, by the hardness of the conditions under which they are required to live, in many cases, and in other cases they are naturally vicious, and you can well imagine that if a State is abandoned to an alien race, the white people would resent it, and ultimately and certainly drift away from a love of country and turn next to resentment and then to violence and crime. So it plants the seeds of a great disease if you allow the soil which is the essential and vital thing in the State to be taken away by the alien, incapable of citizenship, incapable of assimilation, remaining permanently a foreign element; just as the human system—so the body politic—suffers by the introduction of a foreign element which ultimately brings on disease and death.

We can not isolate a foreign element in a great State and expect anything but economic and political disaster.

I feel so strongly upon this subject that I was tempted to come over here and speak to you. I do not see how possibly there can be any compromise in the matter of this immigration. We do not want any more Japanese. We want to get rid, if we can, decently, politely, and diplomatically, and by natural processes, of those who are there now.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, I would like to ask you a question. This percentage plan, if put into effect, would do away with the Chinese exclusion. People on the Pacific coast generally feel that but for the adoption of the Chinese exclusion law those outposts would be

oriental countries now, or colonies, largely, and would they not be inclined to resent even more than the Japanese question the readmission of the Chinese in any percentage?

Senator PHILAN. The Chinese are excluded now, and we consider that a settled policy; but as between the Chinese and the Japanese, if there is any comparison to be instituted, because the Chinese are not a masterful race and are far more tractable and are quite willing to work for wages, if we had to choose between them, we would much prefer the Chinese: and the principal objection to the Chinese is their nonassimilability. They can not blend with our people and make a homogeneous race. They do not belong there, and our business is to build up, as the Australians are trying so gallantly to do, a white man's country, and any race crossing is bound to bring deterioration in the strain. We can not cross with the Japanese without bringing out in offspring the worst features of both races. It has been tried with utter failure, and nobody, I think, even contends for that, that a blended race of Mongol and Caucasian would ever be desired in America by the union of such people, no matter how benevolently inclined we might be.

A Japanese entered as a servant the house of a minister of a church out there, a friend of mine, and his daughter married the Jap, and it has been a horrible tragedy. Wherever they have united, no matter what professions of love were made, no matter if the girl were wooed by the fantastic orientalism of the Japanese, they do not live together after a year or two. They can not. There is something repulsive instead of attractive, and there is no real union, and where there have been such unions, as in that case and in other cases which I might enumerate, the offspring have been inferior. Even in the Orient, you know, those questions of crossing among people not allied closely by blood are very unfortunate. In the South we see the race problem, which is not at all of the magnitude, relatively, of the Japanese problem, because the Negro is not masterful; he is mastered. He works when he does work, and never attempts to gain possession of the soil either by lease or by ownership, and the Chinese rarely do, but they are very thrifty. This is an economic danger of the first importance; but as between the two, I think if the Chinese were denied the ownership of land, they would not seek to evade the law by circumvention. They probably would be glad to work for wages.

But that problem we consider as solved, although the doctor, I believe, has answered it by saying he would admit also a proportion of the Chinese. The demand from any source is the demand of those of narrow reason and perverted patriotism and wish the particular benefit of having the soil developed. But my position is that production must be subordinated to population. In this connection I would like to repeat that old saying of Goldsmith, because it is so truthful, especially as applied to this case:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

Wealth has accumulated under the stimulus of oriental labor, but if you go out there now and look for American communities, you

will see wasted homes and dismantled dwellings—wealth accumulates and men decay.

A member of the board of trustees of an industrial school, Dr. John Lathrop, told me that he used to go into a home opposite the school and the wife would get him a cup of tea. The father was in the field, and the girls and boys were all working in the orchard when not at school, and one day he went there and could not find them, and he found everything in a neglected condition everywhere. Upon inquiry he found that the Japs had leased the farm. The Huns of the East had come, and they had destroyed the home, but they had maintained the orchards. The statistics of California will show you a magnificent production, but when you come to analyze the producers you find a canker worm has been at work, that the white population has been supplanted by the alien, incapable of assimilation, incapable of taking up the burdens of citizenship, and hence this becomes a matter involving the very life of the State.

So I hope you gentlemen will give more attention to the population than you do to the value of the production.

Mr. WELTY. Do not the Japanese, when they occupy the land, also occupy the dwelling on the land?

Senator PHELAN. Yes; they go in and occupy the dwellings, and they are not very thrifty housekeepers. They are working incessantly, with long working hours, and they have no home life. They work all the time. They have no family duties, as we understand them. They get the very last penny possible out of the soil, and move on. There is no home life on the farm. There are a lot of hovels where they sleep. They work and sleep, and then work and sleep again.

Mr. RAKER. The women take their babies in the field and put them in a little corral, and then the women go out in the field and work for hours.

Senator PHELAN. Absolutely; and they carry the babies on their backs. These very young babies are carried on their backs, and then when they get old enough they toddle around.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is true that the Japanese coming in either as students or merchants or as some other permitted class are sending home for brides in considerable number and getting a foothold and bringing forth children who are American citizens, what is the remedy?

Senator PHELAN. The remedy, of course, in matters affecting immigration, is in the hands of Congress. I have referred to the land laws. This is a matter for the State. So far as intermarriage is concerned, the marriage laws are now liberal because they acknowledge that which is a valid marriage in the country from which the persons come. But they could agree to acknowledge only marriage made pursuant to ceremony, where the contracting parties are personally known to each other and personally present at the time of the marriage. That would not help very much because I do not know but that we would have to acknowledge the marriage which was sanctioned by the country whence the people came in order to maintain international relations. If Japan says a man living in San Francisco is married to a woman he has never seen, living in Tokio, I suppose

that has to be acknowledged as a marriage, although it is repugnant to all our institutions, and to our sense of common decency. But that is not a marriage because a marriage ought to be preceded by a period of wooing, by which the people may ascertain whether they are affinities for each other. Children which are the offspring of the marriages which come by reason of mutual attraction are very much better fitted physically, and hence the State is interested in seeing that the marriage relation is safeguarded.

I was told by the inspectors of the immigration station that when the girls coming over from Japan go down and peek through the doors to see the prizes they have won in the lottery of love and life, they come back with horror on their faces and say, for instance, "How old and black he is. Must I wed him?" That is not the kind of union from which you expect to breed men worthy to live in the United States and become citizens. It is against nature that a marriage of that kind should be tolerated, and yet I do not see that except by mutual understanding any plan would modify these facts and require the personal presence of and the personal acquaintance of the contracting parties and thus lay a foundation for a decent marriage. I am only concerned in making it as hard as possible so this flood of brides can be restrained. If the Jap is obliged to go back to Japan it delays the marriage and we would have less of it.

Congress, of course, by enactment of immigration laws can exclude immigrants, and I think the time is ripe and proper to do that, and we ought to provide ample appropriations for guarding the border. But, gentlemen, do not let down the bars, do not under any specious pretense let down the bars as to include orientals, because our business is to get rid of them rather than to receive any more, for the reasons I have stated.

There is no palliation; there is no possible way around that I can see. Of course the labor people are very much concerned. But they have not been so much interested because the Japanese immigration has affected the farmer, and the poor farmer is not organized. But the poor farmer has quite a gift of greed and cupidity, like other mortals, and he always feels that if the Jap comes he can sell out to the Jap and then say good bye to California. He is not tied to the earth, so there is no organized body fighting for the life of the State.

But labor is just awakening and I know all the unions in California are of one mind. Here is something I received that will give you a side light on this situation. This is a letter from the International Federation of Mechanics, addressed to me, and it says:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Richmond, Calif., March 31, 1919.

JAMES D. PHELAN, *United States Senator,*
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIR: The A. T. & S. F. R. R. has at this point about 100 Japanese employed in the various crafts, machinists, painters, boiler makers, helpers, etc., whose wages range from 45 cents to 68 cents per hour and whose places we believe should be filled by men discharged from the United States Army and Navy.

Many of these Japanese took the jobs of men who either volunteered or were drafted into the Army or Navy and are holding these jobs permanently.

Will also state that these Japanese are living on Government property, getting their rent, also electric lights, water, and fuel all free; that they buy their

goods from Jap merchants in San Francisco in carload lots, get the car dead-headed and spotted at their very doors free. Yet they receive the same pay per hour as the white employees in the various crafts.

We earnestly request that you take this matter up with the United States Railroad Administration to use any other means at your command.

Respectfully,

SHOP COMMITTEE I. A. M. AND BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS.

JOS. H. BICHAH,

JERROLD T. COAKLEY,

GEO. T. STANLEY,

A. P. GILBERT,

Sheet Metal Workers.

E. A. FOSTER,

F. L. BRYANT,

W. K. SIPLE,

PALL RAMM,

B. R. C. of A.

H. A. GILSON,

A. SCHMIDT,

Blacksmiths.

R. PACE,

JOHN ANDREWS.

P. S.—Would further state that this Jap camp is a refuge for Japs who are smuggled into this country.

They take boat from Japan to South America. Then take a coastwise boat from South America to Mexico. Are smuggled over the border and land in this camp. From here they go down into the valley and work on ranches until a certain period of time after which they are not asked regarding passports. For verification of this write Leon Michal, 523 North Fourth Street, Richmond, Calif.

JOS. H. EICHER.

That shows they are getting into the crafts. I have spoken of them only as agriculturists, but they are a wonderful people. They can build anything from a hairpin to a steam engine or a dreadnought. And that is a people who have just emerged from barbarism. They are the great factor in the world to be watched. The sore spot of the world is in the Orient, and I think our future war will be on the Pacific. When they leave the farm and invade the crafts, and show their ability, and they are not restrained, what is to become of the white mechanic? Is he going to give up his job? No; he will fight.

So, unless we legislate in time we are going to have insurrections and violence and turbulence, because we are planting the seeds of those things. As you sow ye shall reap.

The Japanese people are enjoying all these facilities, getting equal wages to-day, but at the same time they are contributing nothing to the citizenship of our country. They are a menace to our life. Therefore it is the duty of the men in Congress to rigorously exclude them and provide means for doing it. They have made contracts with Brazil and with Carranza in Mexico, and they have taken over vast tracts of land, and have established great colonies. I helped last month to check the purchase of 800,000 acres of land for \$50,000,000. The Japanese Steamship Co. was going to buy from a corporation that much land in Mexico on the border of California, in Imperial Valley, some of the most fertile land in the world. I took the matter up with the State Department, and that department notified the American owners that they could not countenance the sale. They could not stop it, but they looked upon it with disfavor, and the sale was not consummated. But this same Mexican minister

who is here now as the confidential agent of Carranza notified the owners of the property that he was going to cancel their concession. Unchecked he will turn it over to the Japanese. I think probably the Japanese and the Mexican problems will come before us some morning and will smite us with double force. I was told by a man of the highest authority that Japanese are now in Mexican oil districts and buying up American oil claims. The Japanese are pro-German and always have been, and they were watching the issues of the war very closely, before taking a stand.

Here is a matter of interest I would like to present to the committee, from the Japanese paper called *Dai Nippin*, of Tokoyo, of May 19. I will read this to you so you can see what their attitude is.

It goes on to tell the resentment which the Japanese feel toward the world for denying them racial equality, and there are chapters on the making of a separate peace with Germany. This does not relate directly to the subject in hand, but it may be interesting in view of the discussion in the Senate.

JAPANESE PRESS—"SLEEPING ON FIREWOOD AGAIN"—READY TO WITHDRAW FROM LEAGUE.

These are the headlines of the leading editorial in the *Dai Nippon* magazine of Tokoyo (May, 1919).

The word "Gwashin" in the Japanese headline is thus translated in Gubbins' Dictionary, "Literally 'sleeping on firewood'; used in the phrase taken from the Chinese classic *gwa-shin shotan suyu mo, ada wo hozuru wo wasurezu*, sleeping on firewood and eating gall, never for a moment forgets the duty of avenging himself on his enemy." It is evident that the writer is convinced that Japan has an "enemy" and that she must "sleep on firewood and eat gall" until she can deal with that enemy. Who the enemy is and how Japan must prepare for him is shown in the article, a translation of which follows:

"Once three nations interfered with our country. Our people slept on firewood and ate gall for 10 years. The Russian war followed. Happily, we had our revenge.

"We are now again disliked by the Powers. Our people again have occasion to sleep on firewood and eat gall. How long will such things continue in the world? Heaven knows. Earth knows. All we shall do is to proceed as we believe.

"The League of Nations aims at equality and peace among all nations. Yet it refuses to abolish race discrimination. It dares not oppose bigotry and prejudice. Of course there is no reason why our country should wear such a mask of hypocrisy and injustice or submit to such arrogance and outrage. By all means it is necessary for us, if this proposition fails, to urge our representatives at Paris to withdraw, and to take up immediately as a people the duty of preparing for revenge (sleeping on firewood and eating gall).

"In withdrawing from the league there is a natural order of procedure. While we should urge the matter again in the committee and before the league, it is not likely we shall succeed. In that case all that remains is to make a great public declaration and withdraw from the league. But before that two things might be done, (1) determine the question of peace before determining that of the league; (2) defer the conclusion of the league for several years. Our envoys should insist strenuously on this program. Among the powers probably there will be some who will respond to this. But if this does not succeed, if they proceed to the immediate determination of the league, our country, though regretfully, should make its final decision as above and withdraw from the league.

"SEPARATE PEACE WITH GERMANY.

"Withdrawal from the league would naturally involve making a separate peace. Our plenipotentiaries would immediately conclude peace with Germany, and in future, according to circumstances, an alliance should be made (with Germany). The terms of the separate peace will be extremely simple, merely

the occupation of Tsingtan and the South Sea island and an indemnity. One difficulty probably will be encountered, viz: The restraints put upon Germany by the league in connection with the transfer of her colonial possessions and other general terms. In that case we shall be involved at once in complications with the league. Probably no agreement will be possible. Here the need of determination on the part of the people (of Japan) will first be developed.

“MUST FORTIFY ISLANDS.

“Supposing we were to adhere to the league and accept its conditions, we could not fortify the South Sea islands. We would also have to accept interference with regard to Tsingtau, receiving very little advantage. Indeed it would be equivalent to abandoning it (Tsingtan). On the contrary, if we boldly oppose the league and act decisively according to our own belief Tsingtau probably will be left for us to deal with as we think best, and we can fortify the islands, too. In the end this will be more advantageous to Japan (than membership in the league).”

Then there is a chapter on fortifying the islands and preparing themselves for this world conflict, where the brown race will assert by its numerical strength and its borrowed civilization its superiority, and I believe the attitude of the Japanese toward this country is one of armed peace. I believe it is very apt to take some unexpected action at almost any time, and it is wholly unjustifiable, as I have told in my interview which has been placed in the record, because we are doing what Japan herself is doing in protecting her people against economic competition.

Mr. RAKER. Was this article you read published in a Japanese newspaper?

Senator PHELAN. That is the translation of an article from a Japanese paper supposed to come from a high official.

Mr. RAKER. You would like to have that in the record?

Senator PHELAN. It does not bear very strongly on the discussion, but is in point. I call the Japanese the Huns of the East because they look ahead, have a continuing policy, and dream of empire.

Mr. WELTY. Is that published in this country?

Senator PHELAN. No; it is a Tokyo paper.

Mr. WELTY. Have the Japanese any papers in this country?

Senator PHELAN. Yes; they have many papers in this country. I know of two published in San Francisco, and it is very interesting to follow them. I have excerpts from them from time to time. It was through that source that I learned the inside of the Colorado situation.

There is a large propaganda in this country whose headquarters are in the Woolworth Building in New York City, called the East and West Bureau, and they issue circulars from there for American consumption. But in the Japanese newspapers you get the advice of the Japanese to their own people and it is very illuminating.

The Japanese do not object to the sort of thing I have suggested because they are pursuing the same economic policy and protecting their people by denying foreigners ownership of land and excluding Chinese who work for less wages than do the Japanese themselves. I will answer them in this way: Let them put themselves in our place, and if a foreign race was about to invade their country and take the land from the people, precipitating economic ruin, they would object to it. Therefore if they put themselves in our place

they can understand our attitude, which is not one of prejudice nor hostility, but based exclusively upon the inherent right of all people to self-preservation. If they deny the premises, of course they have reason to complain; but I contend exclusion of the Japanese is necessary for the preservation of American communities on the Pacific coast.

Mr. KNUTSON. Are we to understand that Japan has exclusion laws?

Senator PHELAN. Yes; they exclude the Chinese, and within the last two or three months I have the records to show how they found 200 Chinese working in one of the shipyards and immediately deported them. They were smuggled in by the shipbuilders so that they could get laborers at 10 or 15 cents a day as against laborers at \$1 a day which was charged by the Japanese. Those Chinese were deported, and they were deported on economic grounds.

Mr. TAYLOR. Are you in favor of excluding the Japanese absolutely?

Senator PHELAN. Not only in favor of excluding the Japanese absolutely but of devising some scheme by which their number can be diminished in America, and in California, just as absolute exclusion has diminished practically the number of Chinese from year to year. I suppose there has been a shrinkage of 33 per cent of Chinese since 1879.

Somebody asked in regard to the expression of Japanese opinion. I have this from a Japanese paper published in this country. I got so much of this stuff I can not read it all, but I find something which will be of interest:

JAPANESE DEVELOPMENT BY CONCENTRATION—OPPRESSED BY WHITES WHEN SEPARATED—SHOULD MAKE PERMANENT ABODES IN UNOCCUPIED PLACES—RICH LANDS AWAITING OUR ACTIVITIES.

The above headlines of an article in the Japanese paper "Nichi-Bei" (Japanese-American News) of San Francisco, June 3, are followed by an interesting statement to the effect that rich virgin lands in Stanislaus, Merced, and Madera Counties await the coming of Japanese farmers with spade and hoe. Mr. Watanabe, chief secretary of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, who has just returned from a tour of investigation, reported that the territory in question contains 10,000 acres in the center of California of the choicest land, waiting for Japanese farmers. He said that certain very influential persons (presumably Japanese) had recently bought 2,800 acres of this land and thus made a beginning for Japanese development there.

Hitherto, according to the report, Japanese have been unable to expand their holdings with sufficient rapidity because of the oppression and opposition of white men, the Japanese being too much scattered. Hereafter, it is advised, they should choose unoccupied land and concentrate their energies, thus avoiding competition and securing opportunity for expansion.

USE CITIZENS AND PARTNERSHIPS.

In order to secure the land citizens should be employed and partnerships organized, in this way making programs more secure. Permanent success could be assured in this way.

VOTES OF JAPANESE CHILDREN.

The article goes on to point out that in such a large community, the American-born Japanese will be a powerful factor politically, electing their own representatives to the legislature. The secretary regarded the outlook as ex-

ceedingly hopeful from every point of view and urged that a policy be adopted looking to the establishment of rural Japanese villages.

They are evading the law like other people.

Gentlemen, I thank you very much. If you desire any more information I will be glad to bring it to you.

Mr. TAYLOR. How many Japanese have you in California at the present time?

Senator PHELAN. There is no accurate way of determining, but all sections have an increased number of Japanese, and they are smuggling them over the border in violation of the gentlemen's agreement, because the border is not protected. I heard from a river steamboat captain—I need not mention his name—that a census was ordered a few years ago by the Japanese authorities, because that question had been raised, and they went up and down the river, in the river country where there are a great many Japanese near the State capitol at Sacramento, where two-thirds of the students in the schools are Japanese. He said it was amusing to him because they had to hire his boat and his men went on shore and they went on islands where he knew there were two or three hundred Japanese, and he said they came out with a report that there were 6 or 8 or 10 there. He said they rang a bell and waited for the Japanese to come to the door, and there would be 6 or 8 of them who would make their appearance, and they would be put down as the number of Japanese at that place. He said it was very obvious they were not looking for the complete number, and it was a false census. They were trying to hold down the number so as not to cause any alarm.

I should say there would be between 80,000 and 90,000 in California.

Mr. TAYLOR. What per cent is that of your total population?

Senator PHELAN. Of our adult population?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Senator PHELAN. I think we have a registration out there of 1,200,000. The population of the State, men, women, and children, is supposed to be about 3,200,000.

I can give you the area of the State, which is about 154,000 square miles. Take the whole population, and then take the area of the State; will we say that 80,000 people are not a menace? Certainly they are a menace, and they are progressively growing greater, and they are reproducing themselves, and they take the best lands. A very small percentage of California is this highly fertile land, a very small percentage out of the 154,000 square miles. We have mountain ranges, great waste lands; but they have taken the best lands, and they have probably one-quarter of the best land in their possession now.

Mr. TAYLOR. They have actually purchased it?

Senator PHELAN. They lease it or purchase it.

This movement is going on with alarming rapidity. It has come up to the people in the communities very hard in the last few years, since 1913, when they passed that law. They are getting possession of the land, they are wonderful producers, they are making lots of money and they are swelling the State statistics. It is a matter of pride to see what a wonderful country we have under intensive cultivation. My point is that it is of no value to us if the white population is destroyed.

Mr. KNUTSON. When they settle in any large numbers in a community, they drive all the white people out?

Senator PHELAN. Absolutely; they go right through like a plague. They go into a very desirable residence district in San Francisco and everybody else moves out. There is no assimilation.

We have had this race problem for 50 years in California. If there is any way of putting them on an equality in all respects, we would do it; we treat them with the utmost respect. The Japanese diplomatic officers and consuls are splendid fellows, and are highly cultivated. We have no race prejudice. It is an economic proposition because the races are nonassimilable, and we can never have that equality.

A democracy is founded on equality, but there can be no equality when there can not be, ultimately, intermarriage among the people of a community. It goes to the very foundation of our American institutions, and in a country like ours, where the Government consists of the voice of the people, if we deteriorate the people by bringing them against impossible competition we destroy the factors for making the Union great and strong. We must have our first consideration for the quality of our population, and we must rigorously exclude those who do not understand, who refuse to understand American institutions and blend with us.

Mr. KNUTSON. When Japan has an exclusion law against the Chinese she should not object to our having an exclusion law against Japanese?

Senator PHELAN. No. She has no diplomatic objection to make, in view of that fact.

I think the situation is highly favorable now for action and that principle has been established, unquestionably, in international law, and also in the peace conference, that immigration is a domestic question, and if you believe what I said, it is a very grave menace. It is our duty to exclude the Japanese for economic reasons. Their competition is deadly and their nonassimilability established. Heretofore the Japanese have objected to the discrimination, but God made them so, and it is in the nature of things. If we were to swallow them and could assimilate them as an American community, it would be well and good, but we can not do it. They therefore should not complain except against the decrees of nature.

They complain against the high standards we have established for labor, against the leisure we try to give our people, with eight hours of work, eight hours of play, and eight hours of rest, with theaters and churches and healthy surroundings, and with a frolic in the country and in the park. Our people are demanding more and more some of the joys of life, but this sort of competition absolutely precludes that.

Mr. KNUTSON. The tendency in this country is toward a shorter labor day rather than a longer day?

Senator PHELAN. Certainly.

Mr. KNUTSON. If we were thrown in competition with those people there would be an opposite tendency?

Senator PHELAN. I think it is very astonishing the way they are invading the crafts. That will attract the attention of the American Federation of Labor. These men are capable of entering the crafts,

and they are allowing one of them to sit in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, although he is down there as a nonvoting member, and some of the members were discussing the question.

Mr. WELTY. You mean at Atlantic City?

Senator PHELAN. Yes; there was a Japanese sitting with them. They are invading every circle. I said to one of the members of the federation, "What is that man doing?" He said, "We are watching him. He is seeking information for the purpose of organizing the labor of Japan, but we doubt his sincerity."

Mr. WHITE. The Japanese, I gather, do not show any strong disposition, generally, to adopt American standards or maintain those standards of living?

Senator PHELAN. No; they unfortunately do not. The men working in the fields live on little or nothing. Their diet is very sparse, and their house is a hovel. But as they acquire money, in the cities, you will see them dressing better, looking better, and living better, and those are the men who have made their money, and they are engaged in commercial business in the cities, where they sell to their nationals. But the laborer in the field is abandoned wholly to incessant work and does not have any social betterment at all.

Mr. KNUTSON. What is the average size of a Japanese family in America? Have you any statistics on that?

Senator PHELAN. I have no statistics. I understand, however, that they are very prolific, and to a very great extent because of the large importation of these women, the business of breeding has just begun, and you will see the little Japanese, no end of children, of all ages. These statistics show that in 1906 there were only 317 births, while last year there were over 4,000. To be exact, in 1906 there were 317, while in 1917 there were 4,108 births.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, the committee is very much indebted to you for the time you have given us and for your statement.

Senator PHELAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RAKER. Are you in any way familiar with the program of the Federal Council of Churches and the committee of 1,000, known as the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, which program is set out in the proposed bill which has been presented to the committee by Dr. Gulick?

Senator PHELAN. No; I have no knowledge of that organization.

Mr. RAKER. You have not had time to go into the methods of the organization, as to what they are doing, or where they are getting their finances?

Senator PHELAN. I know the Japanese Government itself is financing many of these movements in the interest of the Japanese. They are deeply concerned in a desire to maintain this colony which is tributary to the fatherland. I have evidence in a letter which I could possibly produce, showing that the Japanese Government had an agent in this country and he reported to them all these activities. But there is no use of connecting up the Japanese Government with this. I think it is generally understood that the leading men of Japan are all behind the Japanese propaganda, which has been very extensive in this country, and I believe very successful. I do not know that we should involve the Japanese Government in that matter at all.

But when you mentioned that association and other associations, I know the propaganda is officially countenanced. They are seeking certain things, and this is one of them. They are seeking other things in California, and other things in Colorado. But I think the only thing necessary to defeat that is to give an intelligent explanation for the reason for our laws, which are not based upon prejudice.

Mr. WELTY. You do not mean to infer by your answer that the Federal Council of Churches is receiving money from Japanese sources?

Senator PHELAN. I do not know anything about it. I will tell you this, that they might receive money without knowing it. I will give you an example of that sort of thing.

There was a great banquet organized in San Francisco for the reception of the Japanese financial commission. They sent over five or six commissions during the war. They were unlike the other countries; they were not content with one or two commissions, but they sent five or six. This was a financial commission to spy out the land, and I was invited to be present and to make an address. But I declined, saying I had an engagement at another place.

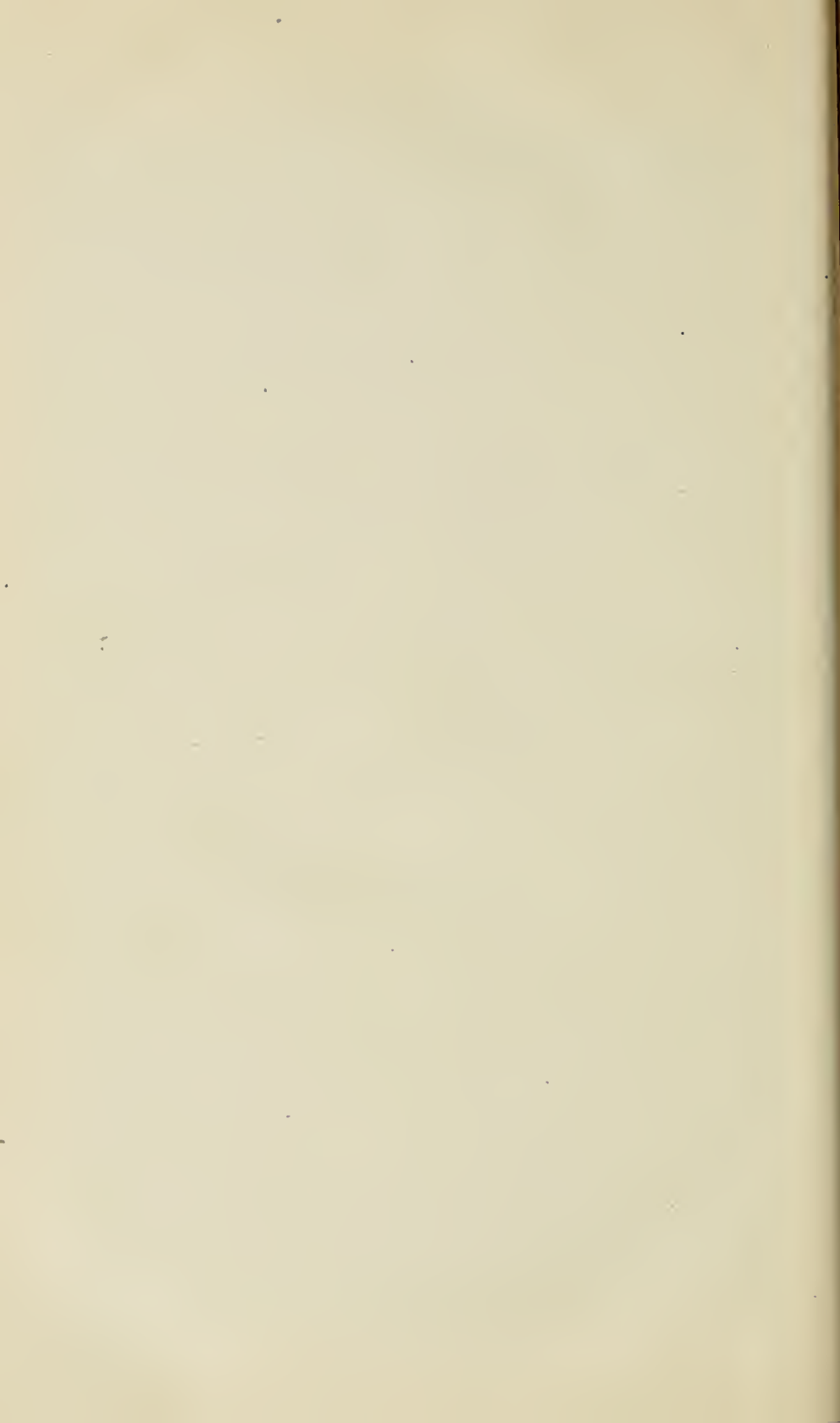
The banquet was supposed to be given by the Japanese Society of America, consisting of a number of Americans. They had a long list of names.

Not content with my declination, they went to the friend who had invited me to dinner and got him to ask me to cancel it in order that I might attend the banquet. I had said as diplomatically as I could, "I regret exceedingly that I have another engagement," but they canceled that engagement and it was up to me whether I should go or not, and I said, "I will go, in view of all the circumstances, but I will not speak." So I was the only man at the speaker's table who did not speak. I was curious to see how they tackled the problem.

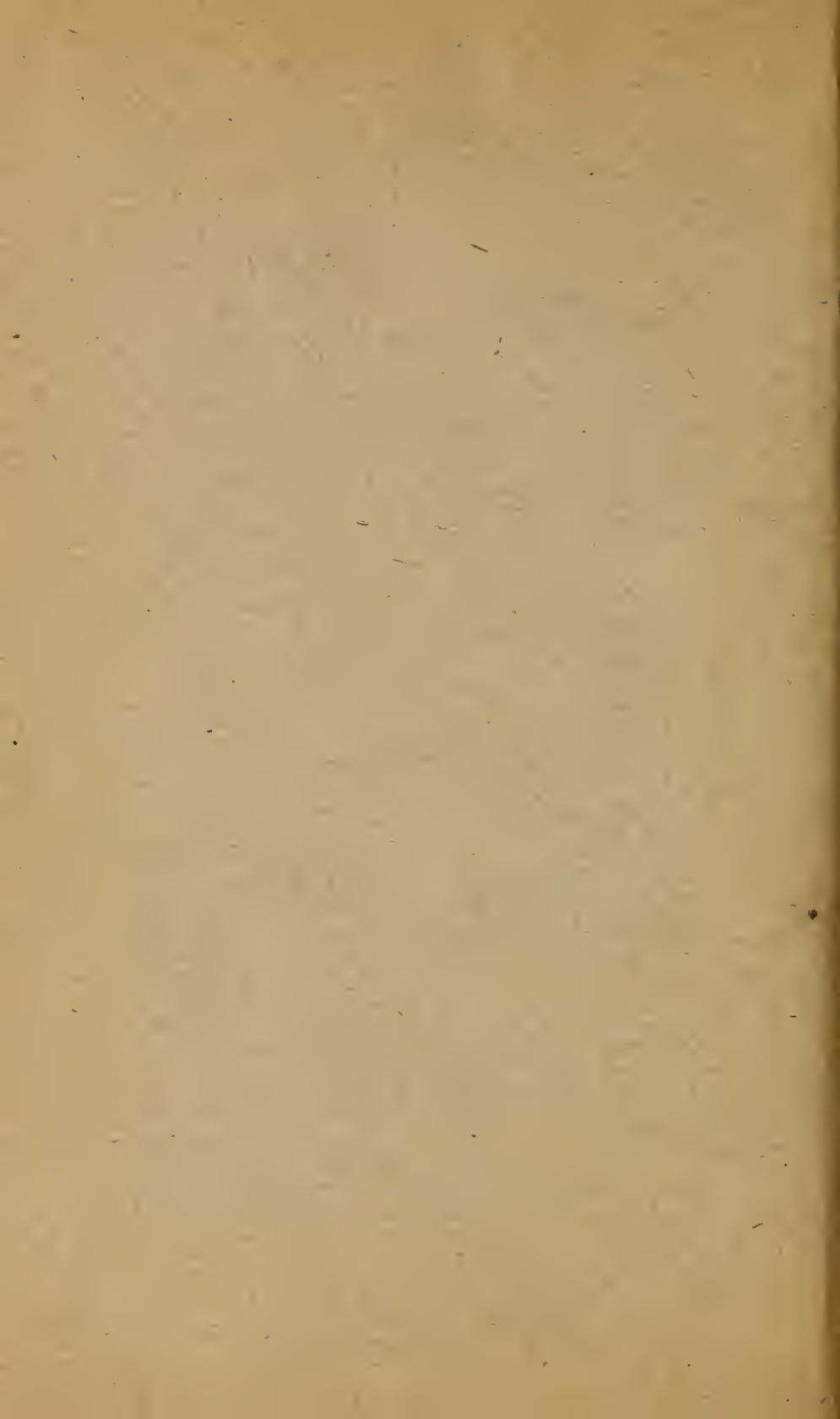
In that room, which was perfectly decorated, were the best people in San Francisco, seated at the tables. I asked some of them afterwards whether they paid for their dinner, which was a very elaborate dinner. They said, "No; we were invited here." I said, "Are you a member of the Japanese Society?" They said, "No; we are not members."

I said this is extraordinary. This is supposed to be a tribute of the California members of the Japanese Society to the visiting members of the commission. Somebody on the inside told me that they had no funds that were not contributed by Japanese; that there was practically no American association which contributed funds; that these people attended the banquet as invited guests, and that they did not believe the visiting guests were under any illusion as to the character of the entertainment.

In other words, the Japanese were entertaining themselves. They brought by that very attractive means to a beautiful banquet the very best people of San Francisco, and thus prepared their receptive ears for justifications of Japan's policy throughout the world, and the love of the Japanese particularly for the United States. It is the love very much like the love of the calculating and indiscreet lover who said, "I love the very ground her father owns."







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ANTI-ALIEN LEGISLATION IN CALIFORNIA



Statements and Messages by
Gov. Hiram W. Johnson

Comment on California's Attitude
by Eastern Investigators

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LAND LAW ENACTED BY STATE LEGISLATURE IN 1913

CHAPTER 113: *An act relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.*

(Approved May 19, 1913.)

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SEC. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other state or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 4. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this state which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be distribut-

ed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such real property.

SEC. 5. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section 474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

SEC. 6. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association, or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section five of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the state for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the state shall be paid into the state treasury and the balance shall be de-

posited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the state to enact laws with

respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property in this state.

SEC. 8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent, or in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES BY GOVERNOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON

State Is Within Its Rights, Says Governor; Why Should It Be Made Object of Attack?

Governor Johnson gave to the press the following statement bearing upon the anti-alien issue:

"Californians are unable to understand why an Act admittedly within the jurisdiction of the California Legislature, like the passage of an alien land bill, creates tumult, confusion and criticism and why this local Act of undoubted right becomes an international question.

Same Rights as Other States.

"Of course, the California Legislature would not attempt to contravene any treaty of the Nation, nor to do more than has been done by the Federal Government itself and many other states.

"To say that California must do less or be subjected to harsh criticism and the charge of disrupting friendly relations with foreign powers is to deny to California what has been freely accorded to every other state in the Union and what has never been questioned with any other state.

"OUR LEGISLATURE IS NOW CONSIDERING AN ALIEN LAND BILL IN GENERAL LANGUAGE AND NOT DISCRIMINATORY. IF TERMS ARE USED WHICH ARE DECLARED TO BE DISCRIMINATORY, THOSE VERY TERMS LONG SINCE WERE MADE SO BY MANY ENACTMENTS AND BY THE LAWS OF THE NATION ITSELF.

Laws in Other States.

"Broadly speaking, many States have endeavored to prevent the ownership of land by those ineligible to citizenship. The power to pass such laws is conceded, but immediately upon the exercise of this power by a great sovereign State a remarkable and inexplicable outcry is heard all over the land and in other lands as well.

"THE UNITED STATES BY STATUTE PROVIDED THAT NO ALIEN OR PERSON WHO IS NOT A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OR WHO HAS NOT DECLARED HIS INTENTION TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, SHALL ACQUIRE TITLE TO LAND, ETC., AND IN RELATION TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, THE UNITED STATES STATUTES CONTAIN THE SAME INHIBITION.

"Arizona, in 1912, passed its Act that no person other than a citizen of the United States or who has declared his intention to become such shall hereafter acquire any land, etc., and this statute, though passed in 1912 did not provoke a storm of protest from well-meaning philanthropists in our own land, or threaten a rupture in diplomatic relations with any foreign nation.

Similar Law in Washington.

"The state of Washington prevents the acquisition or holding of lands by those who are incapable of becoming citizens of the United States, and neither the right nor the propriety of this enactment by the State of Washington was denied.

"Illinois has enacted that an alien may hold title for the period of six years and then if he shall not have become a citizen of the United States proceedings shall be commenced for the sale of the land and the proceeds shall go to the State.

"Minnesota provides that no person unless he be a citizen of the United States or has declared his intention to become a citizen shall acquire land.

"Missouri has a similar enactment, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Texas, all have laws of this character.

Turn About Fair Play.

"We of California ask, therefore, why should California be singled out for attack when it is exercising the same right that has been exercised by so many states and by the United States itself?

"Japan, until 1910, had an absolute law against alien ownership, and in effect has it yet. What the United States Government has done, what has been done by many States of the Union, what has been done by Japan—all of which admittedly has been done in pursuance of unquestioned power and undoubted right—is now attempted to be done by the State of California; and no reason can logically exist for hysteria, for sundering friendly relations

with any power, or for offense and threats by any nation.

"THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE IS THE GUARANTEE THAT ONLY LEGISLATION DEEMED ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE STATE AND THE PROTECTION OF ITS PEOPLE—LEGISLATION HAVING ITS PRECEDENT IN THE ENACTMENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE VARIOUS STATES—WILL BE PASSED. And such measures as may be enacted will be considered thoroughly, calmly, judicially and without prejudice or discrimination."—Sacramento Bee, March 19, 1913.

WHAT OF THE DIGNITY OF CALIFORNIA?

Governor Hiram W. Johnson yesterday gave out the following statement concerning his position on the proposed anti-alien land legislation:

The suggestion of the President that the secretary of state visit California for conference on the pending land bills was at once accepted by both houses of the legislature and by the governor, and we will be glad to welcome Mr. Bryan on his arrival.

While the legislature very properly maintained the right of the state to legislate on a matter clearly within its jurisdiction, I am sure there is no disposition to encroach on the international functions of the federal government, or justly to wound the sensibilities of any nation.

My protest has been against the discrimination to which California has been subjected in the assumption that action which has been accepted without demur when taken by other states and by the nation is offensive if even discussed by California.

Much has been said of the dignity of Japan. We would not willingly affront the dignity of Japan, nor offend its pride. But what shall be said of the proposition that a great state, itself an empire, of possibilities greater than those of most nations, shall be halted from the mere consideration of a legislative act, admittedly within its jurisdiction, and so halted by the protest of a foreign power which has itself enacted even more stringent regulations on the same subject? What of the dignity of California?

Admittedly, California has a right to pass an Alien Land Bill. No one suggests that such a bill should in terms describe the Japanese. It has been suggested that such a law in California shall follow the distinctions which are already an unprotested part of the law and policy of the United States. The United States has determined who are eligible to citizenship.

The nation has solemnly decreed that certain races, among whom are the Japanese, are not eligible to citizenship. The line has been drawn not by California, but by the United States. Discrimination, if it ever occurred, came and went, when the nation declared who were and who were not eligible to citizenship. If California follows the line marked out by the federal government the United States and not California should be accused of discrimination.

The constitution of California since 1879 has said that the presence of foreigners, ineligible to become citizens of the United States, is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the state, and the legislature shall discourage their immigration by all means within its power. The alien land law of the state of Washington provides that "an alien, except such as by the laws of the United States are incapable of becoming citizens of the United States, may acquire and hold land, etc." The state of Arizona in 1912 enacted that "no person not eligible to become a citizen of the United States shall acquire title to any land or real property, etc." No protest was made against the

policy of the laws of the United States, nor against its adoption into the laws of Washington and Arizona. If the legislature of California were to determine on similar action, it would be merely following the declaration of our constitution, the policy of the United States government, and the precedents of at least two states.

Protest Against Verbal Assault

We protest, while we are merely debating similar laws, against having trained upon us, not only the verbal batteries of Japan, but those of our own country.

The position that we occupy at this moment is not pleasant to contemplate. Calmly and dispassionately, we are discussing a law admittedly within our province to enact. Objection is made by Japan and forthwith it is demanded that we cease even discussion, and

upon us, if we do not cease calm and dispassionate consideration of that which is desired by a great portion of our people, and which we have the legal and moral right to do, is placed the odium of bringing possible financial disaster and even worse upon our nation.

What a situation for a great state and a great people!

The question in all its various forms is an old and familiar one. The only thing about it is the hysteria which it seems to arouse when California is the place in which it comes up. My protest has been and is against this discrimination. This state will not willingly do anything to which there could be just objection, national or international. But it does resent being singled out for opposition on matters which pass unopposed when they happen elsewhere. —"California Outlook," March 15, 1913.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON'S ANSWER TO SECRETARY OF STATE BRYAN

Sacramento, May 14, 1913.

Hon. Wm. J. Bryan,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Your very courteous telegram relating to the Alien Land Bill reached me late Sunday night.

I take it from our conversations and your requests made to me to withhold executive action until opportunity was accorded for the presentation of suggestions from the Federal government, that your telegram embodies what it was your wish and the wish of the President to say to us before final action.

In this response it is my design most respectfully to present the situation from our standpoint, and the views that actuated our legislature in passing the bill, and that impell me to sanction it.

For many years, a very grave problem, little understood in the East, has confronted California; a problem, the seriousness of which has been recognized by statesmen in our nation, and has been viewed with apprehension by The People of this state.

When the present constitution of California was adopted more than thirty years ago, it contained the following declaration:

"The presence of foreigners ineligible

to become citizens of the United States is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the Legislature shall discourage their immigration by all means within its power".

Of late years our problem from another angle has become acute, and the agitation has been continuous in the last decade in reference to our agricultural lands, until finally affirmative action in an attempted solution became imperative.

This attempted solution is found in the action of our Legislature in the passage of the Alien Land Bill. In the phraseology of this bill, in those whom it affects, in its scope and in its purpose we believe we are within our legal and moral rights, and that we are doing only what is imperatively demanded for the protection and preservation of our state.

In this enactment we have kept ever in mind our national good faith as evidenced by existing treaties, and our desire and anxiety have been to act only in such fashion as would commend us to our sister states and would justify us to our fellow-countrymen.

The objections to our bill are based, first, upon the treaty obligations of the Nation, and, secondly, upon the assertion that our Act is offensive and discriminatory.

The protest to our measure, as your telegram states, comes from the representatives of Japan.

The bill that is now before me, as you know, provides substantially in the first section that all aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire real property in the same manner as citizens of the United States; and the second section provides that all aliens other than those mentioned, in the first section, may acquire real property in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the Nation or country of which such aliens are citizens or subjects; and may, in addition, lease for a period of three years lands for agricultural purposes.

Thus we have made existing treaties a part of our law, and thus have we preserved every right that any foreign nation, by international contract, has insisted upon preserving with our National Government.

The treaty of 1911 with Japan in reference to the citizens and subjects of each country provides that they shall have "liberty to own, or lease, or occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops; to employ agents of their choice; to lease land for residential and commercial purposes and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations where established."

We assume that the right of Japanese to own real property for the purposes described is absolute in our state and we seek to deal only with our agricultural lands. We embody the treaty in our law and we add to it permission to lease our agricultural lands for the period of three years.

Where such extraordinary care has been exercised to preserve honor and good faith—in the very words of the contract made by the protesting nation with our own—and to do more by authorizing lease of agricultural lands, it would seem that we ought not to be open to any accusation of violation of treaty rights or desire to entrench upon that which belongs alone to the National Government, or which might become a matter of international policy.

By the law adopted we offer no offense; we make no discrimination. The offense and discrimination are contained, it is claimed, in the use of the words "eligible to citizenship," and in making a distinction between those who are eligible to citizenship and those who are not.

We do not mention the Japanese or any particular race. The Constitution of California in 1879, made its distinction, and there never has been protest or objection. The naturalization laws of the United States, long since, without demur from any nation, determined who were and who were not eligible to citizenship.

If invidious discrimination ever were made in this regard, the United States made it when the United States declared who were and who were not eligible to citizenship.

And when we but follow and depend upon the statutes of the United States and their determination as to eligibility to citizenship, we cannot be accused of indulging in invidious discrimination.

May I venture to call to your attention the immigration law now pending in Congress, which passed both Houses of the last Congress, where apparently certain classes who shall be excluded from our country are described as "persons who cannot become eligible under existing laws to become citizens of the United States?"

At this very moment the National Legislature, without protest or objection—indeed, it is published in California, by express consent—is using the terms that are claimed in California's law to be offensive and discriminatory.

At least three states in the Union have in the past enacted laws similar to the contemplated law of California, and the enactments of those other states have been without objection or protest.

The protest as now made in respect to California but emphasizes the acuteness of the problem confronting California, and demonstrates that California is differently viewed than other states in the Union; and that, if discrimination exists it is discrimination against California.

We insist that justly no offense can be taken by any nation to this law, and more particularly does this seem to us clear in the instance of a nation like Japan, that, by its own law, prevents acquisition of land by aliens.

It is most respectfully submitted that, after all, the question is not whether any offense has been taken, but whether justly it should be taken.

I voice, I think, the sentiment of the majority of the Legislature of this state, when I say that if it had been believed that offense could justly be taken by any nation to the proposed law, that law would not have been enacted.

We of California believe firmly that in our legislative dealings with this alien land question we have violated absolutely no treaty rights; we have shown no shadow of discrimination; we

have given to no nation the right to be justified in taking offense.

So believing—with a strong reliance on the justice and the righteousness of our cause, and with due deference and courtesy and with proper consideration for the feelings and the views of others—we had hoped the authorities at Washington would have seen the questions as we in this state have been forced to see it, as we must see it, or be blind.

And so, with all respect and courtesy, the State of California feels it its bounden duty to its citizens to do that which the interests of its people demand; that which the conscience of its people approve, that which violates no treaty rights; that which presents no discrimination; and that which can give no just cause for offense.

You have suggested to me delay; but this question was very earnestly and

fully presented by you to our Legislature, and the Legislature determined to proceed. My province is to approve or disapprove the law as presented. Our people, as represented in the Legislature, have overwhelmingly expressed their desire for the present alien bill. The vote in the Senate was thirty-five to two and in the Assembly seventy-two to three.

With such unanimity of opinion, even did I hold other views, I would feel it my plain duty to sign the bill, unless some absolutely controlling necessity demanded contrary action. Apparently no such controlling necessity exists. It is with the highest respect for yourself and the President, that I feel my duty to my state compels me to approve the action of the Legislature.

HIRAM JOHNSON,
Governor.

Comment On California's Attitude By Eastern Investigators

CALIFORNIA'S SIDE OF IT

Why the Little Man From Little Nippon is Giving the Big
State of California a Fearfully Bad Time.

By EDWARD HUNGERFORD, in "Harpers' Weekly."

If you want to view the Japanese situation through the eyes of California drive out to Florin, just beyond the wide-sprawling city of Sacramento. Florin is in the heart of one of the richest agricultural districts upon the continent. It grows strawberries and Tokay grapes, chiefly the former. Recently it has added another crop—little flat-faced, brownskinned children. And it is because of these children that a problem, at the beginning almost exclusively Californian, has become something more than a national one. It is because of the thing that the changing population of Florin typifies that a mob of twenty thousand angry Japanese marched through the streets of Tokio last month execrating Americans and all things American.

It was because of this very thing that we drove out from Sacramento to Florin on a May afternoon and over one of the wonderful "county roads" of which your California farmer is so justly proud. The country on either side

bespoke prosperity. Like a calm sea it stretched away to intangible horizons, a dead level of fertile land, bringing forth as only the semi-tropical California farm-land can bring, the fruits of the earth. Innumerable home-fashioned windmills brought to the earth the moisture of hidden waters. The road that leads from Sacramento off toward Stockton is a busy way. Down it come automobiles of the prosperous fruit-farmers of the valley—and they are not all cheap or second-hand cars, at that.

Florin is a typical California farming village, with its broad main street, its dusty wooden houses, its inevitable yellow depot. It harbors, in addition to that inevitable railroad station, two general stores, two blacksmith shops, three saloons, a restaurant—so-called—crude little wooden church, and a schoolhouse over which the American flag is floating. Japanese own and conduct a general store, a blacksmith shop, and two of the saloons, in addition to the restaurant. Excluding the church,

the school, and the railroad, it might be fairly said that they hold the balance of commercial power at Florin. And that does not represent their balance of numerical strength. There are between 300 and 400 American men and women upon the polling-lists of Florin. There are some 1500 full-grown Japanese men and women dwelling within the township.

It was in 1885 that Japanese emigration into the United States was legalized, although, since 1907, the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" has done away with the necessity of issuing passports. It was long after 1885 before California looked upon the Japanese with anything else than a sort of humorous affection. They met the merry taste of a merry folk. As house servants they were even superior to the Chinese, and so house servants they became. That was in the beginning. It was not until some twelve or fifteen years ago that the Japanese seemed to take real cognizance of agricultural California. And it was the most natural thing in the world that a class of men who succeeded as house servants because of their ability to do hard and grinding work, and to do it well, should succeed as servants in the fields and in the orchards. The problem of engaging "white help" for farm work was following closely in the track of the similar difficulties in domestic services. So the Japanese began to multiply in the fields of California—particularly in the reclaimed districts around about Sacramento, the San Joaquin, the Santa Clara, and the Vaca Valleys.

In a little time they had more than merely met the shortage of "white help" in these farming territories, where plenty of human hands are necessary for a successful marketing of the crops. Instead of meeting a shortage they were driving the white men out of many of the fields of California—Irish, German, even native born Americans, who, because of mental inaptitude, might hardly hope for better than manual labor through the years of their lives. The process was simple. The Japanese could live on lower wages. Then, when the last of the competent white help of those fertile valley bottoms had gone his way, the Jap began, with the slow, patient, persistent, insistence which is so characteristic of him, to demand a better wage. His white employer rubbed his eyes in astonishment. There was a point to which such advances might go and still leave a margin of profit for the owner of the farm. But that point was soon passed and still the inscrutable brown men demanded their increases. If they did not receive them they went

away—and the farmer looked elsewhere for laborers. It was all a part of a well-conceived plan.

Now you can perceive the situation, as the Californian sees it today. The Japanese having forced out the employee, has begun to force out the employer—particularly in the best lands of the river valleys. Staggered by the steady demands for an increase of pay and by the passing of the white farm laborer, the white farmer of those rich valleys within a hundred miles finds himself confronted by three choices. He can sell his farm to the Japanese, he can lease it to them, or he can let them operate it on shares. All these paths are intolerable to the native Californians—the sons of the men who came out to the state when it was a wilderness and who have had a hand in making it both strong and great—but none other seems open to them. Generally they are glad to sell and get out, sometimes they lease, but they very rarely are content to work the thing on shares. White man and brown man do not make congenial partners.

So much for the typical farm-land situation. Now consider, for an instant, the situation in the cities. Sacramento, where we started to drive to Florin, will do. Sacramento is a typical, bustling, hustling, American town; with a decent self-respect and pride in itself that breaks forth in well-planned and handsome buildings, well-groomed streets and lawns. For a time the Japanese were content to live in the cheaper and older parts of the town, for Sacramento, like many of its larger brethren, has an unconscionable habit of spreading its wings almost over night and slipping out from its older and more congested streets. The Japanese wanted to spread his wings too. In no one other way did he show the difference that exists between the Chinaman and himself more clearly. John Chinaman is not ambitious. He is honest, clean, hard-working, to his own lights highly moral, but when his day's work in the kitchen or the laundry is finished he is content to smoke his pipe and dream. His dreams do not carry, however, far beyond that kitchen or that laundry.

Your Japanese is highly different. He dreams of being a legislator, but in the meantime he is ready to take some intermediate steps—to become a small shopkeeper, a banker, anything that brings him responsibility, increased earnings, and power. His social ambitions keep pace with his commercial. No street, no quarter of any California city, is too good for him, or for his. And his methods of injecting himself into such a quarter is quite as ingeni-

ous as his way of getting control of farmlands.

He will go into the part of the city that he likes—in Sacramento or Berkeley or San Jose, even San Francisco—and he will buy a house that he likes. He will pay any price that the owner demands, perhaps up to five times its value. The instant the sale is announced the value of other property in that block begins to decline. He will probably pick up an adjoining house or two at about its assessed value. After that he and his compatriots can have the remainder of the block at their own price. The Japs have made a shrewd enough bargain to more than cover the outrageous price that they paid to start the wedge.

"Caste!" you begin to say.

Caste, of course, but your Californian is not more particular as to mingling with the brown men than our own beloved south has been about mingling with the black man. Of course the Japanese with better schooling and a far quicker mentality, is hardly to be compared to the negro. That makes the problem the more complicated. For to the whites of the West coast the Japanese are quite as impossible in even the most distant social connections as the negroes are to the whites of the south.

"The reason?" you begin to demand. "The Japanese is infinitely superior to the negro."

Probably he is. The most bitter of anti-Japanese agitators will admit that he is a likable little fellow, cleanly in his habits, unwavering in his fidelity and his patriotism. If he is uncertain in his business agreements, notably so in comparison with the scrupulous Chinaman, please be broad enough to realize that the Japanese has his own code of business morals, and lives up to them. Americans and Chinese have another, much more easily understood by all of us, and so the Japanese suffers. Frankly, he has no understanding of the meaning of the word "contract." He thinks the white man silly to stand by the written provisions of a piece of paper with meaningless signatures upon it, when he can better himself by breaking those provisions. That is the Japanese way of looking at a contract. He is quite as honest-hearted and as consistent in it as when he unhesitatingly lays down his life for a friend or for his native land.

"You can put it down to racial prejudice and let it go at that," your Californian will tell you. "We say that our America is for white folks and not for yellow men."

He hesitates for a moment, then begins again.

"If you want to see what we are struggling against, take a steamer from San Francisco out to Hawaii. See what the unrestricted inflow of yellow men has done for the business and social morals of those Islands. One Ellis Island is enough for the land. And in a little while the Canal will be finished and our own Portuguese problem will be multiplying, other problems of the same sort growing as Trans-Atlantic ships filled with the trash of southern Europe come sailing up to the docks of California."

Here, then, is the fullness of the problem. It came to be a dramatic point one day a few weeks ago with a hearing on the Alien Land bill in the big Capitol at Sacramento. Some effective voices had been lifted in opposition to the measures. The management of the Exposition at San Francisco—that big show that is to be California's joy and pride two years hence—stood against the measure. The manager of the show was in rather a delicate position. For it was Japan who was the very first of all the nations to enter with an exhibit.

"We will take any number of acres up to six," she said, "and agree to spend a million dollars an acre."

She was assigned two acres and immediately began planning to build upon them, in permanent form, a reproduction of the Mikado's tea-gardens which, when the exposition is ended will be a gift to the city of San Francisco. The management of the exposition felt its debt to Japan and stood manfully against the bill. There were other interests that stood against it, among them concerns that had elaborate plans for the reclamation of marshes into rice-fields and the employment of Japanese labor for their development. All of these made good arguments. When they were done a farmer from over near Elk Grove was given the floor. He was a tall pantherish sort of a man, a deadly-in-earnest sort of a man who nervously stroked his chin-whiskers as he talked to the legislators.

"My neighbor is a Jap," he said, hastily. He has an eighty-acre place next to mine and he is a smart fellow. He has a white woman living in his house and upon that white woman's knee is a baby.

"Now what is that baby? It isn't white. It isn't Japanese. I'll tell you what it is, it is the beginning of a problem—the biggest race problem that the world has ever known."

And in that instant every objection to the bill was swept from the minds of California's legislators.

(Harpers' Weekly, June 7, 1913.)

JAPAN IN CALIFORNIA

By PETER CLARK MACFARLANE, in "Collier's."

June 7, 1913.

(Collier's gave Mr. Macfarlane but one instruction—to find out on the spot, what were the conditions that had led California to the conviction that the agricultural invasion of the Japanese must be stopped by legislation forbidding persons ineligible to citizenship from owning or leasing farm lands. Here is Mr. Macfarlane's report.)

It was the small fruit farmer of California fighting for his home and for his American community life against submergence by an Asiatic social and industrial order which forced the Anti-Alien land bill through the California Legislature. Some of the most beautiful rural districts in the State were in jeopardy.

In vain for Exposition Directors to protest, in vain for Presidents to intervene, in vain for Japan to cog and cozen—these small American farmers and rural communities felt they had a right to protection and clamored for it so insistently and with such manifest reason that none in authority dared refuse them. When the issue was finally raised there were but five men in the whole Legislature who dared to go home to their constituents and say:

The line was drawn between the white man and the brown, and we voted for the brown.

The details of the final vote were in the Assembly, seventy-two for, three against; in the Senate, thirty-five for, two against; both houses together, one hundred and seven for, five against.

This vote is the best possible answer to the charge that there was no widespread demand for the legislation, or that the demand was of a class character. Legislative districts of California probably represent a greater variety of social and industrial order than those of any other state in the Union; yet upon the subject there was almost perfect unanimity.

The extent of this sentiment is further witnessed by the quotation of a single sentence from an edition in the San Francisco "Chronicle," a paper which was strongly against the bill, that sentence reads:

"With perfect friendliness to the Japanese nation, the people of this state are overwhelmingly opposed to their, or any Orientals' owning our land."

This unanimity shows that it was not a class but a race issue. It was the clash of two races meeting upon the frontiers of their respective civilizations. It is not a question of inferiority or superiority. It is a question of existence, and of social existence at that. At the present time, and until the Panama Canal is opened, bringing fuller tides of European immigration, there is an industrial place for the Japanese in California, but socially there is no position. It is this which makes the complication. Socially the two races will not co-exist. When the Japanese farmers move in American farmers move out. This has been the inevitable result.

Yet, notwithstanding these facts, and the urgent necessity for relief, there were grave facts of expediency why nothing whatever should be done to rouse the displeasure of the Japanese nation on the eve of the Panama Pacific Exposition.

This Panama Exposition is the Californian's defiance to the fates which overwhelmed San Francisco. It is their darling project. Into it the people of California are putting some seventeen millions of dollars. They plan to make it the world's greatest industrial exposition. From all appearances they are well on their way to realize this dream. The Japanese exhibit, for which half a million dollars has been promised by that government was to be the gem and cherry blossom of the Oriental exhibit. Any sort of anti-Japanese agitation would therefore be detrimental to the exposition interests, and California cared greatly to conserve those interests. But this time anti-Japanese agitation would not down. It refused to be anaesthetized. On a former occasion President Roosevelt had browbeaten the California legislature into inaction upon the subject. President Taft, after his milder way, had delayed such legislation until it failed of passage before adjournment. But now the feeling was more intense. The situation in the few affected centers had become acute. It was for this reason that both President Wilson and the Exposition Directors failed.

However, in the presence of grave questions of expediency. Governor Johnson was entirely agreeable to postponement. The vast majority of the

legislators were also agreeable; but there were half a dozen men in the Legislature who were not agreeable, men who came from districts in which there are American communities fighting for their very existence—Assemblymen like Bradford of Sacramento, Wall of San Joaquin, Killingsworth of Vacaville—Senators like Birdsall of Placer, and Sanford of Ukiah. With the exception of Sanford and Killingsworth, Democrats who for a day listened to Mr. Bryan, none of these men could be persuaded into silence.

For the result, Japan need not blame President Wilson, nor Governor Johnson, nor the Directors of the Panama Pacific Exposition, nor the legislative majority. She need not even blame that little group of recalcitrant legislators who day after day in committee and in legislative session nagged and worried at the Anti-Alien bills until one of them was reported out of Committee and put upon passage.

Instead, the blame must be laid upon these protesting farmers who refused to stand idly by and see themselves forced out of the homes they had built, off the ranches they had tilled, out of the communities in which their children were being reared.

The source of the irresistible demand for this legislation proceeded directly from the farmer through the action of the State Grange in passing resolutions demanding anti-alien land legislation against which not one single vote was recorded. And the farmers' representative, Mr. Newman, put the case before a joint legislative committee thus epigrammatically:

If you don't give us relief, we are going to lose our homes; not by mortgage foreclosure, but by Japanese inclosure.

Just at the moment the classic instance of Japanese agrarian aggression is the town of Florin, which is but eight miles southeast of Sacramento and therefore an object lesson right at the doors of the legislature. The proponents of the anti-alien land bill took great pleasure in showing Mr. Bryan by means of this community exactly what the Japanese invasion meant. Florin is the center of a beautiful little vine and berry growing district comprising about twenty-four sections of land. A dozen years ago, each of its vineyards and berry farms surrounded and sustained an American home. Now it is estimated that sixty-five percent of these farms are owned or operated by Japanese—about 15 per cent owned and fifty per cent leased. Formerly there were about fifteen hundred whites and no Japanese in this community. Today it is estimated that there are five hundred

whites and from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred Japanese according to the demands of the season.

There were three large general merchandise stores in the town, owned by whites. Today two of those stores are held by the Japanese, and the lone white man has computed the hour of his own demise.

He says that within five years the Nipponese will put him out of business. His store, too, will become Japanized. There were two white hotels in the place; now there is only a Japanese boarding house. There were two white blacksmith shops, now one of them is Japanese. The barber shop, the shoe shop, the fish market and the meat market are owned or operated by the Japanese.

There is a fruit basket factory in the town. It formerly employed white help and the management prefers white help; but when Secretary Bryan walked into the factory he found forty Japanese employed, the foreman being the only white man about. Apparently about half of the employees were women. Some of them had their babies by their sides. As we were preparing to take a picture a woman with a baby rushed out, but she could not take the crib with her. These employees are now all Japanese, while formerly they were all white because, as the manager informed me, so many whites have moved away to avoid Japanese neighbors, he was compelled to employ some Japanese and then the remaining whites began to ooze out because they would not work in the same factory with the Japanese.

We went around to the neat little two roomed school house, presided over by two charming young women—typical American rural school teachers—and found in a primary grade twenty whites and twenty-two Japanese. The white children in the primary were small but among the Japs were two strapping young fellows who had been in high school grades in Japan.

Ten years ago there were one hundred and ten white children in the school. Today there are but forty. The seventy white children who are gone constitute an index to the exodus of white families. Nor was there a single Japanese child in the school a decade ago.

In the town of Florin the great majority of people one meets in the streets and stores are Japanese. All but a few of the workers seen in the fields are Japanese. One may stand at the freight station in the afternoon when the fruit is coming in for shipment and see forty wagons drawn up in line before the station platform, every wagon driven by

a Japanese. There will be Japanese check clerks, Japanese roustabouts, Japanese foremen and Japanese fruit buyers. The whole scene is Japanese.

To see an American community that had been representative of the very best elements of our rural life thus completely displaced by Orientals gives one a strange sensation. This sensation is deepened when one drives up to an American farm only to find it inhabited by Japanese. Imagine ourselves bowling along a splendid California roadway with the finest of fruit farms on every hand. We see the fence by the side of us and know an American built it. We see the house designed after American architectural plans, surrounded by trees and lawns and that profusion of flowers with which California's soil and climate repays so bountifully the touch of an affectionate hand. The house is environed by beautiful vineyards or orchards and the whole is a picture of independence and contentment that makes the life of the California rancher seem ideal.

But driving in at the big gate we are pained to notice an air of neglect about the garden and the door yard. The grass is uncut, the flowers look neglected. The very house has an absentee air about it. There are no lace curtains at the windows, only shades. One of the shades goes up and a face is seen, peering, inquisitive, suspicious. It is the face of an oriental. We round the corner and Japanese babies are sprawling before the door. We turn toward the barnyard and a pair of Japanese boys are romping there. The barnyard itself has an empty look. There are no cows or calves, not even a fowl, for these Japanese of Florin are tillers of the soil pure and simple. Beyond the barn one sees a Japanese plowing. In a berry patch to the left half a dozen men and women are squatting in the rows, pushing their picking trays before them. If we could look inside of this American house and see how it is furnished and occupied by its Japanese owners we should be still more depressed.

Pictures of cherry-blossom festivals in the Flowery Kingdom and stories of the wizardry of Japanese gardeners would lead one to suppose these Japanese "occupations" would be found blossoming with floral beauty and fragrance. The contrary is true. Nothing appears to receive attention but that which can be sold for money.

The rainbow hues fade out as we see these people in the midst of a Western environment. Sordid realism takes the place of romance. We see merely an alien race with likes that are not our

likes, ambitions that are not our ambitions, satisfactions that are not our satisfactions, with morals that are to us no morals, and habits of life that make social relation with them utterly impossible.

At the next farm we find the same condition, a Japanese family in an American home, except that perhaps it is not a family—merely three or four men and a woman whose status is exceedingly doubtful. At the next farm we see an American in possession but learn that he is going to leave. His farm is for sale or lease.

Neither he nor his family can endure the prospect of Japanese neighbors, and because of those neighbors the selling value of his farm upon which he has lavished the long labors of years is greatly decreased. And so it goes over the beautiful countryside of Florin.

What the Japanese have done in Florin they have done to a greater or less degree in the fruit-growing districts of Solano, of Santa Cruz and Placer Counties, and in the vegetable-growing delta district at the confluence of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin Rivers.

Moreover, what the Japanese have done in certain farming communities they have done also in the cities. Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Stockton, all have their Japanese quarters, block after block, solid or becoming solid, where the brown men come in, purchased a foothold at an exorbitant cost, and then by their social obnoxiousness depressed rental and property values till whites were forced out and the Asiatic tide flowed in behind them unobstructed.

Now let it be borne in mind that this reference to the Japanese colonies in the cities is, for the purpose of this article, purely illustrative, because the Treaty of 1911 with Japan expressly concedes to the Japanese the right to lease and occupy real estate for residential and certain business purposes.

Reverting again to the disturbed areas it must be borne in mind all the time that these are comparatively small. There are only 55,000 Japanese in California; and but half of these are engaged in agricultural pursuits. In many communities the labor of these men is exceedingly welcome. In some of the very counties where the Japanese population is largest the Japanese fit into the industrial scheme so well that the only protest comes from the white laborer who must compete against them.

In the beginning the California rancher hailed the advent of the Japanese laborer joyously. He was by no means ideal; he was hired principally in gangs

and through a boss; he was tricky, grasping, and unscrupulous about keeping contracts; but he filled a gap created by the gradual decrease of the Chinese since the exclusion act, and he was the best available until the hoped-for influx of agricultural labor from Europe should come by way of the Isthmus Canal.

Besides all of which the Jap is peculiarly adept at "squat" labor. Because of that the berry crop of California is almost entirely in his hands.

In some situations, too, he has worked successfully where the white man could not work at all.

For instance, in the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers where the white man could not compete with unhealthy nature, the Japanese came in, survived year after year, raised a better potato crop than the white man could raise, graded it better, sold it better, and has all but taken entire possession of the land.

The leading producer in this whole district is a Japanese, George Shima, who is sometimes called the potato king. He is said to be worth a half million dollars and is assessed in the San Joaquin Valley for \$141,680.

Yet the use of fuel oil by steamers with its consequent wastage from passing boats and seepage into the tule grasses has killed out the mosquitoes to such an extent that it is claimed in a few years more the delta will be comfortably habitable for white men, and they will be prepared to go back and contend with the Japs for a place upon this soil of Egyptian richness.

Formerly the Japanese worked cheaper than the Chinaman, but now he gets as much as the Celestial or even the Italian farm laborer.

Japanese farm labor falls into two classes: the gang labor of the picking and harvesting crew, and the all-the-year-round labor. The coming and going of these large gangs of temporary Japanese laborers constituted no serious social problem; but the farmer began to find it to his advantage to employ the all-the-year-round labor by means of leases, usually under such terms as retained control of the entire agricultural operation in the hands of his Caucasian self. The advantage to the landlord was that it relieved him from the whimsical and uncertain disposition of Japanese labor, which could then no longer jump up and leave him in the middle of the night or in the process of crop growing or harvest.

But these leases proved a stepping-stone to Japanese ownership of the lands. Once a foothold was gained, the Japanese colonization operated to the

exclusion of the whites in two ways. The first was by forcing the whites out of employment upon the soil. The extent of this crowding out was startlingly revealed by an investigation conducted in 1909 by the State of California into the relation of the Japanese population to agricultural operation.

This commission visited 4102 farms scattered over twenty-six counties. It found 1733 of these farms operated by Japanese either as owners or lessees. On these Japanese-operated farms 96 percent of the labor employed was Japanese. Of the 2369 farms, 54.4 percent of the labor was white, 36.4 percent was Japanese, and the remaining 10.2 percent was Chinese, Mexican, Hindu and Indian.

In other words the coming of Japanese into possession or control of the farms of a given community occasions a reduction of white labor employed by approximately 90 percent—which practically means obliteration.

The second blighting effect is through social pressure. There is little use to argue or speculate over whether the two races should dwell together in brotherly affection. The fact is that they will not.

The Japanese—without meaning any disrespect to the little brown man—does not commend himself to the average American farmer family as a desirable neighbor. He is not overly clean. He is accused of being unmoral. It is claimed the Japanese have no marriage tie as we know the institution. Women, if scarce, may be held pretty much in common. The white farmer's wife does not run in and sit down to gossip with the Japanese farmer's wife and she does not want the Japanese farmer's wife running in to gossip with her. Their children cannot play together. Jenny Brown cannot go for a buggy ride with Harry Hirada. The whole idea of social intercourse between the races is absolutely unthinkable. It is not that the white agriculturist cannot compete with the Japanese agriculturist. It is that he will not live beside him.

So, in the fruit-growing districts of California, when the Japanese get a foothold through ownership or a long term lease, there is nothing for the American family to do but to move. The Jap has found that out. He knows he may have to pay an exorbitant price for the first piece of real estate in a community, but he knows also that his presence will depress the value of the next and the more he buys the cheaper the land around him becomes. This is very well for him. It is not well for the American farmer who helplessly

sees the value of his property impaired without power to remedy, since once the Japanese gets title to that property there is no way of ousting him.

In consequence the California fruit farmer in the threatened communities seeks a law prohibiting the Japanese from acquiring agricultural lands. To make this protection real, there must ultimately be a law forbidding him to lease agricultural land; but in order to give the farmer time for adjustment to the new conditions that must come, the right to make leases for terms not exceeding three years was provided for in the bill enacted. Again the hoped-for relief is immigration from Europe by way of the canal.

But still the question recurs: since Japanese laborers are now excluded from the country, why does the question not abate instead of becoming more acute? The answer is that the very fact of exclusion has tended toward provision for permanent residence in this country. Up to that time the Japanese communities were more or less in the nature of temporary camps. Men came over for a few years, engaged in business or labor, made money, and went back. The new disposition to permanent settlement is strikingly revealed in the increase in the number of Japanese women immigrants. Up to 1904, when there was little or no serious talk of exclusion, the number of Japanese women who came in was but about six in the hundred. In 1911 the number was seventy in the hundred. The method of getting these women into the country in the face of exclusion by the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 is by the familiar device of a "picture marriage." By this process the Japanese in America sends his picture home, some woman marries the photograph, and then the Japanese Government issues a passport to the picture bride. It is reported that the Japanese Government favors in passport issuance the picture bride of the man who has effected a lodgment upon California soil.

The extent to which this colonization is going on in Sacramento County, for instance, is shown by the fact that for the year ending May 1, 1913, 118 leases and 122 deeds to Japanese were recorded. For the month of April alone 26 deeds to Japanese were recorded, or one-fifth as many as in the whole year previous, indicating the hurry to get transfers recorded before the Anti-Alien Land Law could shut them off. Increased activity in buying and leasing was one reason why the proponents of the legislation were unwilling to suspend action for two years. They did

not believe the Japanese land buyers would also suspend activity. On May 8, the very morning of my inquiry at the Recorder's office, one ten-year lease to Japanese and six deeds came in.

As also significant, the fact is cited that within a short space of time ten transfers of property to Hindus were made in one small settlement adjacent to city of Sacramento, showing that the bill will also curb the activities of certain other "aliens ineligible to citizenship."

A still more startling piece of information gleaned from the Recorder's office was that the number of births for the year in the county of Sacramento, outside the corporate limits of the city of Sacramento, was 274, of which 107 were Japanese. This bears out the assertion made in Florin and other districts that, since the great influx of women, Japanese babies are beginning to rain down.

To show how greatly California rural communities begin to dread this Japanization, and how desperately they struggle to protect themselves, the case of the town of Elk Grove is cited. Elk Grove, also in Sacramento County, lies eight miles beyond Florin to the south, and is like it, a fruit growing district, but with the products slightly more diversified. The Elk Grove district is very prosperous. The little town bears evidence of this in neat rows of modern cottages, in business blocks, several of which are new, trim, and substantial. The general air of Elk Grove is one of progress and prosperity, quite in contrast to that of Florin. But this different appearance is due to the fact that Elk Grove is strictly an American community. It earnestly desires to remain so, yet has lived in yearly horror of the Japanese invasion. Every measure possible to protect itself has been taken. On December 5, 1911, the Elk Grove Board of Trade adopted two resolutions which, after a half dozen whereases of various import, declared as follows:

RESOLVED, That we, as a body and as individuals, do now and at all times utterly condemn the practice of selling land to Japanese in this vicinity, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we shall at all times urge all citizens of this community to use their best endeavor to keep this vicinity free of Japanese residents.

Similar resolutions were adopted by the Elk Grove Grange.

But this was not deemed sufficient. An agreement was drawn up, the kernel of which is:

"That we will not sell at any time any of our real property to one of the

Asiatic race, nor permit anyone to do so for us."

This agreement was presented to all landowners within a radius of four miles of Elk Grove, and all but four signed it. This information was furnished to me by Mr. Charles H. Cooper, secretary of the bank of Elk Grove, with a letter from which I quote:

"There is one thing that is certain to come to pass in any community where Japanese start buying land, and that is that the white people will leave that community as soon as they can make satisfactory disposition of their property. The white people of the East who criticize us so severely would take the same stand as we do if they lived here in competition with the Japs. In fact, some of the most ardent supporters of alien-land legislation in this community are the people who lately came from the East and bought property, and when they found that they would likely have Japs for neighbors in the near future, they soon changed their views."

But even if every man signed the agreement, it would be powerless to protect Elk Grove. The Japanese, creeping steadily down from Florin, buying or leasing one farm after another, and making the next farm untenable, would inevitably overflow Elk Grove, drive out the whites, and turn that beautiful little city into a Japanese town. Their only hope was law.

The Democratic State platform of 1912 had declared:

"We favor the passage of a bill that will prevent any alien not eligible to citizenship from owning land in the State of California.

Now it happens that Elk Grove and Florin are both in the same Assembly district. The Democratic candidate for the Assembly was a young attorney of Sacramento, Hugh B. Bradford by name. He made his campaign almost solely on the basis of this anti-alien plank in the Democratic platform.

When at caucus time, before the opening of the legislative session, the representatives of the Panama-Pacific Exposition appeared and made their almost tearful plea that no anti-Japanese measure should even be discussed, Bradford was one of the men who could not be moved. He declared his intention to introduce an anti-alien land bill on the first day, and he did.

In the Senate was also a man who would not listen to argument, Senator Birdsall of Placer County, who, when his name was called, arose and introduced an anti-alien land bill, which, with slight amendment, became the

Webb bill, finally passed by both Houses. However, Bradford in the Assembly was the first to get his bill to a vote, and on April 15 it was passed, the ayes being 60 and the noes 15.

It was this favorable vote on the Bradford bill that precipitated the sensation which was both national and international in character, and resulted in some delicious bits of political complication.

First, there was the seemingly paradoxical position of President Wilson himself on the matter at issue. Both Roosevelt and Taft had hammered California legislators hard when they attempted to discuss anti-Oriental legislation. But President Wilson had been made to appear committed to the other side.

The Democratic State Campaign Committee of 1912 had circulated widely a card, on one side of which was printed "Wilson and the Japanese," and reading:

"Woodrow Wilson is for the exclusion of the Japanese from the United States. On May 3, 1912, he said: In the matter of Chinese and Japanese coolie immigration, I stand for the national policy of exclusion. The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We cannot make a homogeneous population out of a people who do not blend with the Caucasian race. Their lower standard of living as laborers will crowd out the white agriculturist, and is in other fields a most serious industrial menace. The success of free democratic institutions demands of our people education, intelligence, and patriotism, and the State should protect them against unjust and impossible competitions. Remunerative labor is the basis of contentment. Democracy rests upon the equality of the citizens. Oriental coolieism will give us another race problem to solve, and surely we have had our lesson."

No more effective statement of the case for these rural and semirural communities threatened with Japanese submergence could have been made. Of course Mr. Wilson was speaking directly of exclusion, but when he said that "intelligence and patriotism and the State should protect them—i. e., white agriculturists—against unjust and impossible competition," he was voicing exactly what the white agriculturist is crying for today in the alien land bill—protection!

Moreover, the Democratic State Campaign Committee, upon the reverse of the card, under the title of "Roosevelt and the Japanese," had placed a quotation from Roosevelt's message to

Congress, recommending that Japanese be admitted to citizenship, and certain additional sentences of which the following two are a good sample:

"Roosevelt believes the Japanese should be allowed to overrun the land of California. He demanded of the State Legislature that it enact no laws denying Japanese the right to acquire title to land."

This piece of campaign literature undoubtedly cost Roosevelt many votes and undoubtedly gained many for President Wilson, yet here was President Wilson standing in the exact position of his predecessors and asking that no legislation be enacted.

The President, however, is by no means to be accused of insincerity on this showing. He appears to have been forced by considerations of state into a position to which his convictions would never lead him.

Another paradoxical element cropped up in the position over State rights. President Wilson is the national leader of a political party which emphasizes the doctrine of State rights; yet here he was at the door of a State urging the nation's rights. On the other hand, Governor Johnson had been the Vice Presidential candidate for a party which stands for a super-emphasized nationalism, yet he was placed in the position of sustaining before an insistent President the rights of a State to its own autonomy.

Still another paradox arose out of the fact that the anti-alien land program, in so far as it was a party measure at all, was strictly a Democratic one.

But to pick up the thread of the narrative: With the passage of the Bradford bill, Japan protested to the President, and the President protested to Governor Johnson, and Governor Johnson passed the protest to the Legislature.

While up to this time Governor Johnson had taken no fatherly interest whatever in the Anti-Alien Land Bill, he resented the volley of criticism which was leveled at the Legislature by the Eastern press, and besides assuring the President that the Legislature might be depended upon to respect both treaty obligations and its own duty to the nation, he leaped into the newspaper columns himself with some paragraphs of bristling argument in behalf of the State rights to enact this protective legislation exactly as Arizona, Washington, and other States had done. California, it appeared, was being put before the nation in the position of a bad boy who was rocking the boat when, as a matter of fact, he

was only trying to steer. The firing of the Governor's first barrel of argument in rebuttal centered press criticism upon himself. His response to this was a second barrel rejoinder, reinforcing his arguments by additional citations of the acts of other States, and declaring:

"We protest, while we are merely debating similar laws, against having trained upon us, not only the verbal batteries of Japan, but those of our own community."

But all the while, too, Governor Johnson was receiving intimations that he was jeopardizing the interests of the national Progressive party by taking a stand that was not popular in the East. At about the same time telegrams began to arrive in the Executive's office from Oyster Bay. These telegrams have never been made public, but a section of the press assumed them to consist of exhortations to stand pat against the proposals from Washington. Such inference overlooks the fact that Colonel Roosevelt as President had himself successfully coerced a California Legislature into inaction when bent on similar intent; therefore it may be concluded safely that anything which came to Governor Johnson from Colonel Roosevelt was in the way of an exhortation to stand firm under.

But the state of the Governor's mind appears to have been that of the majority of the Legislature—a disposition to let the matter sleep if it would, but—soothing sirup failing—the issue once clearly raised, there was to him, as to others, but one side to the question. Accordingly, since the time of the passage of the Bradford bill, he had been gradually coming to feel that, despite all questions of expediency, some such legislation was inevitable, and on the very night before Secretary Bryan's arrival, the Governor announced to the Progressive leaders that he was for some such enactment as the Birdsall bill, then pending in the Senate.

However, his nearest approach to a public exercise of the gubernatorial influence was the widely published utterance made near the close of the second joint legislative conference with Mr. Bryan on the first day of the Secretary's arrival. All the afternoon Mr. Bryan had been hearing down upon the fact that the dignity of Japan had been offended. At length the Governor asked the floor, and in the course of a four-minute speech uttered these sentences:

"The point of inquiry, it seems to me, should be—and I speak perhaps academically in this regard—not: Is Japan offended today, but is Japan

justly offended today? Is there anything that is contemplated by the Legislature of the State of California that should give and would give to any nation logically looking at the problem just offense? If there be just offense given, none of us desires that that shall be so; but if it be a fact that offense is taken where justly it ought not to be taken, then we are justified in proceeding with our legislation in the State of California."

These remarks of the Governor were received with prolonged applause.

In the meantime Secretary Bryan had completely failed to impress the Legislature with any reason for abandoning the proposed enactment, which the members felt was solid enough to be offered successfully to their constituents as an excuse for postponement of action.

However, as the representative of the titular head of the Democratic party, appealing to Democratic members of the Legislature, Secretary Bryan was more successful. His party reasons appeared to be more cogent than his diplomatic ones.

At his suggestion Senator Curtin introduced a resolution postponing the issue for two years, and for this resolution every Democratic Senator but two and all but six of the Democratic Assemblymen voted; but the Progressives were almost solidly against it, so that the Curtin resolution was lost by 46 to 23 in the Assembly, and 26 to 10 in the Senate.

At all times Mr. Bryan conducted himself with consummate tact and won the affection of everyone with whom he came in touch, including the Progressive Governor, who, although he found it necessary to oppose his mission, yet declared that it was doubtful if any other than the altogether charming Secretary of State could have carried himself through the delicate situations in which he was placed and in which he placed himself without certain shipwreck.

On the other hand everyone was kind to Mr. Bryan. The Governor entertained him in his home. The Lieutenant Governor placed his office at the Secretary's disposal, thus affording him accommodation across the hall from the Senate.

The Legislature and the legislators heard him whenever he desired to be heard, and the Assembly even went so far as to interrupt its debate before

the final vote on the bill to allow him to say good bye, good-naturedly assenting when he seized the occasion to make one final plea for postponement.

During the Assembly debate to which Mr. Bryan was a listener, a point came out which revealed to the Secretary of State that his cause had been hopeless from the first.

This was an unchallenged statement to the effect that the labor movement in the State had, ever since the election campaign, held the pledges of 90 per cent of the legislators to vote for an Anti-Alien Land Bill.

While the presence of Secretary Bryan in the Capital of a sovereign State actively endeavoring to influence legislation produced some tense and delicate situations, no unpleasantness of any kind resulted; and when he failed to attain the object of his mission, he undoubtedly secured for the President valuable first-hand information as to the state of the popular mind on the cause in issue, and it is not likely that anything but good will come from the visit aside from the establishment of what may be regarded as a doubtful precedent.

It remains but to say a word about the law. Undoubtedly the President's criticisms, suggestions, and objections resulted in a more euphemistic wording of the document. The words "ineligible to citizenship" do not appear. This is avoided by affirming in one section the rights of aliens eligible to citizenship, and then in a second section affirming that aliens not covered by the first section may "acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit, and transfer real property . . . in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes presented by any treaty now existing," etc.

By the expedient of this phrasing, the law not only avoids contravening the Treaty of 1911 with Japan but follows the very line of cleavage laid down by that document, which as before stated secured to the Japanese the right to lease and occupy land for certain residential and business purposes but was emphatically silent on agricultural lands.

It is difficult to see, therefore, how the Japanese nation can successfully oppose a law which practically enacts a Japanese treaty into a California statute and bars the Japanese citizens from no privilege in California from which California's citizens are not also barred in Japan.

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Foreign Land Ownership and Leasing in Japan

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By JOHN GADSBY

Expatriation of Japanese Abroad

(Reprinted from the New York Nation, May, 1916)

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Foreign Land Ownership and Leasing in Japan

By JOHN GADSBY

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THE EXISTING STATE of the Japanese law with regard to land ownership is as follows:

Foreigners can not own land as individuals, but a juridical person formed and registered under the imperial laws—even though its members are all aliens—can and, it may be added, frequently does. In addition, aliens are permitted to lease land [for fifty years] on an equal footing with native subjects, and can become the holders of rights of superficies for exceedingly long periods. And whilst such a right is by no means equal to absolute ownership, a careful and conscientious draftsman can easily create a by no means unsatisfactory class of holding. A superficies for, say, one thousand years will sell in the Japanese market for a sum closely approximating to the value of a right of absolute ownership.

It should be noticed that no discrimination is made against any particular class of aliens. All persons who are not Japanese subjects are exactly upon the same footing. But the Imperial Government has long recognized that such a state of affairs is inconvenient, and scarcely calculated to meet the exigencies of modern commerce. It is doubtful whether it would have been permitted to last so long were it not for the strong body of public opinion which is opposed to the grant of the right of ownership in Japanese land to aliens. This prejudice is natural in a people unused to the presence of aliens in their midst, but it is altogether foreign to the ideas of the members of that highly educated and homogeneous body which forms the Japanese public of the present day. Yet such a prejudice still exists, and the explanation of what seems to be a contradiction must be sought in the customs and usages of Japanese family life.

In Japan the family and not the individual is the unit of social existence. The head of the family has a well established legal position with attendant rights, and his, or her—for a woman may be the head of a family—actual influence is by no means bounded by the provisions of the law. The power of the old people of this Empire is incalculable and, speaking generally, is opposed to any extension of the rights now enjoyed by foreigners.

That it should be so is not a matter for wonder when we recollect that the opening of the country to foreigners is a still recent event, and that many of those who resisted by force of arms the attempts of the "barbarians" to obtain a footing in the empire still occupy the highest position in the State and in the less exalted *milieu* of the family councils. Those who have risen in the larger sphere are almost, without exception, men of broad learning and of liberal ideals; in many a family council the enlightened rule of that illustrious sovereign, the Emperor Meiji—though, of course, accepted without question—is still appreciated at something less than its actual value.

The first fruits of the desire to extend the rights of aliens so as to include the right of ownership in land are evidenced by Law No. 51, which was promulgated in April, 1910, after it had been passed by the Imperial Diet. It is known that the Government desired a more liberal measure, but the force of public opinion was opposed to more than was embodied in the Law as passed. And realizing that the measure was far from satisfactory, the Emperor Meiji withheld the Imperial Ordinance, which is a condition precedent to its enforcement. In other words, the Law, though promulgated, has never come into force; and it is common knowledge that the present Minister of Justice (Monsieur Matsuda Masahisa), a man of most enlightened temperament and of the highest ideals, is even now considering a new and radical measure to the same end.

[Here the author gives a detailed analysis of the Japanese land law of April, 1910 (law.No. 51) referred to in the above paragraph. We have entirely omitted this analysis, because that law has never been put into effect, mainly because, as the author intimates, it was not considered liberal enough by many Japanese critics. In the legislative session of 1919 the Japanese government introduced to the Diet a revised, or rather a new, law, embodying more liberal principles and removing all features in the law of 1910 considered by foreigners to be objectionable. Unfortunately the Lower House was dissolved on the issue of universal suffrage before the proposed law was voted upon. But it is expected that the law will again be introduced in the forthcoming session of the Diet.—EDITOR.]

The present law, in that it permits a juridical person duly formed and registered under the imperial laws to own Japanese land even when all the members of such juridical person are aliens, is by no means so great an inconvenience to foreigners as would at first appear.

In Japanese law there are four kinds of juridical persons, the creations of the Commercial Code, namely *gomei-kwaisha*, *goshi-kwaisha*, *kabushiki-kwaisha*, and *kabushiki goshi-kwaisha*. The first may be translated "ordinary partnership" (*Societe en nom collectif*), in which the liability of all the partners is unlimited; the second as "limited partnership" (*Societe en commandite*), in which the liability of at least one of the partners is unlimited, whilst that of at least one partner is limited; the third as "joint stock company" (*Societe anonyme*); the fourth and last as "joint stock limited partnership" (*Societe en commandite par actions*).

Of these, all but the last are frequently formed and registered by aliens living in Japan, and are used by them largely for the purpose of owning land.

Again, a foreigner who has advanced money on Japanese land need never, in actual practice, fear the disability under which he, as a foreigner, labors. He can always take over the land in the name of a juridical person in case of necessity, by buying it in at the auction under the Public Auction Law or by private treaty. And in such a case the most he can lose by reason of his disability will be the expenses of the public auction.

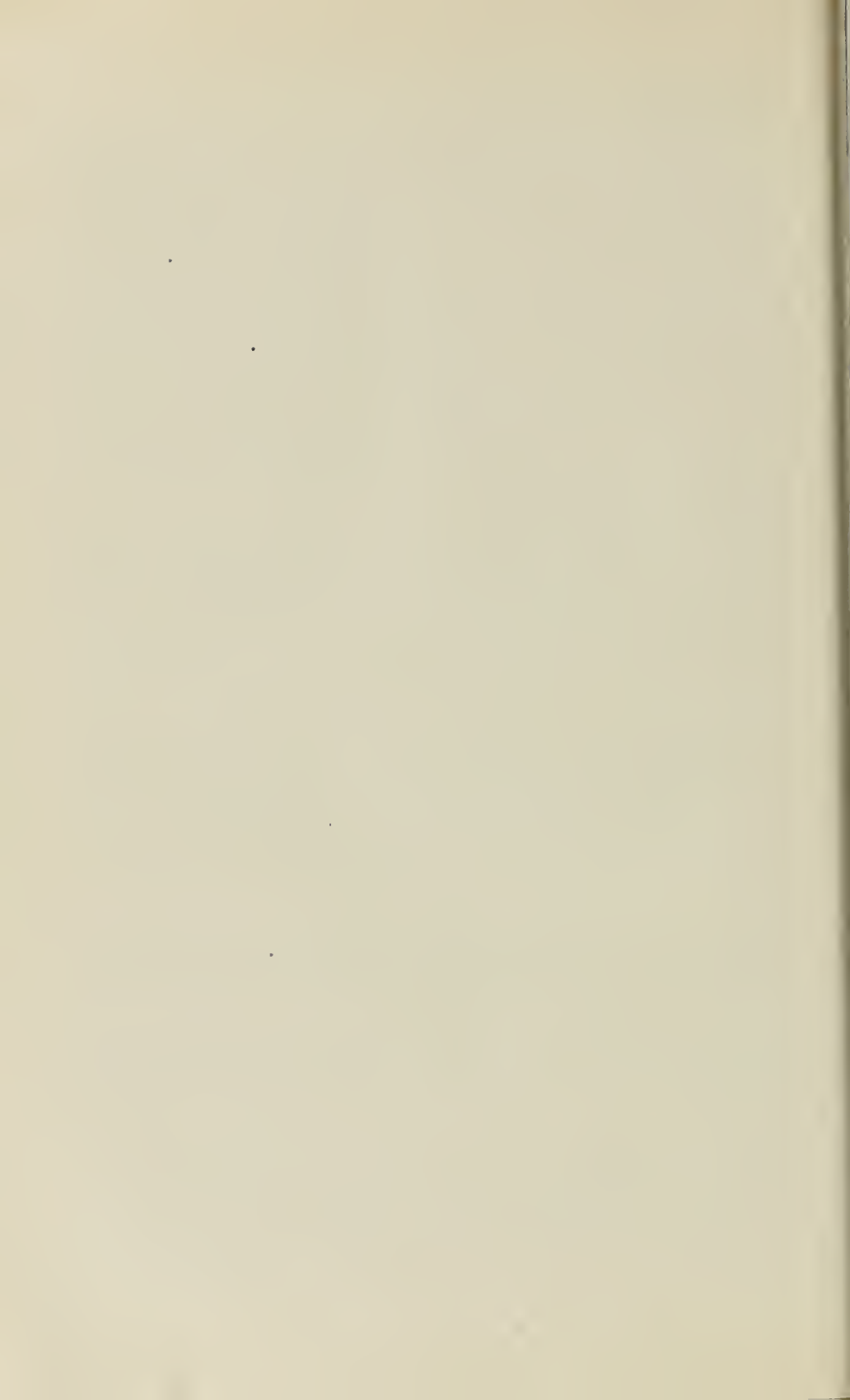
In conclusion, the denial of the right of ownership in land to foreigners is by no means so serious a disability as at first sight appears. That it is irritating and even galling few will deny. The Imperial Government itself realizes that Law No. 51 is not completely satisfactory; and it is beyond a doubt that a more liberal measure will soon become an active law of the Empire.

[NOTE.—The above article makes no reference to the "lease-in-perpetuity" obtained by the Europeans and Americans in the foreign settlements which were established in the open ports in Japan when the country was first opened to foreign intercourse.

Lease-in-perpetuity is a lease without limit as to its duration. For all practical purposes, this lease is as good as ownership. This privilege was obtained by foreigners for a nominal consideration paid to the Japanese government.

In 1898 foreign settlements were abolished. But the lease-in-perpetuity was not abolished with the settlements, and today this prerogative is still enjoyed by foreigners.

On the lands acquired in the name of perpetual lease, the foreigners enjoy immunity from taxation. Not only this, but the foreigners pay no tax on the residences and office buildings they have erected on such lands.—EDITOR.]



Expatriation of Japanese Abroad

By ERNEST W. CLEMENT

Many who are interested in obtaining an equitable solution of American-Japanese problems have felt that the Japanese should not be denied the right of naturalization in the United States. On the other hand, the so-called anti-Japanese advocates have contended, with good reason, that Japan would not allow her subjects abroad to be expatriated—"once a Japanese, always a Japanese." They insisted that Japan would not permit Japanese abroad to be absolved from allegiance to their native land, and that Japanese, therefore, are not "assimilable." But now (April, 1916), Japan has removed that obstacle by amending her "Law of Nationality" through the action of both houses of the Imperial Diet. Let us see what has been accomplished.

Mr. Gilbert Bowles, secretary of the American Peace Society of Japan, has prepared material on this topic for the next issue of the *Japan Peace Movement*, joint organ of that society and of the Japan Peace Society; and he kindly permits the use of that material from a duplicate copy of his manuscript.

In the first place, he points out a few of the principal provisions of the original law, which went into force on April 1, 1899, as follows:

"A child is a Japanese, if his or her father is a Japanese at the time of his or her birth," regardless of whether the child is born in Japan, in the United States, or in New Guinea.

"A child whose father is unknown or possesses no nationality is a Japanese, provided that his or her mother is a Japanese."

An alien, without distinction as to race or nationality, may acquire Japanese nationality: a woman, by marriage to any Japanese man; a man, by marriage to a Japanese woman who is the head of a house; by adoption into a Japanese family; by naturalization, if full twenty years of age, after having "a domicile in Japan for at least five years consecutively."

He then presents the following comparisons:

Old Law.

Article 18. A Japanese woman who has married an alien loses Japanese nationality.

Article 20. A person who has voluntarily acquired a foreign nationality loses Japanese nationality.

Article 24. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding five Articles, a male of full seventeen years or upwards does not lose Japanese nationality, unless he has completed active service in the Army or Navy, or he is under no obligation to enter into it.

A person who actually occupies an official post—civil or military—does not lose Japanese nationality notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding six Articles until after he or she has lost such official post.

Amendments.

Article 18. When a Japanese by becoming the wife of a foreigner has acquired the husband's nationality, then such Japanese loses (her) Japanese nationality.

Article 20 Bis. In case a Japanese subject who has acquired foreign nationality by reason of his or her birth in a foreign country has domicile in that country, he or she may be expatriated with the permission of the Minister of State for Home Affairs.

The application for the permission referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the legal representative in case the person to be expatriated is younger than fifteen years of age. If the person in question is a minor above fifteen years of age, or a person adjudged incompetent, the application can only be made with the consent of his or her legal representative or guardian.

A step-father, a step-mother, a legal mother, or a guardian may not make the application or give the consent prescribed in the preceding paragraph without the consent of the family council.

A person who has been expatriated loses Japanese nationality.

In Article 24 the words "foregoing five Articles" and the words "foregoing six Articles" shall be respectively replaced by the words "foregoing six Articles" and "foregoing seven Articles."

Article 26. A person who has lost Japanese nationality in accordance with Art. 20 or 21 may recover Japanese nationality, provided that he or she possesses a domicile in Japan; but this does not apply when the persons mentioned in Art. 16 have lost Japanese nationality.

[The persons mentioned in Art. 16 are "naturalized persons, children of naturalized persons who have acquired Japanese nationality, and persons who have become adopted children of Japanese."]

In Article 26 after the words "Article 20" insert the words "Article 20 *Bis*."

The following paragraph is added to Article 26:

In case the person who has lost Japanese nationality in accordance with the provision of Article 20 *Bis* is younger than fifteen years of age, the application for the permissions prescribed in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the father who is the member of the family to which such person belonged at the time of his expatriation. Should the father be unable to do so, the application shall be made by the mother; if the mother is unable to do so, then by the grandfather; and if the grandfather is unable to do so, then by the grandmother.

In response to a special request, Mr. T. Miyaoka, of the Tokio bar, has sent the following notes on the Amending act:

The amendment to article 18 requires no comment. The present article 18 provides that a Japanese woman loses Japanese nationality when she marries a foreigner. This is unsatisfactory, for unless the law of her husband's nationality confers upon her the nationality of the husband by marriage, the woman would be without any nationality whatever. The new article 18 remedies such anomaly.

The really important part, and the difficult point for foreigners to understand, is the legal effect of the new article inserted in the present law between article 20 and article 21. This new article is designated article 20 *bis* in order to escape the necessity of changing the designation of every article after article 20 and of changing the index number whenever any article after article 20 is referred to in the body of any other article.

Article 20 of the law, as it stands today, reads: "A person who has acquired a foreign nationality by his own choice loses Japanese nationality." This would be perfectly clear so long as one did not lose sight of the phrase "by his own choice," and provided further that the provisions of article 24 did not exist. Article 24 of the present law says, in effect, that a male Japanese of seventeen years of age or more does not lose Japanese nation-

ality under the provisions of any of the preceding five (in the amended law instead of "five" read "six") articles, until he shall have served in the army or the navy or unless such individual for any reason is exempted from military service. In other words, a Japanese boy, if he is seventeen years old or more, must first discharge his military service before he can divest himself of Japanese nationality. Such provision remains unchanged in the new law.

The new article "turns round the corner," so to speak, by opening the road to the expatriation of male Japanese subjects before they attain the age of seventeen.

Under the conscription laws of the Empire, a boy of seventeen is already a soldier in the Japanese army, although his time of service under "colors" does not commence until he is twenty. A male Japanese from the age of seventeen is a part of the army until he completes his fortieth year. If he is an officer in the army, he is either in the active service, in the first reserve, the second reserve, or the national army, called the *landsturm*. If he is neither a commissioned officer nor a warrant officer, then he is a plain soldier in the *landsturm*, in the active service, in the reserve (*i. e.* the first reserve), or in what the Germans call the *landwehr*. A boy is not called upon to serve under "colors," that is to say, he is not required to receive military training in regimental barracks, until he is twenty, but from seventeen to twenty he is already a soldier in the *landsturm*.

The Japanese Law of Nationality, as it stands today, and as it will stand when the amendatory law goes into operation, rests upon the principle that a Japanese soldier may not cease to be one by expatriating himself. This principle remains unchanged, but article 20 *bis* provides that a Japanese boy who has acquired a foreign nationality by reason of his birth in the territories of such country, provided he has domicile in that country, may divest himself of the Japanese nationality, if his father or other parental authority takes the necessary step for him before he is fifteen; or if he has attained the age of fifteen, he may take the same step with the consent of his father or other parental authority until he attains the age of seventeen.

In short, the object of the amendatory law is to permit the expatriation of Japanese boys born in Hawaii or in any of the States of the American Union before he is fifteen or at latest before he is seventeen.

At seventeen a Japanese boy, even though he was born in the United States, is enrolled in the register of the Japanese national army; for the Japanese law, like the laws of continental Europe and unlike the Anglo-American system, recognizes allegiance to the sovereign by reason of blood-descent, and not according to the place of birth. In the legal conception of continental Europe, no less than in that of Japan, the place of birth is a mere incident in the life of a man that does not affect the tie of allegiance which a man owes to the sovereign of his parents.

The new amendment to the Japanese Law of Nationality is a concession in favor of the Anglo-American territorial principle by a nation which has from time immemorial scrupulously observed the principles of personal sovereignty and personal allegiance.

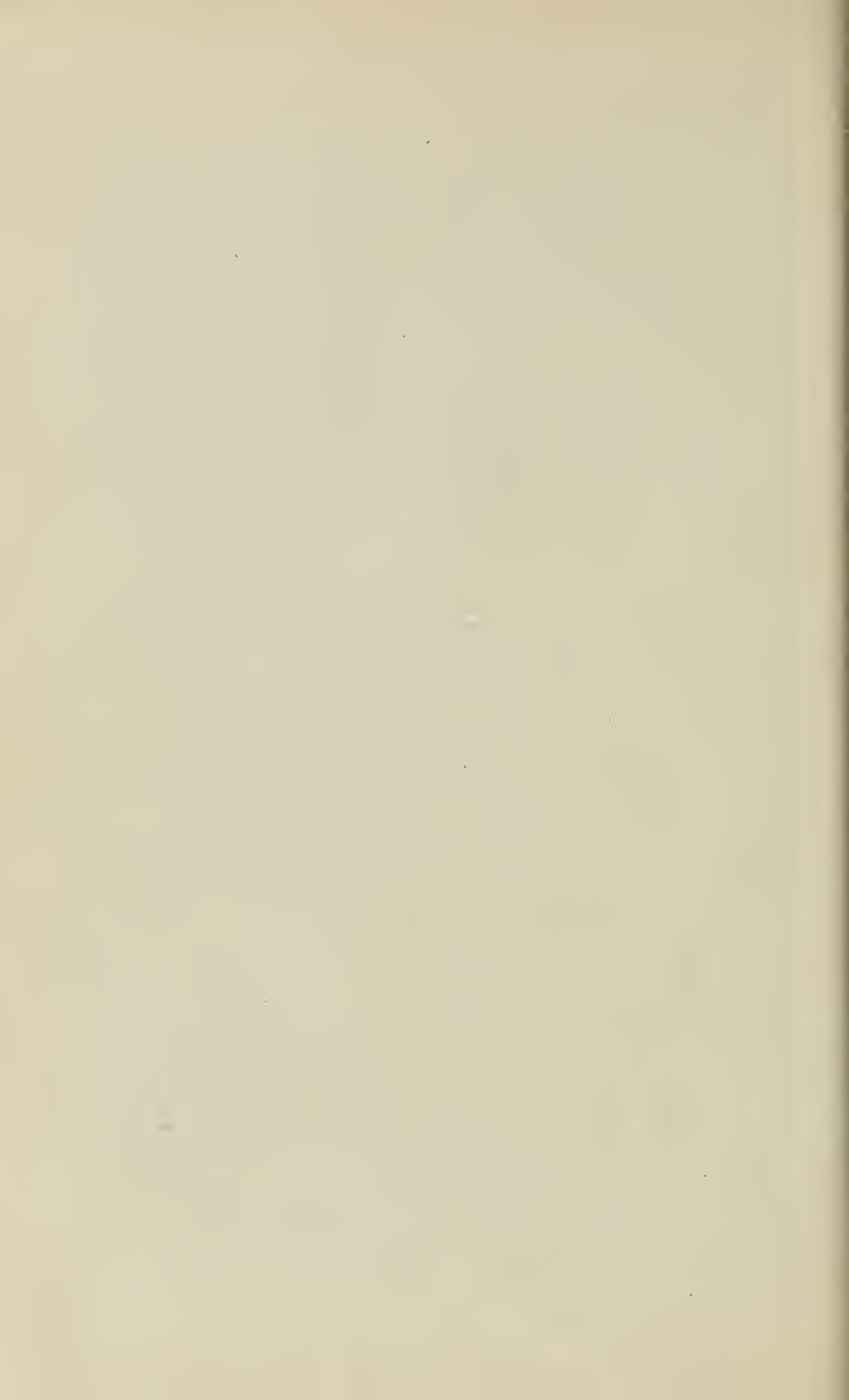
The material presented above has been given in considerable detail in order to set it clearly before those who are interested in this new phase of the relations between Japanese and Americans. It seems as if it would be only fair play for the United States to grant to Japanese the right of naturalization. Those Japanese who are sincere and earnest in their desire to make a permanent home in the States and to become Americans would seize the opportunity. That would make a reasonable test of assimilability. It is certainly unfair to expect Japanese to assimilate so long as they are denied rights and privileges that naturally tend to promote assimilation. The Japanese Government has shown its willingness to coöperate by this new Law of Nationality, which permits expatriation to a considerable extent. It only remains for the American Government to do its part by extending the right of naturalization to Japanese.

[NOTE.—The question of dual nationality is raised not only in the case of American-born Japanese, but also in the case of American-born Europeans.

Section one, Article VII of the French Civil Code provides that "every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad" is a Frenchman.

The German Nationality Law adopted on July 22, 1913, says: "German citizenship is not lost by a German who has, before acquiring foreign citizenship, secured from the competent authorities of his home state the written permission to retain his original citizenship."

Professor Clement's analysis, as above set forth, reveals the fact that the Japanese nationality law is more liberal, and more in harmony with the American law, than are the laws of most countries of Continental Europe.—EDITOR.]



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Asia's Appeal to America

An Address

by

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ASIA'S APPEAL TO AMERICA.

Sidney L. Gulick,
Representative of the Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America.

Europe's catastrophe has suddenly shown how closely interwoven is the fabric of the modern world. The interlinking of the life and interests of the nations had advanced much further than was realized. Even Asia begins to figure as a mighty factor in occidental affairs. Some regard it as ominous. We talk of the "yellow peril;" yet for decades, nay for centuries, Asiatics have resented an actual and progressively overwhelming "white peril."

On the one hand there is China. Not for a century has her outlook been so bright. An alien dynasty has been driven from the throne; the opium curse has been substantially eradicated; danger of further revolution is practically gone; political graft is rapidly being eliminated; financial solvency seems now assured; occidental education is proceeding rapidly; and desire for reforms is widespread. If China can avoid further alien intrusion her future is decidedly hopeful.

And there is Japan. Her heroic struggles to meet the new world-situation that confronted her when she came out of her long isolation called forth deep admiration in America. The brilliant ability of her students and national leaders and the whole-souled patriotism of her people have received full recognition and evoked high praise. Japan, however, has reached so high a development of power and ambition that some begin to fear and suspect her.

A NEW ERA IN HUMAN HISTORY.

The adoption by Japan and China of the mechanical, economic, social and political elements of occidental civilization constitutes the beginning of a new era in human history. The changes rapidly occurring in Asia demand our attention. At this juncture, therefore, it is well that we pause to consider the entire situation. What is the duty of America at this time

in its relations to Asia? What responsibilities have we, if any? and, what is even more pertinent, what may we do to put and keep ourselves right with the Orient?

Both China and Japan are facing mighty problems. The early solution of those problems concerns, not themselves alone, but all the world. Our fate is in truth involved in theirs. The urgency accordingly of their appeal should command our earnest and sympathetic attention and secure our action. Our own national welfare through the long future, no less than our national character, are intimately involved in our response to that appeal.

China's appeal for justice and friendly treatment was made decades ago, but has been completely ignored by the statesmen and Christians of America. Japan's appeal is more recent. Will America heed it any better?

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF CHINA.

The story of our dealings with China is as a whole one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not shared in the aggressive designs of European peoples. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, extracted indemnities or pillaged her capitals as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with western lands. We returned a considerable part of the Boxer indemnity that came to us. We have stood for the open door and a square deal. Our consular courts have been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, education, and in famine and flood relief has been highly appreciated.

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold today a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship and preferential treatment become since the establishment of the Republic that other nations have begun to

note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

When we turn, however, to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here, our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence. Treaties have pledged rights, immunities and protection. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and even knowingly invaded; and this not only by private individuals, but by legislators, and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims or punishment for the culprits. State legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention of treaty provisions. Men appointed to federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in highly offensive methods.

Let us consider briefly some of the details of the situation. It will be well to promise that all in all Chinese in America have not been treated badly. In general they have received police protection; their lives have been safe; they have been able to carry on successful business. So attractive to them is the opportunity of life here that they have stayed on and every year not a few succeed in smuggling their way into our land. The dark picture about to be sketched, accordingly, is not to be understood as describing the regular features of Chinese experience.

AMERICAN CHINESE TREATY PLEDGES.

Adequately to appreciate the full significance of our anti-Chinese legislation we must begin the story with a few quotations from the treaties by which America invited Chinese to this country.

Article V. of the treaty of 1868 reads in part:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively . . . for purposes of curiosity, trade or as permanent residents."

But Article VI, after promising reciprocal "most favored nation" enjoyment of "privileges, immunities and exemptions," adds that this does not "confer naturalization" upon their respective citizens. This clause doubtless meant that the mere fact of residence in the other's land did not of itself alone carry citizenship in that land. For up till 1880 a few Chinese were granted naturalization in the United States. In harmony with the provisions of this treaty considerable Chinese immigration into the United States occurred during the seventh and eighth decades of the last century.

Anti-Chinese agitation soon developed in the Pacific Coast states. Growing violent in the seventies, it led to the sending of a Commission to China which negotiated the supplementary treaty of 1880.

The principal provisions of this treaty are as follows:

Article I provides that "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence of Chinese laborers), but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to . . . laborers."

Article II provides that "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

Article III provides that in case of ill treatment the "Government of the United States will exert all its

power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

Article IV provides that legislative measures dealing with Chinese shall be "communicated to the Government of China," and if found "to work hardship upon the subjects of China, consultations shall be held to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result."

DISREGARD OF TREATY PLEDGES.

In spite, however, of the complete cessation of Chinese labor immigration, and in spite of the promises of our Government to provide protection, "**and most favored nation treatment,**" the unjust and disgraceful treatment of Chinese did not cease. The outrages committed on the Chinese during the eighties were even more frightful and inexcusable than those of the preceding decade.

In his discussion of the question whether the Federal Government should protect aliens in their treaty rights, Ex-President William H. Taft, cites the cases of fifty Chinamen who suffered death at the hands of American mobs in our Western States, and of one hundred and twenty others, many of whom were wounded and robbed of all their property. The list does not profess to be complete. All these outrages have occurred since 1885.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka and other towns in California, involving murder, arson and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes."

None of the criminals were punished in spite of the article in the treaty which expressly provides that in case "Chinese laborers meet with ill treatment at the

hands of other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty." Congress, it is true, has voted indemnities for families of those murdered, but financial remuneration can hardly be supposed to take the place of justice or to be a substitute for observance of treaty pledges.

It is sometimes said that Italians and other aliens suffered similarly from mob violence and they too were not protected, nor were the criminals punished, and that therefore China cannot complain of exceptional treatment. But is it not obvious that failure of the United States to fulfill its treaty pledges to Italy and other countries in no wise justifies similar failure toward China? Does it not rather show that the United States is morally culpable for failure to make adequate provision for the faithful performance of its treaty pledges. This moral and legal defect has become most conspicuous in our relations to China, but its moral culpability is in no wise lessened—rather it is aggravated—as soon as it becomes clear that the defect is entirely due to the failure of Congress to take the needed action. For provision for such action is made by the Constitution of the United States.

ANTI- CHINESE LEGISLATION.

The failure of Congress seems inexcusable, for it found time to enact not only the first general exclusion law in harmony with the treaty with China, but also several supplementary laws, of which important clauses are admittedly in contravention to the treaty.

The Scott Law of 1888 and the Geary Law of 1892 are still in force, though the essential injustice of some of their provisions and their disregard of Chinese treaty rights are now recognized. They are produc-

ing constant anti-American feeling among Chinese legitimately in America. Even in cosmopolitan New York and in Boston, Chinese sometimes suffer from the senseless and brutal methods of federal officers who supervise Chinese residents in the United States.

With regard to the Scott Law, Senator Sherman said that it was "one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress." It was passed as a "mere political race between the two houses . . . in the face of a Presidential election." Senator Dawes sarcastically referred to keeping the treaties as long as we had a mind to. The law was "a rank unblushing repudiation of every treaty obligation . . . unwarranted by any existing danger—a violation such as the United States would not dare to commit toward any warlike nation of Europe."

With regard to the Geary Law, Professor Coolidge makes the following statement:

"Meanwhile the Chinese Minister at Washington, the Consul-General at San Francisco and the Yamen at Peking were also protesting against the act. The Chinese Minister had steadily protested ever since the Scott Act against the plain violation of treaty; just preceding the Geary Act, he wrote six letters to Mr. Blaine, only two of which were so much as acknowledged. He now declared that the Geary Act was worse than the Scott Act, for it not only violated every single article of the treaty of 1880 but also denied bail, required white witnesses, allowed arrest without warrant and put the burden of proof on the Chinese. He quoted our own statement on the harsh and hasty character of the act, not required by any existing emergency, whose political motive was well understood both in China and the United States. In his final protest he said: 'The statute of 1892 is a violation of every principle of justice, equity, reason and fairdealing between two friendly powers.'"

THE FOOTBALL OF PARTY POLITICS.

The history of anti-Chinese legislation, as it has been carried through Congress under the pressure of legislators from the Pacific Coast states, from the eighth decade of the last century even down to the present, and the way in which the Asiatic problem has been made the "football of party politics" are ill omens for the future relations of America with the Orient. That legislation has violated plain provisions of the treaties, to say nothing of the spirit, and has disregarded courteous protests of Chinese ministers and ambassadors. China sent in a "stream of dignified and ineffectual protests, which has continued to the present time." The Chinese Minister even charged us with duplicity in negotiating the treaty of 1880. "Mr. Bayard assured him that the President would veto any legislation which might be passed in violation of the treaty."

Still more surprising and also discouraging is the act of Congress of 1902.

The treaty states that "The United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence (of Chinese labor immigration) but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable." Congress, nevertheless, after providing in 1882 and in 1892 for two periods of a decade each for the temporary suspension of Chinese labor immigration, enacted in 1902 that "all laws regulating, suspending or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons—are hereby reenacted, extended and continued, without modification, limitation or condition."

THE SUPREME COURT.

If the action of Congress has been disheartening, that of the Supreme Court has been still more so, for it sustained (1888) in the action of Congress (the Scott Act of 1888) in clear contravention of a still standing treaty (that of 1880) admitting that it was a contravention of the treaty.

Judge Field, who presented the judgment of the court, said: "It must be conceded that the act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868 and of the supplemental treaty of 1880, but it is not on that account invalid. . . . It (a treaty) can be deemed . . . only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. . . . It is the last expression of sovereign will and must control." "The question whether our government was justified in disregarding its engagements with another nation is not one for the determination of the courts. . . . This court is not a censor of the morals of the other departments of the government."

This makes it clear that a treaty is not the "supreme law of the land," except as Congress makes it so. Any subsequent act of Congress can repeal or amend any part of a treaty without the consent of the other party to the treaty, and even without conference. Treaties are declared by this decision to have no binding power upon Congress. The Supreme Court declines to take note of the moral obligations of treaty pledges. Aliens deprived by Congress of rights promised by treaties may not appeal to the Supreme Court for the enforcement of those rights. The Administration can use the entire military force of the country to make a foreign nation observe its treaty obligations to us, but, according to the interpretation of our Constitution now prevailing, neither the Administration nor the Supreme Court can hold Congress to the observance of our treaty pledges. The President has of course the power to veto an act of Congress, but experience shows that even Presidents do not always regard treaties as binding, for all the treaty-ignoring laws of recent decades have been signed by the Presidents then in office.

AN OMINOUS SITUATION.

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, defending Germany's invasion of Belgium on the ground of necessity, argues that the United States takes the same attitude toward

treaties as does Germany, and cites this very decision of the Supreme Court rendered by Judge Field. If we maintain that the United States was justified in its disregard of our treaty with China, what right have we to condemn Germany for its disregard of its treaty with Belgium? The degree of the consequences indeed differ enormously, but are not the moral issues identical?

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of civilization, as we are now vehemently told—and this is said to be the real reason why Great Britain is in the war—is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them? In other words, do not treaties ratified by Congress have moral aspects which should place them on a higher level of authority than the ordinary acts of Congress. Disregard by Congress and the Supreme Court of this fundamental principle for the maintenance of right international relations is fraught with ominous consequences. Congress of course has the right to abrogate a treaty, but there is a right and also a wrong way to do it. Is it any more right for a nation to abrogate an inconvenient treaty by simply passing laws in contravention to certain of its pledges than it is for an individual who has made a promise to another individual giving *quid pro quo* suddenly and without conference to ignore that promise? Is it conceivable that Congress would have treated China as it has, had she been equipped as Japan is today, with the instruments of occidental civilization?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily press and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and better equipped, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese lawfully here are deprived of rights guaranteed by long standing treaties, and that

privileges granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it not as certain as the sunrise that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

Although China's appeal to us comes along many other lines also, I shall not dwell upon them. It is enough for the moment to note that there are such.

Let us turn next to

AMERICAN TREATMENT OF JAPAN.

For half a century that treatment was above reproach, and, being in marked contrast to that of other lands, called forth a gratitude toward, friendship for; and confidence in, America that Americans cannot easily realize. I must not do more than refer to our helpful diplomacy and our welcome to her students, giving them every facility, not only in our schools and colleges, but in our factories and industries.

The mutual attitude, however, of our two countries has begun to change. Tension more or less exists between us today. Papers in both countries frequently assert in startling headlines that war is certain. Multitudes in both lands accept these statements without question, and are developing mutual suspicion, distrust, and animosity. False stories are widely circulated in each land about the other, which are readily believed.

What is the cause of the new situation? And what should we do to remedy it? Let us briefly study Japan's problem.

Japan first came in contact with the white nations of Europe in 1653. For sixty years they had free opportunity. Under the instruction of Roman Catholic missionaries, many hundred thousand Japanese became Christians. Then Japan took fright at the white man's methods and ambitions. She closed her doors, drove out the missionaries and merchants, extermi-

nated the Christian religion, and till 1853 lived a life of almost complete national seclusion. No Japanese were allowed to go abroad nor were foreigners allowed to enter her land; all this to escape

THE WHITE PERIL

which, during the intervening three hundred years, has engulfed the peoples of North, Central and South America, and large parts of Africa, Asia and Australia. China was forced by the so-called opium wars to give to white peoples, not only privileges for the abominable opium trade, but possession of ports for military and naval bases. Japan, unable longer to resist the encroachment of foreigners, in 1854 made treaties. After nearly a score of years of inner turmoil and a revolution, she frankly accepted the new world-situation created by the white nations, and undertook to learn their methods in order to meet them on a basis of equality. She has learned and is now equipped with "civilization," with bayonets, bullets and battleships.

EUROPEAN AGGRESSIONS IN CHINA.

In the nineties, the "powers" of Europe, having completed their "division of Africa," began to look with greedy eyes on China. In 1896, Germany, Russia and France compelled Japan to return Port Arthur to China in order to maintain, as they stated in their deceitful diplomacy, the integrity of China, and provide for the permanent peace of the Far East. Then in 1897-1898, Germany took Kiao-Chao as indemnity for the killing of two German missionaries. Russia took Port Arthur to keep up the balance, England took Wei-hai-wei and France, Kwanchau. In each case, the impotent Manchu Government made treaties with the aggressive "friendly powers," giving them increasing concessions and privileges. But the people got anxious. The occidental aggressions led (1900) to the "Boxer Uprising." China's common people sought to turn the white man out and keep "China for Chinese."

But it was too late. Six "civilized" armies marched up to Peking, and, to teach China a lesson regarding the sacredness of treaties and the white man's "rights," they saddled upon China an indemnity of \$682,000,000, far exceeding the actual costs. Poor China!

Then, according to mutual agreement, all the allies withdrew their troops, except Russia. Ignoring her promise she not only left her troops in Manchuria, but began to send in thousands more. Japan got anxious. Negotiations were started. Russia dallied and delayed, meanwhile increasing her forces, completing her Siberian railroad, and gaining diplomatic and other footholds in Korea. That exasperating, insolent and ominous policy produced

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Japan felt that the complete possession by Russia of Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea threatened her very existence as an independent nation. The "partition of China" also would be a mere question of time. But Japan's earnest grasp at "civilization" had been so far successful that single-handed, though indirectly supported by her alliance with Great Britain, she beat back the bear from the north, and for the time being saved, not only herself, but also China from the impending white peril that had swept over all of South Asia from Messopotamia to Cochin China and in North Asia from European Russia to Alaska. In the meantime, however, Japan's own problems were deepening.

JAPAN'S PLIGHT.

Her population of 50,000,000, living on islands of less than 140,000 square miles (357 to the square mile), is growing at the rate of 700,000 annually. (California, with a population of 2,500,000, possesses 160,000 square miles. England's population is 356, while China proper averages less than 250 to the square mile.) Japan's mountainous islands are not naturally fertile nor pos-

sessed of any considerable mineral resources. Japanese emigration to America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia or Africa, all sparsely peopled and possessed of vast natural resources, has become impossible because these lands are held by white nations and are declared to be "white man's lands." Japan's debt of over \$1,000,000,000 was incurred in resisting the "white peril," and her annual expense for army and navy with which to protect herself from the aggressive peoples of Europe is \$160,000,000 annually. Japan's aggregate national wealth is only about \$30,000,000,000, while that of Great Britain is placed at some \$80,000,000,000 and that of the United States at \$187,000,000,000. Such is a bare outline of Japan's plight.

In the course of the history sketched above, Japanese laborers were invited first to Hawaii and later to California. At first they were welcomed. But with increasing numbers in California difficulties developed. In 1907 the situation became so acute that Japan, fearing the consequences and desiring by every honorable means to retain America's friendship and show her gratitude, entered upon the "Gentlemen's Agreement," by which no additional Japanese labor immigration to the United States should be allowed.

For eight years that agreement has been strictly carried out, resulting in a diminution of Japanese laborers in America of several thousand.

In spite, however, of these mutually honorable and friendly relations of the two governments, the anti-Japanese agitation continued in California and resulted in 1913 in anti-Japanese legislation.

It was highly resented by Japan as an affront to her national honor. It could hardly be viewed otherwise when one notes that Japan was honorably fulfilling her agreement. Japanese in California were diminishing in number and the amount of land owned by Japanese was a paltry 13,000 acres.

JAPAN'S CONTENTION.

It needs to be clearly understood that Japan is not asking for special privilege of any kind; not even for free opportunity for immigration.

The sole point of Japan's contention with America is, that **Japanese already in America shall not be subjected to differential race legislation, which is naturally regarded as humiliating and unfriendly.** There is no immigration question. It is a question of national honor. But Americans should not forget that in spite of recent rebuff, anti-Asiatic legislation, unkind words, a suspicious attitude, and unfriendly treatment, there has been in Japan a remarkable spirit of patience and moderation.

Japan is still hoping that some method will be found of providing for California's just demands without subjecting her to humiliation. She has taken at its face value the first treaty she ever made with a white race, namely, with America, which reads: "**There shall be perfect, permanent and universal peace and sincere and cordial amity between the United States and Japan and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places.**" This friendship, solemnly pledged, has been loyally carried out by Japan. But it cannot be denied that her friendly feelings and her admiration for America have considerably cooled. Many indeed are indignant; all are waiting eagerly to learn if America as a whole will support the anti-Asiatic policy so urgently pressed by Pacific Coast agitators. Indefinite continuation, however, of Japanese patience under treatment regarded as humiliating is not to be assumed.

Japan stands for national dignity and honor in international relations. She asks for full recognition among the nations. For this she has been strenuously striving for half a century. Is she not to be respected for it? Is not this sensitiveness and insistence one of the evi-

dences that she deserves it? Economic opportunity in California is not the point of her interest or insistence, but recognition of manhood equality. Is not the honor of a nation of more importance than everything else? **Is the maintenance of friendship possible between two nations when one insists on treatment or legislation that humiliates the other?**

If now America desires to maintain the historic friendship with Japan and do her justice, we must first of all understand the real point of her contention. We must look at the questions involved from the standpoint not only of our interests but also of hers; we must gain her viewpoint, appreciate her problems, sympathize with her efforts, and recognize her attainments.

Such in bare outlines are a few of the multiform appeals to America of China and Japan. In the briefest terms we may say that **they seek for just and courteous treatment at our hands.** They are not demanding economic advantages or opportunity, but human justice; respect for them as men.

How will America meet this appeal? Shall we go on our way unheeding? Shall we continue to disregard our treaties and humiliate our mighty neighbors across the Pacific? That were an ominous course.

Has not the time come for America to revise her Oriental policy? Can we not find a method for safeguarding our own welfare in ways that will neither humiliate them nor do them injustice?

HOW SHOULD AMERICA RESPOND?

First of all, Americans must be informed. **A campaign of education in regard to Asiatic relations is urgently needed.**

In the second place, **we need a new Oriental policy.** Such a policy would seem to require:

1. Congressional legislation giving adequate responsibility and authority to the Federal administration for the care and protection of aliens.

2. Immigration and other laws that treat all races exactly alike—this, and this alone, is friendly.

3. The law, moreover, should admit only so many immigrants as we can Americanize. This preserves our institutions and prevents economic disturbance.

I am proposing the numerical limitation of all immigration. Let the maximum annual immigration from any particular people be some definite percent (say five) of those from that people who have already become American citizens plus their American-born children.

4. Those who are admitted should be aided in the process of Americanization.

5. And when they have reached the required standards of citizenship they should be naturalized. Qualification for citizenship should be personal. All who qualify should be naturalized.

Would not such a policy as this meet the appeal of Asia to the people of America, and yet do it in such a way as to safeguard all the real interests of our Pacific Coast States?

If, however, the problems of Asia arising from the white man's aggressions are to be fully met, we must do much more than has been thus far suggested.

Steps must be found for inducing the nations to return to China what has been taken from her: Hong Kong, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Kiao-Chao, Wei-hai-wei, Kwanchau. As the decades pass, these foreign-owned ports will become increasing causes of national resentment and indignation.

If China can be given justice by the great nations of the world without being compelled to do so at the point of Chinese bayonets, the great war between the

East and West will be averted. If the West forces China into aggressive militarism in order to secure safety and justice, the future of the world is indeed ominous.

Does not the United States have a splendid opportunity for leading the nations into a right attitude toward Japan and China? How can she meet her responsibility and respond to that opportunity unless she first provides for justice in her own relations with Asia?

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JAPANESE FARMERS IN CALIFORNIA

By COLONEL JOHN P. IRISH

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—The Declaration of Independence.

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it?"—George Washington's Farewell Address.

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from John P. Irish,
1904 Adeline Street, Oakland, California.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

ON DECEMBER 17, 1919, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT ON AND AFTER FEBRUARY 25, 1920, IT WILL STOP ISSUING PASSPORTS TO WOMEN WHOSE MARRIAGE TO JAPANESE RESIDENTS IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ARRANGED THROUGH EXCHANGE OF PHOTOGRAPHS. THIS VOLUNTARY MEASURE ADOPTED BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ONCE AGAIN PROVES ITS SOLICITUDE FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND PROMOTION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA.

JAPANESE FARMERS IN CALIFORNIA

(An address by Colonel John P. Irish at the 52nd Convention of California Fruit Growers and Farmers held at Chico, California, November 10 to 16, 1919.)

THE PRESENT vituperative discussion of the question of the Oriental people in California, goes deeply into the whole subject of productive labor on the land. When we treated our treaty with China as a scrap of paper and by the Geary Act excluded thirty thousand Chinese who were legally domiciled here, and by murdering and destroying the property of other Chinese, drove them out, there was created a shortage in farm labor, and this economic vacuum drew in the Japanese, who came protected by a solemn treaty between their government and ours.

The Japanese now here constitute a fraction of one per cent of our population. Against this minute element many of our people are being lashed into a fury of apprehension, hatred and rage. There may be left amongst us those who are capable of calm consideration, and to such I venture to address myself.

The present storm was started by Senator Phelan's statement that an American company in Los Angeles had sold to Japanese 800,000 acres of land on the Mexican side of the Imperial Valley. The American company promptly proved this to be false, and proved that it had sold no land there or elsewhere to Japanese. The Senator then shifted the story to such a sale to Japanese by the Mexican Government. That government promptly denied such sale and submitted proofs of the falsity of the charge. Not discouraged, the Senator shifted again to the charge that Japanese women in this state are having children and declared that the government ought to stop it.

A little retrospection ought to calm the temper of this discussion and confine it to the truth. When San Francisco was shaken to its foundations and levelled by fire, and thousands of its people had no food or shelter, their cry for help went out to the world. The only country that heard and heeded was Japan. That government immediately sent a quarter of a million in gold to the relief committee, of which Senator Phelan was a member. A few months later the San Francisco School Board kicked all Japanese children out of the public schools, and its secretary gave as a reason that the Japanese children did nothing but study in school and in the examinations took the prizes and promotions that the white children ought to have!

Soon after this an organized anti-Japanese movement began, headed by an ex-convict.

The Legislature began to take notice and passed an act ordering

the State Labor Commissioner to thoroughly investigate the Japanese in the state and make a report. To pay for this work the sum of \$10,000 was appropriated.

The commissioner took ample time in the investigation. He relied on the testimony of scores of white witnesses in every locality where Japanese were domiciled. He gave the name and address of each of these white witnesses. His report, based on their testimony, refuted every lie about the Japanese coined by the ex-convict and his followers. Now that report was a public document, paid for by the taxpayers' money. But the influence of the ex-convict with the State Government was able to prevent its publication, and the taxpayers who paid for it were not permitted to see it. In the foregoing is a record of absolute fact. Is it a record of which any decent citizen can be proud?

We have now entered upon another phase of the anti-Japanese question, and in this phase the same old lies, refuted by that report, are in use once more, and the politicians who eat their bread in the sweat of the taxpayer's face, are shouting them from the housetops.

Since that report was made what have the Japanese been doing? Nothing but working, and by their industry adding to the wealth of the state.

In our country the normal flux and change of affairs always following a war, has been displaced by abnormal conditions. The hands of men are raised against our government. Anarchists advocate destruction of our institutions. They destroy life and property by bombs. The I. W. W. teach murder and arson as commendable occupations. Organized labor under this radical leadership, strikes destructively. In our own state tons of food have rotted on the docks because the stevedores refuse to move it, and claim the right to mob and murder any who will move it. Seventy-five per cent of the local tonnage of this state is affected by water transportation, and all water-borne tonnage has been forbidden for months by a strike which threatens death to all who would take the strikers' place.

Are there any I. W. W.'s amongst the Japanese? No. Are there any Japanese anarchists? No. Are there any Japanese bomb throwers? No. Are there any Japanese mobs busy murdering men who want to work? No. Are there any Japanese groups teaching resistance to our laws and the destruction of our institutions? No. Then what are they doing? They are at work. "But," cries the alarmist, "they should not be allowed on the land."

Why not? The Japanese have had but little independent access to the good lands of California. They found the sand and colloidal

clays of Livingston cursed and barren as the fig tree of Bethany. On that infertile spot the Japanese wrought in privation and want for years, until they had charged the soil with humus and bacteria, and made it bear fruitful and profitable orchards and vineyards. Now white men, led by these Japanese pioneers, pay high prices for land that was worthless, and grapes purple in the sun and peaches blush on the trees, where all was a forbidding waste until Japanese skill, patience and courage transformed it.

The refractory hog wallow lands stretching along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley, were abhorred and shunned by the white man. But the Japanese Sakamoto, seeing that they were in the thermal belt, began their conquest for citrus orchards. He persisted. He won, and now vineyards and orchards cover the hated hog wallow land from Seville to Lemon Cove. And Sakamoto is called a "menace" to California!

These same experiences were repeated on the bad lands of the state.

We now produce a rice crop valued at \$30,000,000, on hard pan and goose lands that were not worth paying taxes on. But it was Ikuta, a Japanese, who believed those lands would raise rice, pioneered that industry and produced the first commercial crop of rice raised in the state.

The anti-Japanese agitator represents that people as parasites. The fact is that wherever the Japanese has put his hand to the pruning hook and plow he has developed nobler uses of the soil, and land values have rapidly risen.

The statement is made, and was recently published in a "Chronicle" editorial, that when Japanese begin to settle in a farming district that district is ruined for the occupation of whites, who get out of it as soon as they can. Of course that is a falsehood. Its refutation is seen at Livingston, where Japanese were the pioneers and now are outnumbered eight to one by white settlers who have come there since Japanese enterprise proved the value of the land.

In Sonoma County, near Santa Rosa, was a barren hillside so infertile that it hardly produced weeds. On its highest part was a spring. A Japanese secured a contract on it, dug out the spring, securing an increased flow, laboriously fertilized the sterile soil, and now gets \$800 per acre from it in strawberries. In the same county is an area of sterile hardpan land called "Starvation Flat." A Japanese has taken it, sunk a deep well and is slowly and laboriously conquering the rebellious soil, and soon that area will be a picture of fertility and prosperity, and anti-Japanese agitators will point to it, as they do to

the strawberry garden on the formerly repulsive hillside, as proof that the Japanese are usurping the best land in the state. The fact is that from the reclamation of the tule swamps, promoted by Mr. Shima, to nearly every acre owned by Japanese, they wrought upon the leanest and the poorest land in the state, which white men would not touch, and by toil and sacrifice made it as good as that which was naturally the best.

Now it is proposed to expel them, not for their vices but for their virtues, and every Japanese oppressed by brutal legislation and expelled can hold his head high erect in his own country and say, "I was excluded from California for my virtues, my industry, my skill and the benefit I was to the land and its production."

The Japanese with wives are all married according to our laws. The women are amiable, good wives, mothers and housekeepers. It is false that they work in the fields. Their children, admitted to our schools, will make good and useful Americans. But the cry is raised that though only about one per cent of our population, they will outbreed, outwork and outdo the other 99 per cent of white people. If this be true it proves a degeneracy of the whites which would be a just cause of alarm. The field is open. Economic law repeals all statutes. The way to combat the Japanese is not by lying about them and depriving them of the common, primitive rights of humanity, but excelling them in industry, in foresight and enterprise.

ARTICLES I AND II OF THE TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES.

The subjects or citizens of the two High Contracting Parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel or reside in any part of the territories of the other Contracting Party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.

They shall have free access to the courts of justice in pursuit and defense of their rights; they shall be at liberty equally with native subjects or citizens to choose and employ lawyers, advocates and representatives to pursue and defend their rights before such courts, and in all other matters connected with the administration of justice they shall enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by native subjects or citizens.

In whatever relates to rights of residence and travel; to the possession of goods and effects of any kind; to the succession to personal estate by will or otherwise, and the disposal of property of any sort and in any manner whatsoever, which they may lawfully

acquire, the subjects or citizens of each Contracting Party shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same privileges, liberties and rights, and shall be subject to no higher imposts or charges in these respects than native subjects or citizens, or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation. The subjects or citizens of each of the Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other entire liberty of conscience, and, subject to the laws, ordinances and regulations, shall enjoy the right of private or public exercise of their worship, and also the right of burying their respective countrymen according to their religious customs, in such suitable and convenient places as may be established and maintained for that purpose.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatsoever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are, or may be, paid by native subjects or citizens, or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation.

The subjects or citizens of either of the Contracting Parties residing in the territories of the other shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether in the army, navy, national guard or militia; from all contributions imposed in lieu of personal service, and from all forced loans or military exactions or contributions.

There shall be reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties.

The subjects or citizens of each of the Contracting Parties may trade in any part of the territories of the other by wholesale or retail in all kinds of produce, manufactures and merchandise of lawful commerce, either in person or by agents, singly or in partnerships with foreigners or native subjects or citizens; and they may there own or hire and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises which may be necessary for them, and lease land for residential and commercial purposes, conforming themselves to the laws, police and customs regulations of the country like native subjects or citizens.

They shall have liberty freely to come with their ship and cargoes to all places, ports and rivers in the territories of the other, which are, or may be, opened to foreign commerce; and shall enjoy, respectively, the same treatment in matters of commerce and navigation as native subjects or citizens, or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation, without having to pay taxes, imposts or duties of whatever nature or under whatever denomination, levied in the name, or for the profit, of the government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind, other or greater than those paid by native subjects or citizens, or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
ARTICLE VI, SECTION 2.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

* * * *

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION *and the* JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—The Declaration of Independence.

California Farmers Co-operative Association

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"OBSERVE GOOD FAITH AND JUSTICE TOWARD ALL NATIONS; CULTIVATE PEACE AND HARMONY WITH ALL; RELIGION AND MORALITY ENJOIN THIS CONDUCT; AND CAN IT BE THAT GOOD POLICY DOES NOT EQUALLY ENJOIN IT? IT WILL BE WORTHY OF A FREE, ENLIGHTENED, AND AT NO DISTANT PERIOD, A GREAT NATION, TO GIVE TO MANKIND THE MAGNANIMOUS AND TOO NOVEL EXAMPLE OF A PEOPLE ALWAYS GUIDED BY AN EXALTED JUSTICE AND BENEVOLENCE. WHO CAN DOUBT THAT IN THE COURSE OF TIME AND THINGS, THE FRUITS OF SUCH A PLAN WOULD RICHLY REPAY ANY TEMPORARY ADVANTAGES WHICH MIGHT BE LOST BY A STEADY ADHERENCE TO IT? CAN IT BE THAT PROVIDENCE HAS NOT CONNECTED THE PERMANENT FELICITY OF A NATION WITH ITS VIRTUE? THE EXPERIMENT, AT LEAST, IS RECOMMENDED BY EVERY SENTIMENT WHICH ENNOBLES HUMAN NATURE. ALAS! IS IT RENDERED IMPOSSIBLE BY ITS VICES?"—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION *and the* JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION into this country was first recorded in the reports of the immigration authorities in 1866, when there were seven Japanese entering America. From that time to 1885 figures for Japanese arrivals did not materially increase.

In 1884, however, Congress adopted the Chinese exclusion law, which created a condition stimulating the introduction of Japanese labor. The large landowners of California, having been deprived of Chinese farm hands, found in the Japanese an excellent worker for their farms and orchards. Naturally they endeavored to encourage Japanese immigration by offering alluring terms.

The inducements offered to the Japanese began to be perceptible a few years after the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law. Thus, in 1891 Japanese arrivals numbered 1,136.

About this time a new factor was injected into the economic situation on the Pacific Coast, opening a wider field of employment for Japanese labor. The western railroads had found out that the Japanese made excellent section hands, and tried hard to secure as many Japanese as possible. These conditions conspired to stimulate Japanese immigration, and by 1899 Japanese arrivals increased to 2,844.

In the latter part of the nineties Hawaii was annexed by the United States and in 1900 Japanese immigration into the islands was for the first time included in the reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor. In that year Japanese arrivals numbered 12,635, most of which came to Hawaii.

The following table shows Japanese arrivals to continental United States and Hawaii from 1902 to the adoption of the "gentlemen's agreement" in 1907, comparing them with figures for European immigrants in the same period:

Year	European Immigrants	Japanese Immigrants to Continental U. S.	Japanese Immigrants to Hawaii
1902	619,068	5,145	9,125
1903	814,507	6,923	13,045
1904	767,933	7,674	6,590
1905	974,273	3,639	6,692
1906	1,018,365	4,784	9,051
1907	1,199,566	9,361	20,865

As this table shows Japanese immigration to continental United States was not large, majority of Japanese having come to Hawaii.

But many of the Japanese who had come to Hawaii eventually migrated to continental United States. The protest of the Pacific Coast, which led to the conclusion of the "gentlemen's agreement," was really directed against the migration of Japanese from the Hawaiian Islands to the continental United States.

THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT.

The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, excluding Japanese laborers from America, is not in the shape of a formal treaty or agreement. The term applies simply to the substance of a number of informal notes exchanged between the State Department and the Japanese Ambassador at that time. Briefly stated, the agreement is this:

First: Japan, of her own accord, will refrain from issuing passports to Japanese laborers desiring to enter territories contiguous to continental United States, such as Mexico or Canada.

Second: Japan will recognize the right of the United States to refuse the admission to continental United States of Japanese of the laboring class whose passports do not include continental United States.

Third: Japan will issue passports to continental United States only for Japanese of the following three classes: (1) Non-laborers, such as travellers, business men, financiers, etc. (2) Japanese, whether laborer or non-laborer, who have already become domiciled in continental United States. (3) Parents, wives or children of Japanese who have become domiciled in continental United States. (4) Japanese who have acquired farming interests in continental United States and who wish to return there to take active control of those interests.

On the basis of this understanding President Roosevelt issued, on March 14, 1907, an order excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom." To put this executive order into operation, the Department of Commerce and Labor, on March 26, 1907, issued a circular which reads as follows:

"Aliens from Japan or Korea are subject to the general immigration laws.

"Every Japanese or Korean laborer, skilled or unskilled, applying for admission at a seaport or at a land border port of the United States, and having in his possession a passport issued by the government of Japan, entitling him to proceed only to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, shall be refused admission.

"If a Japanese or Korean alien applies for admission and presents a passport entitling him to enter the United States, or one which is limited to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, he shall be admitted, if it appears that he does not belong to any of the classes of aliens excluded by the general immigration laws.

"If a Japanese or Korean alien applies for admission and presents a passport limited to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and claims that he is not a laborer, either skilled or unskilled, reasonable proof of this claim shall be required in order to permit him to enter the United States.

"If a Japanese or Korean skilled or unskilled laborer is found in the continental territory of the United States without having been duly admitted upon inspection, the procedure employed under the general immigration laws for the arrest and hearing of aliens who have entered the United States surreptitiously shall be observed."

HOW THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT WORKED.

The American Government, in negotiating the exclusion of Japanese laborers, was chiefly concerned with the conditions on the Pacific Coast and had no intention of applying the gentlemen's agreement to Hawaii, where sugar plantations needed Japanese labor. But the Japanese Government, of its own initiative and volition, decided to extend to Hawaii the application of the same agreement, thus issuing passports to Hawaii only to those Japanese of the laboring class who were former residents in the islands, and parents, wives or children of such residents.

We have explained the scope and nature of the exclusion understanding, and are in a position to describe its practical working. The regulations concerning the exclusion of Japanese laborers came into effect in March, 1907; yet Japanese immigrants for the fiscal year 1907 totalled 30,226 (that is, 9,361 to continental United States, 20,865 to Hawaii), the figures being the largest in the history of Japanese immigration to America. From this the uninformed may infer that the exclusion regulations failed, in the first year at any rate, to attain the end for which they were adopted. The inference is wrong. Although the exclusion regulations were issued in March, 1907, it required a considerable time to complete the preparations necessary for their enforcement and to obtain Japanese coöperation without which they could not accomplish satisfactory results. Consequently the new arrangement did not begin to work smoothly in all its details until July or August of that year. It will, therefore, be seen that Jap-

anese immigration for the fiscal year 1907, extending from July, 1906, to June, 1907, was affected but little by the new system. On the contrary the high state of prosperity, which prevailed in this country during that year, brought an unusually large number of immigrants from Japan, as also from European countries. European immigrants for that year totalled 1,199,566, breaking all records in the immigration history of America. The same circumstances which swelled the tide of European immigration produced similar effects upon Japanese immigration.

By the middle of the summer of 1907, however, the effects of the new system began to be perceptible. Japan, on her part, had been striving to put the official machinery for the control of her emigrants to America in efficient working order. Thus in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, Japanese immigrants totalled 15,803 (9,544 to continental United States, 6,259 to Hawaii), showing a decrease of 14,423 as compared with the total for the preceding year. By the summer of 1908 the official machineries of both Japan and America for the control of immigration had attained a greater degree of efficiency, in consequence of which Japanese immigrants for the year ended June 30, 1909, declined to 3,430 (2,432 to continental United States, 1,998 to Hawaii), as against which no less than 7,382 left this country for their home land, resulting in a decrease of 3,952 in the Japanese population in Hawaii and the "mainland."

RECENT INCREASE OF JAPANESE ARRIVALS.

We have seen that, as the result of the "gentlemen's agreement," Japanese arrivals to continental United States decreased from 9,544 in 1908 to 2,432 in 1909. In 1910 the figures were practically the same as those for the year preceding. Since 1911 the number has been gradually increasing, as the following table will show:

Year	Arrivals	Departures
1908	9,544	4,796
1909	2,432	5,004
1910	2,598	5,024
1911	4,285	5,869
1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
1914	8,462	6,300
1915	9,029	5,967
1916	9,100	6,922
1917	9,150	6,581
1918	11,143	7,191

The gradual increase since 1911 is due to the following facts:

First: As we have already indicated, the "gentlemen's agreement" admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives and children of residents and (3) settled agriculturists. This is, of course, in addition to non-laboring classes, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, travellers, students, etc., who are free to come. In conformity to this agreement, Japanese residents, who had gone to Japan in large numbers in 1909 and 1910, began to return to these shores in about 1911. In the meantime, many of the Japanese residents here began to send for their parents, wives and children.

Second: Especially since 1914, the war has obliged Japanese officials, business men, etc., to pass through the United States in going to Europe, because the other routes to Europe have been either closed or dangerous. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at Pacific ports upon their arrival there of these Japanese from Japan, and counted again upon their reëntrance to this country at the Atlantic ports from Europe.

Third: Due to the war, Japanese students, who would have gone to Europe under normal condition, have been obliged to come to the United States.

Fourth: The enormous increase of American-Japanese trade due to the war caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish new offices in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and other leading American cities. In the fiscal year 1914, that is the year before the war, Japan imported from America \$54,000,000 worth of goods. In 1918 this increased to \$275,000,000. In other words, Japanese purchases from America increased more than five-fold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased three times. With such phenomenal progress of trade, it was inevitable that the coming of Japanese connected with American trade, as well as their families, should become increasingly more frequent. (It may be said in parenthesis that while Japan's sixty million people purchased in 1918 \$275,000,000 worth of American goods, China's four hundred millions purchased \$43,000,000 worth of merchandise from America. In other words, Japanese purchases of American goods are \$4.59 per capita, while Chinese purchases amount to 10 cents per capita.)

ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

In the preceding table we have shown figures for Japanese arrivals to and departures from continental United States. If we classify Japanese arrivals into laborers and non-laborers, we have the following table:

Year	Laborers	Non-Laborers
1909	675	1,757
1910	589	1,909
1911	726	3,536
1912	894	4,464
1913	1,371	5,400
1914	1,762	6,700
1915	2,214	6,815
1916	2,958	6,142
1917	2,838	6,321
1918	2,604	8,539

The "gentlemen's agreement" prohibits the admission of "new" laborers from Japan, but admits Japanese of the following three classes, whether laborers or non-laborers: (1) Former residents, who return to America within 18 months following their departure from America. (2) Parents, wives and children of Japanese residing in America. (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

The Japanese Government, of course, makes it a rule not to issue passports to laborers other than those coming under the above classification. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a laborer from a non-laborer. The Japanese Government may issue a passport to a Japanese whom it believes, upon inquiry, to be a non-laborer, but in the judgment of the American immigration authorities this same Japanese may be regarded as a laborer. Such cases are quite conceivable.

In examining the above table it must be borne in mind that many laborers return to Japan from year to year. Unfortunately figures for departing laborers are not obtainable, as the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not classify departures into laborers and non-laborers.

Much has of late been said about the "picture brides." It is a great mistake to think that all Japanese women who come to America are picture brides. Not a few of them are wives of Japanese who are connected with business firms which have established offices in various parts of the United States in the past several years. Many are women who were married to their husbands before the latter left Japan for this country, and who have come to join them in America.

Figures for Japanese women (including girls) who have arrived in continental United States from 1909 to 1918 are as follows:

Year	Males	Females	Total
1909	1,777	867	2,644
1910	1,648	1,039	2,687
1911	2,377	1,905	4,282
1912	2,930	2,428	5,358
1913	4,012	2,759	6,771
1914	5,034	3,428	8,462
1915	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916	5,869	3,231	9,100
1917	5,833	3,326	9,159
1918	7,100	4,043	11,143

As we have already explained, many of these women are not picture brides. It must also be remembered that the above statistics include both women and children.

PICTURE BRIDES.

As to "picture brides" we have no data at this writing to ascertain the entire number of their arrivals to continental United States, including all ports. The only available figures are those obtained at the immigration office at San Francisco. These figures are as follows:

PICTURE BRIDES ARRIVING THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Year	Number
1912	879
1913	625
1914	768
1915	823
1916	486
1917	504
1918	520
1919	465
Total	5,070

Perhaps the term "picture bride" is a misnomer, and calls for explanation. Briefly, "picture marriage" is this:

When a man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons from going home, he writes to his parents, asking them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual customs and rules, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health, and education of the young man and woman. If this

investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and to the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner in which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities. This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and the American Government. In many cases exchange of photographs is not required, because it frequently happens that the prospective groom and bride were born in the same town or village and have known each other since childhood.

If we look at it in the above light, there is nothing objectionable in the practice of "picture marriage," which we repeat, is a gross misnomer. It is, therefore, but natural that the American Government, should regard this marriage practice, as it has regarded, as legal and valid.

But in view of severe criticisms directed against this practice the Japanese Government announced on December 17, 1919 that it would stop issuing passports after February 25, 1920. Commenting on this announcement, Mr. T. Ohta, the Japanese Consul General in San Francisco issued this statement:

"This means that about the 25th of January next, the Japanese consulates in America will cease to receive applications for certificates necessary to secure passports for such women, because it takes about a month for the applications to reach the proper authorities in Japan. Therefore, if any Japanese in continental United States wishes to send for his wife to whom he has been married by the procedure commonly and somewhat erroneously called 'picture marriage,' his application for endorsement must be in the hands of Japanese consulate at the end of January at the latest. That means that there is only an interval of a month or so in which the Japanese consulates can accept such applications.

"This interval, brief as it is, is provided with a view to avoiding inevitable embarrassment which a sudden prohibition of 'picture marriage,' would cause to those Japanese men and women who have been making preparations for marriages. It would be unjust to stop the practice all of a sudden and without warning.

"This announcement on the part of the Japanese Government is another proof that it is earnestly solicitous of maintaining and promoting friendly relations with the United States and especially the

people of California. For the sake of amicable relations between our two countries and peoples, Japan is always willing and ready to meet America half way.

"For my own part I have all along maintained that any and all problems pending or arising between Japan and America can be, and ought to be, settled by friendly exchange of views. The settlement of the 'picture bride' question is ample proof that between our two governments there is perfect understanding and friendly feeling."

Previous to this announcement by the Japanese Government, that is, on October 28, 1919, the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco issued the following statement, forecasting the step likely to be taken by the Japanese and American governments on the matter of "picture brides." The statement reads in part as follows:

"It is the sense of the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association that the so-called 'picture marriage,' which has been practiced among certain classes of Japanese residing in this country, should be abolished because it is not only in contravention of the accepted American conception of marriage but is also out of harmony with the growing ideals of the Japanese themselves. With this belief in mind, the Board of Directors will make the utmost efforts to carry out this resolution.

"The Board of Directors does not entertain the slightest doubt that this recommendation will be cheerfully and readily accepted by the members of the Association as well as by the Japanese residents, who are not its members. Through the persistent and painstaking campaign for Americanization which has been extensively carried on by the Japanese Association in the past several months, the Japanese in this State have come to realize that the practice of marriage through exchange of photographs is incompatible with the ideals and customs of the American people.

"We understand that the Government of Japan has also been considering the advisability of prohibiting this practice. Without awaiting a formal announcement on this matter on the part of the Japanese Government, we have come to the conclusion that we should request it to adopt adequate measures to stop this practice.

"The above decision on the part of the Board of Directors implies no intimation that 'picture marriage' is illegal and that the coming of 'picture brides' to America has been in violation of the 'gentlemen's agreement.' It must be emphasized that 'picture marriage' is a misnomer and that it is not so simple a process as the term apparently indicates.

“We consider it most important and necessary that the Japanese in America should marry and settle down in domestic life, because the home is not only essential to the wholesome existence of individuals, but is also the foundation of a stable national and social structure. The Japanese are going to stay in this country. If they are going to stay here, we consider it best for them to marry and make homes. Since they have shown a greater desire for home life, drinking, gambling, and other evil practices among them have become much less, and the moral condition of the Japanese community has greatly improved.

“There is no question as to the desirability of the Japanese settling down in home life. At the same time, we urge that in marrying and making their homes, the Japanese in America should do nothing which is contrary to the ideas and customs of the country in which they live.”

JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA.

Having surveyed the general situation of Japanese immigration, we are now in position to take up the specific question of the Japanese in California.

Here the first thing that claims our attention is the extent of the Japanese population in this state. Unfortunately there is no source from which we can secure up-to-date and accurate information on this matter. When the census is completed in 1920, we shall know how many Japanese are in California and other states. In the meantime the only approximate estimate of the Japanese population in California is that made by the Japanese Consulate at San Francisco in September, 1918. This estimate shows the following figures:

Men	41,842
Women	12,232
Boys under 16 years.....	7,877
Girls under 16 years.....	7,031
	68,982
Total	68,982

Of the total of 68,982 about 38,008 are engaged in farming. According to the investigation of the Japanese Agricultural Association at the end of 1918, this farming population may be classified as follows:

Farmers	7,973
Farmers' wives	4,560
Farmers' boys under 16 years.	3,396
Farmers' girls under 16 years.	3,114
Farm hands	15,794
Farm hands' wives.	1,663
Farm hands' boys under 16 years.	771
Farm hands' girls under 16 years.	737
 Total	 38,008

JAPANESE FARMERS.

With regard to the Japanese farmers in California a few points must be emphasized. In the first place, it is not true that they employ exclusively their own countrymen as farm hands. In recent years many of them have been employing Caucasian laborers as well as Japanese. The surprising fact is that wages of Japanese farm laborers are higher than those paid their Caucasian fellows. As a rule, Japanese are paid \$4.50 to \$5.00 per day without board, while Caucasian laborers receive \$3.50 to \$4.00. This difference is mainly due to the fact that in certain kinds of farm work the Japanese are more efficient. Where work does not call for the skill and efficiency peculiar to the Japanese, the Japanese farmers prefer to employ Caucasian laborers whose wages are less. Where Caucasians and Japanese are employed on the same farm, their mutual relations are, without exception, friendly. Not only do they work together in a spirit of coöperation, but they eat the same food at the same table.

Another notable point is that Japanese farmers deal with American banks in their respective localities. This fact must be emphasized because the false notion has been deliberately spread by biased or uninformed people that the Japanese farmers are financed by the Japanese banks in San Francisco, whose head offices are in Japan. It is the testimony of American banks in farming districts that the Japanese farmers are honest and trustworthy in their business dealings.

It has been complained by unsympathetic critics that the wives of Japanese farmers, or at least many of them, work in the field with their husbands. We do not deny that some Japanese women help their husbands in lighter kinds of farm work, as women do in the older countries in Europe and Asia. It must be borne in mind that the Japanese farmers in California are yet in the stage of pioneering, and are passing through the hardships and perseverances that must inevitably be experienced by all pioneers. The sharing by Japanese women of their husbands' labor in the field, is nothing but an aspect of this

pioneering. It is not only in this particular matter that the Japanese farmers in California show signs of pioneering. Their dwellings are what no one can be proud of, and their modes of living are devoid of amenities of life. And yet no Japanese admits that this is to be their ultimate condition. So far from it, they are ambitious not only to acquire wealth but to elevate their social standing. When the hardships and trials inevitable in the initial stages of their undertaking are passed, there is no doubt that they will soon emerge from their present state of life.

THE ALIEN LAND LAW OF 1913.

In considering the Japanese question in California one naturally recalls the Alien Land Law enacted by California in 1913. It was then claimed that the Japanese had been buying farm lands in California so rapidly and so extensively that the state was compelled to adopt such a law. We do not wish to say whether this contention was well founded. We shall simply set forth authentic facts and let the reader arrive at his own conclusion.

According to Mr. George Robertson, statistician of the California Board of Agriculture, a Government organization, the Japanese in that State owned, in 1913, 331 farms, totalling 12,726 acres, and having an assessed value of \$478,990. In addition, the Japanese leased 282 farms, with a total acreage of 17,596.

Now, the farm lands of California, according to the Census of 1910, aggregate 27,931,444 acres, of which 11,389,894 acres have been improved. It appears, therefore, that at the time of the enactment of the Alien Land Law the Japanese owned only one acre to every 2,116 acres of California's farm lands. Or, if we consider only the improved lands, the proportion was one to 895 acres. Since California's land area measures 99,619,000 acres, its area of farm lands can be, and will be considerably extended, if efficient and experienced farmers are induced to come and settle there. It may be mentioned here that most of the lands improved by Japanese in California are the kind considered by American farmers to be worthless or too unprofitable for cultivation. Yet the industry and patience of the Japanese farmers have converted such lands into thriving farms.

ACREAGE CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE.

Since the enactment of the Alien Land Law, native born Japanese have acquired some land, but the acreage controlled or cultivated by the Japanese are far from so extensive as has been commonly imag-

ined. According to the investigation made by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California at the end of 1918, the approximate figures are as follows:

	No. of Farms	Acreage
Owned	527	29,105
Leased	5,936	336,721
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	6,463	365,826

In addition to this, there are a number of American corporations in which Japanese farmers have minor interests. The area cultivated by such corporations is estimated at about 13,000 acres, mostly rice fields.

In most cases the Japanese take up lands avoided by other farmers as worthless or unprofitable. When the Japanese, by dint of their industry, intelligence, and efficiency, prove the worth of such lands the value and price of adjoining lands increases phenomenally. This has been the case at Livingston, Fresno, Florin, and in Butte County. As an American writer puts it:

“The most striking feature of Japanese farming in California has been this development of successful orchards, vineyards, or gardens on land that was either completely out of use or else employed for far less profitable purposes. Ignorant of the facts of the case, we have been inclined to believe in California that Japanese farmers have merely taken over lands and farms of American farmers and continued the business as they found it. The slightest study, however, shows this conclusion to be a complete error.

“The Japanese farmer in California has always been a great developer and improver. Where he has taken over lands that were in use before his time he has almost always, if not always, put them to a far higher use and made them more valuable than they were before. But with a great proportion of the lands he now farms he has developed them out of nothing, or next to nothing.”

EXAMPLES OF JAPANESE PIONEERING.

Take, for instance, the case of Florin. In this district the soil is a shallow bedrock, abounding in sloughs. The land has to be irrigated by means of artesian water conducted through ditches. Because of the great amount of money and labor required in the boring of wells and the levelling of land for irrigation, there was but little inducement for the American farmer. Before the advent of Japanese, the country was poor, its output of fruits being extremely meagre. The vast fields had been sowed to grain, but the fertility of the soil was found so

limited that each succeeding year decreased the yield until the grain industry was no longer profitable. At last the land was permitted to lie idle; but when the Japanese came in, its owners saw a chance to turn it into a profit, offering it to them on yearly payments for a price they never would have gotten from any other investor. In a year's time the barren fields were changed into attractive berry gardens. With their usual foresight, the Japanese plant grape-vines along with strawberries, so that when the three-years' life of the strawberry ceases a productive vineyard takes its place. Their vines are robust and their berry plants luxuriant, and in comparison with them, those raised by other farmers looks sadly neglected. The Japanese spare no pains in their efforts to improve the quality of their produce, knowing that the best quality brings the highest price. And today Florin boasts of shipping \$150,000 worth of strawberries annually.

Another striking example of Japanese pioneering is seen in the development of Livingston in Fresno County. When the Japanese first appeared here some twelve years ago, they found the soil nothing but shifting sand, blown by desert winds that sucked up and whirled away every vestige of moisture, its bare surface scorched by a fierce sun. There were no shade trees, no sanitation, no schools, no churches. There was nothing to make life worth living; in fact, life there was believed impossible.

An American colony had been planted at Livingston twelve years before, but after a brief struggle with hostile conditions, had vanished. It simply "blew away," its distant neighbors said. These Japanese were laughed at when they announced that they would settle at Livingston. Their own people laughed at them. They were told that they, too, would be blown away by the fierce winds that whirled over the hot sands. But the Japanese were undaunted, and by dint of perseverance and assiduity have succeeded in converting the desert into smiling gardens and flourishing orchards. As a result of this transformation, the neighboring sand fields, which were once regarded as worthless, have suddenly enhanced its value and price.

In the phenomenal development of the rice industry in Butte, Colusa, Yuba, and Sutter counties, we find another happy example of Japanese pioneering. Here the soil is not only charged with alkali but is packed so hard that few Americans ever thought of raising anything on it. Yet in this apparently forbidding country the Japanese saw an opportunity for profitable rice culture. Although the Japanese was not the first to try rice culture in this district, it was he who made the industry a commercial success. While American pioneers wavered and abandoned the enterprise, the Japanese stuck to the job and

outlived the failures and disasters which had to be faced in the early stage of the venture. When the Japanese had demonstrated that the rice industry could be made profitable, American farmers followed their example, profiting themselves by the costly experiments and disastrous failures of their Japanese forerunners. Today there are at least 140,000 acres of land devoted to rice culture, of which the Japanese farmers, after years of pioneering, operate only some 16,000 acres.

Again, look at the delta region of the Sacramento Valley. This district is damp and often inundated, and was long regarded as unhealthy, and shunned by Caucasian farmers. It was the Japanese who opened this country for profitable farming. He worked on unsanitary lands on the lower reaches of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and has made them rich with potatoes, onions, beans, and fruits.

JAPANESE FARMERS NOT COMPETITORS OF AMERICANS.

It has been contended that Japanese farmers compete with Caucasian farmers. But a careful examination of the agricultural statistics of California reveals the fact that the Japanese have followed certain lines of farming which are usually avoided by Caucasian farmers. The following table supports this statement:

Product	Acreage by Japanese	Total Acreage by All	Per Cent of Japanese to Total Acreage
Berries	5,968	6,500	91.8
Celery	3,568	4,000	89.2
Asparagus	9,927	12,000	82.7
Seeds	15,847	20,000	79.2
Onions	9,251	12,112	76.3
Tomatoes	10,616	16,000	66.3
Cantaloupes	9,581	15,000	63.8
Sugar Beets	51,604	102,949	50.1
Green Vegetables	17,852	75,000	23.8
Potatoes	18,830	90,175	20.8
Hops	1,260	8,000	15.7
Grapes	47,439	360,000	13.1
Beans	77,107	592,000	13
Rice	16,640	106,220	10
Cotton	18,000	179,860	10
Corn	7,845	85,000	9.2
Fruits and Nuts	29,210	715,000	4
Hay and Grain	15,753	2,200,000	0

As is evident from this table, the Japanese have taken up the kinds of farming shunned by other farmers, such as berry, celery, and asparagus culture requiring stooping posture on the part of workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming.

On the other hand, the percentage of acreage cultivated by the Japanese is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit, and nut culture, which require comparatively little manual labor. The above figures show that in such fields American or Caucasian farmers are predominant. The table is significant, showing that the Japanese do not compete with American farmers, but have filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the latter to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

JAPANESE BIRTH RATE.

Many tales have been told about the fabulous birth rates among the Japanese in California. Yet if we compare the percentage of Japanese births to total births in California with the percentage of Caucasian births, there is little occasion for alarm. For this purpose the following table is prepared from the official figures of the State Board of Health:

Year	Japanese Births	Percentage of Japanese Births to Total Births	White Births	Percentage of White Births to Total Births
1908	455	1.6	27,190	96.8
1909	682	2.2	29,736	96.3
1910	719	2.2	30,893	96.1
1911	995	2.9	33,245	96.5
1912	1,467	3.7	37,194	94.6
1913	2,215	5.3	40,864	93.2
1914	2,874	6.2	42,281	91.9
1915	3,342	6.9	43,874	91.3
1916	3,721	7.3	46,272	91.4
1917	4,108	7.8	47,314	90.6

As shown in the above table, Japanese births in the past ten years have increased phenomenally. But this condition is abnormal and the rate will soon decline. Japanese immigrants came to this country at first without wives. But in recent years the Japanese in America have come to realize the necessity of home life, and have, in compliance with the "gentlemen's agreement," invited their wives to come and join them here. Sudden increase of Japanese births in California was the natural result. In the last ten years or so a majority of Japanese males in California, who were in position to marry or who intended to marry, have married. Within a few years the rate

of increase of Japanese births from year to year will begin to decline. This decline will be accelerated by the stopping of "picture marriage," to which reference has been made in preceding paragraphs. With the "gentlemen's agreement" strictly restricting Japanese immigration, the stock of marriageable Japanese males in California will soon be exhausted. Moreover, Japanese, too, must die. According to the statistics of the State Board of Health, 5,860 Japanese died in California between 1908 and 1917.

The cry of "Japanese are taking our farms" sounds illogical in view of the actual condition in California. Long before the Japanese began to buy or lease land to any appreciable extent, the acreage of California farms had been decreasing. In the ten years between 1900 and 1910 there was a decrease in the amount of land in farms of 897,597 acres, and in the amount of improved land in farms of 568,943 acres. This decrease was due to the growing movement of the population from rural district to the city. The lure of city life has been a great factor in the abatement of farming in the past decade or two. The Japanese farmers in California have served to fill part of the gap that has been unfortunately created by the abandonment of farms by the younger generation of the American people.

SMUGGLING ACROSS THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Much has been said about the alleged smuggling of Japanese across the Mexican border. There is no reliable information on this matter. All that we have is exaggerated assertions and arbitrary estimates made by those who have certain ends to promote.

It is reasonable to assume that there are a few, or even a considerable number of, Japanese smuggling across the border, but it is absurd to say the number of such Japanese amounts to many thousands. The Japanese Government does not issue passports to Mexico. The Japanese population in Mexico is between two and three thousand.

As far as the Japanese Government is concerned, it has been doing everything in its power to prevent the clandestine entry of Japanese from Mexico to California. If there be any considerable smuggling from the South, the matter is beyond the power and control of the Japanese Government, and it is up to the American Government to look out for it. Japan would be satisfied if the American authorities would increase their vigilance on the border, and deport every Japanese whom they might find to be seeking surreptitious entrance.

As an illustration of the great pains that has been taken by the

Japanese Government in forestalling the coming of its subjects to Mexico, the following fact may be mentioned:

When, a few years ago, the Japanese Consul in Lima discovered that Japanese in Peru had been going to Mexico, he, under the instructions of the government at Tokyo, asked the Japanese steamship company not to sell tickets from Peru to any Mexican port. Of course the Japanese Government had no authority to compel the steamship company to accept such a request, which was obviously an encroachment upon the rights of the business concern. But the company (Toyo Kisen Kaisha), mindful of amicable relationship between Japan and the United States, cheerfully acceded to the request of the government, and has for some years past been denying itself the right of issuing tickets reading from "Peru to Mexico."

When Japanese in Peru found out that their exodus to Mexico had been checked by this agreement between the government and the steamship company, they began to buy tickets clear to Tokyo, announcing their intention to go back to Japan. Of course the steamship company could not refuse to issue tickets to those who wished to go home. Soon, however, it transpired that some of these Japanese professing to go home, would land at Salina Cruz, when the steamer stopped at that port. Not infrequently they would force their way at the point of the rifle, should the captain of the steamer attempt to intercept. There is no means of obtaining accurate information as to the extent to which this devious method of going to Mexico has been resorted to.

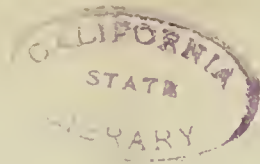
The Japanese Government is at a loss to know how to prevent this migration from Peru to Mexico. Obviously it can not put an injunction upon the issuance of steamship tickets to Japanese who profess to return home from a foreign country. That is why we say that the matter of smuggling across the Mexican border is beyond the control of the Japanese Government, and that it must be adjusted by the increased vigilance of the immigration authorities of the United States.

"ONLY A PEACE BETWEEN EQUALS CAN LAST. ONLY A PEACE THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF WHICH IS EQUALITY AND A COMMON PARTICIPATION IN A COMMON BENEFIT. THE RIGHT STATE OF MIND, THE RIGHT FEELING BETWEEN NATIONS, IS AS NECESSARY FOR A LASTING PEACE AS IS THE JUST SETTLEMENT OF VEXED QUESTIONS OF TERRITORY OR OF RACIAL AND NATIONAL ALLEGIANCE. THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS UPON WHICH PEACE MUST BE FOUNDED, IF IT IS TO LAST, MUST BE AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS; THE GUARANTEES EXCHANGED MUST NEITHER RECOGNIZE NOR IMPLY A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BIG NATIONS AND SMALL—BETWEEN THOSE THAT ARE POWERFUL AND THOSE THAT ARE WEAK. RIGHT MUST BE BASED UPON THE COMMON STRENGTH, NOT UPON THE INDIVIDUAL STRENGTH, OF THE NATIONS UPON WHOSE CONCERT PEACE WILL DEPEND. EQUALITY OF TERRITORY OR OF RESOURCES THERE, OF COURSE, CAN NOT BE; NOR ANY OTHER SORT OF EQUALITY NOT GAINED IN THE ORDINARY PEACEFUL AND LEGITIMATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLES THEMSELVES. BUT NO ONE ASKS OR EXPECTS ANYTHING MORE THAN AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS. MANKIND IS LOOKING NOW FOR FREEDOM OF LIFE, NOT FOR EQUIPOISES OF POWER."

—WOODROW WILSON.

"WE MUST TREAT WITH JUSTICE AND GOOD-WILL ALL IMMIGRANTS WHO COME HERE UNDER THE LAW. WHETHER THEY ARE CATHOLIC OR PROTESTANT, JEW OR GENTILE, WHETHER THEY COME FROM ENGLAND OR GERMANY, RUSSIA, JAPAN OR ITALY, MATTERS NOTHING. ALL WE HAVE A RIGHT TO QUESTION IS THE MAN'S CONDUCT. IF HE IS HONEST AND UPRIGHT IN HIS DEALINGS WITH HIS NEIGHBOR AND WITH THE STATE, THEN HE IS ENTITLED TO RESPECT AND GOOD TREATMENT. ESPECIALLY DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER OUR DUTY TO THE STRANGER WITHIN OUR GATES. IT IS THE SURE MARK OF A LOW CIVILIZATION, A LOW MORALITY, TO ABUSE OR DISCRIMINATE AGAINST OR IN ANY WAY HUMILIATE SUCH STRANGER WHO HAS COME HERE LAWFULLY AND WHO IS CONDUCTING HIMSELF PROPERLY. TO REMEMBER THIS IS INCUMBENT ON EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN, AND IT IS, OF COURSE, PECULIARLY INCUMBENT ON EVERY GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL WHETHER OF THE NATION OR OF THE SEVERAL STATES."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.





The Influence of America

ON THE

Reconstruction of Japan

BY

REV. D. EBINA, D. D.

OF

TOKYO, JAPAN

*A MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AT THE
CLOSE OF THE WORLD WAR*

As all nations have come to face a new age, so Japan is also undergoing a change by leaps and bounds from national brotherhood to international brotherhood. The present condition of Japan is very similar to that of 50 years ago, when the Sunrise Kingdom came out from the feudal age to enter the modern world. Let us go into the details a little more fully

The birth of modern Imperial Japan and its sudden growth are among the remarkable events in the recent history of the world. It is not a creation of yesterday; it had more than a century been forming in the heart of feudal Japan, waiting for the day of its birth. Through the mere threat of bombardment, Commodore Perry gave birth to

modern Imperial Japan. No foreigner knew at that time that feudal Japan was already pregnant with it. Even many intelligent Japanese were not conscious of it. There were two opposite forces struggling one against another in its formation. One was a monarchical conservative force that demanded the restoration of the Imperial family to the rulership of Japan and the expulsion of foreigners; the other force was a very progressive one, but insignificant in appearance at that time. It desired the open door, the equality of men and the coming out of the Emperor from his divine concealment to appear before his people as one of them. It emphasized the modernization of Japan. The feudalism of several centuries, the common enemy of both the imperialistic and progressive parties was once for all entirely destroyed, and as the result of the struggle of these opposite forces, modern Imperial Japan was created.

This remarkable event is rather to be called a revolution than a restoration. The motto, "Loyalty and Expulsion of Foreigners," was changed into "Loyalty and the Open Door." The phrase, "Civilization and Enlightenment," became more popular than "the restoration of the Imperial rule."

The universal compulsory educational system was adopted from America. Boys and girls of all classes began to be educated in the same public schools in order to fit them to become citizens of modern Imperial Japan. The fatherhood of the Emperor and the brotherhood of all our countrymen became the national slogan.

Facing toward America, modern Japan was eager for new ideals and pressed forward to appropriate them, sacrificing all things for their attainment. But the world was not yet prepared to receive Japan into the fraternity of free nations. On the contrary, by opening the door Japan entered the society of armed nations which were then rivalling one another for the seizure of territories. In order to be an honorable member of the society of armed nations, Japan had to reconstruct her army organization and build up a strong navy. Universal conscription was the consequence. By so doing, Japan hardly escaped from the aggression of

the great powers. The result was the Germanization rather than the Americanization of Japan.

Some Europeans who have a good opinion of themselves as experts say: "The desire of Japan to annex Korea and rule China had been inherited from the time of Hideyoshi," who lived three hundred years ago. Nothing is more erroneous than that. Japan had always been on the defensive. Hideyoshi's aggression on Korea was an exceptional outburst. Ieyasu and his successors were so strong on the defensive that they finally closed the doors of Japan and even forbade their countrymen to go abroad. Japanese ships were then crossing the Pacific. If her desire had been aggressive, Japan could have fought with the Spaniards for the possession of the Philippines, and with the Dutch for Java. If she had been adventurous, Japan might have obtained Australia. Because she put too much emphasis on the defensive, she lost forever the opportunity of expansion.

The adoption of universal conscription not only saved Japan from foreign invasion, but unexpectedly made way for the growth of democracy. The sons of the common people, even of the outcast class, were disciplined to fight. In the Civil War of 1877, ten years after the revolution, they astonished the world by defeating the strong army of Samurai, the military aristocrats then commanded by General Saigo, the greatest hero of that time. Not by the Imperial decree, but by their deeds, the common people actualized the proclamation of the equality of men.

After this Civil War, the Samurai class began to give their daughters and sons in marriage to the sons and daughters of the common people and vice versa. The sons of the common people together with those of Samurai fought against China and Russia and experienced great victories. It was a great gain for democracy in Japan, because by these magnificent victories national brotherhood was strengthened. No wonder the great organization of the army and navy has become supreme in Japan. It is a natural outcome of external and internal circumstances.

Is national brotherhood with militarism the ultimate aim

of the development of nations, or is there a higher ideal and broader interest than nationalism? Here is the crux of the question on which Japan is now divided.

If nationalism be the ultimate end of man's social and political development, Japan's present state is the most desirable one. No one has the right to criticise her in regard to this. Such criticism as the loud noise raised about the Shantung question may be considered as an outburst of jealousy and fear. It may be considered as nothing more than the conflict of self-interest against self-interest, capitalism against capitalism, and nationalism against nationalism, which will finally lead nations to war. Do we desire nationalism to become rampant in the world? Heaven forbid!

Had not America been endeavoring to promote the international welfare of humanity? Was not the selfish ambition of German imperialism beaten down by the higher ideal of humanity and the international interest of the Allies? If we have faith in reason, and in the progress of humanity, and above all in God, we cannot but hope in the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth. Is not international brotherhood nearer to the Kingdom of God than national brotherhood? No nation can enter God's kingdom unless it be born anew and become international and supernatural.

Though the League of Nations framed by the Peace Conference at Paris be imperfect, yet it does not prove that the international brotherhood of nations is utopian and a delusion. Nothing less than such a gigantic and sublime scheme as the League of Nations can satisfy the requirement of the Christian consciousness. Whether it be perfect or imperfect, it must be viewed as the beginning of a new age. Is Japan, which is now in the height of nationalism and militarism, morally and spiritually prepared to enter it?

The Anglo-American religious influence exerted by missionaries and through religious literature has been tremendous. The results have not been so brilliant as expected, but deep down in the soul of Japan, it has given a new ideal, a new sentiment, a new aspiration, a new energy, a

new consciousness, a new spirit that cries after God, the Father of all—"Abba Father!" This cry is the strongest and noblest of all cries Japan has ever experienced. It arouses in the depth of the soul the consciousness of divine sonship, of divine kinship with Christ who reigns over all and in all, the consciousness of the new man created after Him in righteousness and holiness of truth, who has come not to be served but to serve and give his life as a ransom for many.

This new man contradicts his environment, political, social and individual. He is struggling and travelling in pain to redeem Japan from her old conditions, and to break the hard shell of nationalism and militarism.

Protestant Christians number about one hundred and fifty thousand. This number is, when compared with the large population of fifty-six million, very small; little more than one-fourth of one per cent. But their influence is considerable. The higher the grade of intelligence, the greater is their number. Three years ago there were three hundred Christians among five thousand students in Tokyo Imperial University, and among one hundred professors of the same institution there were sixteen followers of Christ.

The leader of the democratic movement among young men is Dr. Yoshino, the professor of politics in Tokyo Imperial University, an enthusiastic member of my church. He is the most popular writer and lecturer in Japan. The leader of the universal suffrage movement is Dr. Amai, a congressman. He is also a member of my church. The leader of the labor movement is Mr. Suzuki, who was for a long time a member of my church and now belongs to the Unitarian Association.

Though Christians are comparatively few, yet their friends are very numerous. Those who have imbibed Christian ideals are innumerable. Thus a new, democratic international Japan is already formed within the Imperial military nation. How shall it emerge and be set free?

Some imagine that the fear of America will bring about the regeneration of Japan. No, that is a very erroneous

view. It is out of date. America did this 60 years ago. It must not be repeated. Japan has ever been grateful to Commodore Perry for his decisive action as is manifested by setting up his monument at Uraga. But modern Japan is very different from feudal Japan.

Suppose America should threaten Japan by her army and navy, Japan would prepare for it. Suppose America should stir up national feeling against Japan, Japan will stir up her national feeling against America. If Americans should send some propoganda to China against Japan, the Japanese would do more in China against America. If some Chinese desire to be helped by America against Japan, there are not a few Chinese who would be helped by the Japanese against America. Army against army, navy against navy, jingoism against jingoism, nationalism against nationalism contribute nothing for the conversion of Japan and the welfare of Asia. They only harden the hard shell of nationalism and delude the inexperienced Asiatics.

I am sorry to say that some of your representative statesmen have been driving Japan more and more to Prussianism. Are not some Americans becoming more and more nationalistic and reactionary? I believe that tendency is only in appearance. But it has, I frankly tell you, been casting a dark shadow upon the mind of the Japanese. The American influence that Japan will not be able to resist must come from another and higher source.

The league of nations for the welfare not only of each nation, but of the whole of humanity, requires broader sentiment, nobler aspiration, stronger faith in reason, more intense love for truth and the clearer consciousness of the indwelling spirit of God in humanity than nationalism and patriotism.

If this great scheme of world brotherhood be presented to the mind of the Japanese by the unconquerable determination of the American people, Japan cannot fail to accept the invitation, because it appeals to the better nature of the Japanese and clarifies the ideal of Christianity already hovering in their mind. This moral influence accelerates the

process of Japan's conversion from national brotherhood to international brotherhood. You know how to deal with an individual to convert him to Christianity. In the same spirit the conversion of the nation must be brought about.

The Christian internationalism revealed in Christ and to be realized in the League of Nations, is a tremendous blow to the militarism of any nation, and of course to the militarism of Japan. The present form of militarism cannot stand because of its robbery and oppression. It has a strong reason for its existence when it stands on the defensive side. In the name of national defense, it grows and increases in strength. Therefore, if we take away the reason for its existence, it will no longer maintain its power, provided that the sentiment of the people is influenced by a higher ideal.

My American friends, as you once lead out Japan from the old feudal system and its clan brotherhood to national brotherhood, will you not now encourage Japan to advance from imperialism and its national brotherhood to international democracy and universal brotherhood? I assure you, Japan will respond to your call for higher ideals and nobler life. My earnest prayer is that Great Britain and the United States will more closely be united for the great and noble cause of humanity. The united determination of these two gigantic nations can make the Christian ideal a reality.

Is not the League of Nations the application of the Christian democratic principle to international politics? Is it not more satisfactory to Christian sentiment than the society of armed nations? Is not Christianity in very fact the religion of the League of Nations? Is it not indeed the creative power of the League? As long as Christianity is dominated by nationalism, it is an undeveloped religion, and unable to displace the national religions of Japan and China. The defect of Protestantism is that it is too nationalistic. If it would unite all nations under its influence into a fraternal federation, and come to Japan as the driving force of the League of Nations, Japan would give up her religion of ancestor worship and embrace Christianity. Because she must acknowledge one universal Father, and

become a part of the universal brotherhood of mankind. Then Japan will be your sister nation in body and soul. There will no more be the dread of war between America and Japan.

America, by taking the responsibility of leadership in the League of Nations, could, I assure you, be the means of producing a new democratic, international Japan that would fulfill the work done by your predecessors, statesmen, missionaries and educators for the last sixty years. May God impress upon America her responsibility in the redemption of the East!



(5 cents per copy. Address, T. Chiba, 1916 Lyon St., San Francisco)

(X)

Pacific Coast Convention

—OF THE—

Anti-Jap Laundry League

SAN FRANCISCO

May 9, 1909



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ADJOURNMENT.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Second Convention of the Anti-Jap Laundry League

VAN NESS HALL, 222 VAN NESS AVENUE

San Francisco, May 9, 1909.

FORENOON SESSION.

The Second Convention of the Anti-Jap Laundry League was called to order at 10:55 a. m. by General President Hugh F. McMahon at the above date and place. General President McMahon said:

"Delegates, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen: It affords me great pleasure at this time to call to order the Second Convention of the Anti-Jap Laundry League of the Pacific Coast, which, in its few brief months of existence, has created a profound impression on the business world, not only in California, but all over the country. The progress that has thus far been obtained has exceeded our most sanguine expectations, but in order to preserve our industries from the unequal competition of the Oriental, we must redouble our efforts both from a moral and a financial standpoint before we may hope to reach the goal that we have started for.

"It is with further pleasure that I welcome you, delegates and friends, and hope that our deliberations this day will result in much good, not only to our particular interest, but to every other interest that feels the competition of this cheap, unassimilable coolie labor of the Orient."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

To the Second Convention, Anti-Jap Laundry League of the Pacific Coast:

Pursuant to instructions, your committee have examined all credentials, and have the honor to recommend that the delegates be seated.

On motion, the report as submitted by the Committee on Credentials was received and adopted by the Convention.

Among those present at the morning session were:

OAKLAND—Thos. Foster, Geo. W. Blethen, B. L. Herrick, J. Waldie, H. A. Ougert, F. F. Connors.

OXNARD—Roy F. Hoffman.

RENO—C. N. White.

REDWOOD CITY—F. Raynal.

SACRAMENTO—Jas. Chironi, Harry Dubeeker, W. Warner.

SAN JOSE—H. A. McKenna, J. F. Macklen.

SAN RAFAEL—A. S. Edwards, L. L. Remy, D. F. Foley.

SAUSALITO—M. Elliott.

VALLEJO—J. V. Moran.

SAN FRANCISCO—T. S. Williams, W. J. Garrick, S. A. Riley, G.

Maklin, C. Mygind, B. B. Holbert, H. H. McCallum, L. M. Williams, B. Levy, C. Sorenson, W. Gruver, Jas. F. Casey, H. F. McMahon, E. Christensen, B. Schoenberg, P. W. Mangold, A. S. Neal, P. S. Parker, C. Parmer, F. W. Center, F. J. Hurbsch, J. T. Fitzgerald, B. O'Sullivan, R. C. Hurst, Jos. Corbett, M. Blum, P. L. Peterson, F. W. Francis, J. Jordan, H. Lamayson, Chas. Forbes, J. L. Armstrong, C. E. Parker, M. A. Harder, J. F. Springer, F. F. O'Connor, O. Anderson, R. J. Sulsberg, A. E. Yoell, T. R. Angove, D. J. Gorman, G. Krimphoff.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The following order of business was, by motion, adopted: Roll call of officers and standing committees, appointment of temporary officers to fill vacancies, appointment of temporary credential committee, reports of officers, election of officers, appointment of the following committees: Finance, Credentials, Press, Trade Relations and Resolutions; reports of leagues, reports from interior delegates, introduction of resolutions.

COMMITTEES ANNOUNCED.

President H. F. McMahon announced the following committees:

Finance—J. J. Remy, San Rafael; J. V. Moran, Vallejo; W. Warner, Sacramento; O. Anderson, San Francisco; Frank Miller, Redwood City, and B. L. Herrick, Oakland.

Resolutions—Chas. Dowling, San Francisco; H. A. McKenna, San Jose.

Credentials—C. Sorensen, San Francisco; A. S. Edwards, San Rafael; H. Dubecker, Sacramento.

Press—A. E. Yoell, San Francisco; T. R. Angove, San Francisco, and Carrie Palmer, San Francisco.

Trade Relations—Jas. Jordan, San Francisco; Daniel Gorman, San Francisco; C. M. White, Reno, Nevada, and Roy Hoffman of Oxnard, Cal.

The chair instructed all committees to immediately get to work and have in readiness their reports at their earliest convenience.

REPORT OF GENERAL PRESIDENT H. F. McMAHON.

Delegates and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are once again assembled to perform those important duties which devolve upon us, not only as American citizens, but as members of the great white race, in our relations with its preservation and progress—the duties imposed upon us by those whom we represent, which not only affect our immediate conditions but surpass the sphere of personal relations, and cast upon us the work of formulating measures calculated to bring into a stronger, more comprehensive and more enlightened status our relations with each other and with our organizations.

I desire to point out a few things as I have observed them, and believe they will aid us largely in a successful termination of our movement. In the words of that great patriot, Patrick Henry, "We have but one light to guide us—the light of experience," and remember that our object in view is the protection of our industry from the incursions of the Japanese. We must cast aside personal grievances and look upon this great movement from a broad viewpoint, and put our shoulders to the wheel and do all in our individual power to eliminate the Japanese from our field of industry.

During the seven months which have elapsed since our last meeting, I regret to say that one league, which was started under fair and encouraging auspices, has left our ranks, that organization seemingly being unable to bury its personal grievances and self-aggrandizement to the exclusion of the duties which devolve upon them, namely, the protection of not only their own industry, but the comfort of those who are dependent upon them. Our

movement needs fearless, strong, cool and determined men. It is no child's play, and no man should be afraid to do that which is right.

I offer these few remarks in the kindest spirit. I am not here to flatter anyone, or unduly criticize any league, but there are some leagues who are afraid of printer's ink, and fear to have it known openly that they are against the Japanese; and I want to say that the only way to success is to extensively publish our movement and arouse a healthy public opinion which will prove to the people of our country the necessity of protecting ourselves from Oriental invasion. Education is what we need—through the papers, literature, and the dissemination of our circular letters to those who do not understand the question as we do. Every white man is ready to support his brother. A large number of those who patronize Orientals do so from ignorance, or, rather, from carelessness, and this league has discovered that; but when the question is placed directly before them, and the danger of such support pointed out, they are ready to discard Japanese labor and employ white.

Through our wide publicity we have now placed ourselves in a position where we can go before the governing bodies of the city with assurance of at least being given a hearing. Every day sees us stronger, and inasmuch as our strength is built on justice and fairness to ourselves and to the community, we can back our petitions by a demand which the officials must consider, and consider well.

The members of this League have very wisely refrained from joining any political party, thereby being in a position to join all parties. I would recommend that an Anti-Japanese plank be inserted in the platforms of all political parties, and that this League insist upon the same, so that we may know the party who refuses to recognize us or our claims, and go intelligently to the polls and cast our votes accordingly.

President McMahon also called attention to the Japanese laundry whose permit was turned down by the city officials on account of the protest of the San Francisco League, and dwelt on the legislators who had pledged themselves to the movement and traitorously voted against their constituents in the recent legislature; he admonished the members to remember these gentlemen at the polls should they ever again aspire for office.

The remarks of the President were received with liberal applause.

REPORT OF BUSINESS SECRETARY R. C. HURST.

Mr. President, Delegates to the Anti-Jap Laundry League Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the business Secretary of the San Francisco League, it has been my business to look into every detail of the work assigned to me, and the information that I have obtained, if I were to report everything, would consume so much of your valuable time that I shall only report the most important things that have happened since last December.

We have created a healthy public sentiment toward our campaign, and a lively interest is being shown by outsiders in our work. We have succeeded in preventing any new Japanese concerns from entering the laundry business, and the ones now existing from obtaining a boiler or engine permit to enable them to better compete with the white laundries.

A committee has for several months been endeavoring to interest the various improvement clubs throughout the city in our campaign, but have found this a very difficult matter, since the clubs decline to handle any subject that they consider outside the purposes of their organization. However, through persistent and insistent effort we have secured the attention and interest of the largest and most influential improvement club in this city, the Mission Promotion Association. They have decided to call a special meeting on the 24th of this month and give our cause a thorough hearing.

There is no doubt that the other improvement clubs will now fall in line, and we shall eventually have the support of all of them.

Our sphere of activity is broad in its scope. As an instance, at the last session of the State Legislature, when the Anti-Jap bills were pending before that body, our League got busy and inaugurated a bureau of information and endeavored to inject more ginger into the backbones of our State lawmakers. We bombarded them through communications with information on the subject, and our efforts upon that occasion had a far-reaching effect, to the extent that the press published a thorough review of our campaign and it was copied throughout the East. This aroused public interest on the subject to an intense degree. Before the final passage on these bills, our League sent a delegation to Sacramento in conjunction with the representatives from the Asiatic Exclusion League, and secured the data on those representatives who have betrayed our interests. We have even gone further in our endeavors to educate the people of the East on the evils resulting from Japanese immigration and competition. We opened up a protest with the manipulator of the "Big Stick" and most courteously but firmly expressed our views regarding his actions.

It was brought to our notice that a number of Japanese Laundry Ads were being published in the National Theater program, and with the view of having same removed we communicated with the publisher, Mr. W. E. Valencia. Our arguments presented in this way availed us nothing. We then communicated with each individual advertiser in said program asking them to write Mr. Valencia to the effect that their ad would be withdrawn unless those of the Japanese were eliminated. This they did, and as a result Mr. Valencia communicated with us promising to remove all Jap Ads at the expiration of their contracts. The last of these have just expired, and we have reminded him of his promise.

One of the most important accomplishments has been the enlistment of the moral support of practically every Union man and woman in San Francisco, and we are indebted to the Building Trades and the Labor Councils for having passed resolutions recommending that all affiliated unions instruct their members not to patronize Orientals or patrons thereof. In response many of the Unions have covered the recommendation by passing laws punishable by fines.

We have secured the support of the San Francisco press. With possibly one exception, every paper is doing much in supporting the movement by giving publicity to every interesting action taken by us. A controversy arose during the early part of April between the San Francisco Call and our League through a misunderstanding that that paper had with the San Francisco laundry proprietors, but I am glad to report that all differences have been amicably settled and the Call is now one of our staunchest supporters.

We have on two occasions successfully prosecuted the Sunset City Laundry for generating steam without the necessary permit. First they were fined \$50 for violating the city ordinance and are before the court for a second offense. Their attorney endeavored to show that the Japs had a verbal permit from the Board of Supervisors allowing them to generate steam to the extent of 25 pounds. There was no recollection of anything of the kind among the members of the Board, and as the Japs had admitted having run their mangle, and we produced expert testimony showing that a mangle could not be operated with less than 60 pounds of steam, Police Judge Shortall presiding, found the defendants guilty. This laundry has again applied to the Board of Supervisors for a steam boiler permit, but through agitation and the assistance of the property owners in that neighborhood we have thus far succeeded in stopping the issuance of a permit. The Mission Promotion Association has also filed a letter of protest with the Board of Supervisors and we believe the petition will be denied this time as it has been in the past. Attorney Barrett, of the firm of McGuire and Barrett, counsel for

the Japs, has notified the Fire Committee of the Board of Supervisors that they will make this a test case if the permit is not granted, and that the matter will be appealed to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

It is fitting and proper at this time to call attention to the action of L. H. Moise, president of the firm of Moise-Klinker, whose wife refused in very strong terms to withdraw her patronage from a Japanese laundry. Mr. Moise has evidently sanctioned her actions, not having answered any of our communications. Moise-Klinker have in the past received no small amount of patronage from the laundries in San Francisco, and it is useless to state what their future attitude toward this concern will be.

It is impossible at the present to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the amount of damage inflicted on the Japanese through our efforts, although we have conclusive proof that we have converted a large majority of their patrons to whom we have appealed. The best proof of results that we can produce at this time is a comparison of the number of Jap workmen now employed in these cheap wash houses with the number at the beginning of our crusade.

We have secured the co-operation and assistance of the Asiatic Exclusion League, they are furnishing us with plenty of literature and data with which to further the interest of our campaign.

Finances.

The finances of the League are in a very healthy condition, and with but few exceptions the laundries are contributing regularly. The Laundry workers and drivers unions are each furnishing \$100.00 per month. The French branch is sending a substantial and increasing revenue.

The work of the League has grown to such extent that it was necessary to employ a permanent secretary as it was a physical impossibility for our standing Committees to do justice to the work assigned them and also attend their business affairs. These committees, however, are very active and are doing much in keeping up interest and outlining plans of campaign to the Business Secretary.

(Signed) R. C. HURST,
Business Secretary.

The Chair: This, delegates, includes the report of the San Francisco League, and we will now call upon the other LEAGUES to render their reports.

REPORTS OF LEAGUES.

Marin County.

Mr. A. S. Edwards, representing the Marin County Anti-Jap Laundry League, spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Marin County Anti-Jap Laundry League was temporarily organized in December, 1908, and formally ratified by the laundrymen in January, 1909. Its membership consists of all the white laundry interests and most of their employes in Marin County. At the time of their organization there were two Japanese laundries in Marin County, located in the City of San Rafael, and doing a thriving business. Our efforts have been crowned with partial success, and we have succeeded in closing one of these laundries. The other, however, still remains, and is making stubborn resistance to our efforts. Within the past month another Japanese laundry has started in Mill Valley, and the attention of our sympathizers in that locality has been directed towards it.

With a membership of less than 100, we feel highly gratified at what has already been accomplished, but our income is inadequate to oppose our com-

petitors as we should; however, our efforts thus far have been very successful.

We have placarded the town at intervals with such stickers as "Fire the Jap," which has proven to be a very popular idea, as the small boy, by means of chalk, has followed the example of his elders in many instances, writing similar inscriptions on bill boards, vacant buildings, etc.

Our greatest effort during our campaign, we believe, rewarded us with the greatest results. I refer to the mass meeting held in the City of San Rafael on April 25th of this year. On that day in Armory Hall, one of the largest gatherings ever seen in Marin County occurred. The meeting was called for the purpose of protesting against the encroachments of Asiatics upon the business interests of the white race, and nearly every business firm in San Rafael and surrounding towns was represented, the ladies of our community being very much in evidence. I had the honor to conduct that meeting, which was held under the auspices of your League in Marin County, and in behalf of that organization I desire to extend our sincere appreciation and thanks to the San Francisco League, its President, Mr. H. F. McMahan, Mr. Yoell, the Secretary of the Asiatic Exclusion League, Mr. Benham and Ex-Senator Frank McGowan. It is but meet and proper that I should touch upon the good things and the impression that these gentlemen conveyed to the residents of Marin County. Mr. Benham, who immediately got in touch with the vast audience, as was evidenced by their frequent applause, soon went to the very bottom of Orientalism and its evil influence upon American business interests. The gentleman covered the subject thoroughly from start to finish, and when he sat down amid applause that could be heard for blocks away, I can say, without any hesitancy, that everyone in that great gathering was of one opinion—to exclude the Jap—as well as the Chinese, from this country.

Your President, Mr. McMahan, made a fervent appeal to the people, requesting them to stop patronizing the Jap and stop employing him, thereby peacefully driving him out of the country, instead of eventually becoming involved in a great war. In dealing with the situation in Hawaii, Mr. McMahan pointed to the alarming conditions that actually exist to-day in California, and stated that a movement was now on foot to eventually boycott all white business concerns and professional men who persist in patronizing the Japanese after having been asked to desist. Mr. McMahan was loudly cheered.

When Senator McGowan was introduced and began his address, he started out very slowly and cautiously, calling attention to the fact that the question was a very serious matter to consider—the exclusion of the Japanese people. It was a very short time thereafter when Mr. McGowan attacked the Asiatic in a most eloquent manner, and the hundreds of people in that audience fairly went wild in their cheers of approval, and at many times he brought tears to the eyes of his listeners. It is with great pleasure that I quote from Mr. McGowan's speech the following:

"If war with Japan is inevitable, as much as I am opposed to war, as much as I revere that flag, as much as I love my family and my country, I would rather see that emblem of freedom trampled in the dust and go down to my death fighting a free man, than to live as a subject of the Mikado."

Mr. President and friends, I want to say that the local press has always been very friendly to our movement since we started, and the meeting of to-day was extensively advertised in our San Rafael papers. This has created much interest, particularly among our business men, and more especially so with the saloon men of our vicinity. While as yet we have not made any direct appeal to our saloon men they all seem to fear a boycott or some other terrible fate and many of them have discontinued patronizing even John Chinaman.

We intend to take up our work with the organized labor bodies of our community, requesting them to act in concert with us to studiously avoid

patronizing all business and professional people who employ or patronize Orientals, and should this proposition come about, we would then, beyond a question of a doubt, see the first signs of an approaching victory.

At the request of the President of our League, the City Trustees last Monday night instructed the City Sanitary Inspector to inspect all public laundries and report at their next regular meeting, May 10th. It was also the opinion of the President that all laundries should be floored with sanitary concrete floors in their wash houses. In reference to this action one of our local papers comments as follows:

ALL PUBLIC LAUNDRIES TO UNDERGO INSPECTION.

Must Be Made Sanitary Is Order of Trustees.

"At their regular meeting Monday night the city trustees, on motion of Trustee Begley, instructed the health officer to inspect every public laundry in San Rafael. Trustee Begley stated that all public laundries should have a sanitary concrete floor in their wash rooms. An unsanitary laundry is a most dangerous vehicle for conveying contagious diseases, and this move on the part of the trustees seems a very commendable one. Now, while they are at it, why not make an up-to-date sanitary job of it by also prohibiting persons from sleeping and cooking in all rooms used for public laundry purposes."

In conclusion, I desire to submit for your favorable consideration the following: That this convention, in conjunction with the outside League, concentrate its efforts and energy against all saloons and business houses who are known to patronize or employ Orientals, and suggest that all such places who are loyal to us be supplied with a large and attractive official card with the inscription "WE DO NOT EMPLOY OR PATRONIZE ASIATICS" printed thereon.

We believe, Mr. President and Delegates, that if that plan is adopted many of our friends would soon learn to look for the sign, and spend their money in such places, instead of those institutions who did not display such a sign.

(Signed) NELSON ELLIOTT
H. LUMINA.
F. MAZET.
JOHN LAFARGUE.
ALFRED S. EDWARDS.

Mr. Angove: Mr. President, I move you that the report of the Marin County League be adopted and spread in full upon the record, and that the recommendations therein contained be referred to the order of New Business. (Carried.)

The Chair: If there are no objections, such will be the order.

Delegates, the time has now arrived when you are called upon to make your selections for officers of the Anti-Japanese Laundry League of the Pacific Coast for the ensuing term. Nominations for President are now in order.

Delegate Anderson: Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention: I believe that for the office of President, we want a man who is fearless and who is loyal to the underlying principles of this organization. We ought to have a man who, in and out of season, day and night, will stand loyally by its principles, against the contumely, against the assaults that are bound to occur from our pro-Asiatic friends, a subsidized press, and against the machinations of other great corporations that are flooding this country with infamous misstatements for a paltry pittance or gain. We want a man enthusiastically imbued with the principles of our League; we want a man who is willing to stand up in the marts of the world and speak forthwith his honest con-

victions for the right in this country as God gives him light to see it. Such a man, in heart and head, we have in the President of our League, Mr. Hugh F. McMahon.

The nomination of Mr. McMahon was seconded by many delegates, and by motion, the nominations were ordered closed. Further nominations were made as follows, without opposition:

Vice-President, A. S. Edwards, of San Rafael.

Secretary-Treasurer, R. J. Salsburg, of San Francisco.

Sergeant-at-Arms, J. B. Moran, of Vallejo.

By motion of Delegate Angove, the Secretary cast the ballot for the above-named gentlemen, and they were thereby declared the officers-elect for the ensuing term by the President.

TELEGRAMS.

"Palo Alto, May 9, 1909.

"H. F. McMahon, President Anti-Jap Laundry League of the Pacific Coast, Greetings.

"Unavoidably detained. Success to the movement.

"M. F. FAIRFIELD.

"Pres. Peninsula Anti-Jap Laundry League."

"Naples, Cal., May 8, 1909.

"R. J. Salsburg, Secretary Anti-Japanese Laundry League.

"Our representative from Oxnard Steam Laundry will attend convention. Success and well wishes.

"ROY HOFFMAN."

COMMUNICATIONS.

San Diego, Calif., May 20, 1909.

Pres. H. F. McMahon, Anti-Jap Laundry League, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir:

We, the Laundrymen of San Diego, Calif., desire to thank you for your kind invitation bearing date of May 3rd, 1909, to attend the White Laundrymen's Convention to be held in your city May 9th, relative to Asiatic Competition.

You certainly have our hearty approval of the work you have undertaken and as a whole we stand firm in the interest of the American Laundrymen.

Should financial aid at any time be required, remember that the laundrymen of San Diego will gladly contribute to your just and good cause.

Yours for protection.

(Signed) THE SANITARY LAUNDRY CO., By J. C. Hocker,
Pres. & Genl. Mgr.

I X L LAUNDRY, E. W. Anderson, Prop.

SAN DIEGO STEAM LAUNDRY, Anderson Bros.

ELECTRIC LAUNDRY CO., J. Lee Cathcart.

NEW MODEL LAUNDRY CO., Nelson Snyder.

The Chair: We will now proceed with the Reports of Leagues, and I now call upon the Alameda County Anti-Japanese Laundry League.

REPORT OF ALAMEDA COUNTY ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.

Delegate H. A. Ougertt: Mr. President, as per your request, I herewith submit the report of Mr. Borchert, Secretary of our League in Alameda County:

Oakland, Cal., May 8, 1909.

Gentlemen:

I herewith submit the statistics gathered by me in reference to the League work in Alameda County between the first day of October, 1908, and May 3rd, 1909. During this period there has been an increase in the number of Japanese laundries from fourteen to twenty. The new laundries, however, being all very small establishments. During this time we have employed almost continuously three outside men, known as "Riders," whose duty it is to keep track of the customers of the different Japanese laundries and furnish us with the names and occupations of such customers. Our lists show in all that time that the Japanese laundries have had a patronage of about 2,500 and by means of personal letters which we have sent out to different people, copies of which are hereto attached, we have succeeded in reducing the number almost 25%. The expense attached to conducting our work during this period amounts to \$2342.23, but of necessity our initial expense was greater than it will be hereafter, as by this time we have started our educational system with the people, and do not anticipate having much further hard work in convincing the majority of the people still patronizing the Japanese Laundries of the merits of our movement and the injustice they are doing themselves and the white working people in general, should they persist in dealing with the Japanese.

The letters which I have referred to before, and which follow this letter, will, I think, fully explain the means we have taken and the manner in which we have accomplished our work, so it will not be necessary for me to cause a repetition of the facts which will fully appear.

Before closing, I would say that out of the twenty-five per cent which would amount to about six hundred customers, at least five hundred have handed their work over to the white laundries, and even allowing each of these customers, would only have the minimum amount of laundry each month, to wit: the amount of \$1.00; our work means that we have delivered into the white laundries and diverted from the Japanese laundries not less than \$500.00 per month, or, figuring from October, 1908, to May 3rd, 1909, \$3,500.00. In other words, by an expenditure of \$2342.23 we have succeeded in the initial and hardest part of our work in saving and gaining for the white laundries \$3,500 worth of work.

Very truly yours,

C. W. BORCHERT, Secretary.

REPORT OF DELEGATE J. V. MORAN, VALLEJO ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.

Mr. President, and delegates to the Convention:

I received a letter a few days ago from your business secretary requesting that I be prepared to submit a report as to the work done and results obtained since agitation in Vallejo. When our League was organized some six months ago, there were two Japanese laundries in Vallejo, working full time, with an ever-increasing patronage, while the white laundries were experiencing a period of depression, loss of business, and the consequent reduction in the number of employees. The assistance of the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council, and of other labor organizations was sought and granted. A vigorous campaign was then instituted; circulars were issued, calling upon the people to maintain the white standard of this country, and a personal canvass was made wherever possible. To the labor organizations of our city we owe our deep gratitude for the able assistance that they have given us. The

wagons and locating the patrons of the Japanese, and then when the parties were located a system of correspondence had been adopted, and the lady or gentleman communicated with, was urged not to patronize Orientals, to the exclusion of whites. In addition to that custom, the columns of the press, bill boards, stickers and all lines of publicity were indulged in, to the extent that most excellent results had been obtained.

The Chair instructed the Secretary to furnish copies of circular letters and submit the same to the other Leagues so that they could use the same or draft similar letters and mail them to the Japanese patrons in their respective cities.

TRADE RELATIONS.

The Chair then called upon Delegate James Jordan to submit the report of the Committee on Trade Relations, which was as follows:

"San Francisco, May 9, 1909.

To the Delegates of the Anti-Jap Laundry League Convention:

Your committee on trade relations beg leave to submit the following report:

Since your last convention the several firms of San Francisco and vicinity have given your League their strong support, and we hope for a continuance of same. The Japanese laundries of the city are still receiving supplies, but from what source we are unable to state at this time. In reference to the Red Star Laundry of San Jose, your committee asks for further time for investigation.

In conclusion, we recommend that all persons who buy laundry supplies be requested to encourage and help those who are morally supporting this League.

Respectfully submitted,

D. J. GORMAN,
JAS. JORDAN,
C. M. WHITE,
Committee.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted and the recommendations concurred in.

Delegate Jordan stated, in behalf of his committee, that there was not a house in San Francisco supplying Japanese with material, and, as stated in the report, they had received most hearty support and co-operation from that source.

Mr. Neal, representing the supply houses, on being called upon, stated that he did not know anything more to add to what Mr. Jordan and his colleagues had already stated in their report. That they had never been approached by Japanese and had never solicited their patronage, and, in behalf of his people, desired to say that they would continue to maintain and give their moral support and help to the Anti-Jap Laundry League in every possible way.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions No. 1, Introduced by Miss Carrie Parmer, of San Francisco

Whereas, The Asiatic Exclusion League has carried on lectures, mass meetings and conventions, in an endeavor to educate the people on the question of Asiatic Exclusion; and

Whereas, The Asiatic Exclusion League have carried on an active agitation, through personal representatives and literature, for the enactment of a National Exclusion Law; and

Whereas, Bills were introduced (through the efforts of the Asiatic Exclusion League) in the last session of the California Legislature, which

brought the question as a national issue before the people of the United States; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of the Anti-Laundry League of the Pacific Coast, in convention assembled, do endorse the policies carried out by the Asiatic Exclusion League of San Francisco, and urge that the same policies be followed in the future; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our co-operation and moral support at all times to the Asiatic Exclusion League of San Francisco.

Resolution No. 2, Introduced by T. R. Angove, of San Francisco.

Whereas, The Laundry interests of our entire Coast have perhaps felt the ill effect of the blight of Japanese competition to a greater extent than any other industrial branch, it is a self-evident fact to even the most casual observer that the Japanese are rapidly invading many other branches of our industrial field, such as dyeing and cleaning, tailoring, garment-making, etc., thereby depriving a large number of our wage earners, especially women and girls, of their chosen means of earning a living; and

Whereas, Oriental standards of living are such as to enable the Jap to exist upon a wage that no home-loving American could justifiably accept—thus demonstrating the urgent need of energetic action being taken as a means of self-preservation upon the part of those most directly and severely affected on account of the dangers menacing their business welfare by this unfair Oriental competition; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the judgment of this Convention that every interest thus affected,—business men, employers, wage earners, and those who are in sympathy with such a movement, band themselves together in a united effort towards educating the general public as to the dangers menacing the industrial welfare and business prosperity of our entire Coast.

Resolved, That such a movement be organized, and that ways and means be here devised whereby other crafts may co-operate, contribute and work together towards the desired end, viz: educate the people not to patronize or employ Japanese.

Resolution No. 3, Introduced by D. J. Gorman, of San Francisco.

Whereas, The people of the Western States are endeavoring through legislative enactment to curtail the encroachments of the Asiatics upon our industrial field, and to protect our children from contamination of the Japanese in our public schools; and

Whereas, We hold it to be one of the sovereign rights of our State to legislate in these matters without dictation or intimidation from the Executive Branch of our Federal Government; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention goes on record as deploring the late interference of Federal authorities in these affairs that are outside of their jurisdiction; and be it further

Resolved, That we unsparingly condemn the action of our State law-makers, who during the last session of our Legislature, deserted their colors, violated their ante-election pledges, and surrendered to the demands of the Nippon government; and be it further

Resolved, That we advise the friends and sympathizers of the WHITE MAN'S CAUSE to keep tab on said legislators who have betrayed our interests, and to work for their defeat should they again aspire for office in the gift of the people.

Resolution No. 4, Introduced by Charles Dowling of San Francisco.

Whereas, The various organizations affiliated with the Anti-Japanese Laundry League have, for the last two months, been combating the awful danger which, in the shape of an appalling Japanese immigration, confronts

and threatens, not only the members of these organizations, but also the entire population of the western coast; and

Whereas, The paramount question on the western slope of the United States to-day—the question to which the West is awake—is whether or not the people of the Pacific Slope shall pave the way for a yellow population in their fair land that would rival in size and danger the black population of the South; and

Whereas, The press, and especially the press of San Francisco and vicinity, has exerted this influence in support of the Anti-Japanese movement, and has thereby gained for said movement countless numbers of ardent supporters; and

Whereas, The press has always ably assisted the organizations affiliated with the Anti-Japanese Laundry League in awakening the people of the Pacific Slope to a clear realization of what must be done if we are to preserve these Western shores of America as a soil for the white race; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to this Pacific Coast Anti-Japanese Laundry Convention, in meeting assembled, unanimously and most heartily thank the press, and especially the press of San Francisco for its liberal support in this matter; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread in full upon the minutes of this convention, and that a copy be sent to each of the daily papers.

Resolution No. 5, Introduced by O. Anderson, E. A. Sprague and C. Dowling.

Whereas, We hold that the interest of our campaign can be best served by steering clear of political entanglements and avoid engaging in partisan politics, and remaining on friendly terms with ALL political parties who are favorably disposed toward our cause; therefore be it

Resolved, That it be the sense of the Anti-Jap Laundry League to recommend to the various political conventions to insert a plank in their respective platforms endorsing the purposes of our movement.

Resolution No. 6, Introduced by E. A. Sprague, Chas. Dowling and O. Anderson.

Resolved, That the Anti-Japanese Laundry League of San Francisco hereby re-affirms its original policy of absolutely refraining from engaging in partisan politics, and that we continue to labor steadfastly and zealously with but one object in view, namely, the preservation of the western slope as a soil for the white race.

Resolution No. 7, Introduced by James Jordan and Alfred S. Edwards.

Whereas, The members of the Committee on Trade Relations, acting on behalf of the Anti-Japanese League, have received the unqualified support of all the firms engaged in furnishing supplies to the laundries in San Francisco and throughout the entire State of California; and

Whereas, Your committee are of the opinion that this convention should in some way show their appreciation of the assistance they have received; therefore be it

Resolved, That a vote of thanks be tendered to the hereinbefore mentioned firms for their hearty co-operation in our fight against Oriental labor and a copy of same be forwarded to the persons mentioned.

Resolution No. 8, Introduced by James Jordan and Alfred S. Edwards.

Whereas, From the reports rendered by representatives from the interior of the State, who have stated that no progress has been made in their differ-

ent localities, principally through lack of knowledge as to what steps should be taken to accomplish the objects of the Anti-Japanese League; therefore be it

Resolved, That a committee on organization be appointed to visit and organize branches of the League throughout the State, wherever necessary, particularly in Sacramento, Stockton, San Jose and such other communities as are in need of assistance.

The above resolutions were all referred to the Committee on Resolutions, the Chair instructing the committee to be prepared to submit their report at the afternoon session. The Chair also instructed the Finance Committee to bring in some recommendations for devising ways and means for defraying the expense of the convention and the future work of the League. A short discussion took place in an informal way, and several suggestions were made of which the Chair instructed the committee to take note.

By motion, unanimously concurred in by the delegates present, the meeting adjourned until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

President McMahon called the meeting to order at 2:45 p. m. A recess of a few minutes was then taken so that the delegates could sit for the photographer.

Credentials.

Among those present at the afternoon session in addition to those mentioned in the morning report were:

Berkley—H. C. Kasteens (visitor).

Fruitvale—S. P. Alfred.

Oakland—F. W. Pratt.

Wyandotte, Mich.—J. O. Albrecht.

Redwood City—J. K. Nelson.

San Jose—Fred W. Brandis.

San Rafael—J. F. Fargue.

San Francisco—T. A. Simpson, Mr. Hauret, A. Birsinger, T. J. Thompson, W. R. Cammack, A. C. Snellgrove, H. B. Myers, Geo. W. Bowling, L. Loustau, H. F. Bailer, C. F. Kirkham, J. F. Wilken, N. Moran, H. Korts, A. J. Hautt, Eugene Pratt, H. W. Winkelmann, H. Odell, B. Kahen, C. Scheffell, Mr. Farrere, F. L. Wilheler, F. Anderson, E. Ireland, H. Borton, Patek & Co., W. Eisenstein, E. Flatley, Fred H. Bchsen, Mr. Manurseigove, W. E. Terry, P. Oxendine, J. Hummell, J. W. Spencer, A. H. Bierman, Mr. Mamas, H. F. Floyd, Bert Richie, J. W. Colleary, J. W. Rufner, J. J. Hayes, M. Tierney, H. Herrick.

The credentials were received, and the delegates on motion seated.

The Chair: The first order of business this afternoon is the matter submitted by the Marin County League in reference to the adoption of a card bearing the words "We do not employ or patronize Asiatics." As there seems to be a unanimity of feeling in this matter, I would suggest that you make a motion at once, so that the question may be properly brought before this convention.

Delegate Anderson: Mr. President, I think the proposition as presented by Marin County is a good one, and I feel that it will result in much good to our movement; without further remarks, I therefore move you, sir, the adoption of the recommendation made by our sister League, with instructions that our Secretary proceed at once and have these cards printed in a suitable form and given proper distribution.

The Chair: You have heard the motion. Are there any objections? Hearing none, I now declare the motion carried. Mr. Secretary, you will take note and proceed at once.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. President: Your committee begs leave to report that after careful consideration we recommend Resolution No. 2, introduced by T. R. Angove, for adoption.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA.

There being no further discussion on the resolution, it was regularly moved and seconded that the report of the committee on Resolution No. 2 be adopted. Carried unanimously.

Mr. Angove: Mr. President, I move you that a committee of three be immediately appointed to carry out the purport of the resolution.

The Chair: If there are no objections, it is so ordered. I shall appoint on that committee, Mr. J. Stein, Wm. E. Terry and Mr. T. R. Angove, the mover of the resolution. Any further reports from the Committee on Resolutions?

Yes, Mr. President. Resolution No. 1, introduced by Miss Carrie Parmer of the Laundry Workers Union No. 26, commending the Asiatic Exclusion League for their activity and their efforts on the bills introduced in the last session of the California Legislature, and further pledging our co-operation and support at all times. We beg to report the adoption of the resolution.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

On motion, seconded by several delegates, the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

The Chair: I would suggest to the Committee on Resolutions that they submit their reports by referring to the resolutions by title only. Are there any objections? Hearing none, the committee will proceed with their report.

Resolution No. 3, introduced by D. J. Gorman, of San Francisco, condemning the action of our State law makers who during the last session of our State Legislature violated their ante-election pledges and surrendered to the demands of the Nipponese government, and advising friends and sympathizers of the Anti-Japanese League to keep in mind such men who betrayed our interests, and work for their defeat at the polls should they again aspire for office.

We, your Committee on Resolutions, recommend the adoption of the above resolution.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 4, introduced by Chas. Dowling, expressing thanks and appreciation to the press for the publicity given the movement.

We, your Committee on Resolutions, recommend the same for adoption.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

Resolution No. 5, introduced by Olaf Anderson, E. A. Sprague and Chas. Dowling, of San Francisco, Cal.:

May 9, 1909.

Whereas, We hold that the interest of our campaign can best be served by steering clear of political entanglements, and avoid engaging in partisan politics by remaining on friendly terms with all political parties who are favorably disposed toward our cause; therefore be it

Resolved, That it be the sense of the Anti-Jap Laundry League of the Pacific Coast to recommend to the various political conventions to insert a plank in their respective platforms endorsing the purposes of our movement.

We, your Committee on Resolutions, beg leave to report that we have duly considered the same, and would recommend its adoption.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

On motion, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 6, introduced by E. A. Sprague, Chas. Dowling and Olaf Anderson, relative to the Anti-Japanese Laundry League re-affirming its original policy of absolutely refraining from engaging in partisan politics, etc.

We, your Committee on Resolutions, to whom this resolution was referred, recommend the same for adoption.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

On motion, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 7, introduced by Chas. Jordan and Alfred S. Edwards requesting that a vote of thanks be tendered to all firms engaged in furnishing supplies to the laundries of San Francisco and adjacent cities, for their hearty co-operation in the fight against cheap Oriental labor, etc.

We, your Committee to whom this resolution was referred, recommend that the same be adopted.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

The recommendation of the committee was by motion carried.

Resolution No. 8, introduced by Mr. James Jordan and Alfred S. Edwards, requesting that a committee on organization be appointed to visit and organize Branch Leagues throughout the State, wherever necessary, particularly the cities of Sacramento, Stockton and San Jose, and such other towns that are in need of immediate assistance.

Your Committee on Resolutions, having given the above consideration, recommend the same for approval.

CHAS. DOWLING,
H. A. McKENNA,
Committee.

The Chair: Delegates, I feel that the time is opportune when we should concentrate all our interests in one grand body, so that we may have a good fighting force with which to combat this, unequal competition of the cheap Asiatic.

Since organization we have not only reduced in a great measure the number of white patrons of the Japanese laundries, but we have prevented any new laundries from being started, and many regrets have been expressed that this League did not begin operations some years ago. We have been enlarging our organization and have successfully extended the same to many outside towns with good results.

This resolution is primarily the reason why our convention has been

called to-day. Delegates from various organizations, representing the business people and civic organizations, are here, and if there are no objections we will call upon our visitors to participate in this discussion for the edification of our visiting delegates who have not been thoroughly acquainted with this grave and serious subject.

The President then called upon the Business Secretary to again read the report of the San Francisco League for the benefit of a large number of new delegates who had just been seated.

Business Secretary Hurst again read the report, which was enthusiastically received.

The Chair: Thus, delegates, you may see by the report just read that we have been very active, pursuing our work with a will, taking issue in every manner with the people who patronize and do business with these cheap Orientals, as we hold it to be unfair for a business man, who, on the one hand gathers in our dollars over his counters, and on the other hand turns us away from his doors, showing preference to the cheap Asiatic, who contributes comparatively nothing towards his (the business man's) subsistence.

Delegates, we have with us to-day, representatives of the Asiatic Exclusion League, an organization of wide influence and of an international character. This organization, delegates and friends, has been of great assistance to us, and to-day is disseminating tons of literature throughout the entire country, for the purpose of educating the people who are not familiar with our subject on the great danger that menaces our beloved country by an unrestricted influx of the coolie hordes of Asia. I now have the honor and pleasure of introducing to you Mr. George B. Benham, chairman of the Publicity Committee of the Asiatic Exclusion League.

Mr. Benham said in part: Mr. President, Officers and Members of the League, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is well for those interested in the Exclusion cause that every effort be made to not only discourage the further invasion of our shores by Asiatics, but that those already here be given to understand that they are not an acceptable element among our people.

While there are many objections offered both to exclusion of Asiatics, and against the discouragement of those that are here, none of the arguments advanced seem to stand the test of logical analysis. Because we do not wish the Yellow and Brown men among us, we are told that we are unkind, un-Christian and un-American.

When we know that the presence of Asiatics has a tendency to lower the morals and increase the misery of our own people, can it be logically said that it is unkind for us to look after the interests of those who are near and dear to us?

We are told that our efforts are un-Christian, but the history of the world shows that the advocates of the Christian religion were never slow in using every means in their power, even to the drawing of the sword in defense of their belief, as against other races imbued with other beliefs.

Can it be said that we are un-American in our efforts? Through the energetic efforts of the white people, the natural resources of the United States have been developed; the inventions of our people have enabled us to build up the most prosperous and wealthiest nation in the world.

Can it be said that we are working in an un-American way when we are attempting to maintain the interests of the greatest nation upon American soil? If I know what "American" means in connection with this country, it is to use every effort favorable to the maintenance of the standards of living, the protection of the natural resources, and of the rights and duties of citizenship.

From the progress made by our movement in infancy, we may well believe that the trivial and frivolous reasons advanced by the opposition to this movement will be swept aside by the recent tide of popular opinion favorable

to the protection of the white man in this country from the industrial and national standpoints, as well as from the contamination wrought by association of alien races.

Mr. Benham favored the resolution for the extension of the work and wished the League every success.

T. R. Angove: Friends and delegates, we have with us to-day a friend of our movement, who has traveled extensively throughout the Orient, was formerly a school director in our city, and for the past few years a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands—Dr. McKay. Dr. McKay said in part:

I never attended one of your meetings before, but for years I have been interested in the wage earners of San Francisco. I am also familiar with industrial conditions, and with the workings of the present city administration, and its attitude towards the plain people. It is to be regretted that they have not lived up to their promises by giving the people the "good government" that they have so often talked about.

I believe this League has had experience with the present administration on the question of licensing Japanese, which is contrary to law. While my remarks may not meet with the approval of some here, yet they have a great deal to do with this important question, and I say to you working men that it is your duty to maintain the principles of your organization, regardless of who represents you, so long as that person represents the principles established by organized labor, and in order to have that protection on the lines just indicated, it is your undying duty to voice your sentiments in the affirmative by the ballot.

While working in the Hawaiian Islands I had an excellent opportunity to learn something of the methods employed by plantation owners (some of whom are residents of your city) in the sugar industry. In their desire for cheap labor and high dividends, they introduced cheap Japanese labor into the Islands, and as a result the Pacific Coast is now reaping the harvest of the seed that these few gentlemen sowed.

I heard your Committee on Supplies ask a question as to where the supplies were coming from. Well, I want to say that a Chicago firm has its agents in the Orient who are shipping starch and other laundry supplies into Oakland via Mexico, and this firm is acting under orders from an institution well known for its antipathy towards Organized Labor; I mean the Citizens' Alliance.

It is to be deplored that our society women prefer to take the Japanese into their homes and educate them as cooks, with the privilege of going to school during the day, rather than to employ good, honest, deserving white girls and women; however, the day is not far distant when the great masses of our people will deliver a severe rebuke to that class of people who degrade our white domestics by employing the cheap Asiatic coolie instead.

Dr. McKay is well known, not only in San Francisco, but throughout the United States. She was at one time School Inspector and Inspector of Tenement Houses in San Francisco. For many years she was a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands, and during the Spanish-American war did efficient service as surgeon in the Philippines.

The President then introduced Delegate Brandis of San Jose. Mr. Brandis reported interestingly on the conditions existing in San Jose and vicinity, and said that the Asiatic Exclusion League of Santa Clara County, a branch of the mother organization in San Francisco, was organized primarily for the purpose indicated by its name, and since organization had met with great success.

Mr. Brandis stated that before the League was instituted, every saloon, restaurant and lodging house in the City of San Jose employed Japanese and other Orientals, but that now there were practically no Japanese employed in such places; that white labor is now most extensively used in the ranches;

of European immigrants at that time was what made possible the development of this country which we now enjoy. The men that came from Europe and are now coming from Europe, are those that can be absorbed into the body politic, are cognizant of our laws, soon become acquainted with our customs and become a part of our own people. They thus establish relations between themselves and others who were on this soil when they came—relations which cannot be duplicated or imitated with any degree of success by Asiatic immigrants.

The Asiatic is separated from us by racial and social characteristics. He is barred from participation in public affairs by the laws of the land.

The fact that the natural resources of this country are rich and productive affords no excuse for their being turned over to incoming peoples of an undesirable character, and the introduction of cheap labor is more likely to assist in the concentration of ownership of natural resources in the machinery of production in the hands of the few.

The question of the operation of Natural Law is one of the most abstruse which can be brought into a public discussion. It is sufficient to say that the statement that "natural law cannot be repealed by statute law" is at least misleading.

Under the laws of nature, man, at best, lived in caves and was clothed with the skins of wild animals; through the establishment of man-made laws, man lives in houses, and society protects him in that form of residence. He is clothed according to the customs of the times, from which he may not very considerably depart without calling the law down on his head. The whole progress of mankind has been dependent upon the defeat of natural laws and the upbuilding of artificial arrangements, habits, customs, usages and laws in society. It is human nature to get the things needed with the least possible exertion. The law of self-preservation is the first law of nature, and in that respect is strongly in evidence in every form of social life.

It is for the reason that the white people desire to preserve their interest in this country that they are opposed to the incoming of Asiatics.

The competition of the Asiatics will send many of our working people to their competitive graves, and the movement in that direction will be accelerated by any neglect on our part for our own protection and self-preservation on our own soil. Whatever progress the white race has made in this world has been the only progress worthy of consideration for thousands of years. That progress has been made only where the presence of leisure was known. The margin of leisure in society, to a great extent, regulates the intellectual and physical condition of the people. Through their intelligent action and organization the working people in civilized countries have considerably added to their leisure. The introduction or toleration of cheap and servile labor has only a tendency to make it more difficult for wealth-producers to gain for themselves the leisure necessary for their advancement.

Can anyone believe the statement that it is necessary to have Asiatic labor in order that the white man's enterprise be aroused? No more enterprising or industrious people ever existed in the world than the people who settled on this soil during the early history of this country. Are we to believe the colonists resisted Great Britain because of some peculiar influence of Asiatics or other cheap labor? The fact that the Asiatic cannot vote in this country is an argument against his presence instead of in favor of it. Because by the establishment of an unassimilable and non-political element in our midst, we are laying the foundation of the establishment of a permanent caste distinction, and the maintenance of a servile class. And this will establish wide race differences.

Unquestionably, capitalists, either white man or Oriental, will continue the establishing of manufacturing industries in the Orient. It will be our duty to protect ourselves as well against the products of that labor on other soil, as against the presence and production of Asiatic labor upon our own soil.

If there be any reason or argument favorable to the presence of Asiatics

on this soil, none have ever been advanced, except in the interest of sickly sentimentalists, great transportation companies and those who desire the establishment of a reservoir of cheap labor in this country for the benefit of a few capitalists, and detrimental to the great mass of our people.

On motion, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Chair appointed the following special Committee on Organization: W. Warner, H. Dubecker and Jas. Chironi, of Sacramento.

H. A. McKenna, Chas. Southgate and Jno. F. Mechlin, of San Jose.

Phoebe Smith, of Palo Alto.

A. S. Edwards, of San Rafael.

Mr. Thom, of Stockton.

Roy Hoffman, of Oxnard.

C. M. White, of Reno.

Geo. Krimphoff, D. J. Gorman, J. Fitzgerald and E. A. Sprague, of San Francisco.

The Chair: I now call upon Delegate Anderson to render the report of the Finance Committee.

Delegate Anderson: Mr. Chairman, and Delegates to the Convention:— I have the honor to submit the report of your Finance Committee, and in so doing desire to state that the expenses of this meeting will amount to \$124.99, and inasmuch as the San Francisco League stood the expense of the convention last winter, which was much heavier, we recommend for your favorable consideration that a just proportion of the expense of this convention be apportioned to each branch League, and that the same be based on the pro rata of laundries in their respective localities.

On motion, unanimously concurred in by the convention, the report of the Finance Committee, together with the recommendations therein contained, were adopted.

Delegate Anderson: Mr. Chairman, in passing Resolution No. 8 I noticed that it is the purpose of the League to visit localities where agitation and assistance are needed for the purpose of extending our organization. This kind of work takes money and takes time, and in my opinion some provisions ought to be made for meeting such expenses. I merely speak of this so that it may be brought to the attention of the convention, and I trust some action will be taken to insure this much needed future expense.

The Chair: I want to say, Delegate Anderson, and delegates to the convention, that inasmuch as the Committee on Organization, which I have just appointed, is quite a large one, I believe they, in conjunction with the Finance Committee, will be able to devise way and means for raising the necessary funds for such purposes, and if there are no objections that matter will be referred to those committees.

Delegate Angove: Mr. Chairman. It is now near the hour of adjournment, and I believe some action should be taken in reference to the holding of future conventions, and therefore move you that the time and place of the next convention be referred to the executive officers of the Coast League. The motion was unanimously adopted.

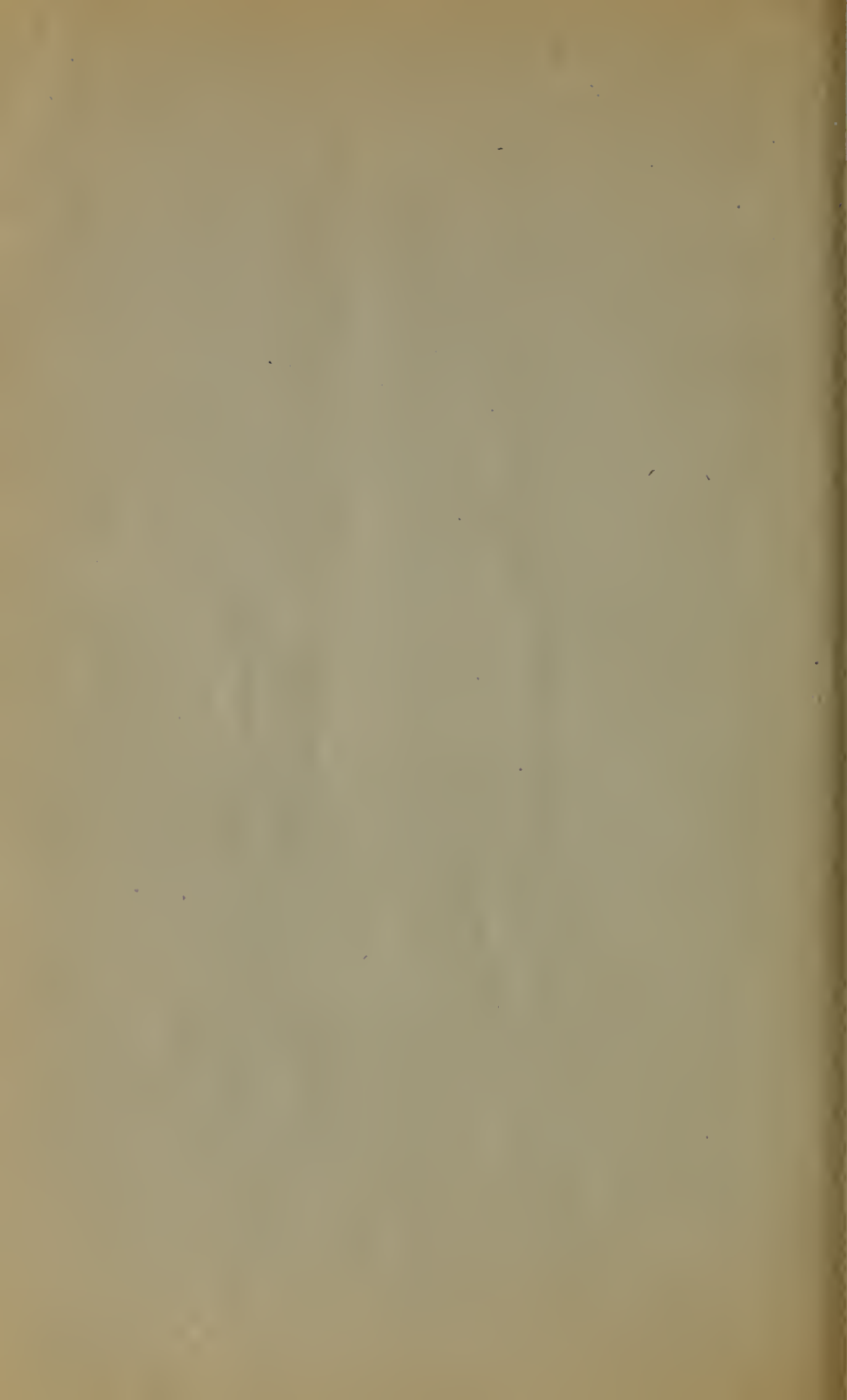
The Chair: Delegates, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I desire to express my sincere appreciation and thanks for your presence here this afternoon, and desire also to thank the officers and members for their loyalty and support, which has made the work a pleasant task, and undoubtedly the success of the Anti-Jap Laundry League of the Pacific Coast.

On motion, the convention adjourned sine die, at the hour of five o'clock and forty-five minutes p. m., Sunday, May 9, 1909, the delegates rising to their feet, expressing congratulations and well wishes, and departed.

Respectfully submitted,

R. J. SULSBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.





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**Statistics Relative
To
Japanese Immigration
And
The Japanese in California.**

Japanese Association of America

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1909.....	2,432	5,004
1910.....	2,598	5,024
1911.....	4,285	5,869
1912.....	5,358	5,437
1913.....	6,771	5,647
1914.....	8,462	6,300
1915.....	9,029	5,967
1916.....	9,100	6,922
1917.....	9,150	6,581
1918.....	11,143	7,191

Note: The decline of figures in 1909 is the result of the working of the "gentlemen's agreement." The "gentlemen's agreement" admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives, and children of residents, and (3) settled agriculturists. This is, of course, in addition to non-laboring Japanese, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, students, etc., who are free to come.

Increase of Japanese arrivals in the past several years is due to these facts:

(1) Due to the war Japanese officials, business men, etc., going to Europe, have passed through the United States. The figures for such Japanese must be twice the actual number, because they are counted once at Pacific ports upon arrival of those Japanese from Japan, and counted again at Atlantic ports upon their return there from Europe.

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(3) The enormous increase of American Japanese trade by the war caused many Japanese firms to send agents to America and to establish branch offices and agencies in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and other leading American cities. Many of the office forces brought their families with them. These naturally increased Japanese arrivals.

In 1914 Japan imported from America \$54,000,000 worth of commodities. In 1918 this increased to \$275,000,000. In other words, Japanese purchases from America increased more than five-fold in five years. In the same period Japanese exports to America increased three times.

II

JAPANESE ARRIVALS CLASSIFIED INTO LABORERS AND NON-LABORERS

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION)

Year	Laborers	Non-Laborers
1909.....	675	1,757
1910.....	589	1,909
1911.....	726	3,556
1912.....	894	4,464
1913.....	1,371	5,400
1914.....	1,762	6,700
1915.....	2,214	6,815
1916.....	2,958	6,142
1917.....	2,838	6,321
1918.....	2,604	8,539

Note: The "gentlemen's agreement" prohibits the admission of "new" laborers from Japan, but admits Japanese of the following three classes, whether laborer or non-laborer: (1) Former residents, who return to America within 18 months following their departure from America. (2) Parents, wives and children of Japanese residing in America. (3) Japanese who have settled in America as agriculturists.

The Japanese Government, of course, makes it a rule not to issue passports to laborers other than those coming under the above classification. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a laborer from a non-laborer. The Japanese Government may issue a passport to a Japanese whom it believes, upon inquiry, to be a non-laborer, but in the judgment of the American immigration authorities, this same Japanese may be regarded as a laborer. Such cases are quite conceivable.

Many laborers in this table have departed for Japan, but figures for departing laborers are not obtainable, because the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration do not classify departures into laborers and non-laborers.

III

JAPANESE ARRIVALS TO CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED INTO MALES AND FEMALES

(REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION)

Year	Males	Females	Total
1909.....	1,777	867	2,644
1910.....	1,648	1,039	2,687
1911.....	2,377	1,905	4,282
1912.....	2,930	2,428	5,358
1913.....	4,012	2,759	6,771
1914.....	5,034	3,428	8,462
1915.....	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916.....	5,869	3,231	9,100
1917.....	5,833	3,326	9,159
1918.....	7,100	4,043	11,143

Note: The above figures include minors.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of these women are so-called "picture brides." In the next table (Table IV) figures are given for the "picture brides" who have entered the United States through the port of San Francisco. Figures for other ports are not obtainable.

The majority of these women are wives who married before their husbands left Japan to this country, and who, therefore, are not "picture brides."

IV

**JAPANESE WIVES (SO-CALLED PICTURE BRIDES)
ARRIVING PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO**

(COMPILED BY JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FROM THE RECORD OF THE
SAN FRANCISCO IMMIGRATION OFFICE)

Year	Number
1912.....	879
1913.....	625
1914.....	768
1915.....	823
1916.....	486
1917.....	504
1918.....	520
1919.....	465 568
Total	5,070 5,073

Note: When a man living in America desires to marry, but is prevented by various reasons to go home, he writes to his parents and asks them to find a suitable woman for his bride. The parents, following the usual customs and rules, fix on an eligible person. Then they intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on either side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, genealogy, health and education of the young man and woman. If this investigation proves satisfactory, both to the parents and to the prospective groom and bride, the man in America sends his photograph to the woman, and receives her photograph in exchange. This "interview" through photographs proving satisfactory to both parties, the nuptial knot is tied at a ceremonial dinner in which the groom, living in America, is naturally absent, but which is attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides. This done, the parents register the marriage with the proper authorities. This marriage has been regarded as valid both by the Japanese and American Governments. This practice is to be abolished after February 25, 1920.

TOTAL JAPANESE POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA

(FIGURES OBTAINED SEPTEMBER, 1918, BY JAPANESE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA)

Men	41,842
Women	12,232
Boys	7,877
Girls	7,031
	<hr/>
Total.....	68,982

VI

FARMING JAPANESE POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA

(FIGURES OBTAINED SEPTEMBER, 1918, BY THE JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA)

Farmers	7,973
Farmers' wives	4,560
Farmers' boys under 16 years.....	3,396
Farmers' girls under 16 years.....	3,114
Farm Hands	15,794
Farm Hands' wives.....	1,663
Farm Hands' boys under 16 years....	771
Farm Hands' girls under 16 years....	737
Total.....	38,008

Note: Japanese farm hands are paid \$4.50 to \$5.00 per day without board. White farm laborers work for \$3.50 to \$4.00 per day. This is one of the reasons why Japanese farmers, especially rice farmers, prefer white help to Japanese.

Both Japanese and white farm hands eat the same food at the same table.

Japanese farmers deal with local American banks and not with Japanese banks in San Francisco.

VII

LAND CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(FIGURES OBTAINED BY THE JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION
AT THE END OF 1918)

	No. of Farms	Acreage
Owned	527	29,105
Leased	5,936	336,721
Total.....	6,463	365,826

Note: In addition to this, there are a number of American corporations in which Japanese farmers have minor interests. The area cultivated by such corporations is estimated at about 13,000 acres, mostly rice fields and vineyards.

In most cases the Japanese take up lands avoided by white farmers as worthless or unprofitable. When the Japanese, by dint of their industry, intelligence, and efficiency, prove the worth of such lands the value and price of adjoining lands increases phenomenally. This has been the case at Livingston, Fresno, Florin and in Butte County.

VIII

FARMING SPECIALIZED BY JAPANESE

(COMPILED BY JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION
AT THE END OF 1918)

Product	Acreage by Japanese	Total Acreage by All	Per Cent of Japanese to Total Acreage
Berries	5,968	6,500	91.8
Celery	3,568	4,000	89.2
Asparagus	9,927	12,000	82.7
Seeds	15,847	20,000	79.2
Onions	9,251	12,112	76.3
Tomatoes	10,616	16,000	66.3
Cantaloupes	9,581	15,000	63.8
Sugar Beets	51,604	102,949	50.1
Green Vegetables....	17,852	75,000	23.8
Potatoes	18,830	90,175	20.8
Hops	1,260	8,000	15.7
Grapes	47,439	360,000	13.1
Beans	77,107	592,000	13.
Rice	16,640	106,220	10.16
Cotton	18,000	179,860	10.
Corn	7,845	85,000	9.2
Fruits and Nuts.....	29,210	715,000	4.
Hay and Grain.....	15,753	2,200,000	0.

Note: Figures for acreage cultivated by Japanese are obtained by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California. Figures for total acreage are obtained from the official reports of the State Board of Agriculture and of the California Development Board.

This table shows the fields specialized by Japanese farmers. They have taken up the kind of farming shunned by white farmers, such as berry, celery and asparagus cultures which requires stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming.

The percentage of Japanese acreage is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit, and nut culture, which does not require hard manual labor. In such fields white farmers are predominant.

The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the white farmers. The Japanese simply filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

IX

**NON-FARMING JAPANESE POPULATION
IN CALIFORNIA**

(FIGURES OBTAINED SEPTEMBER, 1918, BY THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION)

Men	18,075
Women	6,006
Boys	3,710
Girls	3,180
	<hr/>
Total.....	30,971

JAPANESE BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN CALIFORNIA

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Births	Deaths
1908.....	455	431
1909.....	682	450
1910.....	719	440
1911.....	995	472
1912.....	1,467	524
1913.....	2,215	613
1914.....	2,874	628
1915.....	3,342	663
1916.....	3,721	729
1917.....	4,108	910
Total.....	20,578	5,860

Note: This rate of increase in Japanese births is abnormal, and will soon decline. The sudden increase in 1912 is due to the fact that about that time Japanese men in California began to marry. Since then a majority of men who intended to marry, have married. Consequently in a few years the rate of increase in Japanese births from year to year will begin to decline. This point must be borne in mind in examining this and the following tables.

It is estimated by the Japanese Association of America that from 1908 to 1917 Japanese wives in California, including "picture brides," increased at a yearly average of 1,000, while the average yearly increase of Japanese births in the same period was 465. This shows that even at present the tendency is for decrease of births. According to the same estimate, the average age of Japanese adults is above 40. Within a few years, therefore, Japanese births will show marked decrease.

PERCENTAGE OF JAPANESE BIRTHS TO THE TOTAL BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF WHITE BIRTHS

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Percentage of Japanese Births to Total Births	Percentage of White Births to Total Births
1908.....	1.6	96.8
1909.....	2.2	96.3
1910.....	2.2	96.1
1911.....	2.9	96.5
1912.....	3.7	94.6
1913.....	5.5	93.2
1914.....	6.2	91.9
1915.....	6.9	91.3
1916.....	7.3	91.4
1917.....	7.8	90.6

JAPANESE BIRTHS COMPARED WITH WHITE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Total Births Including All Races	White Births	Japanese Births
1908.....	28,077	27,190	455
1909.....	30,882	29,736	682
1910.....	32,138	30,893	719
1911.....	34,426	33,245	995
1912.....	39,330	37,194	1,467
1913.....	43,852	40,864	2,215
1914.....	46,012	42,281	2,874
1915.....	48,075	43,874	3,342
1916.....	50,638	46,272	3,721
1917.....	52,230	47,314	4,108

XIII

**JAPANESE BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY
AND CITY**

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Japanese Births	Other Births
1908.....	114	6,182
1909.....	164	6,426
1910.....	175	7,322
1911.....	231	7,994
1912.....	355	9,852
1913.....	532	11,207
1914.....	717	11,398
1915.....	935	10,912
1916.....	1,146	11,010
1917.....	1,265	11,249

XIV

JAPANESE BIRTHS IN EIGHT COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (INCLUDING LOS ANGELES COUNTY)

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Japanese Births	White Births
1908.....	144	9,028
1909.....	201	9,518
1910.....	216	10,659
1911.....	302	11,841
1912.....	443	14,516
1913.....	683	16,769
1914.....	955	17,474
1915.....	1,231	18,014
1916.....	1,492	18,759
1917.....	1,642	19,182

AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED TO U. S. WAR LOANS BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE BY THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA)

First Loan.....	\$ 250,000
Second Loan.....	280,000
Third Loan.....	838,800
Fourth Loan.....	750,000
Fifth Loan.....	530,000
Total.....	
	\$2,648,800

Note: A very large percentage of Japanese in California have joined the American Red Cross, although figures of such Japanese are not obtainable. In Contra Costa County, for example, it is said that almost all Japanese families have become members of the Red Cross.

225,252

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STATISTICS

RELATIVE TO

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

Revised January, 1920

JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
444 BUSH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

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1912	5,358	5,437
1913	6,771	5,647
1914	8,462	6,300
1915	9,029	5,967
1916	9,100	6,922
1917	9,150	6,581
1918	11,143	7,691
1919	11,404	8,328

NOTE: The decline of figures in 1909 is the result of the working of the "gentlemen's agreement." The "gentlemen's agreement" admits (1) former residents of the United States, (2) parents, wives, and children of residents, and (3) settled agriculturists. This is, of course, in addition to non-laboring Japanese, such as diplomats, merchants, financiers, students, etc., who are free to come.

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1914	1,762	6,700
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1916	2,958	6,142
1917	2,838	6,321
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1915.....	5,542	3,487	9,029
1916.....	5,869	3,231	9,100
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1918.....	7,100	4,043	11,143
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NOTE: The above figures include minors.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of these women are so-called "picture brides." In the next table (Table IV) figures are given for the "picture brides" who have entered the United States through the port of San Francisco. Figures for other ports are not obtainable.

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IV

JAPANESE WIVES (SO-CALLED PICTURE BRIDES) ARRIVING PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

(COMPILED BY JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FROM THE RECORD OF THE
SAN FRANCISCO IMMIGRATION OFFICE)

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1916.....	486
1917.....	504
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1919.....	668
Total	
	5,273

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Men	41,842
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	<hr/>
Total	68,982

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Farmers' wives	4,560
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Farm Hands	15,794
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(COMPILED BY JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION
AT THE END OF 1918)

Product	Acreage by Japanese	Total Acreage by All	Per Cent of Japanese to Total Acreage
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Onions	9,251	12,112	76.3
Tomatoes	10,616	16,000	66.3
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NOTE: Figures for acreage cultivated by Japanese are obtained by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California. Figures for total acreage are obtained from the official reports of the State Board of Agriculture and of the California Development Board.

This table shows the fields specialized by Japanese farmers. They have taken up the kind of farming shunned by white farmers, such as berry, celery and asparagus cultures which requires stooping posture on the part of the workers. The Japanese, being comparatively short in stature, are particularly adapted to such farming.

The percentage of Japanese acreage is very small in such farming as grain, hay, corn, fruit, and nut culture, which does not require hard manual labor. In such fields American farmers are predominant.

The table shows that the Japanese farmers do not compete with the American farmers. The Japanese simply filled the gap created by the unwillingness of the other farmers to engage themselves in certain kinds of farming.

**NON-FARMING JAPANESE POPULATION
IN CALIFORNIA**

(FIGURES OBTAINED SEPTEMBER, 1918, BY THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION)

Men	18,075
Women	6,006
Boys under 16 years	3,710
Girls under 16 years	3,180
	<hr/>
Total	30,971

JAPANESE BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN CALIFORNIA

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Births	Deaths
1908	455	431
1909	682	450
1910	719	440
1911	995	472
1912	1,467	524
1913	2,215	613
1914	2,874	628
1915	3,342	663
1916	3,721	729
1917	4,108	910
Total	20,578	5,860

NOTE: This rate of increase in Japanese births is abnormal, and will soon decline. The sudden increase in 1912 is due to the fact that about that time Japanese men in California began to marry. Since then a majority of men who intended to marry, have married. Consequently in a few years the rate of increase in Japanese births from year to year will begin to decline. This point must be borne in mind in examining this and the following tables.

It is estimated by the Japanese Association of America that from 1908 to 1917 Japanese wives in California, including "picture brides," increased at a yearly average of 1,000, while the average yearly increase of Japanese births in the same period was 465. This shows that even at present the tendency is for decrease of births. According to the same estimate, the average age of Japanese adults is above 40. Within a few years, therefore, Japanese births will show marked decrease.

PERCENTAGE OF JAPANESE BIRTHS TO THE TOTAL BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF WHITE BIRTHS

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Percentage of Japanese Births to Total Births	Percentage of White Births to Total Births
1908	1.6	96.8
1909	2.2	96.3
1910	2.2	96.1
1911	2.9	96.5
1912	3.7	94.6
1913	5.5	93.2
1914	6.2	91.9
1915	6.9	91.3
1916	7.3	91.4
1917	7.8	90.6

JAPANESE BIRTHS COMPARED WITH WHITE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Total Births Including All races	White Births	Japanese Births
1908.....	28,077	27,190	455
1909.....	30,882	29,736	682
1910.....	32,138	30,893	719
1911.....	34,426	33,245	995
1912.....	39,330	37,194	1,467
1913.....	43,852	40,864	2,215
1914.....	46,012	42,281	2,874
1915.....	48,075	43,874	3,342
1916.....	50,638	46,272	3,721
1917.....	52,230	47,314	4,108

XIII

JAPANESE BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY AND CITY

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Japanese Births	Other Births
1908	114	6,182
1909	164	6,426
1910	175	7,322
1911	231	7,994
1912	355	9,852
1913	532	11,207
1914	717	11,398
1915	935	10,912
1916	1,146	11,010
1917	1,265	11,249

JAPANESE BIRTHS IN EIGHT COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (INCLUDING LOS ANGELES COUNTY)

(OFFICIAL FIGURES OF STATE BOARD OF HEALTH)

Year	Japanese Births	White Births
1908	144	9,028
1909	201	9,518
1910	216	10,659
1911	302	11,841
1912	443	14,516
1913	683	16,769
1914	955	17,474
1915	1,231	18,014
1916	1,492	18,759
1917	1,642	19,182

AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED TO U. S. WAR LOANS BY JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

(APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE BY THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA)

First Loan.....	\$	250,000
Second Loan.....		280,000
Third Loan.....		838,800
Fourth Loan.....		750,000
Fifth Loan.....		530,000
		\$2,648,800

NOTE: A very large percentage of Japanese in California have joined the American Red Cross, although figures of such Japanese are not obtainable. In Contra Costa County, for example, it is said that almost all Japanese families have become members of the Red Cross.

There were only few American-born Japanese old enough to join the American army during the war. As far as we are able to ascertain, about twenty Japanese enrolled in the army and were sent to the front.

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THE ATTITUDE OF ORGANIZED LABOR TOWARDS THE JAPANESE

BY

PAUL SCHARRENBERG

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Member of State Commission of Immigration
and Housing of California*



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The Attitude of Organized Labor towards the Japanese

By PAUL SCHARRENBERG

Secretary, California State Federation of Labor; Member of State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California

THE Oriental immigration problem has always been distinctively a California problem. For seventy years the working people of California have striven for legislation prohibiting the further immigration of Oriental laborers. Certain internationalists and intellectuals of various shades have expressed doubts about the wisdom of adopting an exclusion policy. Men and women whose occupations have brought them into direct contact with the Chinese or Japanese have never had but one opinion as to the significance of their admission. Whether in the mining camps of the early fifties, in the factories and workshops of the later periods of industrial development, or as tillers of the soil, we find the same bitter complaints of the evils of such competition.

If Californians had been able to legislate on the subject, the question would have been settled long before the Chinese had arrived in sufficient numbers to constitute a serious problem. However, under our system of government Congress claims exclusive right to regulate immigration, hence it was necessary to convince the nation before the desired relief could be obtained. This was not an easy task. The small minority within the state whose interests were opposed to re-

strictive legislation were greatly reinforced by the merchants of older states, who feared to jeopardize the rich trade of the Orient, and by idealists who were loth to recognize the world-old significance of race in the application of their theories of political and social equality. Only by the persistent and sustained effort of the working people of California first the state and then the nation have been converted to the policy of Chinese exclusion.

No sooner had the Chinese immigration problem been disposed of to the general satisfaction of Californians when the menace of unrestricted Japanese immigration came to the front with startling rapidity.

For two hundred and fifty years prior to the arrival of Commodore Perry, Japan had excluded all foreigners (barbarians) except a small number of Dutch traders who were, however, restricted to a small island. Commodore Perry anchored off Uraga on July 7, 1853. Five years later the first official treaty between the United States and Japan was signed to take effect on July 4, 1859.

Only thirty-three years later, in 1892, the American Federation of Labor Convention adopted resolutions demanding extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act so as to include Japanese. And

fifteen years after this demand was made, *i.e.*, in 1907, a so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" was arrived at through diplomatic negotiations where-by the Japanese Government agreed to keep laborers from America.

But the "Gentlemen's Agreement" has not been a solution of the problem. In California the demand for the exclusion of Japanese is more general and more pronounced today than ever before. Of course, the organized working people have been in the vanguard of this movement just as they led in the struggle for Chinese exclusion. Leadership in this respect does not mean hurling the most bricks. To the contrary, labor in California has severely frowned upon violent anti-Japanese manifestations. Although this is not generally known, it is a fact, nevertheless, that California trade-unionists have at all times made earnest efforts to eliminate the harsh, unpleasant features incident to such a campaign of propaganda.

There are many concrete examples to bear out this contention. But just one will suffice to illustrate the point. Two Japanese presented credentials as fraternal delegates to the annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor which met at Santa Rosa in 1915. The report of the Committee on Credentials made to said convention clearly sets forth California labor's attitude toward the workers in Japan and is quoted herewith:

There have been submitted to the Committee on Credentials two credentials for fraternal delegates from the Laborers' Friendly Society of Tokio, Japan, namely, B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu.

Your Committee has given careful consideration to the question of seating these men. It has been said that the Laborers' Friendly Society is not a bona fide trade-union. It has also been alleged that these two men are not representing the working people of Japan, but are rather agents of the

Japanese Government in a well planned campaign to weaken our immigration laws, etc.

Your Committee, however, has not been furnished with any evidence to substantiate the allegations referred to. We therefore recommend that both be seated without vote.

We have arrived at this conclusion (1) because the seating of these delegates in no way affects our attitude or modifies our demand for the exclusion of all Asiatic laborers from our shores; (2) because we believe it is in accordance with the spirit of International Unionism and to our own advantage to aid and encourage the working people in Japan to organize and better their conditions.

The Committee's report was adopted and the delegates seated. During the second day's session Delegate Suzuki read to the convention a carefully prepared paper. His address was made a part of the printed proceedings.

The same convention which extended every courtesy to the Japanese delegates did not fail, however, to reiterate the old demand for an extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act so as to bar all Asiatics. United States Senator Phelan took occasion shortly after the adjournment of said convention to write to the California State Federation of Labor intimating "that the Federation had been trapped into a false position."

This was denied in a circular letter sent out by the Executive Council of the Federation, reading in part as follows:

No, Senator, we have not modified our views upon the Japanese menace. We fully realize the danger of the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" and we are anxious to have enacted an exclusion law which will effectively and permanently bar these little brown men from our shores.

Our objection to the Japanese in California is not, as you so well know, based upon trivial or sentimental reasons. We object to them for economic reasons, we

know Californians can not compete with them and maintain an American standard of living. And we have been in hopes that our kind treatment of the two delegates from Japan, and our own efforts to have them understand fully and unequivocally that we have no grievance against the Japanese as long as they remain in Japan, might have a tendency to bring about a better understanding between the wage workers of Japan and the wage workers of America. If we have failed in this honest endeavor it will be no fault of ours. We have at least tried.

In labor circles there was considerable discussion upon the question throughout the year, but when Suzuki returned from Japan a year later he was again seated in the convention with only a few dissenting votes. At that time (October, 1916) Delegate Suzuki extended a formal invitation to the convention to send a fraternal delegate to the fifth anniversary of the Laborers' Friendly Society in Japan, to be held the following spring in Tokio.

The invitation was referred to a committee, and in due time the committee submitted the following report:

Upon invitation of the Japanese Fraternal Delegate to send a Representative to that Country, your committee submits the following resolution and recommends its approval:

Whereas, The organized labor movement of California and of America stands ever ready to assist the workers of every country, color and creed, to emancipate themselves from exploitation, and

Whereas, It has been necessary at times for the working class of this country to protect their standard of living by favoring the exclusion of foreign competition, in the spirit alone of imperative necessity and self-protection, and

Whereas, We have learned, with interest and gratification, that the workers of Japan are organizing into industrial unions for their own welfare; a movement we can endorse; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Seventeenth Annual

Convention of the California State Federation of Labor, that we give to Mr. Suzuki, the fraternal delegate from the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, our expression of good will and a message of hope and encouragement for a brighter future of the working class of his country; and be it further

Resolved, That, in assuming this position of a greater friendship between the workers of the East and the West, we must continue our unswerving stand upon exclusion until such time as immigration will not prove a menace to our own unions, our working people and our standard of living; and be it further

Resolved, That the question of sending a fraternal delegate from this body to the labor convention in Japan be referred to the Executive Council of this Federation, with the hope that a delegate can be selected to carry a message of good will and encouragement to the laboring class of Japan.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

In November of the same year Suzuki attended the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor which met at Baltimore. This convention was equally emphatic in defining the position of organized labor upon American-Japanese working-class relations, by the unanimous adoption of the following:

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled at Baltimore, Md., that we note with extreme pleasure and satisfaction the fact that the working people of Japan are organizing into unions and federated under the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan; that we bespeak for them and their movement all the success possible; that we recommend that the Executive Council continue its friendly office in an effort to be helpful to the organization of the workers of Japan in every way possible by correspondence, and that it send a message of fraternal greeting, good will and best wishes for the success of the movement to organize more thoroughly and practically the wage-workers of Japan to bring light in their work and their lives.

It had been hoped that the American Federation of Labor and the California State Federation of Labor would each send a fraternal delegate to the meeting in Japan but the international situation became more and more critical and finally resulted in America's entry in the war. That put an end to plans for developing a clearer understanding and promoting mutual good will between the workers in America and Japan.

Suzuki did not return as a fraternal delegate but since his last visit the workers of Japan have been represented at two international labor conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations and in each instance the Japanese representative gave an excellent account of himself.

M. Masumoto, Japan's labor delegate to the International Labor Conference held in Washington, during 1919, was a man with the courage of his convictions. Addressing the conference on November 27, Masumoto characterized his government as an autocracy which is the enemy of social justice. Pointing to the Japanese flag, he declared that under it "there is a police regulation whose aim is to interfere with the organization of labor." Describing what he termed the danger of extending to the Government of Japan special treatment, Masumoto said the industrial workers of Japan were mostly women and children, and that their lives approached almost that of slavery.

A second international labor conference was held at Genoa, Italy, in June and July, 1920, to consider the problems of seamen. Just prior to said conference representatives of the world's seamen held an opening meeting in Genoa for the purpose of comparing notes and, if possible, to agree upon a joint program for submission to the official international conference.

At both of these meetings the seafarers of Japan were represented by Ken Okasaki, an able, courageous and resourceful champion of those who go down to sea in ships.

It has been my good fortune to come in personal contact with all three of these Japanese labor representatives—Suzuki, Masumoto and Okasaki—and it is not stretching a point to assert that men of this type are truly a credit to the working people in Japan.

Through association with these three men, often under decidedly trying circumstances, it has become a fixed belief with me that American-Japanese relations can be adjusted on a basis entirely satisfactory to the working people in both nations. No claim is made that this can be done by professional diplomats. But a series of heart to heart talks between workers' representatives from America and Japan will accomplish wonders. In fact there will be scarcely any ground for disagreement after a perfectly frank exchange of views has taken place. Of course, there must be honesty of purpose and discussion without disguise.

Japanese and American diplomats have so beclouded the main issue that the average man who is not a member of the diplomats' union, and hence not versed in the fine points of that game, can not possibly follow the play.

For years we have been told that the Japanese are peevish because of the anti-Japanese campaign in California. But is it reasonable to assume that any Japanese duly acquainted with the immigration policy of Australia and Canada can have any grievance against California's efforts to similarly protect herself?

Can it be possible that any considerable number of Japanese, outside of diplomatic circles, will seriously claim certain rights for their countrymen in California when these "rights" have

been and are being denied by other countries closely allied with Japan?

Every well informed Japanese knows that certain groups of workers in Japan have time after time protested against the importation of Chinese coolies. Is it not a perfectly natural corollary that the working people of the Island empire, if duly informed, will not only understand but actually sympathize with the identical attitude of American workers?

Trained diplomats may answer "No." But here is one California trade-unionist who believes that the working people in Japan will give an entirely different reply.

To be sure, the case must be presented to them in its entirety and also in its true colors. As years go by this becomes more and more difficult because politicians and statesmen (so-called) are doing their utmost to make frank and manly discussions of the problem a virtual impossibility.

But it is not too late to start right now. The organized working people in some of the countries of Europe are

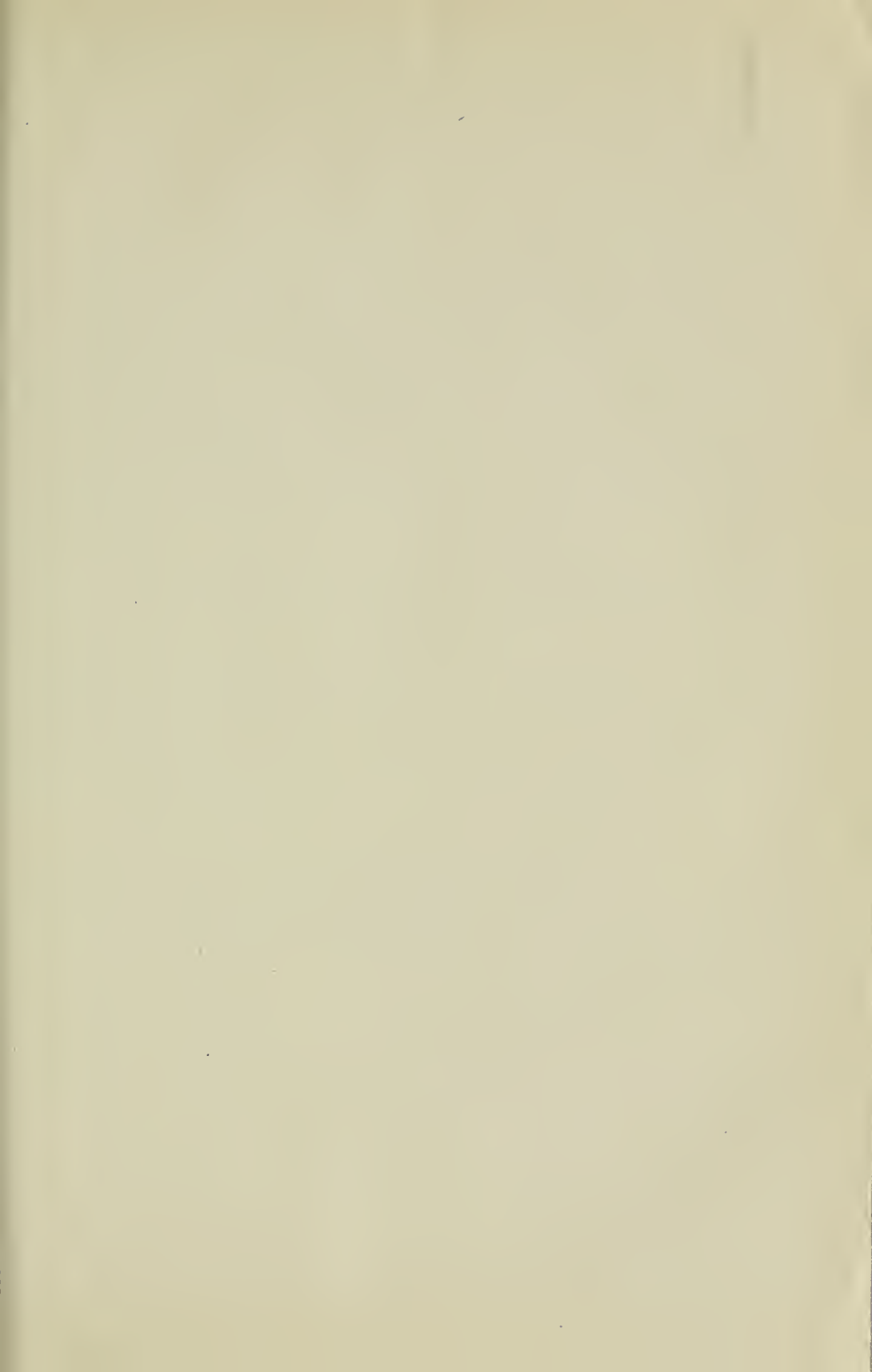
no longer content with old diplomatic usages. They have insisted and in several instances succeeded in securing recognition for men from the ranks of labor. It was not a question of getting government jobs for labor officials but rather the driving of labor's viewpoint, labor's thought and language, into the exclusive set who are labeled "trained diplomats."

So here's hoping that responsible forces will soon be at work:

1. To bring about an intelligent appreciation throughout America of the economic need for the exclusion of Japanese.

2. To map out a plan, open and above-board, whereby it will be possible to reach a thorough understanding between the workers in Japan and the workers of America.

3. To cause the appointment of an experienced and thoroughly representative labor man for service (as an adviser) at each of the principal American embassies, but in particular at our embassy in Tokio.



Labor Problems in Hawaii

A reprint of two articles
appearing in the September
and October issues of the
"American Federationist."

Does Hawaii Need Chinese? The Japanese in Hawaii

By PAUL SCHARRENBERG
San Francisco, California



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Does Hawaii Need Chinese?

Tourists have christened the Hawaiian Islands the "Paradise of the Pacific." And why not? With its mild, equable and comfortable climate, with its scenic wonders, its magnificent beaches, marvelous waterfalls, and last but not least, an active volcano, those enchanting islands with only 6,405 square miles of land, offer even to the jaded appetite something new, not to mention unsurpassed opportunity for rest and recreation.

But there is another side to the story. The Paradise of the Pacific has a serious labor problem. And that problem revolves around sugar. Everything that has to do with sugar—stocks, bonds, market quotations, planting, cultivating, harvesting, milling, transportation and foreign competition, it all comes back to the main issue, the labor question.

There was no labor problem in the Hawaiian Islands until the cultivation of sugar cane began on plantation scale. The first sugar mill was erected in 1835, at Koloa on the island of Kauai. The census of all the islands, taken by the Hawaiian government during the following year, showed a population of 108,579. As the sugar industry developed, the population seems to have decreased. At any rate, this process continued for about forty years, when the population of the islands had been reduced to less than 58,000. Thereafter the census figures began a steady climb, the 1920 census showing a population of 255,912.

The native Hawaiian population, however, has continued to decline. In 1853, 70,036, or 95.76 per cent of the total population, were Hawaiians. In 1920, only 23,723, or 9.3 per cent of the population, were Hawaiians.

A little research work easily revealed the successive steps taken in those years to tie labor to the sugar plantations. With their simple wants and their primitive mode of living, the natives could get along very well without the hard grind of toil in mill or plantation. There was a total absence of that economic pressure which in other less favored countries virtually compelled men, women and children to seek employment in field, factory or mine. So, as early as 1846, the minister of the interior of the Kingdom of Hawaii was authorized to seize vagrants and to apprentice them out for a term of not more than one year. Two-thirds of the wages were to be paid to the vagrant and one-third was to go to the

government. The master was permitted to use "coercive force" if the yagrant refused to work.

In 1850 it was made unlawful for a native of the islands to emigrate to California. At the same time the legislative assembly legalized two forms of labor contracts theretofore unknown in the islands, namely, (a) Apprenticeship, for boys and girls under 20; and (b) Indentured service, for any person over 20 years of age.

These contracts were harsh, unjust and entirely one-sided. They provided for "capture on desertion" and "imprisonment and hard labor until he will consent to serve according to contract." Strange to relate, the historians agree that these penal contract laws were "an adaptation of the American shipping law."

In fact, when in 1873, in the case of John H. Wood vs. Afo, the validity of this iniquitous contract labor system was attacked in the courts and carried for a final ruling to the Hawaiian Supreme Court, that august body said:

"This statute was enacted, of course, in reference to the business of the country. The productions of the country must be gathered and secured, or manufactured when secured, and if neglected, they deteriorate and are essentially damaged, and the law in question is designed to prevent persons from wilfully violating their contracts and doing damage to their employers. It is, in degree, as essential to the sugar planter that his employes should remain with him to perform the service as agreed upon during the crop, as it is for the seaman to remain on the ship during the voyage. A sugar plantation encounters as many adverse winds as a vessel, and is quite as likely to be endangered in crop time as a vessel is on a lee shore, when all hands are required. In many countries where labor is plenty and heavy advances are not necessary to procure laborers, this law is not necessary. But the legislature in their wisdom passed the law as applicable to the condition of affairs here."

Subsequent court decisions upheld this singular logic, and as late as 1892, the legislature reinforced the penalties for "desertion from service." Vested property rights came first—human freedom trailed behind.

Under these harsh laws, in force from 1850 to 1897, plantation labor became more and more restive, although the world was scoured for immigrants to replace those who had completed their "term of service" and moved to countries where conditions of service were less onerous.

It is duly recorded that up to the time of annexation in 1898, successive sessions of the Hawaiian legislature appropriated more than \$1,500,000 for the encouragement of immigration. By the expenditure of this sum, the following immigrants were brought to the islands:

Chinese	38,501
Japanese	68,417
Portuguese	10,926
South Sea Islanders	2,444
Germans	1,404
Galicians	372
Americans	14
Norwegians	615
Total	122,693

After annexation the sugar planters' labor problems became more difficult and complex. Under the laws of the United States, laborers could no longer be held "to their term of service." Moreover, the importation of laborers was automatically subjected to United States immigration regulations.

However, the sugar industry in due time adjusted itself to the new conditions. The sugar planters are well organized and they have always pulled together. By private subscriptions, collected through the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, thousands of dollars were raised "to encourage immigration." When the new federal immigration law of 1907 made it impossible for the association to continue paying the passage of immigrants, the territorial legislature, which appears to have been under the benign influence of the planters at all times, levied a tax on incomes. Three-quarters of the revenue from this tax was used to "encourage immigration."

The net result of the sugar planters' immigration policy since annexation may be seen at a glance in the following comparative table:

Racial Composition of Hawaii's Population, 1900 and 1920

The ratio heads in this compilation do not indicate the place of birth but refer only to race. For example, a majority of the Chinese now in the islands are Hawaiian born.

Race	Census of 1900	Per Cent	Census of 1920	Per Cent
Hawaiian	29,799	19.3	23,723	9.3
Part-Hawaiian	7,857	5.1	18,027	7.0
Caucasian	28,819	18.7	54,742	21.5
Chinese	25,767	16.7	23,507	9.2
Japanese	61,111	39.7	109,274	42.7
Korean .....	* .....	.....	4,950	1.9
Filipino .....	* .....	.....	21,031	8.2
Negro	233	0.2	348	0.1
All Other	415	0.3	310	0.1
Total Population.....	154,001	100.0	255,912	100.0

* The Korean and Filipino population of the islands was negligible in 1900, hence they were classified under the designation "all other."

In studying the foregoing census tabulation, a few pertinent facts should be borne in mind:

Sugar is the basic industry of Hawaii. More than 75 per cent of the total exports represent sugar.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association speaks for the entire sugar industry. There are no "outsiders" or "independents."

Because of its thorough organization, the sugar industry has always been able to exert a powerful influence over political affairs in the islands. In the days of the monarchy the sugar planters virtually dictated the immigration policy. Since annexation, the planters have always chafed under the restraint of the federal immigration laws. The recent petition of the territorial legislature to the Congress of the United States, urging a modification of those laws, is in perfect harmony with the sugar planters' immigration policy for the past seventy years.

No other solution for Hawaii's labor problem has been seriously considered except the same old policy of "encouraged immigration." Not a single person holding a responsible position in Hawaii's sugar industry seems to have given any serious thought toward a possible solution along radically different lines.

Perhaps this assertion should be qualified. On at least two occasions men identified with the sugar industry intimated that the real trouble arose with "too much education." It was hinted that discontinuance of "free" education after the fourth grade would have a tendency to keep more of the young folks on the plantations. Comment upon this method of solving the labor problem seems wholly unnecessary.

Regardless of all other conditions, the cry of "labor shortage" has become a regular by-word of Hawaii's sugar industry. When the present owners and managers of the plantations were infants, they heard the old folks discuss the "labor shortage." All their lives they have talked about it. Mr. Walter F. Dillingham, chairman of Hawaii's Emergency Labor Commission, himself has said so. And there it ends.

Now, it is an undisputed fact that the industries of many American States suffer great hardship and financial losses because of seasonal labor shortage. California, for example, has a more or less serious labor shortage around the peak of every year's harvesting season. The State of California has attempted to remedy this situation (1) by encouraging the subdivision of large land holdings, and (2) by legislative enactments requiring and enforcing certain minimum standards of sanitation and housing in all labor camps where five or more persons are employed. After a few years' trial, Californians are practically a unit in commending and upholding these remedial measures.

The Hawaiian sugar planters insist that a subdivision of cane lands is impractical. They point to certain "horrible examples" as irrefutable evidence. Of course there are problems peculiar to the cane sugar industry that cannot be ignored. Cane must be milled

at or near the place of production. And all the mills are owned by the plantations. As a result, the cane homesteaders are tied hand and foot to the mill. But if the sugar mills were acquired by groups of homesteaders, or if the territory were to take over the mills and hold and operate them in trust for the homesteaders, that would seem to offer a permanent and sound solution to the problem. A citizen population of small ranch owners is an ideal worthy of the supreme effort for any country. There is no need to elaborate upon that point. Yet, beyond a belated effort to enable a few of the rapidly vanishing native Hawaiians to acquire homesteads, there is little sympathy anywhere in the islands with suggestions leading toward subdivision of the sugar plantations.

Aside from the usual board of health regulations, there is no law in the islands regulating sanitation and housing on sugar plantations. The Sugar Planters' Association, through its welfare department, has in recent years furnished the various plantations with blue prints of model laborers' cottages, bath houses, and sanitary toilets. But the number of plantation managers who have taken the hint from the welfare department is comparatively small. The old whitewashed barrack type house in which the contract laborers were once herded is still in evidence, and fully 75 per cent of the toilets on all the camps visited were in disgraceful condition. A still greater percentage of the plantation managers would be subject to arrest for failing to observe minimum sanitary standards—that is, if the California law should apply to Hawaii.

To be sure, there are honorable exceptions. And these exceptions prove what can be done to establish decent and homelike living conditions for the workers. The Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co., Frank Baldwin, manager, on the island of Maui, is perhaps the most noteworthy example in this respect. Nearly all the laborers' cottages are surrounded by private gardens and there is an atmosphere of that cleanliness and neatness which together with a sort of community spirit goes such a long way to make things agreeable even for the lowest paid day laborer.

In discussing sanitary matters with plantation managers, a few expressed the opinion that the class of labor employed by them had never seen better toilets, etc., and would not know how to use clean and fly-proof privies. On the other hand, many Japanese and others bitterly complained because, in very many instances, men, women and children were required to use the same toilet.

But to return to that perennial labor shortage. There is a pronounced difference of opinion upon this question in the islands. Of course, the sugar planters are a unit in affirming the traditional viewpoint that there "is" a labor shortage. Others maintained at least equally emphatic opposite opinions. Residents, who ought to be familiar with local conditions, claim that there are at least 3,000 idle Filipinos in and about Honolulu. But however this may be, the executive officers of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Asso-

ciation frankly admit that thousands of Filipinos have been brought to the islands by the planters during the past few years and that more are on the way. Five recruiting stations are maintained by the association in the Philippine Islands, each with a staff of recruiters and an examining doctor. Upon departure from their native land, the Filipinos are presented with ten pesos each and an outfit of clothing. They are given free passage across and are guaranteed free return transportation if they work for a period of three years for members of the Planters' Association. Of course, these Filipinos are at liberty to leave the employ of the planters any time after arrival. And many do so.

There can be no question but that the real motive for the drive on Congress to modify the United States immigration laws is to be found in the prolonged strike of the Japanese laborers on the Island of Oahu in 1920. That Japanese strike with the accompanying racial cohesiveness and solidarity just scared the wits out of the sugar planters. Everybody in the islands admits that the general situation relating to the supply of labor has very materially improved during the past year. The Honolulu Advertiser, the morning daily of Honolulu and a great champion of the emergency labor resolution pending in Congress, in a leading editorial under date of June 26, 1922, said:

"Field conditions are a good deal better this year than they were last, as evidenced by the fact that the plantations will finish their harvest only an average two months behind schedule, where in 1921 they were six months late."

Then, after summarizing the general situation of the sugar industry, the same paper says: "As it is, the outlook now is more promising that it has been in thirty months."

In addition to this, the following statistical table should (particularly if the source of the date is considered) furnish rather conclusive evidence that the scars left by the Japanese strike have been healed:

LABORERS EMPLOYED ON HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTATIONS

	Hawaiians	Part Hawaiians	Portuguese	Other Caucasians	Porto Ricans	Chinese	Japanese	Filipinos	Koreans	All Others	Total
*Jan. 1, 1920.....	636	136	1496	472	1283	1742	19913	11608	1431	40	38757
†May 1, 1921.....	708	...	1982	224	1207	1550	16906	12596	1185	67	36425
‡May 1, 1922.....	656	...	1588	183	1398	1431	13446	17941	1116	45	37804

* As published in 1920 United States Census Bulletin. Includes males and females ten years of age and over.

† As published in the Report of the Governor of Hawaii, 1921.

‡ As furnished by J. K. Butler, Secretary of the Hawaiian Planters' Association.

It will be noted that in two years the Japanese camp population has decreased at about the same ratio as the Filipino population has increased. Moreover, there is no doubt at all about the willingness of many Japanese now in the Islands to return to plantation work if satisfactory wage adjustments are made.

This is now being done. There has been no raise in the basic monthly wage. The basic rate for common or unskilled plantation laborers remains at \$26 per month for twenty-six working days, with a house, fuel, water, garden space and medical attendance thrown in free of charge. For women the basic monthly wage is \$19.50 monthly. The regular working hours in the field are ten per day; in the mills a universal twelve-hour shift prevails. A so-called "turn-out" bonus of 10 per cent is paid to males who work at least twenty-three days a month; to females the same bonus is paid if fifteen days' work per month is performed. The profit sharing bonus commences when raw sugar sells at five cents a pound. This bonus starts with 5 per cent and gradually increases as the price of sugar advances.

The Japanese are strongly opposed to the bonus scheme; in fact, their strike for a higher basic wage was fought at a time when the bonus greatly exceeded the base pay.

A scheme has therefore been evolved to transform more and more of the laborers into contractors. By common consent, cane cutting and loading is rated as the most disagreeable work in the fields. Virtually all of this is now done by contract. A given number of men form a gang and arrange to do certain cutting or loading on contract. Obviously, this eliminates all dispute over the basic rate of pay. The more work is done under the contract system, the more money is earned, and according to all available information this arrangement is coming into general use on all plantations.

Attention has already been called to the general lack of interest in a possible solution of Hawaii's labor troubles along different lines. Yet, it does appear as if a perfectly feasible solution is at hand. Because of the strenuous opposition aroused by the mere mention of a possible subdivision of the plantations such a scheme can not be considered a practical solution just now.

The first logical step would seem to be an earnest effort to induce the grown-up Hawaiian-born children to remain on the plantation. Under present conditions, the native-born will not remain on the land. But if the best existing community camps with their superior housing and sanitary facilities were made the minimum standard for all plantations, a long step in advance would have been made. With the available cheap motor truck transportation, many of the scattered outlying camps on sugar plantations could well be consolidated into real garden villages with most if not all the advantages of happy community life. The smaller schools could be consolidated, and many other desirable features of community life impossible of accomplishment in small

outlying camps could be introduced under the garden village plan. Nowhere on earth are there greater opportunities for development in this direction. With a superb climate, bracing trade winds ten months in the year, and many other natural advantages, Hawaii could be made a paradise for workers no less than for tourists. All that is needed is a strong disposition "to do it." The hundreds of thousands of dollars now spent in recruiting more and ever more labor abroad could be added to the payroll of the lower paid workers.

Some of the hard-headed old-timers of the Islands will doubtless scoff at this picture and instantly reject such a program for stabilizing Hawaii's plantation labor. Yet, unless Hawaii is forever to remain a mere stepping-stone for immigrant labor whose ultimate destination is California, some such innovations will have to be adopted.

There is nothing degrading about plantation labor. If any considerable number of folks have acquired that notion, it is because the shadows of the old penal contract and enforced labor still hang over the Islands.

All the work in the cane sugar fields of Australia is done by white labor under climatic conditions said to be far more oppressive than on any sugar plantation in the Islands. Neither the climate nor the exacting nature of the toil has made plantation labor objectionable to the rising generation of immigrant children in the Islands. The present working, living and housing conditions of the plantation laborers and the artificially fostered viewpoint, that it really is only a Chinaman's job—this is the combination of circumstances that drives the young folks from the plantations!

The expressed hope of the sugar planters to stabilize conditions in the Islands by the importation of more Chinamen is based upon topsy-turvy logic. And the prospect of Americanizing the Islands in this manner is as brilliant as the idea that petroleum will extinguish a fire.

The Japanese in Hawaii

American journalists and others who have from time to time said unkind things about anti-Japanese "agitators" in California should be invited to study the race problem of the Hawaiian Islands.

There has been rather a scarcity of those pestiferous agitators in the Islands. As a result, this American territory is today confronted by a condition calculated to jarr even the most optimistic believer in the melting-pot idea.

Hawaii is the most complete and convincing object lesson to the mainland as to what would have happened to California if the workers of that State, and the people generally, had not been so determined to hold the State as a heritage to the white race.

The story of the Japanese in Hawaii is full of most interesting historic details. According to tradition a Japanese vessel touched on the island of Maui as early as the thirteenth century. This, however, is tradition only.

There is nothing doubtful or uncertain about the importation of the first batch of Japanese contract laborers in 1868. During that year * a lengthy correspondence was carried on between the Royal Bureau of Immigration and Mr. Van Reed, the Hawaiian consul, in Japan, regarding the value of Japanese as plantation laborers. Mr. Van Reed having spoken in the highest terms of the "industry and docility of these people, their cleanliness, honesty, and adaptability to the ways of the country," a draft was forwarded him in March, 1868, for the purpose of sending immigrants to Hawaii. The Consul lost no time in getting to work and soon had nearly 350 people ready to embark, when a change of Government took place, and the permission that had been given, allowing the emigrants to depart, was withdrawn. Mr. Van Reed, however, finally succeeded in dispatching the vessel chartered for that purpose, with 148 persons, six of whom were women, instead of the 350 who had been first engaged. The *Scioto* arrived in the Islands June 19, 1868, and this was the starting point of Japanese immigration. The first arrivals were brought on the following terms: Three years' service at monthly wages of \$4.00 per man, the thirty-six months to be counted from the day they arrived in Honolulu; the laborers were to be divided into companies of twenty-five men each; each company to have two head men, who were to receive \$1.00 a month in addition to

* From data compiled by R. C. Lydecker, Librarian, Public Archives, for the Secretary of Hawaii.

their pay. There was one head man for all the laborers, who received \$150 per year, including board. From the time of their leaving Yokohama, they were supplied with food, lodging and passage, as well as medical attendance.

Heavy shipments of Japanese laborers began to arrive in the year 1885, and continued steadily for a decade. In 1896-97, while Hawaii had a provisional form of government, efforts were made to stop the constant stream of Japanese immigration. In fact, during those years some 1100 Japanese were denied permission to land at Hawaii. For this act the Republic of Hawaii was coerced to pay Japan the sum of \$75,000, in order that there might be no hindrance to its annexation to the United States.

After annexation the Japanese began to arrive in hordes. In 1899 nearly twenty thousand Japanese were brought to Honolulu.

The so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" negotiated between former President Roosevelt and the Mikado, taking effect in 1908, finally put an end to the mass immigration of Japanese.

It should be noted that, while this "Gentlemen's Agreement" was meant to apply to continental United States only, the Japanese Government, of its own volition, extended said agreement, experimentally at least,* to the Hawaiian Islands.

The total population of the Hawaiian Territory, according to the 1920 census is 255,912. 42.7 per cent of the total, or 109,274 are Japanese. Of the Islands' Japanese population 48,586 are Hawaiian-born and embryo citizens of the United States.

In the decade between 1910 and 1920, Hawaii's Japanese population increased 29,599. Perhaps this is not so very startling. But it is certainly significant that the increase in the Japanese population is largely composed of females. Out of 29,599 total Japanese increase, 21,739 are females and only 7860 are males. In 1910 there were 220.1 males to each 100 females. In 1920 this ratio had been reduced 134.3 to 100.

The growing ratio of females in the Islands' Japanese population portends a still greater proportional increase during the present decade. Already, six out of every ten children † born in the Territory of Hawaii are of Oriental parentage. Five out of every ten are of Japanese parentage.

By way of amplification, the birth rate by racial groups in the Territory tells a meaningful tale. The average birth rate for all racial groups (for the year ended June 30, 1921 ‡) was 36.81 per 1000 of population. Residents of American, British, German,

* For detailed information upon this question see Statement of Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs, State Department; pages 552-571, Hearings before the Committee of Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, June 21 to August 12, 1921.

† From data compiled by Bureau of Vital Statistics, Territorial Board of Health.

‡ Report of the Governor of Hawaii, 1921.

and Russian ancestry are credited with a birth rate of only 15.88 per 1000 population. The Japanese, on the other hand, had a birth rate of 42.74 per 1000.

Mathematical forecasts of the future based upon birth rate statistics are not always reliable, but should not be ignored.

It has already been pointed out that the children born in Hawaii of Japanese parents are citizens. The most conservative forecasters predict that by 1930 these citizen-born Japanese will comprise about 28 per cent of the electorate and by 1940 about 47 per cent. Thenceforward, their numbers will double every twenty-one years. Between 1940 and 1950 the voters of Japanese blood will reach the point of numerical majority.

The Gentlemen's Agreement cannot be disposed of with a few passing references.

To begin with, it should be distinctly understood that the Gentlemen's Agreement has not stopped the flow of Japanese to the Islands. This is not a charge of "bad faith" against the Japanese Government. The trouble with this agreement is that administration and interpretation is all on one side, i. e., the Japanese side.

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement the American immigration authorities are required to honor, and accept at face value, every passport issued by Japan.

The essence of this agreement is that laborers shall not be permitted to leave Japan for American territory. Nine thousand seven hundred and seventeen "picture brides," nearly all of whom at once went to work as agricultural laborers or as domestic servants, came in during the last decade. And although the Japanese government has voluntarily stopped the departure of picture brides for the mainland, these brides are still coming to the Islands.

In addition to these "brides," thousands of male laborers came over during the ten years with passports. They obtained passports because of peculiar family relations. Under the regulations, a Japanese in Hawaii may bring over his wife, his father and mother, his children. That opens the gate. A plantation laborer may bring over a "picture bride," who is a laborer except for the few weeks annually at her period of child-birth. He sends for his father or mother, or both. They arrive, and immediately send for all their remaining sons and daughters. Hundreds of cases are said to have occurred in which the old father was on his way back to Japan before these sons and daughters had arrived, having stopped only long enough for the necessary formalities of "calling" over the younger generation.

These sons and daughters, of course, may bring their wives and husbands and children. A "picture bride" may call over her mother or father, and that parent may bring her sturdy sons, laborers, and they may bring wives or send for picture brides, and so forth.

The Japanese custom of "adoption" starts another leak. For example, by agreement a laborer in Japan whose elder brother is head of the family, applies for and receives permission to withdraw from the family and set up a cadet family. Then he adopts as his son a nephew in Hawaii who is the son of that elder brother. The young man in Hawaii accepts that adoption and through the consulate sends for his "father," who upon arrival proceeds to send for his real sons.

Clearly, this arrangement works like an endless chain or a revolving bridge that constantly pours more laborers into Hawaii.

During the last decade there were 37,271 alien Japanese admitted to the islands. This figure does not include Hawaiian-born Japanese returning from visits or schooling in Japan, since they are American citizens. In the same period 27,993 aliens departed for Japan. Japan's statistics of departures to Japan for the ten years give a total of 41,062. A truly remarkable discrepancy between our total and theirs—13,069. The explanation, however, is quite simple. In the decade, 13,069 Japanese children born in the islands and endowed with all the rights of American citizenship went back to Japan for education.

American immigration statistics classifies them as Americans, not "aliens." Japan counts them as Japanese. American by birth, they are in fact registered at the Japanese consulate in Honolulu and in Tokyo as Japanese subjects.

Thus, during the last decade alone, more than 13,000 children born in the islands were sent back to Japan for education, and Japan counts them in and makes a showing that there was an excess of departures over arrivals during this ten years under the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Surely, there could be no more misleading deduction.

Men who have devoted their life to the study of immigration questions assert that 20,000 is a very conservative estimate of Hawaiian-born school children now in Japan. All of these are entitled to come back to Hawaii or to any other part of America. And, of course, for all practical purposes, this 20,000 should be added to the last census population of the islands, making the total Japanese population of Hawaii 129,274 instead of 109,274.

The writer is keenly appreciative of the fact that too many figures spoil many a good story. But the Japanese problem of the islands can not be discussed in a general way.

There is no more interesting object lesson than the public schools of Hawaii. It is generally acknowledged that the public schools in any land are the chief agency in harmonizing and developing the citizenship of the future. A brief examination of the school problem of the islands is, therefore, quite apropos to this article.

For the term ended June 23, 1922, there were 44,393 pupils enrolled in the public schools of the Territory of Hawaii; 21,348

of these pupils were Japanese, 4116 were Chinese, 1270 were Filipinos, and 657 were Koreans. This means that 61.7 per cent of all the children in the public schools of the islands are of Asiatic descent.

A recent study of Hawaii's public school system made under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation gives quite a high recommendation to the islands' public school system. Yet, no less a person than the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory, in the Hawaii Educational Review, January, 1922, issue, says:

"Although Hawaii has a compulsory attendance law, large numbers of children do not enter school until they are seven, eight or nine years of age. They should enter when six years of age. Due to the widespread and chronic congestion in the lower grades, this late entrance is a handicap, which few children are able to overcome.

"The vast majority of the children come from plantation camps and barracks, and are the children of uneducated Asiatic peasant laborers. They come from non-English-speaking homes. Outside of school, they rarely hear the English language. In most of the homes in Hawaii English is a foreign language. As a result of this situation, receiving rooms are necessary where the children get a sufficient amount of English to be able to understand the teacher. The non-English-speaking home environment of the child is a heavy handicap upon the public school and is a fruitful source of much of the retardation.

"Over half of the total school population attends foreign language schools. These are mostly Japanese schools where Japanese language, history, institutions, manners and customs, religious ideas, etc., are taught. The foreign language schools constitute a serious retarding influence upon the work of the public schools. There is no other place under the Stars and Stripes, and no other country in the world where nearly one-half of the total school enrollment regularly and systematically attends alien schools taught by alien teachers in an alien language and conducted expressly for the purpose of maintaining the religious beliefs, customs and political ideals of an alien people.

"A peculiar situation has existed in Hawaii for many years, and has had a deleterious effect upon the public schools. Japanese parents have the custom of sending their young Hawaiian-born children to Japan for Japanese education. These children remain in Japan anywhere from seven to ten years, and return to Hawaii expecting to remain here as American citizens. Their education has been almost wholly Japanese and, although they may be 12, 14 or 15 years of age, it is necessary to put them in the primary grades for instruction in English."

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that all so-called "white" Americans, who can possibly afford it, are sending their children to the private schools which claim a total enrollment of

7500 in round numbers. At that, the "white" American children number less than 5 per cent of the total combined enrollment in public and private schools.

Returning briefly to the foreign language schools, it should be known that, according to the latest available reports, there are approximately 185 of such schools in the islands, employing nearly 500 teachers.

Originally started by Japanese Christians in Hawaii, nearly all are now Japanese schools run by five Buddhist sects. Quite recently the foreign language schools have been placed under territorial law, i. e., regulation. Formerly the Japanese pupils attended the Japanese schools before and after the public-school day; now the Japanese schools (and all other foreign-language schools) are restricted to teaching one hour a day—after the public school hours—not more than six hours a week and not more than 38 weeks in the course of a year.

Next to the Japanese language schools, the Japanese language newspapers present a picture strong enough to confound those who glibly talk of easy assimilation and Americanization.

Honolulu has four Japanese daily papers but only two American dailies. The combined circulation of the Japanese dailies far exceeds the combined circulation of the two American papers. Altogether there are about twenty Japanese newspapers published in the Hawaiian Islands, of which eight are dailies.

One of the Japanese dailies at Honolulu, the *Nippu Jiji*, is a member of the Associated Press and claims a paid circulation close to 10,000 copies. This paper, which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on June 11, 1922, has a foundry for the making of Japanese types.

All of these Japanese language papers are Japanese to the core. The news is of Japan; American news items are featured only when there is a reflection of the American attitude toward Japan. News is colored with the Japanese viewpoint; editorials champion the Japanese contention. The divine ancestry of the Emperor, placing him infinitely above all other hereditary rulers, the assured destiny of Japan, the glory of her army and navy, full justification of Japan's course in Korea, Shantung, Manchuria, Siberia and elsewhere, demand for "racial equality" with the right of free immigration to all lands—such things are, day by day, fed into the minds of the Japanese on the islands.

The Japanese language press presents one of the vital problems of the islands and really deserves a chapter of its own—but limitation of space forbids further discussion.

Hawaii's Japanese labor movement, too, presents a problem of real magnitude. During the unsuccessful strike of 1920 the name "Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii" was changed to "Hawaii Laborers' Association." The change of name, however, did not change the structure or composition of the Federation. Visits to the headquarters of the Hawaii Laborers' Association at Honolulu

and calls upon their principal branch officers on the three other islands where sugar cane is cultivated, disclosed the fact that only one of all the officials of the Association was able to converse in the English language.

Being unable to read or speak any language except their own, the Japanese naturally have some of the queerest notions and ideas about the principles and purposes of the American labor movement. This situation is aggravated by the fact that a few ultra-radical "whites" with "O. B. U." or "I. W. W." leanings have made it their special business to misrepresent and grossly malign the American Federation of Labor. Consciously, or otherwise, the various leading men in the Japanese labor organization showed a rather bitter and resentful disposition. The sugar planters, of course, are hated not merely as an aftermath of the unsuccessful strike but because, it is claimed, the planters have inspired persecution in the courts of men active in the Union. Spokesmen for the Japanese also feel a great injustice was done to the plantation laborers when wages were arbitrarily reduced some time after the strike had been called off. The Japanese assert it costs a male laborer on the plantations on Hawaii, Maui, Oahu and Kauai from \$14 to \$17 and for women from \$10 to \$12 per month for board. The reduced wage scale which pays to male laborers the basic wage of \$26 and to women \$19.50 per month is therefore regarded as a blow at the laborers' meager standard of living, particularly when it is almost impossible for them to work 26 days per calendar month, deducting four Sundays and holidays; and especially when it is borne in mind that the majority of these laborers have several children to support.

As pointed out in the previous article (published in the September Federationist) the planters are trying to remedy matters by holding out a different inducement. Thousands of day laborers have been transformed into sub-contractors or "piece workers." This arrangement has alleviated some of the dissatisfaction, but has certainly not eradicated it.

On the plantations thousands of Japanese "helpers" to white skilled labor have learned the trades. Many of these semi-skilled Japanese subsequently displaced the white men. But the vast majority of these Japanese carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, plumbers, etc., drifted to Honolulu and Hilo and other cities until white labor has virtually disappeared. Long ago the Japanese began to take contracts, and now the building trade of Honolulu is practically all in the hands of the Japanese. Countless other plantation laborers have drifted to the cities and set up little shops, of which there is a seemingly endless row. Slowly but surely they are expanding and branching out into every line of business and endeavor. The fishing industry of the islands is already a Japanese monopoly. Japanese banks are growing stronger and more aggressive every year. Quite recently a Japanese ice company was

attempting to eliminate white competitors. And so on and so forth, the stream is running—always in one direction!

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that while the sugar planters and the Japanese are at sword's end in many respects, they do agree upon one point, namely, that Hawaii's climate is more suited to the yellow race (the Orientals) than to the white race. Mr. Y. Soga, a prominent Japanese newspaper publisher in Honolulu, presented the Japanese viewpoint on this question in perfectly clear language:

"Those that are most adapted to the environment are the ones that will prosper the most. This is a law of nature. McClatchy may agitate and Phelan may howl,* but they are unable to change this law of nature. . . .

"The mainstay of Hawaii is Orientals. This is stating it rather bluntly, but I think there is truth in it. If Orientals are left out, there is fear of the Hawaiian industries being paralyzed. Without industries there is no value to Hawaii. There is no question about that."

The sugar planters agree that "the mainstay of Hawaii is Orientals." To be sure, the planters want Chinese, as they say "to maintain a racial balance." But the Japanese are on the ground floor. They are there to stay and look with perfect equanimity into the future.

Time is fighting on their side. For they have the two great essential qualities that count. The people who work and multiply are ultimately going to own the land and enjoy the fullness thereof! This may sound like a platitude, but remains inexorable logic, nevertheless. At any rate, the Japanese in the islands feel quite secure and confident as to the future.

There has been a lot of foolish and more or less sentimental talk about Hawaii being the melting pot of races.

If the race problem of Hawaii teaches anything at all it is the exemplification of the simple truth that the Caucasians and the Japanese are not of the same racial stock. Real assimilation must carry with it intermarriage, and this vital assimilation the Japanese do not want.

In California the law forbids intermarriage of "whites" and Japanese. Because of this restriction, it is frequently contended that Americans cannot consistently object to the importation of picture brides.

In Hawaii the Japanese can marry into any racial group to their hearts' content. But do they? They positively do not! The vital statistics compiled by the Territorial Board of Health furnish irrefutable evidence that the Japanese desire to maintain their

* Mr. V. S. McClatchy is publisher of the Sacramento Bee. Mr. James D. Phelan is the former United States Senator from California. Both have been active in the anti-Japanese movement.

racial integrity no matter what well meaning but irresponsible melting pot champions may claim to the contrary.

Attention has already been called to the rather frank recognition of dual citizenship by Hawaiian-born Japanese. A further and rather startling illustration of dual citizenship was furnished by a number of Japanese who, during the late war, were soldiering for Uncle Sam at Schofield Barracks on the Island of Oahu. These Japanese in American khaki wanted picture brides. To gratify their desires in this respect they had to apply as Japanese citizens at the Japanese consulate for the issuance in Japan of passports to their brides, and those passports were issued to the girls as wives of Japanese citizens. And the soldiers had to be given leave by their American commanding officers to go down to the consulate and the immigration office to claim, as Japanese subjects, the wives they had never seen before.

Countless similar examples are available, but the foregoing will suffice.

Practically every visitor to the islands comments favorably on the fine racial tolerance manifested throughout the territory. There can be no question that this is one of the pleasing, outstanding features of community life in the islands. Yet, beneath the surface tolerance, there remains a deep and ancient difference of racial culture and social viewpoint.

The appalling size of the so-called Americanization problem in Hawaii is perhaps best illustrated by the figures* arrived at as the result of the Selective Service Draft.

In October, 1918, the total of registrants in the Hawaiian Islands under the 18 to 45 draft call was found to be 41,541. Of these, the aliens and alien-enemy registrants amounted to 31,535, of which tremendous total only 542 indicated that they desired to become citizens of the United States. The total number of Japanese registrants was 21,484, of which but 30 expressed desire for citizenship.

What then is to be done about it all? What is the remedy for a condition going from bad to worse?

Well, first of all, there should be an early abrogation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and the enactment of a law denying admission, as immigrants and permanent residents, to all aliens who are ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States.

This will stop the leak from Japan where the density of population is 320 per square mile as against 39.7 per square mile in the Hawaiian Islands.

When this has been done (and always assuming that it is desired to retain Hawaii as an integral part of America) there must be mutual agreement upon some method, regardless of cost, whereby the Japanese population can be reduced below a menacing

* Supplied by American Legion, Department of Hawaii.

figure. If America can be made to understand the true significance of the situation there will be no difficulty in securing the necessary appropriation from Congress. Enough money will surely do it. And, after all, what is even a hundred million dollars to America if it will definitely settle the grave and sinister problem of those beautiful islands 2000 miles from our Pacific Coast States.

Last but not least, the American people should change the laws relating to repatriation. A Hawaiian or California-born Japanese who aims to go through life under "dual citizenship" by registration with the Japanese consulate as a Japanese "subject" should thereby forfeit his American citizenship!

CALIFORNIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ORIENTAL

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California's Attitude Towards the Oriental

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THE SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

IN the field of Oriental-American relations, the significance of California is out of all proportion to its area and population. The attitude of California and Californians has largely determined American foreign policy toward the Oriental.

The reasons for this situation do not appear on the surface. Why should three per cent of the population of continental America be the major factor in these diplomatic relations? Analogies made between Orientals on the Pacific Coast and negroes in the Southern states fail to provide the desired clues because of the marked points of difference, among which may be mentioned: eligibility to citizenship, social status, language difficulties, organization, industry, thrift, attitude towards women, pride, psychology and human geography. A fundamental distinction is that there is no African emperor to watch over the interests of descendants of former emigrants, while on the Pacific there stands a territorially small but sensitive and powerful nation ready to protect its nationals. Nevertheless, a balancing of these various factors, as weighed by the writer, an adopted son of Yankee birth, who expresses views not necessarily his own, makes it appear all the more remarkable that the wishes of Californians and their commonwealth should dominate this situation.

It is in California, rather than in the northward states of Oregon and Washington, that one finds leadership. There are three explanations: first, the

great majority of Orientals on the Pacific Coast as well as in the United States (excluding Hawaii) have resided in California; second, Pacific Coast affairs have taken their cue mainly from California, and, in particular, the locality between San Francisco and Sacramento; and third, the cross currents of the coast press unduly favor this state. Relative to point three, it is worth while to note that the news channels to and from California operate largely east and west; also, California news is fairly well distributed in Oregon, Washington and the Province of British Columbia, but the return news is meager. Therefore, the California attitude as expressed by the ever-influential press permeates all sections of the country, including the Pacific Northwest. California assumes the rôle of the big brother of the American Pacific Coast.

Yet the national importance of the state is of far more consequence. The part California has played and is playing in the determination of this American immigration policy is in marked contrast to the failure of the Southern states to convert the nation to their pronounced view on an intimate racial problem. Locally, it is believed that the fairly consistent attitude of the State Department towards Californian race problems has been too negative in character to admit of needed solutions: hence, the virile, determined and assertive state residents, both native son and adopted son, have not remained quiescent. Both official and private California take the position that they know. Practically every step taken is

deliberate. Confidence, bred of first-hand knowledge not obtainable elsewhere, breeds cocksureness. The vacillating national policy and Eastern public opinion in the 'seventies and 'eighties towards the human floods of Chinese impress the Californian with the belief that persons who attempt to solve the racial destinies of California, therefore America, without even crossing the Mississippi River, much less the Sierra Nevadas, are not only ignorant but gullible. Not only is California determined, but her position seems to her in accordance with the facts. The situation is decisively stated by the conservative *San Francisco Argonaut*, when in the midst of the local school crisis of 1906, this editorial comment appeared:

The reason that we in California are calm in the presence of this crisis is: first, because we know we are right; second, because we hope to convince our countrymen that we are right; third, that if we fail to so convince them, we will, whatever they do or say, do what we know to be right.

But who are these Californians? The answer is clear. They are outstandingly Americans, descendants of the same stock which makes our country what it is to-day. Of the total population of 3,426,861 according to the Federal census of 1920, three-quarters are native-born whites and nearly one-fifth are foreign-born whites; the remainder are mostly Japanese, Chinese, and American Indians. Furthermore, due to the westward migration, the Golden State is more representatively American than probably any other state. For example, excluding the foreign-born, of the total recorded population of Sacramento, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and Long Beach, the percentages of native Americans born in other states, were 50 per cent, 44 per cent, 20 per cent, 20 per cent, and 12 per cent, respec-

tively. Therefore, state sentiment is influenced to a major degree by persons who were not born and brought up in their most impressionable years—the age groups show this also—in their present habitat. With all due consideration to the streams of immigrants from northern and southern Europe, the native American is the natural and accepted leader in her affairs.

This effect of sources of population on attitude towards Orientals must not be passed over without a mention that the Californian view is not localized. The early anti-Chinese traditions of the early days of Sacramento and San Francisco, for example, seem to the writer to have no direct casual effect upon the present community attitude. More potent factors are the relative number of other foreign nationalities, and the local attitude towards them, as in the case of the numerous Armenians and Russo-Germans in Fresno County where the Japanese have a much preferred status, or that of Mexicans in parts of southern California where Orientals are often forgotten. Contrary to popular belief, but confirmed in a conversation by a leading member of the Japanese community, it appears that the Japanese believe that they receive better treatment in the city by the Golden Gate than in any other large-sized city of California; an explanation due, it is said, both to the familiarity of its prominent citizens with the actual conditions and to their larger breadth of view, a parallel experience to the treatment of the black race by Southern gentry. Further contributory evidence is produced by the strong, anti-Japanese resolutions passed recently by the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, a community organization composed largely of Middle Westerners who probably never saw an Oriental until a few years ago. Therefore, even at best, generalizations

by anyone are unsatisfactory as applied to a state larger than New York and New England combined; yet certain marked tendencies stand forth.

CAUSES OF PRESENT SITUATION

Historically, the Oriental problem in California deserves extensive comment, but space forbids more than a mention of a few significant happenings. The Chinese who came to California were needed for mining, construction work and truck farming. Largely from the agricultural peasantry of Kwang Tung and Fukien, they engaged in menial work at low wages and long hours. They supplied a demand which had never been satisfied by native or other foreign workers; therefore, they deserve due credit for their share in California's early progress. Their presence was not seriously resented until the hard times of the 'seventies, when falling wages and profits, and the invasion of the local market due to the opening of transcontinental lines, brought about serious unemployment among the white population. The immediate feeling against the conditions of unrest, by no means confined to California, brought forth a noted agitator, an Irishman named Denis Kearney, who directed his vehemence first against the wealthy, local corporations, later centering his attacks upon the large Chinese population. Aroused public opinion became directed against coolie labor and against Oriental labor; the Chinese were not coolies, although they had virtually that status. In submitting the question of exclusion to popular verdict on September 3, 1879, the size of the vote as well as the unanimity were remarkable; all but 4000 registered persons voted, and of the total vote of 155,521, all but 883 were in favor of the proposed act. There followed the Federal Chinese Exclusion Act of May 6, 1882; more recent legis-

lation extended its operations indefinitely.¹

Similar to the Chinese, the Japanese were at the outset welcome to our shores. They were likewise peasants, mostly recruited from the Hawaiian Islands. They took the place in large measure of the Chinese population that had begun to diminish year by year. However, the substitution of Japanese for Chinese was not a quantitative affair because Californians soon perceived that, unlike the docile, easy-going and subservient Chinese, the Japanese were ambitious, aggressive, and were backed by a proud, imperial government. The Chinese did not seek equality; the Japanese were insistent upon equal social recognition. Whereas the crimes, misdemeanors and legal restrictions practised on the Chinese evoked no marked protest from their government, similar treatment of the Japanese—which, however, has always been of far less intensity—met with immediate exchange of diplomatic notes or local pressure emanating from official Japan. A successful conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05 had produced, according to one well informed writer, "a certain arrogance or overbearing attitude in individual Japanese." The school question in San Francisco in 1906 prompted a militant message from President Roosevelt to the state of California and the dispatching of the Secretary of the Navy Metcalf to report on the situation.² The Gentle-

¹ The Asiatic Zone Act of February 5, 1917, directed largely against Southeastern Asia, does not apply to either China or Japan because of the separate arrangements with these two countries.

² The local grievance was that alien Japanese attending the local schools were frequently several years older than their white classmates, and that social conditions were open to suspicion. There was truth in the former assertion since it may be noted in Secretary Metcalf's report that in the sixth grade of San Francisco's Public

men's Agreement of 1907 soon followed. In 1909 the Asiatic Exclusion League, composed of labor union representatives, met at the Labor Temple in Seattle and initiated a powerful campaign against the Orientals, a movement which was doubtless backed by public support, but largely unorganized.³ Labor has always been a pronounced element in anti-Oriental agitation.

With the Japanese rising rapidly from the status of agricultural laborers to tenant and in some cases to farm owners, the land question began to assume large proportions. Political changes at Washington and the need for local campaign issues played their part; but it was primarily the exhibition of industry, skill and thrift, those qualities which Americans admire in themselves, which brought about a fresh agitation culminating in the Webb-Heney act of 1913 whereby persons ineligible to citizenship could not lease land for a period of more than three years.⁴ The terms of the latter were considerably tightened by the Anti-Alien initiative measure of 1920,

Schools there were 12 pupils born in Japan of whom one was 20 years old; one 19; one 18; four 17; two 16; two 15; and one 14; the average age of the white girls and boys was from four to ten years younger. Similar statistics apply to other grades. The alleged moral conditions, figments of local prejudices, had scant if any basis in fact.

³ In November, 1907, the *Stockton Record* gave this advice to the Native Sons of the Golden West: "The Native Sons can perform no greater patriotic service than to dedicate themselves to a sober and intelligent agitation of the Japanese problem. They should resolve to hold this state against the threatening blight of the brown . . . it is all very well for our statesmen to talk of international obligations, of world-wide fraternity and equality. Such eloquence looks nice on paper. It fits to the rules of diplomacy."

⁴ Prof. Eugene Wambaugh recently directed my attention to the inability of aliens to acquire property in the District of Columbia. See Act of March 3, 1887, also Section 396 of present code.

despite the opposition by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and other commercial bodies on the ground that it was unnecessarily harsh and, moreover, would prove ineffectual; the measure was carried by a ratio of 3 to 1 with 72 per cent of the registered votes cast. It is interesting to record that San Diego County cast the heaviest vote against the act; Sacramento County piled up the largest ratio in its favor, and San Francisco County and Los Angeles County had somewhat similar results—both corresponding fairly closely to the state-wide poll. Nevertheless, this land measure is not to be taken as a satisfactory test of public opinion because of mixed features including (1) an entirely one-sided press, (2) economic pressure, (3) the plea for a "square deal," and (4) post-war psychology influenced by Japan's Shantung demands on China and her reported military aggressions in Manchuria, Korea and Siberia.

The latest and most fateful step has been the passage of the American Immigration Act of 1924 which abrogated without notice the Gentlemen's Agreement, arranged between President Roosevelt and Japan in 1907, to avoid the exclusion issue at that troublesome time. Section 13 of this recent act excludes from admission aliens ineligible to citizenship; therefore, it is regarded, and fairly, by the Japanese as aimed at them since the other Asiatics had already been excluded. The precipitous action of Congress was keenly resented by the sensitive Japanese people, since it appeared to question the good faith of the Imperial Government in carrying out the Gentlemen's Agreement and gave no time for reflection and consideration—an important factor in Oriental psychology; it placed the Japanese on a par with the Chinese and British Indians; and it denied them their cherished desire for

equal treatment by non-Asiatic governments. Their resentment was doubtless directed more against their failure to be placed on an equal basis with European countries than with reference to the immigration question proper. Although this immigration measure passed Congress by a large majority, the inclusion of Section 13 met with hearty opposition on the part of much of the midwestern and eastern press of the United States, and was likewise regretted by many influential individuals, organizations and newspapers in California.

At present writing, the local attitude toward the Chinese is not unfriendly; towards the Japanese there has been a somewhat better sentiment largely through a feeling that the immigration and alien land acts have removed what was considered a menace; and the British Indians amounting to less than five thousand, including more Sikhs than Hindus, are a scattered and disappearing element, and do not cause much irritation.

THE PROBLEM TO-DAY

The telling slogan, "Keep California white," centering about population numbers, has no exclusive reference to a color line; hence the phrase is most unfortunate. The successive Federal censuses of 1850, 1860 and 1870 record that each tenth person in this state was born in China; moreover, in 1880, approximately 15 per cent of the state residents were Chinese, roughly equivalent to the adult white population of the state. Obviously, this situation could not go on indefinitely. As a result of the exclusion acts, whose provisions have been reasonably well carried out, the Chinese population both in the United States and on the Pacific Coast has been steadily decreasing since 1890. The Japanese population, likewise excluding Hawaii,

but including the large gains through births in America, increased from 55 in 1870, 2039 in 1890, 24,326 in 1900, 72,157 in 1910, to 111,010 in 1920. The gradual dispersion of Chinese and Japanese away from the Pacific Coast is shown graphically in Chart 1.

The birth and death records for the Japanese appear in Chart 2, to which should be correlated Chart 3, which gives the age of distribution of California's entire population. The great fear of Californians, that the Japanese population would eventually swamp the state, was soon widespread, especially when the Registrar of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health expressed the opinion that "unless checked, the Japanese will, in time, equal the whites in number in California." Since the early Chinese and Japanese communities were mainly made up of men, the Oriental population increase was not a matter of immediate fear until the Japanese, in accordance with local customs, received their young "picture brides."⁵ The average person, living in the midst of racial propaganda, could not be expected to appreciate the illogical comparison, moreover, between Japanese and the local white population, with no account taken that much of California's population consists of married people from other states who are in middle or later life. How-

⁵ According to Japanese custom, an exchange of photographs and registration of domicile in Japan is sufficient for a legal marriage. Therefore, a young Japanese woman might become duly married in Japan, then proceed to America to join her husband. Her admittance to America was sanctioned by the former Immigration Act. On the other hand, Chinese women did not come to America because of the existing exclusion law. Failure to appreciate the corresponding influx of Oriental women into California—as immigrants, future mothers, and agricultural workers has induced the superficial observer to have false notions regarding the comparative effectiveness in the carrying out of the Chinese exclusion acts and the Gentlemen's Agreement.

CHART 2

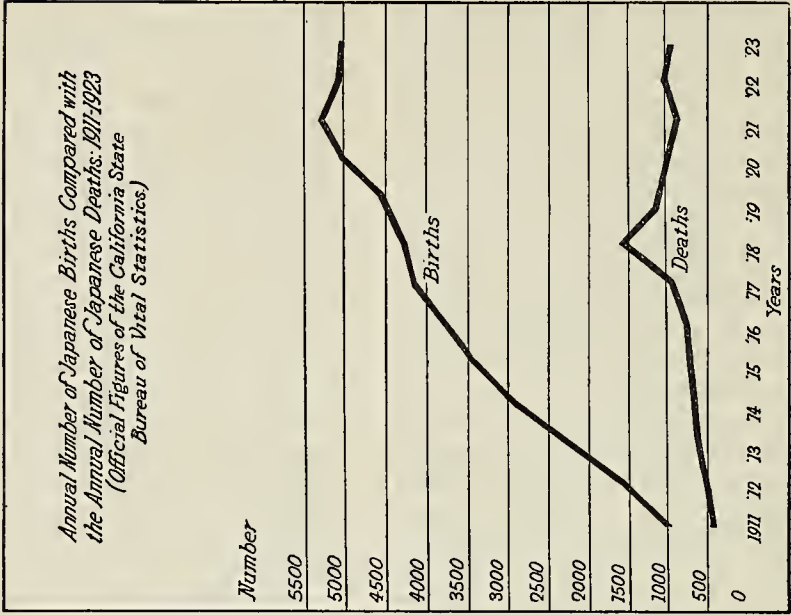


CHART 1

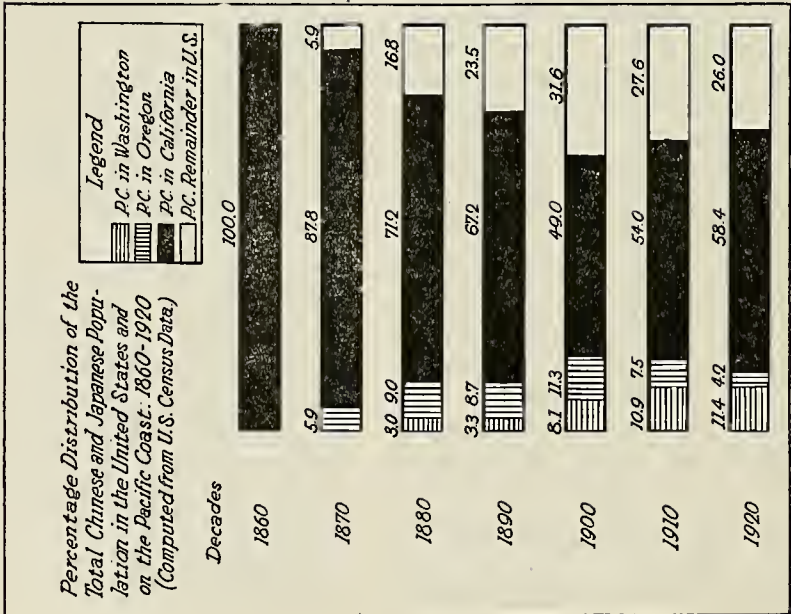


CHART 4

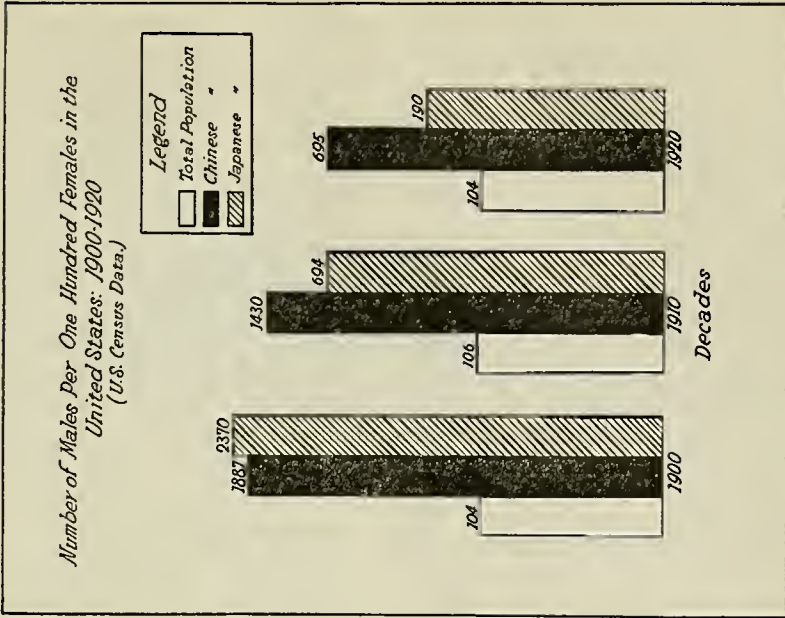
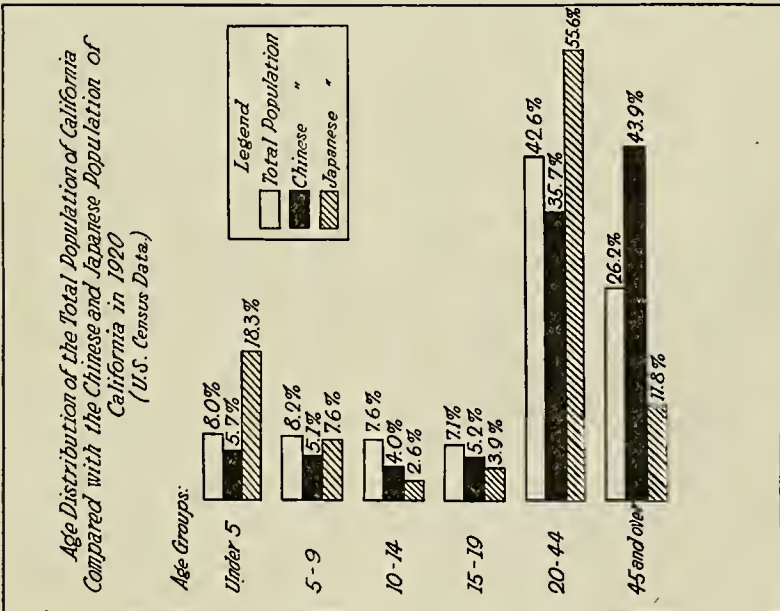


CHART 3



ever, there was general recognition of the youth of the Japanese brides and the few childless marriages.⁶

The remarkable agricultural ability of the Japanese, rather than the inertia of the white population, is the explanation for the acknowledged place attained by the Japanese in the production of fruit and vegetables. The lower standard of living, the willingness to work their women and themselves at all hours and patient drudgery made it comparatively easy for the Japanese to obtain a commanding position in the case of certain distinctive and not unimportant state agricultural products. Chart 5 gives the occupation distribution, and Chart 6 gives the percentage of specified crops raised by them. Both these charts are reproduced from figures furnished by Japanese interests and are probably thoroughly reliable. The Chinese, who had done most of the truck farming half a century ago, have left the country for the city and are seldom seen in agricultural pursuits. The native population pursues the world trend by forsaking rural for urban callings.⁷

⁶ For further details regarding population and vital statistics, consult the "Tentative Findings of The Survey of Race Relations", a Canadian-American study of the Oriental on the Pacific Coast, headquarters at Stanford University, California, 1925. To quote: "The frequently quoted birth rates of the Japanese are high because they are extremely crude . . . the birth rate of the Japanese is very nearly the same as the birth rate of the white population of the state. In 1922 the average issue per white *mother* was 2.63; the average issue per Japanese *mother* was 2.83; and the average per Chinese *mother* was 3.26 . . . the number of births per 1000 married women of child-bearing age among the white population of California was 125.5; among the Japanese, 317.2; among the Chinese, 621.1." The sex ratio is shown in Chart 4.

⁷ "The so-called white labor in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendants of the white pioneers and the Orientals

The issue in California is clouded by prejudice, half-truths, lies, malice, ignorance and by a general apathy which is shaken off only during periodic incidents. The yellow journals of Japan and California, read by the multitude, are great movers of public opinion. Moreover, it is practically unheard of for any consequential journal in either Japan or California to adopt a pro-foreign attitude. The politicians, even the statesmen, must come in for their share of the responsibility, for, as Paul Scharrenberg, the thoughtful secretary of the California State Federation of Labor and member of the California State Immigration Commission, wrote:

Japanese and American diplomats have so beclouded the main issue that the average man who is not a member of the diplomats' union, and hence not versed in the fine points of that game, cannot possibly follow the play.

Entirely overemphasized in the popular California stand is an alleged racial inferiority factor. In fact, even the rabid talkers admit in private, if not in public, that there is no basis for assuming that the Oriental civilization is inferior to our own; it may be superior. The important point is its marks of difference which appear to make assimilation biologically and culturally exceedingly difficult. "Whatever right-mindedness may be achieved," stated Viscount Bryce, "these racial marks still exist and cause them to be classified as members of their original class group."

The heart of the problem is naturally the presence, distribution and number

as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals. A five-months' firsthand survey in the Great Valley of California brings increasing testimony that the sons of white farmers of pioneer and later stock are leaving agriculture for business and the professions."—*Tentative Findings*, op. cit.

CHART 6

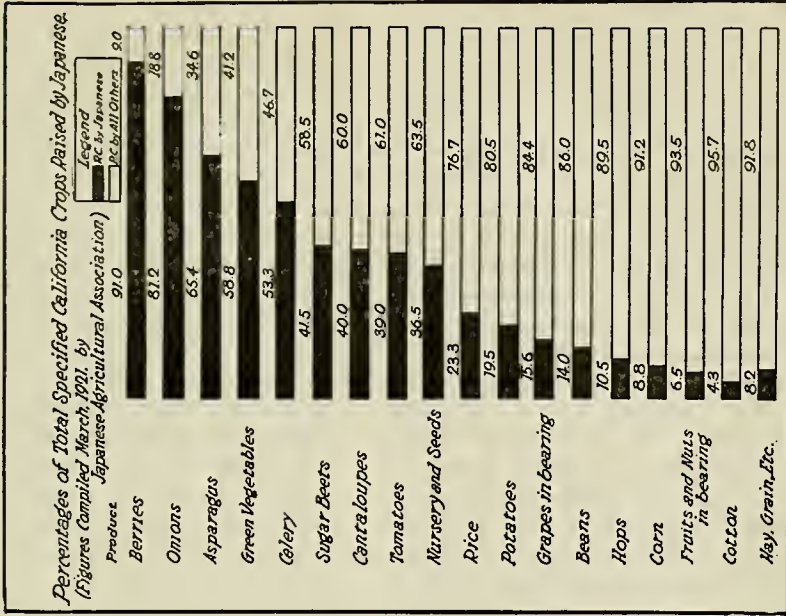
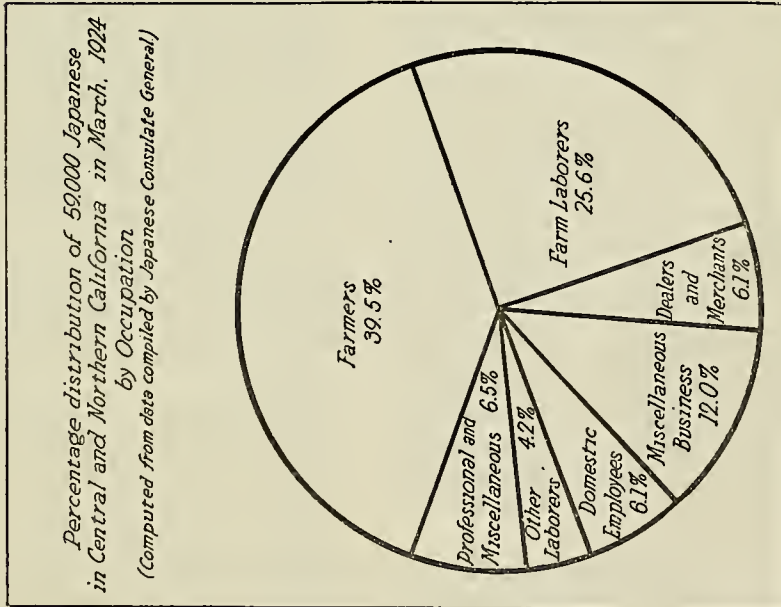


CHART 5



of the Japanese population in California. Nearly everyone is agreed, on the basis of total numbers alone, that the admission of a few more Japanese would cause absolutely no concern. The ratio of the combined Chinese and Japanese to the total population in 1920 was 2.9 per cent, a marked contrast to the numerical density of the Chinese during the middle and later 19th century; but the distribution in localities has changed greatly. The Chinese have mostly abandoned rural for urban life, segregating themselves into the "Chinatown" colonies of the larger cities. The Japanese have preferred to stay on the land, one result of which is that the bulk of the state population knows about them by hearsay more than by actual contact. One of the important preliminary findings of *The Survey of Race Relations* is that the sentiment in rural communities is apparently much more favorable to the Japanese than is true elsewhere: this is directly contrary to the accepted belief that the greatest hostility is in the regions where the Japanese are not only the most numerous but also the best known. However, city opinion, partly emanating and partly expressed by metropolitan dailies, is the natural dominating force. The fact that the percentage of Chinese and Japanese to the total population in tiny Yuba County, for example, was 34.5 per cent in 1920, and that colonies in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys were conspicuous, gave useful ammunition for the anti-Japanese barrage. More important still was the concentration of Japanese in the most favored agricultural localities, where their intense energy and co-operative aggressiveness have been resulting in a rapid acquirement of land control.⁸

⁸ Dr. Elwood Mead recounted this story told by an elderly farmer (*The Annals*, January, 1921):

"I came to this district twenty years ago. I

The alarming increase of the state's Japanese population has been the chief cause for worry. The real purpose of the Gentlemen's Agreement, to put a stop to an increase without recourse to statutory legislation, had failed. Great alarm was experienced in a comparison of Japanese and white state birth records, to be explained by the influx of a people with a lower standard of living and in the younger age groups. Figures, appearing in the guise of statistics, were used with the utmost abandon—and no people can resist the combination of an embittered racial problem and rapid-firing statistics.

It appears that the majority of Californians agree that the economic pressure was and is the main cause for international friction; and from this friction, which partakes of competition rather than conflict, the social, racial and political aspects are emerging in more concrete form.

The essence of the economic factor is that nothing shall be done, domesti-

live on the farm that I bought then and where my six children were born. They go to the country school. Three years ago all their playmates were white children. Now all the children in that school except mine and those of one other farmer are Japanese. My white neighbors who have sold or leased their land to Japanese have gone to towns. They don't come in contact with these aliens. They simply take their money. I live among them, but am not one of them. I am living there without neighbors. Last week a Japanese family moved into a house across the road in front of my home. That means more Japanese children in the school. It means that my isolation from people of my own race is more complete and I too am here to 'declare myself.'

"My farm is for sale. It is for sale to the first Japanese who will buy it. No white man will buy, for none will go into a Japanese neighborhood. When I sell, my white neighbor will leave and it then becomes a Japanese community. When that happens the trade of that community will go into new channels. I have always traded at the white man's store, put my money in the white man's bank, but the Japanese will do neither. They trade with their own race."

cally or internationally, to lower the American standard of living. To compete successfully with any peoples of so-called inferior standards of living, work and pleasure, the American must sacrifice his standard or go out of business. A cultured, well-educated, thoroughly Christian woman of San Jose remarked recently: "Please don't misunderstand me. I have absolutely nothing against the Japanese and I admire their thrift and patience and skill, but oh! I am so jealous of our land and our young men. The Japanese have come in and worked for such small wages and under such conditions that our boys haven't the slightest chance to compete with them. It isn't fair that our own boys are being driven away from the country because of cheap labor and poor working conditions." Other economic considerations are a generally believed but not wholly fair appraisal of Japanese commercial honesty,⁹ a disposition to take advantage of political influence abroad, government subsidies and rebates for merchant shipping, a demand for an exorbitant increase in wages by Japanese laborers when fruit or vegetables must be harvested immediately or spoil, and the general practice of working all the members of the family and at any hours of the day or night. Nowhere are there more industrious, less meddlesome, or more thrifty agricultural workers; moreover, no people are more generous than the Japanese in neighborhood gifts of choice fruits, vegetables and flowers. But they are competitors.

The social factor is too broad to be definitive. There should be men-

tioned the Japanese language schools and joint attendance at public schools; Oriental group organizations; intermarriage between Japanese and foreigners is always mentioned, despite its rare occurrence anywhere in the world; religious bigotry might be included under this heading although it, too, is of minor practical importance as a cause for ill-feeling; segregated dwellings; an absence of personal contact between Occidentals and Orientals, between Chinese and Japanese, and also among some members of any race. It should not be overlooked that the inferior social status of the typical Chinese and Japanese coming to America placed a certain stigma on all persons of the same nationality. Finally, even the attractive, third-generation American flappers of San Francisco's Chinatown, not less enchanting than their Anglo-Saxon or Latin girl friends, belong to Chinatown.

The racial factor, also, is so seldom isolated that Californian opinion on this point is most difficult to ascertain. Where the line is to be drawn between racial and other features is a problem in itself. Unquestionably, however, a conflict of loyalties between America and the old country, Japan, enters in to a certain extent; therefore, Californians look for significant signs such as the failure of American-born Japanese to take out citizen papers,¹⁰ the sending of American-born to Japan to be educated, and the close supervision exercised by Japanese associations and Imperial diplomatic and consular officers. The hand of the Mikado's Government was also suspected in the Magdalena Bay fishing scares, rumors of countless spies, reported stacking of

⁹ This is too large a subject to discuss in this article. It should be appreciated, nevertheless, that the Western standards of business contracts, so much a part of our national life, are less important than personal contacts in the eyes of the Eastern world.

¹⁰ The Japanese Act of 1925 reverses the process by requiring such persons to apply to the Japanese consul, providing they wish to become Japanese citizens: otherwise they possess only American citizenship.

arms, and the usual military hysteria. The "Supremacy of the Yellow Races" is also associated with political, military and naval manœuvres in the islands of the Pacific Ocean and on the Asiatic mainland. The writings of Lafcadio Hearn have a wide circulation. Nevertheless the pronouncements of powerful propaganda, such as the California Joint Immigration Committee as well as the personal statements of V. S. McClatchy, state emphatically that the difficulty is economic, not racial.

Most unfortunately, the Japanese Government and people cannot be persuaded that American national and state legislation is other than grossly discriminatory and has as its basis the indelible mark of social inferiority. Thus, at the passage of the Californian land law of 1913, the Imperial Government stated:

The provisions of law, under which it is held that Japanese people are not eligible to American citizenship, are mortifying to the government and people of Japan, since the racial distinction inferable from its provisions is hurtful to their just national susceptibilities.

When individual Californians have any feeling of superiority, the reason may be attributed mainly to the class of early Oriental immigrants; but the children of the latter are disproving even this unequal comparison by holding their own in our schools and intelligence tests. The writer strongly believes that it is very unusual when a fellow resident regards the Japanese as inferior. At any rate, the evidences are apparently far less frequent than in the social attitude of cultured Japanese in the old country towards either the Californian Japanese or towards East Indians and Chinese. On the other hand, Chester H. Rowell has stated that he experiences a distinct inferiority complex in the company of a cultured

Chinese gentleman. It may be stated with emphasis, especially true when East and West meet, that personal sensitiveness on the subject of racial discrimination is more frequently the result of a strained imagination than of a stern reality. An aroused national feeling, fed by a yellow press and loose agitators, fails to analyze the entirely different motives of economic pressure, charitable donations in times of disaster, politics, patriotism, internationalism and the continued extremely cordial diplomatic relations.

The political equation in America is an unsettling yet powerful element in Japanese-American relations. Locally, the anti-Japanese groups find it a simple matter to enroll parties and candidates on their side; and the appeal to this manifestation of "One Hundred Per Cent Americanism" is welcomed by aspirations for office. The situation is unlike that of Greeks and Italians, for example, whose votes are courted in Massachusetts and elsewhere; there are very few Orientals who are registered voters, therefore political campaigns based largely on this issue entail the minimum amount of possible political damage. It is noteworthy that Federal anti-Oriental legislation, directed first against the Chinese and later against the Japanese, has been agitated and passed just before Presidential elections. Coast friends of the Orientals sometimes claim that the whole movement is political. Actually, however, the local politicians are interpreting the real feelings of the majority of their constituents, while Congress has become duly impressed with the political balance held by California and the other Coast states and the apparently inflexible stand taken on the exclusion issue. The overwhelming passage of Section 13 of the Immigration Act of 1924 was due principally to the concentrated

attention and education given to national Congressmen by the determined spokesmen for a "White California." In the opinion of the writer, this was an excellent example of the use, and abuse, of the legislative function by a modern democracy.

EXCLUSION OR RESTRICTION?

California is too vast and too divergent in its interests to have any individual or group as its sole spokesman. Within the Golden State are the same extreme views which one would encounter in any part of the Union. For example, some preach and practice the Brotherhood of Man; some ask the same naturalization rights for Orientals as for Europeans; some prominent persons hope for Chinese indentured labor; and one meets individuals who are heartily in favor of denying citizenship to all persons of Asiatic origin. In the present analysis, these expressions can be discarded practically. Too much consideration, however, cannot be given to the nearly unanimous view that either exclusion or restriction of immigration is necessary; the only divergence has been as to the method of dealing with the Japanese Government and the treatment of Orientals within our borders who have come virtually upon our invitation. Bishop Edward L. Parsons, of California, wrote in the *New York Churchman*:

To sum up: a true American policy is the same as a true Christian policy. It means an agreement with Japan in the interests of world peace to stop further immigration; and it means an honest effort to Americanize the Japanese already here. Until such efforts have failed, we have no right to appeal to what is essentially force.

Usually the immigration and Americanization features are much confused.

The extreme views of organized labor, the American Legion, the Native Sons, the Grange, together with ex-Senator Phelan, Attorney General

Webb, and V. S. McClatchy, are represented in the California Joint Immigration Committee, an organization which went on record in the fall of 1924 (partly as the result of a false charge regarding a Japanese resident, and partly to soften the blow of Section 13) as favoring the "square deal" for resident Orientals. The friendly Japanese Relations Committee of California reported in 1920 that "the greatest hindrance to friendly relations between Japan and the United States is the increasing number of permanent Japanese residents." Big business is well-disposed toward industrious aliens like the Japanese or Chinese.

The California Federation of Women's Clubs (1924) expressed to the women of the Orient and the Occident "our desire that we may arrive at an understanding of and a friendship for each other." The Commonwealth Club at San Francisco, in 1923, unanimously resolved that "immigration for the sake of cheap labor should be prohibited." The Southern California Sunday School Convention proceeded upon the assumption that "we understand that the Japanese Government is not asking for free immigration." An American missionary from Japan, speaking in Stockton lately, said: "There'll be no exclusive districts in the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . This does not mean that we missionaries believe in free and unlimited immigration of the Japanese. It is not the fact of exclusion to which we object—it is the method of exclusion. This is also the point of view taken by the Japanese." The church and missionary organizations have protested against the spirit and methods employed in dealing with Oriental relations, but they too do not publicly advocate unrestricted immigration, but state their Christian belief that they "are unalterably opposed to any and all legislation which discriminates

against any particular nation."¹¹ Finally, it should be made clear that the individual churches in the state do not authorize any outside organization to speak for them, but as individual communicants they are nevertheless in sympathy with the purpose, although not with the method, of Oriental immigration acts; and, it must be admitted, many ordained clergymen take a surprisingly extreme stand for exclusion. Generally speaking, however, there is abundant evidence in California of great latent goodwill towards Japan and the Japanese, once fears are removed or greatly diminished.¹²

These words of President Ray Lyman Wilbur, of Stanford University, to Dr. Tasuku Harada, in 1920, are doubtless true to-day:

The present anti-Japanese sentiment seems to me to be fairly universal among all classes of citizens (except perhaps among those who might be called the strictly intellectual groups) in California, Washington and Oregon. The present temper of the people of California is not normal and would be hard to satisfy. . . . My own idea is that an open survey of the whole question by representatives of both nations would lead to a clear understanding of all the problems involved and would clear away many of the misconceptions.

¹¹ Rev. F. M. Larkin, executive secretary of the California State Church Federation, wrote me in August, 1925: "On the subject of immigration, there is a wide difference of opinion. In the north there are more people than in the south who are opposed to all Oriental immigration. It is my opinion, however, that the majority of ministers and our people are in favor of a law which would provide for the admission of Orientals into this country on exactly the same basis as immigration from European countries. There is a strong opposition to unlimited immigration and it is believed that the small number of Orientals who would be admitted under such a provision would not disturb our social relations with the Orient, which we believe is essential to the future civilization."

¹² The state of public opinion in 1920, somewhat less vehement now, appears in the following extract of a talk before the Commonwealth Club by Congressman William Kent: "We have reason

To iron out these misunderstandings, to secure "a meeting of the minds," is the great task in Japanese-American co-operation upon which depends a continued happy era of "Peace on the Pacific." Public opinion in the two countries is now at logger-heads. Japan feels brutally injured by the abrupt disregarding of the Gentlemen's Agreement through the enactment of a statutory exclusion act. Many Californians deeply regret the means chosen by Congress to reach an end attainable equally well by means acceptable to both peoples. Now that the offense has been inflicted, they, like other sensitive Americans, are at a loss to know how to placate Japan. Japan, on the other hand, claims to oppose as strongly as Americans a mass immigration movement of her subjects into the rich state of California. *Since the population increase is the only issue about which Californians are seriously concerned,*¹³ *the question is more a matter of mutual understanding than of irreconcilable differences.*

INADVISABILITY OF QUOTA PLAN

From even the California point of view, the application of the quota

to fear Japan, unless we watch our step. Japan is deliberate in its motions. I am sure as I can be of anything that it looks forward to conquest—to settlement of many parts of the world. I do not blame the Japanese for this. I have seen a very frank statement from a Japanese professor who stated that they were in close quarters; that they proposed to expand; that the white race had grabbed off the best part of the land and they proposed to get their part of it. This isn't pleasant to consider, from the standpoint of our white descendants. It points clearly to what may happen.

"I have long been an apostle of peace. I have gone as far as a man could in that direction, but I can't go far enough in my desire for peace to look forward to the Mongolizing of the state of California or the United States, nor to the creation of a mongrel race."

¹³ What better evidence is there than the statement of the Japanese Relations Committee in 1920, when the Sub-Committee composed of Reuben B. Hale, now president of California De-

provision to Japanese would make no material difference in the number of immediate immigrants, but it would be a loop-hole providing a change was made in the general Immigration Act to permit the admission of relatives. Stated more fully, these are the arguments contained in the latest publication of the California Joint Immigration Committee, which would be endorsed by hundreds of thousands of Californians:

Adoption of the plan would entail abandonment of the Nation's established policy of excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship and of the principle upon which that policy is founded; it would necessitate granting a similar privilege to all Asiatic races, or gratuitously offending many of them by discriminating against them and in favor of Japanese; it is known now that the quota plan alone would not satisfy Japan and her friends, and that it would serve only as an entering wedge for demand for unrestricted entrance of women for wives, for land ownership and for citizenship, etc.

Furthermore, in the opinion of the writer, it is decidedly questionable whether the reopening of the immigration provisions would not be the worst possible procedure for pricking national sensibilities already sore but in a healing process. Already there are portents that Californians who have been past leaders in anti-Oriental agitation

would not raise serious objections to a revision of certain of the discriminatory state statutes.¹⁴

IN CONCLUSION

What is most needed is a clearing house of information, such as may be expected from the recently organized Institute of Pacific Relations which met in Hawaii this summer. Most important, however, it is to discover and harmonize the views of the following important groups: (1) the American, Chinese and Japanese governments; (2) the Orientals located on the American and Canadian Pacific Coast; (3) the native white residents of this Pacific area. Who should be the prime spokesman for American-resident Orientals? In conclusion, from an analysis of the various factors in the situation, the writer believes that the past California position, which in many respects has virtually become the American position,¹⁵ can within a few years undergo a considerable modification in both its public and private aspects.

embodied, as Japanese policy, in the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is understood that the Japanese Government intends to take further steps toward the more effective practical realization of the purposes of the Agreement, and it is evident that the two governments should co-operate to this end. Criticism of the failure of the Gentlemen's Agreement to prevent the increase of population does not raise any question of good faith of the Japanese Government in its actions under the Agreement, but does recognize that there are individual Japanese who desire to evade its intent, and that the people of California believe that many of them have succeeded in doing so."

¹⁴ This bears out the statement in the *Tentative Findings of The Survey of Race Relations* that "Since the enactment of the land laws and the Federal exclusion law, the Pacific Coast has had a kindlier feeling toward its Japanese population."

¹⁵ President Coolidge, in signing the Immigration Act of 1924, made this statement regarding the exclusion provision: "There is scarcely any ground for disagreement as to the result we want, but this method of securing it is unnecessary and deplorable at this time."

velopment Association, Milton H. Esberg, a leading Coast business man, and Chester H. Rowell, now president of the California Academy of Social Science, reported to Chairman Wallace M. Alexander, for several years president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and leader in State activities: "The existing dissatisfaction with the Gentlemen's Agreement among the people of California is due to the fact that during the life of that Agreement the Japanese immigrant population has substantially increased. The people will be satisfied with anything which actually results in a cessation of that increase and will continue critical unless this occurs. The test will be the fact, regardless of explanations. The reasons why this result is desirable are well understood in both countries, and have been

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Matsuzo Hagei

(50)

STATISTICS
Showing Movements of Japanese
To and from the United States

For the Calendar Years
1908 and 1909

Japanese Immigration

Consulate General of Japan,
San Francisco, Cal., February, 1910.

The following figures, taken from statistics received by this Consulate General from the Foreign Office of the Japanese Government show the tendency of the movement of Japanese to and from the Continent of the United States during the calendar years 1908 and 1909.

Statistics Showing Movements of Japanese to and from the Continent of the United States.

For the Twenty-four Months Ending December 31, 1909.

Months 1908	Departures from Japan for the United States			Arrivals in Japan from the United States			Excess departures from Japan for the United States	Excess arrivals in Japan from the United States
	Non- laborers	Laborers*	Total	Non- laborers	Laborers	Total		
January ..	294	119	413	31	411	442	...	29
February .	321	148	469	49	479	528	...	59
March ...	383	157	540	28	297	325	215	...
April	368	259	627	35	337	372	255	...
May	201	225	426	27	299	326	100	...
June	165	145	310	14	274	288	22	...
July	133	148	281	23	489	512	...	231
August ..	105	58	163	18	339	357	...	194
September	103	73	176	10	292	302	...	126
October ..	77	75	152	19	582	601	...	449
November.	90	53	143	35	593	628	...	485
December.	64	62	126	18	794	812	...	686
Totals..	2,304	1,522	3,826	307	5,186	5,493	592	2,259

* The term "laborer" in this column covers Japanese who have returned to their former domiciles in the United States within six months after their departure therefrom for Japan, being mostly manual workers in the agricultural districts. It also includes the wives and children of those who now reside in the United States as laborers. Neither new laborers nor laborers whose stay in Japan exceeds six months after their return from the United States are now leaving Japan for American territory.

Months	Departures from Japan for the United States			Arrivals in Japan from the United States			Excess departures from Japan for the United States	Excess arrivals in Japan from the United States
	Non- laborers	Laborers*	Total	Non- laborers	Laborers	Total		
1909								
January ..	56	52	108	15	280	295	...	187
February..	51	64	115	20	193	213	...	98
March ...	113	52	165	29	348	377	...	212
April	122	66	188	26	227	253	...	65
May	77	65	142	27	354	381	...	239
June	114	79	193	11	178	189	4	...
July	119	65	184	12	270	282	...	98
August ..	121	50	171	8	217	225	...	54
September.	103	49	152	12	225	237	...	85
October ..	120	47	167	24	635	659	...	492
November.	153	50	203	18	493	511	...	308
December.	105	20	125	88	828	916	...	791
Totals..	1,254	659	1,913	290	4,248	4,538	4	2,629

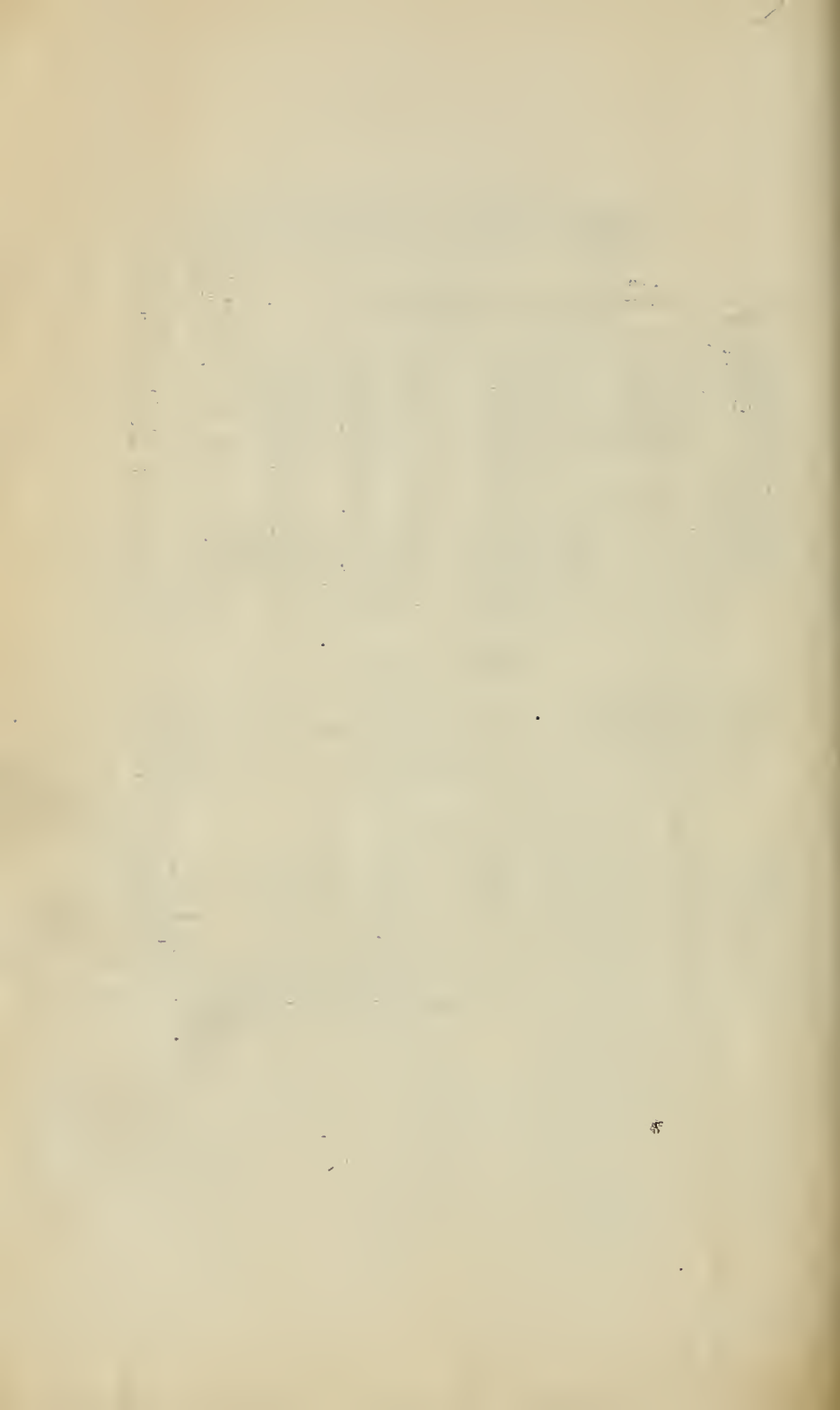
Recapitulation.

Net excess of all arrivals in Japan over departures for 1908.	1,667
Net excess of all arrivals in Japan over departures for 1909.	2,625
Total excess for 24 months ending December 31, 1909..	4,292

Laborers.

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 1908....	3,664
Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 1909....	3,589
Total net excess of arrivals in Japan for two years.....	7,253

MATSUZO NAGAI,
Acting Consul General of Japan, San Francisco.



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001

A Call for Comprehensive Immigration Legislation

SIDNEY L. GULICK

Associate Secretary of the Commission on Peace
and Arbitration of the Federal Council of
the Churches of Christ in America

Secretary of the American Branch of the World
Alliance of the Churches for the Promo-
tion of International Friendship

105 East Twenty-Second Street
New York City

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

A Call for Comprehensive Immigration Legislation

Without question one of the greatest problems before the American people today is that of the just and efficient treatment of the incoming tide of alien peoples. Our immigration laws are unsystematic, inadequate and discriminatory. Moreover our provisions for the proper treatment, distribution and education of aliens already admitted are seriously defective or entirely wanting. Vast immigration from Europe seriously complicates and aggravates the already serious problems of an employment and industrial unrest. We find ourselves accordingly, increasingly embarrassed both internally and internationally. Has not the time come for comprehensive legislation dealing with the entire immigration question? My proposals in their briefest form are as follows:

1. America should admit as immigrants only so many aliens from any land as she can Americanize.

Americanization, however, takes place largely by means of those already Americanized, who know the language, customs, and ideals of both peoples—ours and theirs.

2. All immigration should therefore be limited to a definite per cent (say five) annually from each land of those already naturalized from that land with their American born children. This rate would allow large immigration from Europe, differing of course in actual number with the different countries, and yet at the same time would permit only a slight immigration from Asia, not more than a few hundred each annually from China and Japan.

Provision should also be made for the care and rapid Americanization of all who do come to America. It is therefore important to establish:

3. **A Bureau of Registration**; all aliens to be and to remain registered until they become citizens. There should be an annual registration fee of say ten dollars, or perhaps five.

4. Also a **Bureau of Education**—to set standards, prepare text books, and hold examinations, free of charge. The registration fee should be reduced perhaps by \$1.00 for every examination passed.

5. Also new regulations for the **Bureau of Naturalization**. Certificates of graduation from the Bureau of Education and of good behaviour from the Bureau of Registration should be essential to Naturalization. All new citizens might well take the oath of allegiance to the flag on the Fourth of July, on which day there should be processions with banners and badges, welcome orations and responses.

6. **Eligibility to American citizenship should be based on personal qualifications**. The mere fact of race should be neither a qualification nor a disqualification.

7. And finally, we need **Congressional Legislation giving adequate responsibility and authority to the federal administration for the protection of aliens**.

Such comprehensive legislation would coordinate, systematize and rationalize our entire immigration policy, free it from invidious race discrimination, protect American labor from danger of sudden and excessive immigration from any land, and promote the wholesome assimilation of all new-comers. It would also safeguard our democratic institutions. The difficult problems connected with European immigration would thus be met in a comprehensive and thoroughly rational way. Our relations with Japan and China would be set right. Such a policy would thus maintain and deepen our international friendship on every side and help secure our share of the enormous commerce which is to develop in the near future between the East and the West.

Among the many important Congresses held during the past summer at the Panama-Pacific International

Exposition was that on International Immigration. It passed the following resolution:

Whereas, There is being created a new Orient equipped with the machinery and ideas of modern civilization and alert to the demands of the modern world, and

Whereas, There has existed and still exists between the United States and all the nations of the Orient a deep and abiding feeling of good will and neighborliness, and

Whereas, It is the evident desire of all good Americans to perpetuate the present state of amity and good understanding through a just treatment of all races, therefore be it

Resolved, That this International Immigration Congress urge upon Congress and upon the people of the United States, the importance of adopting an Oriental policy, the fundamental principle of which shall be the just and equitable treatment of all races, and to this end suggest that the entire immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalization of immigrants), in such a way as to conserve American institutions; to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the peoples of all nations.

The Fifth International Peace Congress among its many important resolutions also passed the following:

"This body urges the Congress of the United States to adopt an immigration policy based on the just and equitable treatment of all races—a policy that will grant the rights of citizenship regardless of race and nationality; and to provide that all aliens should be under the special protection of the national government."

SIDNEY L. GULICK.

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9

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

JAPAN AND THE SHANTUNG AFFAIR

KEEP THE ORIENTALS IN ASIA

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1919



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

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SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

JAPAN AND THE SHANTUNG AFFAIR.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, on account of the fact that the Pacific coast is deeply interested in the settlement of this question, I desire to suggest a new line of thought, in part, which may be of interest to the Senate. Our familiarity with the Japanese in California entitles us, I venture to say, to express an informed opinion, and in approaching this question I am sure the people of California will divest themselves of any prejudice, if they see a larger advantage to their country in taking their stand in this crisis side by side with the treaty of peace with Germany and the Covenant of the League to enforce it.

When Commodore Perry opened Japan he did not know what was in it. Ever since it has been a Pandora's box of trouble; but we, having brought this oriental problem on ourselves, are now obliged to find a remedy or a way out.

It is not the concern of China alone, but of the United States as well. The world itself is a party at the bar. We are talking of the political and economic policy of Japan. We are discussing her paramount position in Asia. If not restrained, sir, she will reduce all Asia. She has come into the Pacific. She has crossed the Pacific. Several administrations have had so much respect for her prowess at arms that they have offered no effective resistance to her peaceful penetration of America! At this very hour the Pacific coast is invaded and the Territory of Hawaii, "the key of the Pacific," is in her hands. She has there an army of occupation. Her reservists are in possession. Twelve thousand Americans face 112,000 Japanese in the naval base of our Pacific Fleet! She is there about ready to take peaceful and legal control of the civil government. Yesterday I read this Associated Press report in a Washington newspaper:

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *October 3.*

Within 14 years Hawaiian-born Japanese will hold the political control of this Territory, according to the Rev. Dmetaro Okumura, a prominent Japanese clergyman, speaking at a church convention here. To prepare for the inevitable, declared the Rev. Mr. Okumura, it is essential that greater efforts be made to Americanize the younger Japanese who are growing into the franchise.

Born on the soil, they are still ineradicably Japanese. These people do not amalgamate with our own. They are permanently foreign, nonassimilable, and ineligible to citizenship, and owe

allegiance to Japan. In California alone 100,000 Japanese, constantly increasing by law evasion, surreptitious entry, and by a phenomenal birth rate, are repeating the story of Hawaii, with the added peril of extensive land ownership and control. The best agricultural lands of the State are falling into their hands. The movement, I believe, is directed from Tokyo. Although not accompanied yet by the tramp of marching troops and the salvos of naval guns, it is none the less a real conquest. The Caucasian flees before the advancing Coolie. It is time to sound our trumpets and hold our ground!

You will understand, then, in approaching a discussion of this question, raised by the Shantung amendment, I am not ignorant of the dangers that lurk in Japanese dominancy in the Pacific. I would, by any legitimate means, check her advance or turn her armies. Turn them where? Why, back upon Asia, where they belong. "The Lord made all men of one blood, but determined the bounds of their habitation." My answer therefore is that the remedy must be found either in the covenant of the league of nations or in the increase of our naval armament; and I am in favor of trying the league first. I see in the Shantung amendment the seeds of treaty disaster, and therefore I shall oppose it. Let us analyze the situation.

The award by the peace conference of Shantung to Japan, as embodied in the treaty of peace with Germany, articles 156, 157, and 158, reads as follows:

Germany renounces in favor of Japan all her rights, title, and privileges, particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines, and submarine cables which she acquired by virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

Other paragraphs specify details. Twenty-one years ago Germany acquired, by treaty, from China, without protest from the United States, the rights herein enumerated for a period of 99 years. The methods by which this was obtained may be open to question just as the methods by which the other countries, including our own, have acquired territory. Soon after the war was declared in 1914 Japan entered the conflict by declaring war against Germany; and later entered into secret agreements with England and France, Italy and Russia, by which she was to acquire the German concession—doubtless as a reward for her participation in the war. Subsequently, the United States entered the war, and at the Versailles conference learned for the first time of the bargain which Japan had made. By treaty China herself has since confirmed the German rights to Japan. That is the law of the case. What service did Japan render? What was the consideration? Before the secret treaty was negotiated she sent her armies against Germany and drove that

power out of Asia by taking, by force of arms, Germany's holdings in the Shantung Peninsula; and the treaty of peace with Germany seeks to confirm Japan's successiou to German rights. *Japan also expects to be awarded* the mandatory of the German islands north of the Equator.

As an ally, Japan protected the Pacific against the enemy, and by reason of her alliance with the Entente Powers the United States was free to send her Army and Navy abroad, which resulted in the winning of the war. If Japau had allied herself with Germany—and there was always a fear of this—the United States could not have afforded to have left unguarded her Pacific possessions, which would have kept her troops and ships at home. So as it turned out, the services of Japan were of real value, although she did not send her armies to the front and was very chary with respect to the disposition of her ships.

Because the United States asked nothing for its services, we are disposed to look upon the other nations as international profiteers, and this has biased our minds against the countries which have sought and secured their own aggrandizement. One of the German islands, the island of Yap, is desired by the United States for radio and cable purposes, and it is yet a question whether the award shall be made. That it should be made, there is no reasonable question, because the only object is to improve our international communications, which should be of benefit to the eastern world. Unless we are prepared to deny Great Britain, France, and Italy the spoils of war, we can not with entire consistency in the circumstances exclude Japan. It offends, I will however admit, one's sense of justice to see a country peopled by the Chinese taken over by either the Germans or the Japanese, the English or the French, who do not claim to have any considerable number of their nationals in the territory, but who take it for purposes of expansion or trade exploitation.

The Japanese are a very prolific people, and have been constantly seeking more territory for their excess population, and have in turn taken Formosa and Korea, neighboring States. They had beaten China in war in 1894, and had taken a part of Manchuria. They had, in 1904, beaten Russia, taken Port Arthur, and established their position as a world power. The Chinese Republic, so called, with a population of 400,000,000, is so badly organized that it can not defend itself against vastly inferior numbers, and has been and is exposed to the predatory territorial and trade designs of other countries as well as Japan. All America has a genuine sympathy for unfortunate China; but how far should America go in this case, and how far to save China from further absorption by Japan? In this case Japau had not vaultonly attacked China, but had attacked Ger-

many and taken away German rights which were conceded by treaty to Germany by the Chinese, who later by treaty confirmed them to Japan.

Hereafter, under the constitution of the league of nations, Japan can not commit an act of aggression against China without incurring the prescribed penalties. In other words, the league is China's future protection; and if an attempt is now made to disturb Japan's title to rights in Shantung without her consent it is probable that Japan would withdraw from the league; and she is quite equal to making alliances with other countries, such as Russia and Germany, as soon as they are rehabilitated. The question therefore is one not for the expression of our sympathy or resentment or for the reconquest of Shantung against Japan, but to see how far the success of the league and the peace of the world are served by our noninterference at this time. Japan has promised to restore Shantung to China, but asks to be allowed to do it in her own way; but the league can, if so disposed, hold her to it.

Let me repeat, the nationals of Japan are swarming the Pacific, and have made very serious inroads upon the Pacific coast of the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. Two hundred and fifty thousand Japanese, it is estimated, are in the United States and our Territory of Hawaii, and constantly increasing. In California they are absorbing the best agricultural lands and driving the white men from the country in a fierce competitive struggle. It is only a matter of a short time, unless interrupted, when Japan will be master of agricultural California. The "gentlemen's agreement" has broken down; and I have recently introduced a bill in the Senate which, if enacted into law, will exclude Japanese just as the Chinese are excluded now.

It is our stern duty to consider the interests of our own country before the interests of any other land; and not only are our own interests embraced in the preservation of peace but in ridding America of the Japanese incubus. If Japan must expand, then her expansion in Shantung, by agreement with China, and in Siberia is more acceptable to us than her expansion in America, both North and South. She has inaugurated a steamship service which dominates the Pacific, and is landing her nationals upon North and South American shores. If we exclude Japan from America as a wise national policy, then we should not be unduly alarmed about Asia. But we need go no further than Shantung in the acceptance of this idea. What she now holds in Asia is an ample field. The league of nations will prevent her forcible expansion in the future, and Japan is a member of the league of nations. For this purpose we must keep her there.

The President, at the peace conference, reluctantly consented to this arrangement, doubtless for these reasons, because he could not mend the past; because he could not repudiate—not having the power—the treaties entered into by England and France, Italy and Russia, with Japan. He made the best of the situation by consenting to the granting of the German lease to Japan, having exacted a promise that she would return the territory to China, and he has since requested an expression from Japan as to her present intentions as to the date of the transfer. That was as far as he saw fit, thinking principally of his own country, to go. As to China, a decrepit nation, taught nonresistance by Confucius, without apparently the means of defending her own territory, the league of nations, with Japan included, certainly seems to be for her a great and permanent boon. Does China want us to abandon the league or leave Japan out of it? No one will blame China for making her protest; and she ultimately may attain a position of power by which, like France and Italy, she may be able to win back her lost Provinces and measure her strength with the "Huns of the East." "Hereditary bondsmen know ye not who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Japan, German trained, is, in all respects, like the defunct German Empire, seeking power and territory, and, if not arrested by the league of nations, will ultimately be the cause of another and more serious war. And the United States is deeply concerned in checking the unholy ambition of Japan just as she did check the ambition of Germany, and it is by force of the league of nations that this may be done, possibly without involving a clash of arms, but simply by the moral weight of the associated nations and their power to exert economic pressure. Germany was allowed to progress too far. Japan is yet in the infancy of her budding dream of empire, so the task is not difficult to check her without humiliating her nor offending what has become peculiarly Japanese—national sensibilities. Let us see whether she will keep her promise to China before we post her as a "welcher" and bar her from the society of nations.

When the Philippine commission was in Washington last summer, its members testified before the Joint Committee on the Philippines and prayed for independence. They admitted that by the guiding hand of the United States, over a period of 20 years, they were fitted to assume control of their own government. At that hearing this colloquy occurred, taken from the record:

Senator PHELAN. I would like to ask, Mr. Quezon, if, after you were assured of independence, would it be the intention of your government

to apply to the league of nations, if it exists at that time, for membership, and would you regard that as a sufficient protection against outside aggression?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; I think so.

Senator PHELAN. And your desire is to have your independence within a reasonable time in order that you might make that application for membership in the league of nations.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

And then he went on to testify that, in case the Philippines did not join the league of nations, the United States would, he thought, resent any attempt by Japan to attack the Philippines after their independence had been granted by the United States—that is to say, the people of the Philippines look first to the league of nations, and, failing in membership, look to the United States, on account of the special obligation we have toward that country.

But by joining the league of nations they will save themselves from aggression and at the same time save the United States from engaging in a war with Japan. This shows very clearly not only the security which China will also enjoy against future aggression, but it also shows how the league tends to avert war and to preserve the peace of the Pacific and of the world.

While I am frank to say that I would go far to cripple the present and potential menace of Japan in the Pacific, I do not see how that purpose can be served by dividing the league of nations and seeking vainly, with the aid of the other powers, to deny her the German rights in Shantung. On account of the treaty obligations, England, France, and Italy are in no position to join with us in any such revision of the treaty even if they were well disposed; and any upset on this question at this time might result in the isolation of the United States, and, certainly, the disruption of the league. Furthermore, does not Japan's own promise to China, the President, and the conference relieve us of the necessity of action at this time?

But let China know that the league, for the first time, sets up a tribunal to which she can make appeal and seek a settlement; or, at the worst, at the expiration of the lease, the league, if it endures, can enforce the terms of the treaty of peace with Germany granting only a lease, and to save her sovereignty.

But, Mr. President, why, therefore, should Senators express such hysterical concern? Remember collaterally that Japan and China, if united and organized, would be a great menace to America and Europe. And would it not be a real diplomatic achievement to keep Japan and China apart, which, while it is far from our purpose, is at this time actually accomplished by the irritation growing out of the Shantung incident. Japan is disposed to yield, in some particulars, to placate China,

because it is her imperial policy to use China in the fulfillment of her ambitious designs. The nations of the world, for their own interests, are opposed to the further dismemberment of China, and it is not improbable that article 10 was set up, among other reasons, as a bulwark against Japanese aggression. China, if no other recourse was left her, could well afford to pay with the temporary Shantung lease for this protection.

So, from whatever angle you look upon it, in the light of American interests, it seems to be a situation to leave severely alone: and, beyond all question of doubt, there is nothing in the compulsory solution of it at this time favorable to China which would offset the grave danger to the peace of the world by the otherwise probable disruption of the league of nations.

But a false issue has been interjected into the debate. Japan's invasion of America has suggested a punitive expedition into Asia, and here, it is said, is our opportunity.

I do not see how the question of Japanese immigration and naturalization is involved in this matter at all.

We will not consent to "race equality," which involves immigration, naturalization, the elective franchise, land ownership, and intermarriage. It was rejected at Paris. These are domestic questions with which the league has no concern, and, lest there be a doubt under article 11 as to the power of the league to take jurisdiction, I am in favor of an explicit interpretative reservation on the subject.

For the reasons stated, which seem to me conclusive, I will vote against the Shantung amendment. I am dispassionate. I am calmly considering American interests. I am not indulging in hatred of Japan nor seeking to injure her, actuated by either fear or resentment. Neither am I sentimental. I have asked myself, "What is best for the United States in this crisis? What is best for China and the world?"

If an uncompromising attitude on our part should alienate Great Britain and France and Italy and force them to stand for Japan, pursuant to their treaty obligations, it might jeopardize the success of the league of nations itself and the treaty of peace with Germany, which embody the fruits of victory. The world hangs upon our decision.

We should, in the spirit of a watchful, benign, and unselfish Republic, remain in the league, and, by disinterested counsel and the moral power of our exalted position, guide its deliberations aright.

We acted with magnanimity in the war; we shall not assume a mean and pusillanimous part in the constructive work of peace.

COMPARATIVE TABLES

Showing the number of Japanese that would be in each State

NOTICE

Since publication, a Japanese authority stated that the Japanese population of San Francisco (1908) was 13,885. This increases by one third the figures relative to the proportionate number that would be in the cities herein mentioned.

A.D. Yoell, Sec'y.

815 Metropolis Building,
San Francisco, Cal.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MARCH, 1907

because it is her imperial policy to use China in the fulfillment of her ambitious designs. The nations of the world, for their own interests, are opposed to the further dismemberment

Great Britain and France and Italy and force them to stand for Japan, pursuant to their treaty obligations, it might jeopardize the success of the league of nations itself and the treaty of peace with Germany, which embody the fruits of victory. The world hangs upon our decision.

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We acted with magnanimity in the war; we shall not assume a mean and pusillanimous part in the constructive work of peace.

COMPARATIVE TABLES

Showing the number of Japanese that would be in each State and fifty cities of 50,000 population and upwards, if each State and City had a Japanese population in proportion to whites, as exists in California and San Francisco.

PUBLISHED BY

THE JAPANESE AND KOREAN EXCLUSION LEAGUE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MARCH, 1907

INTRODUCTORY.

These tables are submitted by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League to illustrate the danger to our social, industrial and political life accompanying the continued influx of Orientals to the mainland of the United States, or, by the admission to the rights of American citizenship of those already here.

The data used for these tabulations are from the Report of the Twelfth Census and figures on file with the Exclusion League. The purpose of this publication is to show the number of Japanese that would be in each State and each large city if the conditions existing in California and other parts of the Pacific Coast were duplicated throughout the United States.

For the purpose of conciseness no attempt has been made to use the percentages or fractional parts usually contained in tabulations of this nature, but the lower figures have been used in every instance, even when benefiting the Japanese side of the question.

An effort has been made to explain each table in detail so that the purpose for which it has been compiled may be perceived, readily and understandingly.



Please acknowledge receipt.

TABLE 1.

Showing the number of Japanese that would be in each State if each had a Japanese population proportionate to that of California. Compiled for the year 1907 from the Twelfth Census Report, and the known number of Japanese in California, January 1, 1907:

STATE.	1900.	1900.	1900.	1900.	1907.
	Chinese in the United States.....	Japanese in the United States.....	Population, exclusive of Japanese.....	Japanese that would have been in each State if proportion had been same as in California..	Japanese that would now be in each State if proportionate increase were the same as in California.....
Alabama	58	3	1,828,694	12,611	75,666
Alaska	3,116	265	63,327	436	2,616
Arizona	1,419	281	122,650	851	5,106
Arkansas	62	.....	1,311,564	9,045	54,270
California	45,755	10,151	1,474,902	10,151	60,906
Colorado	599	48	539,654	3,654	21,924
Connecticut	599	18	908,402	6,900	41,520
Delaware	51	1	184,734	1,274	7,644
District of Columbia.....	455	7	278,711	1,922	11,532
Florida	120	1	528,541	3,645	21,870
Georgia	204	1	2,216,230	15,285	91,710
Hawaii	25,767	61,111	92,890	61,111	61,111
Idaho	1,467	1,291	(125) 160,481	1,294	7,744
Illinois	1,503	80	4,821,470	33,251	199,506
Indiana	207	5	2,516,457	17,355	104,130
Indian Territory.....	27	.....	392,060	2,704	16,224
Iowa	104	7	2,231,846	15,392	92,352
Kansas	39	4	1,470,491	10,141	60,846
Kentucky	57	.....	2,147,174	14,808	88,848
Louisiana	599	17	1,381,608	9,528	57,168
Maine	119	4	694,462	4,100	24,600
Maryland	544	9	1,888,035	8,193	49,158
Massachusetts	2,768	53	2,805,293	19,339	116,034
Michigan	240	9	2,420,973	16,696	100,176
Minnesota	166	57	1,751,343	12,078	72,468
Mississippi	237	.....	1,551,270	10,690	64,140
Missouri	449	9	3,106,656	21,451	128,176
Montana	1,739	2,441	(98) 240,888	2,455	14,720
Nebraska	180	3	1,066,297	7,354	44,124
Nevada	1,352	228	42,107	290	1,740
New Hampshire.....	112	1	411,587	2,838	17,028
New Jersey.....	1,393	52	1,883,617	12,990	77,940
New Mexico	341	8	195,302	1,347	8,082
New York.....	7,170	354	7,268,540	50,128	300,768
North Carolina.....	57	.....	1,893,810	13,061	78,366
North Dakota.....	32	148	318,998	2,200	13,200
Ohio	371	27	4,157,578	28,672	172,032
Oklahoma	31	.....	398,331	2,747	16,482
Oregon	10,397	2,501	411,035	2,835	17,010
Pennsylvania	1,927	40	6,302,075	43,462	260,772
Rhode Island.....	366	13	428,543	2,955	17,730
South Carolina.....	67	.....	1,340,316	9,243	55,458
South Dakota.....	165	1	401,569	2,769	16,614
Tennessee	75	4	2,020,612	13,935	83,610
Texas	836	13	3,048,697	21,025	126,150
Utah	572	417	276,332	1,905	11,430
Vermont	39	.....	343,641	2,370	14,220
Virginia	243	243	1,854,174	12,787	76,722
Washington	3,259	5,617	(691) 512,486	5,617	33,702
West Virginia.....	56	56	958,800	6,613	39,678
Wisconsin	212	212	2,069,037	14,269	85,614
Wyoming	461	461	92,138	639	3,810
U. S. Army and Navy....	304	284			
Total	119,050	86,000	76,317,387	588,411	3,224,447

Table 1 shows conclusively that if the States east of the Rocky Mountains had a Japanese population proportionate with that of California, the question of exclusion would appear to them more worthy of consideration than at present. The table shows, also, the number of Chinese and Japanese in each State as per census of 1900, the population of each State (not including Japanese), the number of Japanese that would have been in each State in 1900 if in the same proportion to the other population as in California, and also the number that would be in each State at the present time, if computed upon the proportionate increase in this State.

In 1900 the proportion of Japanese to all others in California was 1 to 145, and column 4 indicates the number that would have been in each State at the taking of the census in 1900, providing the proportion in California were maintained throughout the country.

Between 1900 and January 1, 1907, the Japanese in California increased from 10,151 to about 65,000, or over 500 per cent. Column 5 shows how many Japanese would be in each State, in accordance with this marvelous and dangerous increase.

It will be seen that Hawaii is not credited with an increase, that Territory being merely a port of call for the immigrants, their real destination being the mainland. In 1900 three States had a greater proportion of Japanese than California—Idaho, with 1 to 125, Montana, 1 to 98, and Washington, 1 to 91; but for comparison the tabulations are computed upon the number of Japanese in California, 1 to 145 of all others.

TABLE 2.

Showing the number of Japanese that would be in cities of 100,000 population and cities of 50,000 and over if each had a Japanese population in proportion to those in San Francisco, 1 Japanese to 40 others.

1900	1900.	1907.	1907.
CITIES OF 100,000 AND OVER.	Number of Japanese per census of 1900.....	Estimated population of cities, based upon increase, 1890-1900.....	Number of Japanese that would be in each city if the proportion to other population were the same as in San Francisco.....
New York.....	286	3,591,703	89,792
Chicago.....	68	1,996,907	49,922
Philadelphia.....	12	1,417,063	35,426
St. Louis.....	4	636,972	15,924
Boston.....	29	617,709	15,427
Baltimore.....	4	546,216	13,655
Cleveland.....	11	441,975	11,049
Buffalo.....	1	400,748	10,018
San Francisco.....	1,781	400,000	10,000
Cincinnati.....	....	340,399	8,500
Pittsburgh.....	1	363,115	9,077
New Orleans.....	5	309,636	7,740
Detroit.....	2	325,618	8,140
Milwaukee.....	....	325,738	8,143
Washington.....	7	302,881	7,572
Newark.....	3	278,190	6,954
Jersey City.....	1	228,148	5,703
Louisville.....	....	226,532	5,663
Minneapolis.....	....	221,708	5,542
Providence.....	2	197,322	4,933
Indianapolis.....	1	201,028	5,025
Kansas City, Mo.....	2	179,270	4,481
St. Paul.....	5	178,019	4,450
Rochester.....	2	176,964	4,424
Toledo.....	....	157,016	3,925
Columbus.....	5	144,265	3,606
New Haven.....	11	121,391	3,034
Fall River.....	....	120,095	3,002
Denver.....	19	147,432	3,685
Memphis.....	....	121,232	3,030
Scranton.....	2	115,431	2,885
St. Joseph.....	....	128,306	3,207
Paterson.....	....	118,583	2,964
Worcester.....	....	135,304	3,382
Los Angeles.....	150	128,521	3,213
Total.....	2,414	15,339,432	383,493

1900.	1907.	1907.	1900.
CITIES OF 50,000 AND OVER.	Estimated population of cities, based upon increase, 1890-1900.....	Number of Japanese that would be in each city if the proportion to other population were the same as in San Francisco.....	Number of Japanese per census of 1900.....
Seattle	99,588	2,489	2,990
Oakland	150,000	3,750	194
Albany	94,151	2,553	....
Bridgeport	82,061	2,051	4
Camden	84,246	2,106	....
Charleston, S. C.	56,020	1,400	....
Dayton	85,333	1,205	....
Des Moines.....	68,162	1,704	3
Duluth	62,896	1,572	....
Elizabeth	59,313	1,482	....
Erie	58,782	1,469	6
Evansville	63,132	1,578	....
Grand Rapids.....	101,208	2,530	....
Harrisburg	55,558	1,388	....
Hartford	93,160	2,329	....
Hoboken	67,222	1,680	2
Lawrence	71,511	1,787	....
Lowell	103,105	2,577	1
Lynn	74,906	1,872	....
Portland, Or.....	112,446	2,811	1,189
Total.....	1,642,800	40,333	4,389

In estimating the population of the above cities, the increase between the census returns of 1890 and 1900 were found and 50 per cent of that increase added to the number given in the report of 1900. For San Francisco and Oakland, however, an arbitrary estimate has been made, and possibly too small a one. The estimates of real estate men place the population of San Francisco between 400,000 and 450,000. It has been deemed wise to adopt the more conservative number.

The proportion of Japanese to all others in San Francisco has been placed at 1 to 40 others. The estimate of 10,000 as the Japanese population of this city is derived from a statement of Consul-General Uyeno, and that number is used as a basis for the computations, though it is certain there are a great many more.

Seattle, according to the table, has less Japanese than in 1900, but a conservative estimate places the number between 7,000 and 8,000. Oakland, with an estimated population of 150,000, is given 3,750 Japanese, some 1,500 too little, while the increase of the Japanese in Portland is much more than is shown in the tabulation. Honolulu has been omitted for obvious reasons, and though as indicated in Table 1, the Japanese population of Hawaii has not increased to any great extent, the population of Honolulu has become more Japanized, owing to the laborers deserting the plantations for city life. Honolulu in 1900 had 6,179 Japanese; today more than 10,000.

Analysis of this table shows us that the Japanese are prone to concentrate and form large colonies, silently occupying and tenaciously holding every vantage ground. A study of the increase of the Japanese (by counties, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1905), as shown on pages 7-8 of a pamphlet on Japanese immigration, etc., published by the Exclusion League, January 1, 1907, will indicate how rapidly these people increase when once they have established a small colony. This table illustrates what may happen or be expected when the trend of Japanese immigration is from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

TABLE 3.

Showing the possible result of Japanese and Chinese being admitted to citizenship, together with the number of Japanese voters that would be in each State were their numbers equal to those in California.

STATE.	1900.	1900.	1907.	1900.
	Males of voting age other than Japanese.....	Male Japanese of voting age.....	The number of Japanese voters there would be in each State if they were naturalized, and if each State had a number proportionate with that of California	Male Chinese of voting age.....
Alabama	413,859	3	41,385	52
Alaska	37,708	248	3,770	3,078
Arizona	43,880	201	4,388	1,277
Arkansas	313,836	.....	31,383	50
California.....	537,295	6,792	53,729	38,000
Colorado	185,678	30	18,567	555
Connecticut	280,318	22	28,031	553
Delaware	54,017	1	5,401	48
District of Columbia.....	83,814	9	8,381	404
Florida	139,600	1	13,960	116
Georgia	500,751	1	50,075	174
Hawaii	38,276	41,331	41,331	18,457
Idaho	53,042	890	5,304	1,370
Illinois	140,386	70	14,038	1,409
Indiana	720,206	4	72,020	191
Indian Territory.....	97,361	....	9,736	27
Iowa	635,288	10	63,528	88
Kansas	413,784	2	41,378	37
Kentucky	543,995	1	54,399	44
Louisiana	325,931	12	32,593	535
Maine	217,657	6	21,765	93
Maryland	321,997	6	32,199	480
Massachusetts	843,410	55	84,341	2,581
Michigan	719,471	7	71,947	217
Minnesota	506,753	41	50,675	143
Mississippi	349,177	....	34,917	199
Missouri	856,677	7	85,677	435
Montana	100,121	1,810	10,012	1,628
Nebraska	301,085	6	30,108	178
Nevada	17,532	178	1,753	1,209
New Hampshire.....	130,986	1	13,098	98
New Jersey.....	555,553	45	55,555	1,307
New York.....	2,184,965	317	218,496	6,612
New Mexico.....	55,061	6	5,506	306
North Carolina.....	417,577	1	41,757	43
North Dakota.....	95,093	124	9,509	30
Ohio	1,212,206	17	121,220	326
Oklahoma	109,191	...	10,919	32
Oregon	142,540	1,900	14,254	9,139
Pennsylvania	1,817,209	30	181,720	1,786
Rhode Island.....	127,130	14	12,713	336
South Carolina.....	283,325	....	28,332	61
South Dakota.....	112,681	....	11,268	140
Tennessec.....	487,376	4	48,737	64
Texas	737,760	8	73,776	762
Utah	66,875	297	6,687	526
Vermont	108,356	....	10,835	36
Virginia	447,805	10	44,780	228
Washington	191,210	4,362	19,121	3,348
Wisconsin	570,711	4	57,071	198
Wyoming	37,606	292	3,760	420
West Virginia.....	247,970	....	24,797	45
Total.....	21,170,619	59,176	2,030,680	99,741

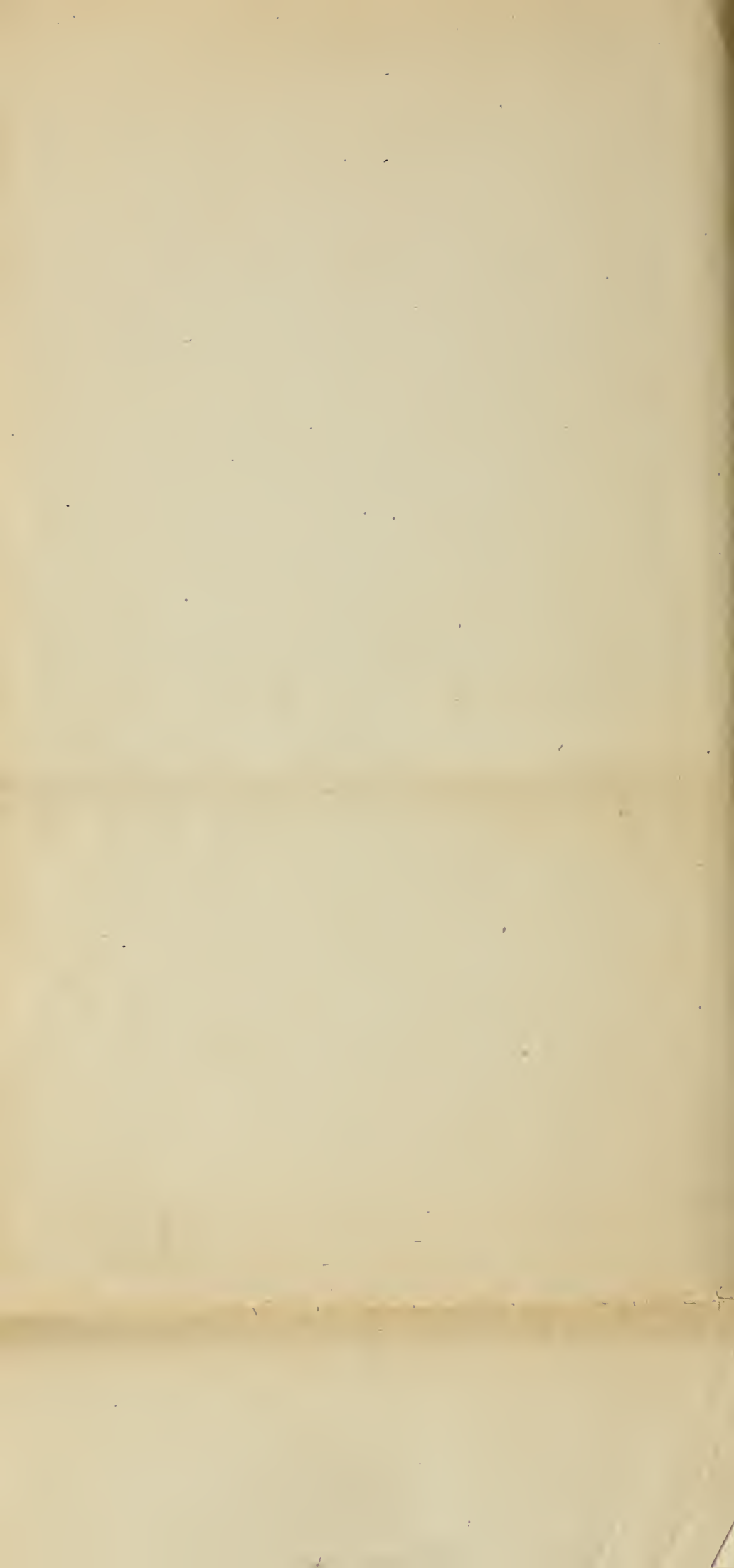
Table 3 indicates the population of Japanese of voting age to that of the whites.

Column 3 indicates the number of Japanese of voting age that would be in each State in 1907 if the proportion in California—1 Japanese to 10 of all others—were maintained throughout the whole country. In California the proportion of Japanese women and children to the males is very small and the figures, 53,729, indicating the number of Japanese males of voting age is well within the number that would be found by actual count. In 1900 there were also 38,000 Chinese of voting age in California, and today, notwithstanding the appreciable decrease in that element of our population, there are at least 30,000 Chinese of voting age in the State, which added to the Japanese of voting age, would make, if admitted to citizenship, fully one-sixth of the total voting population of California.

The people of California and of the United States stand aghast at the dangerous possibilities confronting them through the advocacy by certain Americans (?) of Mongolian citizenship.

Upon searching the census and other government reports for figures for this compilation, it was discovered that in many instances the Japanese are not separately classified, but are placed with the Chinese under the heading of Mongolians. This is particularly noticeable in the census and immigration reports and those of the ethnological division of the Smithsonian Institute. For this reason the figures above given are not so full as contemplated by the compilers.

Column 4 shows the number of Chinese of voting age in 1900. Between 1890-1900 there was a net decrease in the Chinese of 16.4 per cent. Between 1900-1907 the records of the various steamship companies show a steady decrease of Chinese, but the results of an investigation, on the Mexican boundary, by Special Agent Braun show that there is a steady flow of Chinese into the United States by that route. The conclusions are that, though the Chinese are decreasing in California, their numbers are increasing in the Atlantic States and in the States adjoining Canada.



STATEMENT OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

BY
CONSULATE GENERAL OF JAPAN

Analyzed and Compared with Monthly and Yearly Reports of
the United States Bureau of Immigration

BY
ASIATIC EXCLUSION LEAGUE
SEPTEMBER, 1909

San Francisco, Cal., September 24, 1909.

Statistical.

The following report sent out by the Acting Consulate General of Japan was mailed to every lawmaker in the United States, a copy of which was kindly furnished your office by Senator Marc Anthony of the 24th Senatorial District. This report deals with the movement of Japanese to and from the United States and the Territory of Hawaii for the 18 months ending June 30, 1909, and like all other reports that have emanated from Japanese authorities, is at variance with the General Immigration Reports of our Government. The Asiatic Exclusion League herewith submits for the consideration of our readers an analysis of the same:

Japanese Immigration.

Consulate General of Japan,
San Francisco, Cal., August, 1909.

The following figures, furnished by the Foreign Office of the Japanese Government to the Consul General in San Francisco, show the movements of Japanese to and from the Continent of the United States and the Territory of Hawaii during the calendar year 1908, and the first six months of 1909.

It is to be noted that they do not necessarily coincide with the compilations made by the United States Government for the same periods, due to the fact that the arrivals in United States territory do not always agree as to the months with the Japanese records of departure. It is also to be borne in mind that the Japanese tables do not cover travelers who enter and depart from the eastern ports of the United States, which movement augments slightly the figures prepared by the United States Government.

The term "laborer" covers former residents of the United States and the relatives of those now domiciled in the United States.

No new laborers are now leaving Japan for American territory.

To and From the Continent of the United States.

	Departures from Japan for U. S.			Arrivals in Japan from the U. S.			Excess departures from Japan to U. S.	Excess arrivals in Japan from U. S.
	Non-laborers	Laborers	Totals	Non-laborers	Laborers	Totals		
1908.								
January	294	119	413	31	411	442	...	29
February	321	148	469	49	479	528	...	59
March	383	157	540	28	297	325	215	...
April	368	259	627	35	337	372	255	...
May	201	225	426	27	599	326	100	...
June	165	145	310	14	274	288	22	...
July	133	148	281	23	489	512	...	213
August	105	58	163	18	339	357	...	194
September	103	73	176	10	292	302	...	126
October	77	75	152	19	582	601	...	449
November	90	53	143	35	593	628	...	485
December	64	62	126	18	794	812	...	686
Totals	2304	1522	3826	307	5186	5493	592	2259
1909.								
January	56	52	108	15	280	295	...	187
February	51	64	115	20	193	213	...	98
March	113	52	165	29	348	377	...	212
April	122	66	188	26	227	253	...	65
May	77	65	142	27	354	381	...	239
June	114	79	193	11	178	189	4	...
Totals	533	378	911	128	1580	1708	4	801

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for calendar year '08—1667

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 6 months, '09—797

Total excess for 18 months.....—2464

Departures from
Japan for HawaiiArrivals in Japan
from Hawaii

1908.	Departures from Japan for Hawaii			Arrivals in Japan from Hawaii			Excess departures from Japan for Hawaii.	Excess arrivals in Japan from Hawaii
	Non-laborers	Laborers	Totals	Non-laborers	Laborers	Totals		
January	22	699	721	3	298	301	420	...
February	25	378	403	2	289	291	112	...
March	22	283	305	1	263	264	41	...
April	15	419	434	0	311	311	123	...
May	12	549	561	4	461	465	96	...
June	32	171	203	5	519	524	...	321
July	12	243	255	1	612	613	...	358
August	7	121	128	8	355	363	...	235
September	12	108	120	14	400	414	...	294
October	20	125	145	3	434	437	...	292
November	24	95	110	9	396	405	...	286
December	23	151	174	2	193	195	...	21
Totals	226	3342	3568	52	4531	4583	792	1807

1909.

January	22	76	98	0	60	60	38	...
February	4	62	66	0	118	118	...	52
March	22	72	94	3	186	189	...	95
April	14	61	75	1	268	269	...	194
May	33	124	157	5	516	521	...	364
June	27	80	107	3	174	177	...	70
Totals	122	475	597	12	1322	1334	38	775

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 1908.....1807

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 6 months, '09.... 737

Total excess for 18 months2544

Recapitulation.

Excess arrivals in Japan from the United States for 18 months.....2464

Excess arrivals in Japan from Hawaii in 18 months.....2544

Decrease of Japanese population in American territory for 18 months....5008

MATSUZO NAGAI,

Acting Consul-General of Japan, San Francisco.

COMPARISON.

By a peculiar coincidence, the net decrease of Japanese given out by Consul-General Nagai (5008) corresponds exactly with the figures given out by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, when in San Francisco, which warrants the assumption that he obtained his information from the Japanese Consulate and not from the files of his own bureau.

A mere glance at the Consular tables shows an error of 792, in favor of the Japanese, caused by the failure of the compiler to subtract the number of excess departures from Japan to Hawaii (792) from the excess arrivals in Japan from Hawaii (1807). Instead of a net decrease of 5008, a careful summarization of the Consul's tables reduces the decrease to 4216.

Movement of Japanese to and from United States Territory from January 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909.

Departures from Japan for Mainland of United States..... 4737
 Departures from Japan for Territory of Hawaii..... 4165

Total departures from Japan..... 8902

Arrivals in Japan from Mainland of United States..... 7201

Arrivals in Japan from Territory of Hawaii..... 5917

Total arrivals in Japan13,118

Excess of arrivals in Japan over departures therefrom for the periods mentioned in Consular report..... 4216

So much has been said and written in refutation of statements issued by the various Japanese consulates that it hardly seems necessary to present in detail, month by month, the number of Japanese admitted and departing from United States territory. On several occasions since January 1, 1909, tabulations containing the information have been printed in the monthly proceedings of the League, all of them showing a wide discrepancy between the statistics of the United States Bureau of Immigration and those purporting to issue from the Foreign Office of the Japanese Government.

The compiler of the Japanese tables submitted states, very naively, that the monthly statements of Japanese officialdom differ from those of the United States, but the reasons advanced in explanation are far from being satisfactory. Though the monthly statements differ—and it is not unreasonable that they do—there can be no good or sufficient reason why the figures for a whole year—1908—for example, should differ to the extent of several thousands. That such is the case may be proven by a comparison of the opposing statements.

The contention that the arrival of Japanese travelers at the eastern ports of the United States "augments slightly the figures of the United States Government" is ridiculous. The arrivals by that route—including Government officials—do not exceed one-fifth of one per cent.

A careful analysis of the Japanese Consul's publication shows that instead of a net decrease in the Japanese population for the period of 18 months under discussion, there was an appreciable increase. To support that assertion, it is necessary that our authority be produced. The following table has therefore been compiled from the reports of the United States Bureau of Immigration. See pages 90 and 91, and Monthly Bulletins of the same Bureau for 1908 and 1909.

Arrivals and Departures of Japanese to and from the United States, including Hawaii, from January 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909.

1908	Admitted	Departed	Increase	Decrease
January	1419	305	1114	...
February	1324	368	956	...
March	1081	503	578	...
April	1033	409	624	...
May	1288	369	919	...
June	781	1268	...	487
July	588	326	263	...
August	414	374	40	...
September	330	254	...	24
October	247	841	...	594
November	265	500	...	235
December	281	594	...	313
Totals	9051	6110	4494	1653
1909				
January	287	340	...	53
February	263	366	...	103
March	213	518	...	305
April	360	607	...	247
May	305	473	...	168
June	344	470	...	126
Totals	1772	2774	...	1002

Summary.

Japanese admitted during calendar year 1908.....	9051
Japanese departed during calendar year 1908.....	6110
Net increase of Japanese in United States, 1908.....	2941
Japanese admitted January 1 to June 30, 1909.....	1772
Japanese departed January 1 to June 30, 1909.....	2774
Net decrease first 6 months of 1909.....	1002
Net increase of Japanese in United States, Jan. 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909.....	1805

By adding the net increase, as shown by the immigration report (1805) to the net decrease claimed by the Japanese Consul (5008), an error of 6813 is found, which, of course, is in favor of the Japanese.

Referring back to the introductory statement of Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, that "no new Japanese laborers are leaving Japan for American territory," the United States Immigration Report for 1908, pages 90 and 91, discloses some very interesting facts which go far to prove the necessity of more stringent regulations than the "Gentlemen's Agreement." The following review of the report referred to (1908) will explain itself:

1908—Fiscal year ending June 30.	
Japanese immigrants admitted.....	16,418
Japanese non-immigrants admitted.....	1,820
	18,238
Japanese admitted to the mainland.....	9,544
Japanese admitted to Hawaii.....	8,694
	18,238

Non-laborers admitted to mainland.....	5,503
Laborers admitted to mainland.....	2,860
Japanese admitted to mainland in transit (to where?).....	1,181
	9,544

It is to the laborer and non-laborer classification that we call particular attention. First, because it was not until the adoption of the Root-Roosevelt Amendment to the Immigration Act of 1907 that this classification was accepted by the Bureau of Immigration; second, because the Japanese avail themselves of the opportunity offered by this classification to foist their laborers upon the people of the United States under a ruling of a pro-Asiatic Secretary of Commerce and Labor, trusted for its enforcement to a sympathetic Commissioner-General of Immigration, who once publicly declared Mongolians to be eminently fitted—by race characteristics—to be trusted with the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship.

Classification of Japanese Immigrants.

Non-Laborers:	Laborers:
Actors	Working Students
Clergy	Barbers
Editors	Carpenters
Government Officials	Tailors
Sculptors	Other Artisans
Teachers	Cooks
Other Professionals	Farm Laborers
Clerks	Gardeners
Farmers	Laborers
Merchants	Servants
Restaurant and Hotel-keepers.....	Other Occupations included under
Students	head of Laborers by Rule 21, Par-
Other Occupations not Laborers,	agraph J.
under Rule 21 (J).....	
No Occupation, including Women	
and Children	

Among the curiosities of this classification, it shows that among the laborers were 234 "working students" and 71 "servants." From what class come all the Japanese domestics who are occupying the positions belonging of right to American girls? Whence come all the house-cleaners and shoe-repairers? All the lunch cooks, porters and laundrymen?

In the non-laborers we find 2,018 students, and a study of the immigration reports since 1900 informs us that over 20,000 of that element of Japanese have been admitted since June 30 of that year.

It is safe to say that not 10 per cent of these "students" ever enter an educational establishment, and yet that test is the only one by which a bonafide "student" can be distinguished.

Against the admission of 2,018 "students," we can only place 153 who departed, while of the "Working Students" none left the United States.

Actors, clergy, editors, sculptors, teachers and merchants are admitted in considerable numbers. If they were all employed in the occupations under which they are classed, there would be 20 clergy to each church, 50 sculptors to each studio, and teachers and editors would abound in about the same proportion. Japanese merchants come here at the rate of about 1,000 a year, and a larger percentage of them are engaged in their avowed occupation than all others admitted under the classification of "non-laborers."

The foregoing indicates that notwithstanding the satisfactory decrease in Japanese immigration, there is still a fruitful field for investigation. The occupation of our farming lands, the conquest of the domestic occupations, and the keenness with which they are entering the commercial competition with our merchants in all lines of business, should teach us that we have an enemy that it would be folly to placate and a crime to despise.

Note: The number of Japanese departing during the fiscal year 1908 was: Mainland of the United States, 5,718; Hawaii, 1,058—a net gain in Hawaii of 7,636, and on the Mainland of 3,826; or a total gain for the whole area involved of 11,462.

Respectfully,

ASIATIC EXCLUSION LEAGUE,

By A. E. YOELL, Secretary.



DILLINGHAM BILL MORE DANGEROUS THAN GULICK'S

Analysis of Two Measures Shows Substitute Would Allow a Wholesale Flooding of United States by the Japanese

V. S. McClatchy has prepared an analysis of the Dillingham Bill, a substitute for the Gulick Bill, advocated before the House Committee on Immigration but not yet formally introduced, which proposes to flood the United States with Asiatics and particularly with Japanese. In his analysis, McClatchy points out the substitute bill "was undoubtedly inspired by the same influences which are behind Gulick," and shows how the measure is even more dangerous than the one fathered by Gulick.

The Analysis.

The analysis follows:

Copies have been received in Sacramento of S. 2788, "to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States," introduced in the United States Senate on August 15th by Senator Dillingham of Vermont.

The bill follows in its general features the Gulick Bill advocated before the House Committee on Immigration, but not yet formally introduced.

It does not make Asiatics eligible for American citizenship, but in other respects, and particularly as regards Asiatic immigration, it is a much more dangerous measure. Under it, there would be admitted in the regular allotments more Japanese, and a great many more other Asiatics, than would be "allotted" under the Gulick Bill; and it includes a number of loopholes, in the way of exceptions, which appeared in the original Gulick Bill, but which Gulick withdrew under criticism a few months ago. Through these loopholes countless thousands of Asiatics could come in. The bill was undoubtedly inspired by the same influences which are behind Gulick.

NO RESTRICTIONS PLACED.

The bill places no restrictions on immigration from the Western hemisphere, but as to the Eastern hemisphere limits the number of immigrants of any nationality who may be admitted to the United States in any one year to 5 per cent of the number of that nationality resident in the United States at the time of the census next preceding.

The Gulick Bill has its "allotment" not on "residents" but on "citizens" of the United States by birth (according to the 1920 census) and by naturalization (up to the time of allotment).

The Dillingham Bill, with a 5 per cent basis, would sanction the immediate introduction of 12,500 Japanese per year, and this number would rapidly increase in propor-

tion to the population. Under the Gulick Bill and a 10 per cent basis, the allotment would not reach 12,500 for five years, and after that time its increase would not keep pace with the increase in population, because it would not get credit for new births after 1920.

Provides Large Immigration.

So far as concerns Asiatics other than Japanese, the Dillingham Bill would admit many more than the Gulick Bill, since its basis is "residents" instead of "citizens;" and of other Asiatics there are a number of residents and practically no citizens.

Entirely aside from the allotment, however, the bill proposes to admit without question "ailens coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson or granddaughter." This provision appeared in the original draft of the Gulick Bill two or more years ago, but was changed afterwards. Under it, the Japanese now here could send for their respective grandfathers, who in turn could bring in all their descendants. Under such a provision it would not take long to give the Japanese possession of the country.

Big List Would Be Admitted.

The bill also provides that unlimited numbers of government officers, ministers or religious teachers, lawyers, physicians, chemists, civil engineers, teachers, students, authors, journalists, merchants, bankers, capitalists, professional artists, lecturers, singers or actors may come in without restriction of any kind.

The one item of "students" in the above category would permit the admission of thousands of laborers who, after a week in the schools, could take their places in the shop and field. That "student" provision, too, was in the Gulick Bill and was withdrawn after my criticism thereof.

All laws excluding Asiatics will be repealed under the proposed measure.

It is evident, therefore, that the bill is framed for the express purpose of flooding the country with Asiatics, and particularly with Japanese.

It has been referred to the Committee on Immigration of the Senate, to which body Chambers of Commerce and civic organizations who wish to protest the adoption of such a measure should address their petitions.

NO IMMIGRATION AGREEMENT MADE WITH JAPANESE

lecture
V. S. McClatchy Returns From Washington With Report on Conditions There Respecting Legislation and Treaty; Exclusion Matter Being Investigated; Proposed Johnson Bill, Which Excludes Immigrants for One Year, Has Unanimous Support of California Members

V. S. McClatchy returned last night from Washington where, under appointment, he represented with authority the Japanese Exclusion League of California, and also, by request, the Los Angeles County Anti-Asiatic Association, in connection with the subject of Japanese immigration.

In line with his duties in this connection he had interviews at the State Department with the Acting Secretary of State, Norman H. Davis; with Roland S. Morris, Ambassador to Japan, who is acting as Assistant Secretary of State in connection with Japanese and Siberian questions; had conferences with the California delegation in outlining an agreed policy for California, and with the members of the Senate and House Committees having to do with the subject of immigration and Federal relations.

No Treaty Agreed Upon.

In an interview to-day, McClatchy asked The Bee to set right, first, the impression more or less general that the State Department has come to any understanding, partial even, with Japan as to the provisions of a new treaty touching on the subject of immigration.

Such a statement was made with apparent authority in Tokio, published in the Japanese newspapers on this Coast and afterwards given general publication throughout the United States.

The Legislative Committee of the American Legion at Washington even was told that the matter had gone so far that the points of the proposed treaty had been submitted to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for consideration.

Morris to Make Report.

The truth in connection with this phase of the subject is that Ambassador Morris has been commissioned by the State Department to act for it in a careful examination of all the facts having to do with the relations of Japan and this country in connection with immigration, and to

make a report thereon which may serve as the basis for negotiations to be had hereafter with the representatives of Japan looking to abrogation or modification of the present Gentlemen's Agreement and the outlining of terms for a new treaty covering immigration.

In this connection, Morris has had with Shidahara, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, what are called preliminary conversations, which term covers an unofficial interchange of views creating no obligation on either side, and held for the purpose of clearing, so far as that can be done, the ground for the official negotiations to follow.

Morris has not yet submitted his report to the State Department, and has not yet completed it, so that any statement to the effect that the terms of a treaty have been agreed upon is entirely without foundation.

Placating Japan's Populace.

The statement was circulated in Japan evidently for the purpose of making a better public feeling there prior to the California election. It was generally conceded that the California Anti-Allen Land Law would be passed by a large majority, and the Japanese public was induced to accept that result philosophically, on the theory that the Japanese Ambassador had already arranged with our State Department the terms of a treaty under which the effect of the California law would be nullified. That would seem to be the incentive for the statement as published in Japan.

So far as concerns his interviews with the State Department, McClatchy is only willing to say that he was most favorably impressed by the fair attitude of Ambassador Morris and Acting Secretary Davis, and their evident determination to ascertain all the facts, and eliminate so far as possible any question between the two countries as to those facts, in advance of formal negotiations.

Presented Facts.

He says that every opportunity was

given to him as the representative of the Japanese Exclusion League, and therefore presumably as representing the California sentiment, to place before the department not only the facts in the matter but the California point of view.

Similarly, Sidney L. Gulick and others representing the opposite point of view had, with Morris, any time necessary.

No Japanese Exclusion Bill Now.

It is probable that no attempt will be made at this short session to push any measure looking to Japanese exclusion, for two reasons—first, no bill of that character could receive attention at the special session, which would be given over entirely to appropriation bills and matters of immediate moment; and, in the second place, if, through the efforts of the State Department, an adjustment with Japan as to exclusion which will be satisfactory to the Pacific Coast and properly safeguard the National Interests can be reached, it will avoid the friction which must come through legislative action.

While the Exclusion League is thoroughly determined to do everything in its power to protect the interests of the Coast and of the Nation in securing absolute exclusion, it is desirous also of accomplishing this purpose without friction, if that can be done.

Temporary Immigration Exclusion.

The bill introduced by Hon. Albert Johnson, Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, looking to temporary suspension of all immigration, is probably the only bill on this subject which will receive any attention at the short session.

It was offered as a temporary expedient in view of the alarming flood of undesirable immigrants flowing to the country, with the idea that if enacted and while in force a permanent plan for regulating all immigration would be adopted by Congress.

The bill as originally presented called for suspension of all immigration for two years. It was so amended, however, as to reduce the term of one year. The bill has passed the House and is now in the hands of the Senate Committee on Immigration which will commence hearings in connection with the matter on January 3rd.

Efforts to Defeat Suspension.

There is a very determined effort on the part of several interests in the country to defeat this bill. The Jewish influence of New York are determinedly opposed to it.

Congressman Siegler, a member of the House Immigration Committee, representing those interests, fought it very hard in committee, as did also Congressman Sabath, who represents a district in Chicago where there are

few American born voters. Quite a number of the votes cast against the bill in the House were cast by New York Congressmen influenced by these interests.

Opposed By Some Employers.

Large employers of labor are going to fight the measure on the theory that they want as much cheap labor as they can get into the country. Some people who have difficulty in getting house servants and who have not given consideration to the general effects of unlimited immigration, oppose a measure of the kind. These forces are concentrating for a fight in the Senate, hoping either to kill the bill in the committee or hold it there until the end of the session.

Johnson and Phelan.

Both California Senators, Johnson and Phelan, are members of the Senate Immigration Committee and can be fully relied upon to do all that is possible to push the measure out for consideration on the floor.

California Delegation a Unit.

The California delegation, McClatchy reports, had several conferences while he was in Washington, and agreed that they would act as a unit in connection with all matters pertaining to Japanese immigration. They so acted in connection with the Johnson bill.

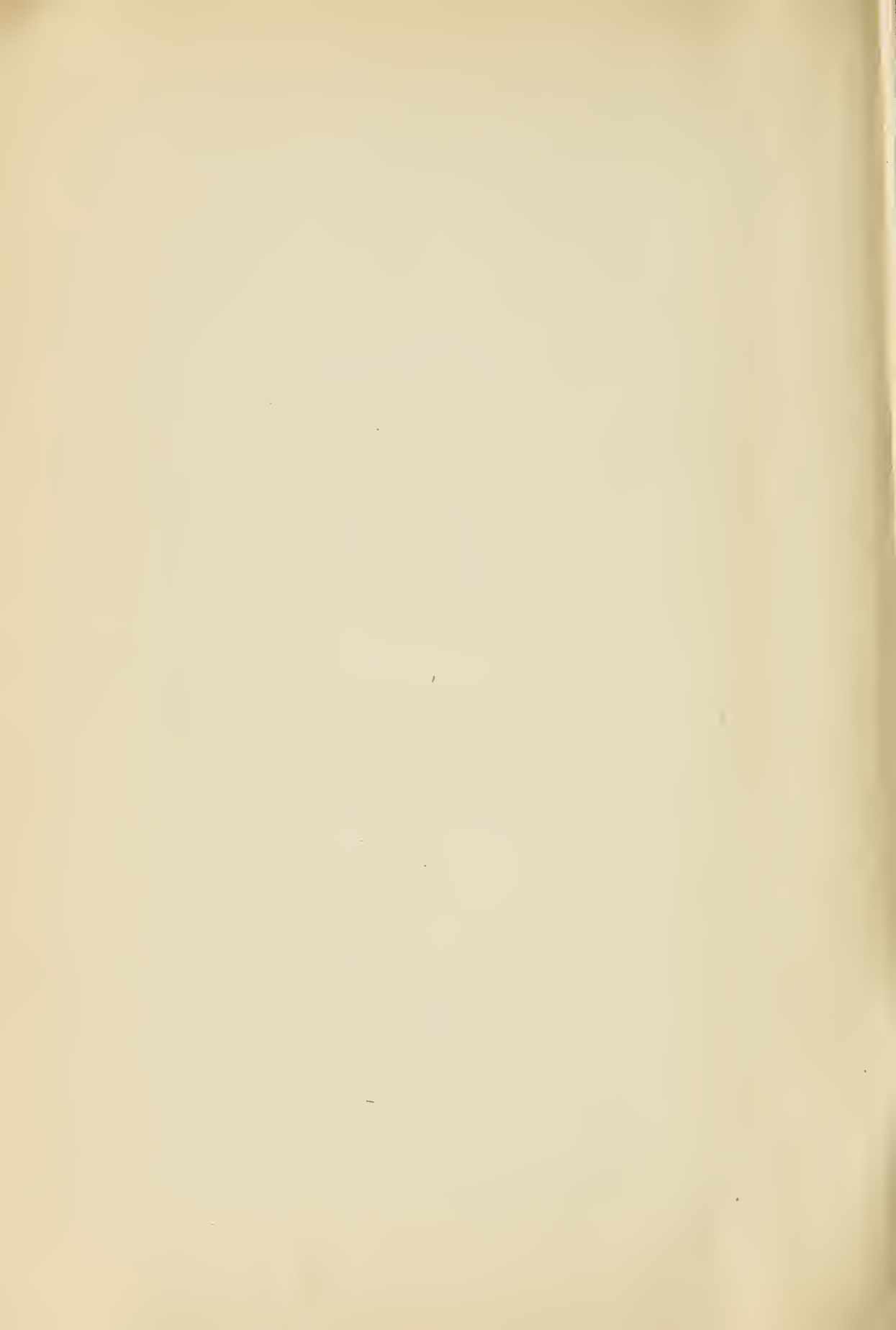
As the bill is now framed, it is held that it will exclude immigration from Japan as well as from other countries, notwithstanding the Gentlemen's Agreement. This is on the theory that a general law of this character which does not discriminate against any Nation may fairly be regarded as a regulatory measure, and will not meet opposition or criticism from the State Department, and perhaps not even from any foreign Nation.

Even should it meet some protest of this kind, there is no question but that, following previous precedents, the measure could be passed and enforced, though it might be regarded as a technical violation of some treaty obligations.

Questionable Features.

There are some features of the bill which will be regarded as objectionable by some people, notably Section IV, which permits those who have secured American citizenship to bring in alien blood relatives, and Section VII, which permits the introduction of a period of six months at a time of anyone who has lived in Canada, Mexico or Cuba for one year.

The latter provision was introduced on the urgent demand of the border States to supply them with season labor. It is assumed, however, so far as the California situation is concerned, that neither of these sections, nor both combined, would permit as much Japanese immigration during the life of the bill as could come in under the Gentlemen's Agreement.



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Keep with papers

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Extracts from the
ANNUAL REPORT
of the
COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION
for the
Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1909

* * * * *

“The experiment (in immigration control under the Japanese Proviso of the act of February 20, 1907, and the President’s proclamation of March 14, 1907) has certainly, with the cooperation of the Japanese Government, much more completely accomplished the exclusion of Japanese laborers, as defined in the regulations putting the agreement into effect, than have the Chinese Exclusion laws ever operated to prevent the migration of Chinese laborers, as defined in such laws, and is working at this moment with a greater degree of relative success.” — Page 121.

* * * * *

“It is both interesting and gratifying to observe how nearly the figures covering departures from Japan, kept by the Japanese officials, agree with those kept by the officials of the Bureau, the difference being too slight to call for particular notice.” — Page 122.



MEMO

REMEMORANDUM ON THE BILL (S. 1111) FOR THE JOINT RESOLUTION

The evils from continued Japanese immigration, either under the present agreement with Japan, or under a proposed agreement for citizenship, as proposed by the League for Constructive Immigration Restriction, are so serious that only prompt and decisive action will avail. Temporizing with the problem will inevitably lead to the absorbing of communities and industries by the Japanese, as already commenced on the Pacific Coast. The white race is helpless against the economic competition and high birth rate, and unassimilable character of the Japanese, if admitted to this country.

These, then, are the proposed remedies. Less drastic remedies will not avail.

1. Cancellation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

This agreement was entered into for the avowed purpose of excluding Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, out of Continental United States. Its letter and its spirit are being grossly violated. Even if we neglect the fact that the Japanese population of the United States has increased six-fold since 1900, while the Chinese population has decreased over one-half, is sufficient proof that the agreement is not fulfilling its avowed purpose of Japanese exclusion, and that it should be abrogated.

2. Exclusion of "picture brides."

They are being used for breeding purposes in carrying out the strictly defined policy of "peacefully penetrating" the United States.

3. Rigorous exclusion of Japanese as immigrants.

Let us follow in this matter the example set by Canada and Australia, and keep them out.

4. Confirmation and legalization of the policy that children of all of forever barred from American citizenship.

5. Amendment to Sec. 1, of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution providing that no child born in the United States or foreign born shall be considered an American citizen unless both parents are of American lineage eligible to citizenship.

It is certainly inconsistent to concede that a Japanese child brought to this country at one year of age is undesirable material for American citizenship, and yet confer such citizenship unasked on the Japanese child.

Handwritten signature
V. ... COPY

Japan's Hand Exposed As She Abandons Her First Line Of Defense

She Insists On Citizenship for Her Nationals; Also, the Right to Own California Land; No Treaty In Sight

By V. S. McCLATCHY

MISUNDERSTANDING and confusion have been created by publication of unauthorized reports as to progress of negotiations between the State Department at Washington and the Japanese Ambassador, Shidehara, for an immigration treaty between this country and Japan with the alleged intent of nullifying the California Initiative Land Law and recognizing Japan's demand for citizenship of her nationals.

In view of repeated declarations that such a treaty is being formulated, it is highly important that California, and its Legislature, now in session, should know the facts. It is equally desirable that Congress and the country at large should not be longer misled. The facts are here set forth, so far as they may be given without violating confidences. The information is first-hand information, obtained while in Washington in October, and again later in December, when representing the Japanese Exclusion League of California, and through correspondence since and up to date.

No Treaty Now or Before March.

The State Department has not negotiated a new treaty with Japan. It has not agreed on the terms of a treaty with the Japanese Ambassador. It has not even commenced formal negotiations for such a treaty. Secretary of State Colby is now in South America, and he left this country without opening such formal negotiations.

Quick Action Impossible.

Senator Hiram W. Johnson is authority for the statement that it is most unlikely and almost impossible that a treaty of the character referred to will be completed before March. Even if Secretary Colby, on his return, should negotiate such a treaty, or if Acting Secretary Davis should act in his absence, it could not be made without consultation with the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and final action could not be had before March.

Senator Johnson is a member of that committee, and while he has not expressed himself as to his action in the event a treaty with Japan abridging California's rights is submitted, his policy when Governor and his present views are too well known to permit doubt as to his course.

What Has Been Done at Washington.

What has happened is this: The State Department impelled by recently ascertained facts, by California's action and by the pressure of public opinion, is dissatisfied with the operation of the Gentlemen's Agree-

ment in restricting Japanese immigration; Japan herself is very much dissatisfied with the status of her nationals in this country, knowing that her present treaty of commerce and navigation fails to guarantee them the privileges conceded to Europeans, and realizing that the Gentlemen's Agreement is a growing source of friction.

Treaty Is Desired.

Therefore, both sides are ripe for a treaty or arrangement to change existing conditions. Roland S. Morris, our Ambassador to Japan, has been retained at Washington as an Assistant Secretary and adviser to the State Department in the matter of our Japanese relations. He has had many conferences with Ambassador Shidehara as to the existing differences, and a treaty has been discussed as a possible solution thereof.

These conferences have been "preliminary conversations," binding neither side. They would serve, however, to clear the way for treaty negotiations, if such negotiations follow. Mr. Morris has been carefully gathering facts and wiping away misunderstanding as to the facts, both on the part of Japan and ourselves.

Whether in these conferences Japan's views as to what she wishes, or the views of the State Department as to what it would be willing to recommend to the Senate, have been fully expressed, and just what those views are, can be learned only from either party to the conferences, which are confidential.

What Japan Apparently Wanted.

It has been generally known, however, to those familiar with the subject, that Japan complained most about the discrimination which she alleged would be practiced against her nationals by operation of California's Alien Land Law. It would operate against Asiatics and not against Europeans. It was believed, therefore, with apparent good reason that if California, by general act of her Legislature, enacted a law forbidding ownership of land to all aliens, Japan's objections would disappear and the way would be open for a treaty or arrangement which would secure

absolute exclusion of Japanese, similar to that enforced against the Chinese, but without occasioning friction with Japan.

Seek to Avoid Friction.

The Japanese Exclusion League of California, and all others interested in this matter, even when most insistent on securing protection for this country against the growing menace of Japanese immigration, have been desirous of accomplishing the result without friction, if it could be done.

Publication has been made of the fact that this matter of Legislative action by California was considered by the California Congressional Delegation at Washington, but, if any decision was arrived at, it has not been made public. It has been published that the Executive Committee of the Japanese Exclusion League of California is to consider the subject at a special meeting to-night.

What Japan Now Demands.

Now, however, it is learned by telegraphic advice from Senator Johnson that such a general California Alien Land Law will not provide a solution for the existing difficulty and if passed it must be for reasons other than possible effect on the adjustment of the Japanese immigration question.

Japan now insists, it is understood, says Senator Johnson, that even if all aliens were refused ownership of land in California, there would still be discrimination against her, since Europeans may become citizens and thus secure land, while Asiatics may not.

Citizenship Is Sought.

The Japanese would like to make a treaty now whereby their nationals, resident in the United States, should be accorded the same rights as to ownership of property as are accorded aliens of other nationalities, but even were such a treaty secured, they would still insist upon the right of citizenship because they assert every other alien could obtain citizenship and then hold land, while the Japanese could not acquire citizenship and would not, therefore, be on equality with other aliens.

There can be no question about the present demands of Japan. It is possible that she did originally give foundation for the belief that her principal complaint was because the California Land Law was not general in its application, and that a correction of that feature would satisfy her. If so, it was simply a diplomatic subterfuge, a first line of defense, from which she retired as soon as there was a chance of its becoming untenable, by action of the California Legislature.

Corroboration From Japanese Press.

Her present demand as outlined above finds corroboration in the inspired utterances of the Japanese press of this Coast.

In the issue of "Nichl Bei," the "Japanese-American News" of San Francisco, January 1st, appears a long editorial on the subject, in the course of which it is made quite apparent that what the Japanese demand is the right to own land in California, regardless of what may

be denied other nationals. The editorial concludes as follows:

"Japan would not be satisfied were California to refuse to all aliens the right to own land, because, practically and materially speaking, the prohibition of land ownership to all aliens has no vital relation at all to the Japanese situation. Such action would not by any means be a solution of the problem, and there is no reason to believe that Japan would be satisfied were the problem to go unsolved."

Senator Johnson Opposes Legislative Action

Senator Hiram Johnson, in response to a request for his views on the subject, has wired the following for publication:

"My personal view remains unchanged. I would not be a party personally to the passage at this time of a general alien land bill, and this, irrespective of my views concerning such a measure. The overshadowing reason for this attitude of mine is that California has acted within her jurisdiction, as she had the right to act, and experience has taught me in dealing with the Japanese that we must stand upon the exercise of our right. When we ourselves enact other legislation to bolster up that right, or inferentially concede something else ought to be done by us, we do exactly what Japan always demanded, and we transmute the very fundamentals of the discussion.

"Lesser reasons which present themselves against a general alien land bill are that we would at once re-enforce Japan's complaint by complaints of other nations, and our controversy, instead of being an enforceable right of ours against Japan, would be the enforceable right of ours against many contestants.

"Again, the passage of a general Alien Land Law might lead to very grave opposition in California, and unless very carefully considered might trench upon some existing treaty rights. But my basic objection is that I feel the only way to deal with Japan is to stand upon what we have the jurisdiction and the right to do."

Immigration Legislation Before Congress.

As to any possible or probable action by Congress at the present session on legislation affecting Japanese immigration, the facts are as follows:

No immigration bills will receive consideration except the bill introduced by Congressman Johnson Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration. That bill temporarily suspends all immigration for a year during which time it is assumed some general plan for properly restricting immigration will be adopted. It passed the House by an overwhelming majority, but will be bitterly fought in the Senate by many interests, including the Jewish community of New York, a number of alien groups, the trans-Atlantic shipping companies, the steel trust, and other employers of labor. The Senate Committee on Immigration has commenced hearings on the bill. Both California Senators—Johnson and Phelan—are members of the committee, and it may be assumed the bill will not go out of the committee containing features dangerous to Pacific Coast interests in immigration.

Several Bills Will Die.

There are several general immigration bills before Congress, but these will die at the end of the session, though probably they will be reintroduced in the regular session. Notable among these are the Senate Bill of Dillingham, and the House Bill of Welty, both inspired by Sidney L. Gulick, and based on his "New Oriental Policy" under which Asiatics are to be given the same privileges as to immigration and naturalization as are accorded Europeans.

There are bills providing, in effect, for Japanese exclusion by including Japan in the barred zone in Asia from which immigration may not enter the United States, but such bills will not be pushed and in any event could not receive consideration before March.

JAPANESE JOURNALIST AND DIPLOMAT GIVES VIEWS ON OUR JAPANESE PROBLEM

Midari Komatsu Feels That Races Are Unassimilable and Should Develop Apart If Friction and Misunderstanding Are to Be Avoided

(The Bee's Special Service.)

SAN FRANCISCO, November 8.—Midari Komatsu, Editor of Chugai Shinron, an influential vernacular magazine of Japan, and now representing several newspapers of Tokyo, has just arrived in San Francisco from Japan on a tour of the world. While in the United States he will investigate social and economic conditions. Mr. Komatsu is now confining himself to journalistic work, but he was formerly connected with the diplomatic service, having been Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Washington prior to 1910 and afterward Director of the Japanese Foreign Affairs Bureau and Secretary of the Central Council in Korea. He is a graduate of law of Yale and of political science of Princeton.

News Interchanged.

In an interview with a Bee reporter Mr. Komatsu said that he had interchanged views on the Japanese immigration problem at length with the Publisher of The Bee, V. S. McClatchy, and was agreeably surprised to find that Mr. McClatchy's views, which he understood represented more or less the views of most Californians, are entirely misunderstood in Japan, because of various

publications made in that country concerning those views.

"I do not find," said Mr. Komatsu, "that Mr. McClatchy is unfriendly to Japan or to the Japanese people. It seems to me, on the contrary, that he is as anxious as I to prevent ruptures between the two Nations, so long friendly, and that he is quite in earnest in believing that a continuance of existing conditions is certain to produce friction and misunderstanding. I find myself in accord with him in certain matters connected with the present problem, and know of no reason why the minor points on which we differ cannot be satisfactorily solved.

Race Not Assimilable.

"For instance, we agree that the white race and the Japanese race, at present, for biological and other reasons, are not assimilable; that the existence in either country of a large unassimilable element of Nationals of the other country, controlling land and its products, and entering into disastrous economic competition with the natives, must inevitably result in a racial conflict and international misunderstanding. If conditions in California, or elsewhere in the United States, are reaching that state it is to

the interests of both Nations to correct them.

"If exclusion of Japanese immigration will prevent a misunderstanding, Japan will not object to taking necessary steps to correct any defects in the Gentlemen's Agreement which are responsible for present conditions. Japan is really losing the better class of her farmers in those who come to the United States, and would prefer to keep them. But she is also solicitous that in any adjustment of the matter there should be no real or apparent discrimination against her people, and that those who remain in California particularly, should be fairly treated.

Not Badly Treated.

"The impression prevails in Japan that the Japanese in California during the past year's campaign on exclusion have been badly treated. I find that it is not so; that they have nowhere been interfered with or hindered in business, or insulted or abused personally. It has been difficult for the Japanese people to understand that an actual campaign for rigorous exclusion of Japanese could be conducted in such perfect good temper and without boycott or other offensive measures against the Japanese. I am led to believe therefrom that Mr. McClatchy properly represents California sentiment when he says that neither the law nor the people contemplate any interference with vested rights or any prohibition to Japanese now here legally from following any occupation or conducting any business, with the reservation only that they may not own or lease agricultural lands."

Mr. Komatsu felt the Alien Land Law, while applied to all aliens ineligible to citizenship, would be regarded by the Japanese as less discriminatory if it had been applied to all foreigners, or at least to all foreigners who had failed to be naturalized or to take out first citizenship papers.

Some Objections.

He objected also to such change in the American Constitution as would make children born in this country ineligible to citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizen-

ship. He conceded that present methods are preventing the making of good American citizens out of many Japanese born here—he referred to separate Japanese schools and the practice of sending children back to Japan for education—and conceded that such schools should be abolished and such plan discontinued if the children are to enjoy American citizenship. He suggested, however, that the proper solution of the problem would be for the United States to follow Japan's plan of naturalization which is applicable equally to all foreigners, with no exception, and not give citizenship to the children of foreigners born within the country. Such children cannot become citizens of Japan save through the usual channel of naturalization, though the time required for them is shortened to three years, while for other foreigners it is ten years. What Japan contends is equal treatment, he added, not special privilege of citizenship for her people in the States.

Extreme Methods Decried.

Mr. Komatsu frankly expressed himself as feeling that the Japanese were not treated in accord with their merits when the objectionable classes of Europeans were classed as eligible for American citizenship, while the Japanese are barred. He commented on the fact that 100,000 Chinese had been called to France to serve during the war, and had been sent home with the gratitude of France and her allies. He felt that the work of the Japanese in producing the food for California was not properly appreciated, and would not be unless the Japanese were to leave in a body.

He decried some of the extreme methods of his countrymen in connection with their campaign against the initiative measure, and thought some of the activities had served only to prejudice the country against the Japanese. He thought any attempt to appeal to the Courts in the matter ill advised, and that it was unlikely to avail anything.

In his opinion, this problem can be solved not by any legal method, but rather by sympathetic consideration on both sides, based upon the principles of equity.



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The Arbitrator

"BORN TO INQUIRE AFTER TRUTH"

VOL. III, No. 2.

JULY, 1923

10 CENTS

AMERICA AND THE ORIENTAL

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

INEQUITIES

(Continued)

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America and the Oriental

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

Author of "Milton's England," "Swords and Ploughshares," "Primer of the Peace Movement," etc.

The Public's Approach to the Problem.

The problem of the Orient is stupendously complex and is inextricably bound up with Occidental psychology. "You speak of the yellow peril, we speak of the white disaster," said Dr. Yamei Kin as she addressed a New York audience in 1904, speaking with perfect English and revealing the delightful possibilities of the Oriental who has achieved world-culture. The race problem is probably the greatest problem of the remainder of the century. For decades, the Oriental problem has been approached with ignorance and prejudice even by educated people, their views being based on a malicious propaganda which vitiated their logic by false premises.

This article deals chiefly with the problem as it bears on immigration to America and on American citizenship and is a protest against the Anti-Japanese agitation which has recently been revived. The ablest minds in America have usually taken a sane view. Colonel Roosevelt said in an article on Japan printed in 1918: "For more than ten years a propaganda has been carried on in this country, in Japan, and in fact throughout the world, for the one and sole purpose of keeping the nations of the Far East and the Far West as far apart as possible; to break existing treaties and understandings;

to create distrust, suspicion and unkindly feeling between neighbors, and all in order that Germany might secure advantage in the confusion."

Senator Root said: "There never has been in this country, so far as my observation and reading go any more dangerous and persistent misrepresentation regarding the relations, purposes, the character of another country with which we have relations than in the case of the relations between the United States and Japan. I haven't the slightest doubt that the misrepresentations and the attempts to create a feeling among the people who have it all in their hands now. . . have been very largely the results of a fixed and settled purpose. . . For many years I was familiar with our department of foreign affairs, and for some years I was especially concerned in its operation. During that time there were many difficult perplexing and doubtful questions. . . the thoughtless or malicious section of the press was doing its worst. During all that period, there was never a moment when the government of Japan was not frank, sincere, friendly and most solicitous not to enlarge, but to minimize and do away with all causes of controversy."

Twelve years ago probably the greatest

creator of prejudice was Congressman Richmond P. Hobson who traversed America loudly proclaiming with much rhetorical power to immense audiences the trickery and machinations of the Japanese and the imminence of war with Japan. Rev. John H. de Forest, a returned missionary from Japan, published a long and caustic review of his diatribes, showing that they were "sweeping and baseless" and evinced "colossal ignorance of the character of the Japanese."

This systematic vituperation, carried on for years was of course reported to Japan and aroused natural resentment; it infected the army and navy of the United States. Dr. Charles W. Eliot said that on his trip around the world, he found only one American officer in the Far East who was not perfectly confident that we were immediately going to war with Japan. Yet on arriving in Japan, he found no indication whatever that Japan was thinking of war. For years, all the Hearst papers have systematically endeavored to foment distrust and hatred of Japan. Had not the ignorance of the American people regarding the facts been such as to permit childish credulity, no editor would have dared publish the lurid tales and the fantastic fiction accompanied by grewsome illustrations which filled Sunday supplements and inflamed the imagination of millions of gullible readers.

In 1916, an article, "copyrighted by the Tribune Assn." appeared under the title "Are We Prepared? When the Brown Man Comes—Our Chances on Land." This article pictured our helplessness in view of the fact that there were 200,000 Japanese in Mexico all supposed to be armed, who "could move on Texas and engage most of our mobile army." The article went on to show how every gang of Japanese workmen contained secret-service men who could destroy bridges, cut trestles and hold our "mountain fastnesses where the railroads cross the summits." One interesting item was that in a Japanese boarding house "the police found that the basement, the attic, every cupboard, every cubic foot of space in the house was filled with mitrailleuses and other guns and ammunition. These guns were of the type that could be mounted on bicycles or carried on the back." The upshot of the whole revelation of deep-laid plots was that the Japanese with rapid-machine guns could hold the Rocky mountains against an American army "for ten years!" This article appeared in the Boston Advertiser and the following

note was appended to it. "This is one of a series of short articles on American preparedness which will appear in the Advertiser daily. Their accuracy is vouchsafed by a high officer in the United States army and a high officer in the United States navy. The Advertiser believes them to be the clearest and most striking account of our national defences ever prepared."

Had not the colossal ignorance of even a Boston public been fairly assumed, could such-bare-faced lies and rubbish have appeared? An inquiry which I set on foot to discover how many Japanese actually were in Mexico resulted in government officials' showing that instead of 200,000, there were about 3,000 ordinary citizens, mostly laborers.

Mr. Hobson no longer holds the stage as the antagonist of Japan and the Hearst papers are not now so violent as at previous times, their attention being recently concentrated on the necessity of "cleaning up Mexico" with machine guns. But Senator Phelan of California who is running for re-election thinks there is no issue this year which seems quite so favorable for him to stress as that of the exclusion of Asiatics. A new society has been formed—The California Oriental Exclusion League—which plans to send its propaganda throughout the land in order that "this problem in its true light may be brought before the people." "Able writers will cover the subject in all the large magazines. . . moving pictures will be shown throughout all the country; speakers and literature will present the problem before national conventions."

The League proposes these remedies:

1. Cancellation of the Gentleman's Agreement.

(This agreement was arranged by President Roosevelt in 1907. By it the Japanese government shall issue passports to Continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who in coming to this continent seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, etc. Japan voluntarily extended this agreement to the movement to Hawaii. Non-laborers are not affected.)

2. Exclusion of picture brides.

(This means girls whose photographs have been sent to the prospective grooms and whose marriage has been a family arrangement. . This method of securing wives has already ceased.)

3. Rigorous exclusion of Japanese as immigrants.

4. Confirmation and legalization of the policy that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship.

5. "Amendment to Sec. I of Art. XIV, of the Federal Constitution providing that no child born in the U. S. of foreign parents shall be considered an American citizen unless both parents are of a race that is eligible to American citizenship."

There is a sixth proposal made by Mr. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento Bee, who is foremost in his support of exclusion:

"Provide such labor as may be necessary for the development and prosperity of the country and which can not be had here or secured from desirable immigration by bringing in Chinese for a fixed term of years, confining their activities to certain localities and certain industries so that they can not offer an economic menace to American labor, and send them back to China when the need of their services has ceased."

Says an expert on the immigration question:

"This would bring on the Pacific coast a situation not unlike that which developed in the South a century ago through the importation of negro slave labor. Once the system is efficiently started it will be found impossible to get rid of Asiatic labor."

This then is the confused situation as regards the approach of the man in the street to one of the most serious problems which the leading nation of the world is called to face. Today we stand supreme in wealth, power and opportunity. A hundred years from now, a democratized and educated Russia, without the domination of coal and lumber and steel barons and creatures of special privilege such as menace the liberties of America,—may perhaps be the foremost nation of the world. Two hundred years from now, a Christianized and educated China may be her equal and with Russia and an independent India may make Asia, and not the home of the effete Latins and Anglo-Saxons, the center of civilization and progress. America's position two centuries hence will be partly determined by the forces for good and ill which at this transitional and phenomenally critical juncture, she elects to use as regards the Orient.

The Chinese At Home and in California.

"Pacifist China," the nation which put the scholar at the top of the social scale and the

soldier at the bottom is the one nation of antiquity that survives. All the warring dynasties — Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia. Greece and Rome have vanished. Warlike Spain is now shorn of most of her ancient power. This is to be remembered when China's helplessness is scornfully referred to and is attributed to her lack of a strong army and navy. What China has needed for protection against the incursions and depredations of so-called Christian powers has been capital and western science which would have shown her how to develop her own stupendous resources in minerals, water-power and labor. China's intellectual handicaps in her system of education and notation are gradually being lifted. An alphabet system would do far more for China than the greatest army and navy in the world.

Just after the signing of the Portsmouth treaty, the Dowager Empress, seeing the result of missionary colleges, revolutionized the life of China by abolishing the ancient system of education. This had left the Chinese scholar, after fifteen or twenty years spent in memorizing the classics, unacquainted with the simplest operations in arithmetic, with the geography of his own country or that of any other and ignorant of modern history and the elements of science. It was as if manacles had been removed from limbs that from disuse had become almost palsied. It made possible the beginning of extinction of superstition, the laying of the foundation of sanitation, and the scientific development of enormous natural resources. It meant the beginning of individual thinking. No longer were these clever minds to be pressed into one mould and that one of two thousand years ago. No longer was the impractical pedant to be exalted above the man of affairs. It was the beginning also of active play; hitherto every little student had been supposed to be a small Confucius and solemnly to devote his whole time to study.

The Chinese attitude towards sport was shared by the members of the Japanese commission who toured our country in 1909 and were the unappreciative witnesses of the Brown-Harvard football game. "None of us liked it, said the proprietor of the Japan Times of Tokio." Your football seems brutal. You see it was the first time most of us had witnessed such a struggle and we have nothing in our country which approximates it. Now we find it difficult to understand how Americans of refinement can be so enthusiastic over the football."

The recent adoption of 39 phonetic symbols to unify the pronunciation which varies extraordinarily in various parts of China marks another great advance in opening up speedy communication between mind and mind. These symbols enable a peasant to learn in a few weeks what through the ancient characters would have required years. It is probable, however, that not until a regular alphabet is adopted and becomes popular will the burdensome ancient ideographs cease clogging China's mental development.

China, the sleeping giant is awake; railroads are pushing through the land disturbing the sacred dust of ancestors. Modern sanitation is getting a foothold through missionary schools and hospitals; electric power, sewing machines, the beginnings of afforestation of denuded hills, the storing of the dangerous overflow of rivers and all that modern science can teach is now being offered to a people whose native powers of mentality probably equal any in the world. The strides which Japan has made in sixty years during which she has become one of the five great nations in the Allied powers may find a counterpart in China in the next half century. Given an honest government and freedom from dread of attack, so that she may focus her energy on self-development, and China may astound the world. The advance made in the last twelve years augurs a steady and swift progress.

Her vigorous suppression of the age-long opium evil shows a moral capacity that had not been dreamed of; the abandonment of footbinding marks woman's emancipation from virtual slavery. The proverbial honesty of the Chinese merchant whose word is as good as his bond and the proverbial dishonesty and graft of men in office illustrate the anomalies of this land of paradox. Of the Europeans who have profoundly affected the life of China, Sir Robert Hart, for forty years the incorruptible Inspector General of Customs in China, was one of the most conspicuous. Said Dr. Wm. Eliot Griffis, long resident in the Orient, "In spite of gilt-paper morality, ostentatiously plastered over walls and the Benjamin Franklin like maxims of Confucius, the Chinese literati consider real unselfishness, even when they can understand it 'improper.' This is the bottom reason why the Chinese have had to appoint foreigners to collect their customs and revenues at the treaty ports. Not to 'knock down' a percentage on all business transactions seems foolish."

A Welshman, Timothy Richard, a man of rare capacity, starting nearly fifty years ago to do missionary work, discovered to his dismay that while 13,000 converts were being made, in the same time 4,000,000 babies were being born. "This will never do," said he; "we must conquer by provinces."

His Christian Literature Society at Shanghai has been reaching every province with translations, putting scientific dynamite under every superstition and revealing a wholly new point of view to minds encrusted with hoary tradition. Probably no educational agency in the world could accomplish more with a given amount of money than the little group of devoted translators and scholars whom this great pioneer left in charge when death translated him a year ago, after a life of marvelous devotion to the uplifting of 400,000,000 people.

The return of the excess of Boxer indemnities which our government made as a matter of common honesty deeply touched and surprised the Chinese people. They were too well accustomed to highhanded invasions and cruel reprisals from the "Christian" nations which had taken their ports and in some instances, as at Foo Chow in 1884, ruthlessly slaughtered thousands of Chinese without a declaration of war. Their attitude towards us in spite of our exclusion law and the abuses to which they have been subjected in our country, is far more friendly than is their attitude to other nations. The Boxer indemnity, as is well known, is being expended in maintaining hundreds of picked students in our universities who on returning home will be the leaders of their nation in every department of education. Thus far, Americans have shockingly neglected a rare opportunity to help shape the course of China by failing to come into friendly, hospitable relations to these strangers within our gates who rarely see the inside of a Christian home and are left to judge America from what they learn in class room and laboratory and street. They are keenly sensitive to our neglect and feel that they have been shut out from what is best in our American life which can not be revealed in large, formal receptions.

The power of Americans to affect Orientals is not confined to our side of the Pacific. With the closing of breweries here, we are seeing our brewers begin operations over seas. "We are looking to China as the best place to locate, said the President of the California State Brewers Association. I am

leaving in a few days for that country to arrange for the construction of a \$2,000,000,-plant for the Ranier Brewing Co. Other brewers are making similar arrangements."

That admirable publication by Chinese in California entitled "The Far Eastern Republic," in commenting on "China and American Liquor" says, "If this liquor monster gains a stronghold in China, it will be much harder to suppress, as China is larger and has not such effective means and organization to combat it as the United States. America today is dyking the great flood of intoxicating liquors for herself and directing it to China as if it were a No Man's Land. . . We earnestly beseech the government of the United States to stop the importation of Liquor from the United States to China."

A little book, entitled "The Opium Monopoly" recently issued by a friendly critic of Great Britain shows how in spite of China's herculean efforts to throw off the opium evil forced upon her by the British in past years, China's determined purpose to prevent the use of opium is being frustrated. This is by Japanese and British influence, acting in extra territorial regions. A native has only to walk across the border line and get what he pleases. Quantities of morphia shipped from the United States have been transhipped in Kobe harbor by the Japanese who do not allow it in their own country but carry it to China. Dr. Paul Reinsch is alive to the danger and promises to do everything possible to prevent American connivance in this wrong.

Chinese immigration began in 1850 when about 500 Chinese were the van guard of 25,000 who, two years later, cooked, washed and built railroads for the gold hunters who flocked to California. These Chinese were clean, quiet, industrious, and ready to do any hard work; they enormously aided in increasing the white man's productivity. In twenty years, race riots in the mining towns for which the whites were chiefly responsible led to the passing a law in 1882, by which the previously guaranteed free immigration was suspended for ten years. This law was re-enacted twice and in 1904, contrary to our treaty with China, was made absolute and permanent. Frank M. Pixley, representing the city of San Francisco told a Congressional committee in 1876, "The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. I believe the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, they are not worth the

saving." This is the vicious type of propaganda which had weight with Congress.

In a test case carried to the Supreme Court, the validity of the law was maintained because it was the last act of Congress; but it was added: "The question of whether our government was justified in disregarding its engagements with another nation is not one for the determination of the courts." Said Judge Field, "It must be conceded that the act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1880 but it is not on that account invalid." Dr. Bernhard Dernburg justified Germany's breaking of the treaty of neutrality with Belgium, arguing that the United States takes the same attitude as to treaties as does Germany and cited this decision, regarding China. In absolutely excluding Chinese, Congress contravened the treaty which says the United States may 'suspend,' "but may not absolutely prohibit" Chinese labor immigration.

Eight times in fourteen years anti-Chinese agitation on the Pacific Coast secured further harsh legislation. "All but one of these acts was passed on the eve of an election under political pressure for avowed political purposes." Mr. Bayard had assured the Chinese minister that the President would veto any legislation which might be passed in violation of the treaty. Had China been a powerful nation, Congress would have feared to act in such a flagrantly dishonorable fashion.

Today the great scarcity of labor on the Pacific coast is evidencing the need of Oriental labor, while political ambition coupled with much misinformation and fear of the votes of labor unions have created a prejudice which spreads and infects states in which the problem is not immediate nor vital. It must not be supposed however that opposition reflects the thought of the majority of the more thoughtful people of California. There is a marked divergence of opinion and even the labor unions of late years have invited Japanese delegates to their convention and cordially welcomed them.

The Japanese At Home and in America.

Said Count Hyashi, the able statesman of Japan when the Russo-Japanese war occurred: "Today we Japanese have battle-ships, torpedoes, cannon. The China seas redden with the blood of our own killed and of those whom we kill. Our torpedoes roar, our shrapnel shriek and we die and are the cause of death; and you Occidentals say to

us 'Now you have won your rank.' You have civilized yourselves. Centuries upon centuries we have had artists, painters, sculptors, philosophers, literature. Were we then barbarians?''

"Christian" Europe created an armed Japan. Despite all the humiliations heaped upon Japan, in 1906 she sent \$100,000 to San Francisco to aid the earthquake sufferers. Instead of following counsels for retaliation, Japan produced one of the finest exhibits sent by any nation to the great San Francisco Exposition. In 1917, when we had only 300,000 Red Cross members, Japan had 2,000,000 with a yearly income of nearly \$3,000,000. Says J. T. Sunderland, D.D., after much Oriental experience: "I think I am right in saying that no where in the world is there a higher degree of religious toleration than among the Japanese. There is no nation in Europe where public order is better maintained."

Japan has for years maintained compulsory universal education of children from six to fourteen years of age. There are said to be 60,000 students of higher education in Tokyo alone. Dr. Charles W. Eliot reported that Japan spends a larger proportion of her public money for education than we do. Our remissness has since been painfully revealed by the war statistics of illiteracy. Tokyo has 761 newspapers and magazines. Said a missionary, "All my people, even the poorest and humblest, read a newspaper; My servants know more of what is going on in the world than I do." Large numbers of foreign books are translated into Japanese and there is a flood of new Japanese books. Japanese agriculture is far advanced but lacks machinery. By industry and intensive culture, each Japanese acre is made to yield three times as much as does an acre in our country. With only 14,000,000 acres of arable land and 52,000,000 mouths to feed, Japan can not flourish much longer unless she purchases food and becomes largely industrial. She may yet be the factory of Asia.

In 1900, Japan began immigration here on a large scale and by 1907, 47,000 Japanese had arrived. In 1912-13, politicians in California began an agitation on the plea that Japanese were buying up the best lands. This led to the anti-alien law in 1913. Japan has steadfastly held that this law breaks our treaty. As a matter of fact, it was found that Japanese owned only one acre out of every 2194 acres of farming lands in the state.

Renewed agitation was made in 1919, but not based on any charge of race inferiority. The hostility is now to the purchase of lands in the names of infant children. It is also maintained that Japan has grossly violated the Gentleman's Agreement, having permitted "50,000 Japanese, mostly laborers," to enter since 1907. This number is five times too large as careful analysis has shown. Mr. McClatchy in his calculations ignores the fact that children born since 1907 are not laborers. Subtracting the number of departures from arrivals between July 1, 1907 and June 30, 1919, the increase, as shown by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of the Federal Council of Churches, is 15,715. This includes all students and business men scattered through the country. Probably not more than 10,000 settled in California and most of these newcomers were wives. The fact that Japanese wives are industrious and weed strawberry beds on their home gardens does not constitute them imported laborers in the eye of the law.

Mr. McClatchy estimates the Japanese population in California as 100,000. In 1910 there were less than 42,000. The total increase from immigration since is 15,966, and from births is 27,787. Allowing for deaths, the total number at present in California is probably not over 73,000. Only by ignoring the large number who go to Hawaii and do not come to the continent and by forgetting the 6,000-8,000 annual departures can one explain Mr. McClatchy's estimate that we have a steady influx of 10,000 to 12,000 annually. The estimate that in Continental United States there are 150,000 Japanese after careful analysis of the figures, proves much too large. Without allowing for deaths during the last nine years, the figure is 121,605.*

The assumption that the Japanese birth rate is abnormal and menacing would not be indicated by the fact that Japan stands thirteenth in the list of twenty-seven nations in the American Year Book covering the period from 1881 to 1910. Mr. McClatchy even does not reckon it as over 5,000 in California. As to land purchases for infants, out of 25,000 children in 1918, about 196 own 16,379 acres.

Says Mr. McClatchy, "Since 1900, Japanese population in the United States has increased sixfold." The actual increase

* See p. 8, *The New Anti-Japanese Agitation*, published by Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

which is chiefly of women and children is from about 77,000 in 1908 when the Gentlemen's Agreement began operating to 120,000 in 1919, at most an increase of about 55 per cent. instead of 600 per cent. The cases of smuggling men without pass-ports over the Canadian border being, in 1919 only 194, all told, are no indication of the Gentlemen's Agreement not being faithfully lived up to by the government.

We are told that whites always move away when the Japanese become settlers. In the town of Florin, well known as containing a large Japanese settlement, it is said: "Several years ago there was a newspaper of Sacramento delivered to the white people in carts. Today there is not a white person to deliver it to," the facts being that 200 copies of different papers are now delivered, but by Rural Free Delivery!

The Japanese are good spenders and no more willing to work for low wages after they once get a foothold than are other immigrants. Being short and deft they are peculiarly successful in raising strawberries, celery, asparagus, seeds, onions, tomatoes, but instead of "controlling the potato crop" as Senator Phelan claims, they raise 20.8 per cent. of it. The Japanese consul reports 38,000 as engaged in agriculture, 8,000 of whom are children. Considering that the Japanese are cultivating so small a proportion of the territory compared with the whites, pray why is there such alarm and demand for exclusion? Is it because the Japanese are hostile to our ideas? The Japanese in California invested in Liberty bonds to the extent of \$2,648,000 besides making generous responses to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A. and other appeals. Is it because they are not Christian? Neither are the Jews. Because they send all their money home? It is estimated that their land rentals paid to California land holders approximate \$16,500,000.

Japanese children here speak English and rarely keep up the knowledge of the Japanese language. They are far more assimilable than the Indians of Oklahoma who nevertheless inter-marry with the whites and send their children to college, those of mixed blood losing no social standing, as a professor in the university of Oklahoma has just assured me. Intermarriage with Orientals is not to be advocated for generations or until conditions and prejudices change; but it is preposterous to assume that we can safely exclude from equal treatment citizens of

countries which like Japan find a place in the Council of the League of Nations and with whom we are bound in the future to have increasingly important and intimate relations. It is likewise evident that, with existent economic conditions, racial prejudices and the backward condition of most Orientals, America should not open her doors as wide as in times past she felt free to do. What is the *via media* which shall do justice to all and by equal treatment remove resentment and at the same time encourage a higher standard of citizenship?

The Solution.

Few problems are perplexing the minds of employers, and statesmen more than that of labor as affected by immigration. The inter-racial Congress, held in New York, April 7, 1920, was prefaced by appeals for suggestions in view of the following facts: "Due to the cessation of immigration during the war, the mills, mines, and railroads are short 3,000,000 men. At least 1,000,000 foreign born workers now employed in them are preparing to return to Europe. **America must have a national Immigration policy.** Now we have nothing but laws relating to admission and restriction. Any national policy should involve the question of selection, distribution and assimilation."

The question of Oriental immigration is the most delicate part of the whole problem including, not only that element of the Orient which we have here considered, but the East Indian as well, which may later be as pressing. Any plan which would admit low-grade Europeans or people inferior to the sturdy Chinese and clever Japanese and exclude the latter is bound to make increase of friction, of militarism and of vicious talk about the "mastery of the Pacific"—the great highway of the nations. The principles of democracy, of fair play and good will are imperilled so long as absolute exclusion is considered. Some exclusion there ought to be, not only of Orientals but of all immigrants lest any one type come in excess of our power of assimilation.

The National Committee for Constructive Legislation have developed a comprehensive and concrete program for which they hope to have Congressional action. Its general principles briefly stated are as follows:

1. Justice and good will as well as economic and political considerations.
2. Restriction limited to our powers of assimilation.

3. Further immigration to be proportioned to the number of Americanized citizens of foreign origin already here.

4. Protection of American standards of living.

5. No more immigrants than we can steadily employ.

6. Provision for the care, education and distribution of aliens and for their transformation into American citizens.

7. Much higher standards for naturalization.

8. Qualification for citizenship to be regardless of race if certain tests are passed.

9. This plan is for the continent with special provision for Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska.

Foreigners naturally verge towards those of their own race and tongue. The more of a given nation who are already naturalized, the more of that nation who can be safely admitted and entrusted to their guidance.

No definite percentage for admission is now proposed. But perhaps the number admitted from any nation should be annually three to ten per cent. of those of that nation already here and naturalized plus their children born in America before 1920. The prime consideration is our power to incorporate the new element. It is proposed that there shall be a competent commission to deal with the ever changing problems of immigration with power to adjust regulations according to economic and industrial needs. It should consider the needs and conditions of all concerned and not leave to accident and guesswork the delicate readjustment of forlorn strangers to new environments which so often ends in needless tragedy.

Such a commission should help stabilize business by guiding labor where it is most needed and not congesting still further localities nearest the port of debarkation. It should try to raise the standard of naturalization so as to require not only ability to read English, but some knowledge of history and government. It should prevent large increments of people who have not a much larger number of their own people already Americanized and able to help them.

At present, Africans can secure citizenship here and so may many Europeans who are non-Caucasians, as well as Turks and Persians. What wonder that the ablest nation of Asiatics resents being put in a class by itself as specially unfit for American citizenship. Such new legislation as is proposed would remove the scandal of our

broken treaty with China which said, "Chinese in the United States shall be accorded all the rights, privileges immunities and exemptions accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation." It would provide a systematic treatment of the whole problem and not leave to haphazard the destiny of millions of our fellow beings who desire to throw in their lot with us. It would forestall complaint from any nation as each would be on a par with another before the law, although some nations like Japan would be able at first to send in but a negligibly small number every year.

The proposed Commission is to be composed of the Secretaries of Labor, of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of the Interior, or a secretary chosen by each to represent him, and the chairmen of the House and Senate committees on immigration, a nominee of the American Federation of Labor, one from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a tenth person, the last three to be appointed by the President, all with proper salaries. After the census returns for 1920 are available, a schedule shall be prepared in sixty days and put into force within six months. Provision is made in the proposed bill for transient immigrants and for various exigencies and details not here mentioned. If in 1911, this program had been adopted at percentages from 3 to 10, northwest Europe would have sent from 455,000 to 1,518,000; the total from the rest of Europe would have been annually, 105,000 to 350,000 and from China and Japan each only 500, much less than the present number now admitted.

This scheme has been objected to as excluding many who for their own sake most need this place of refuge. The wretched victims of war and famine from southwest Europe and Asia Minor would be largely excluded as they have fewer of their race here to help assimilate them, than have the citizens from western Europe. There seems no possibility of making any restrictions without grave injustice to some one. The problem is most difficult and may be considered a choice of evils. But the objectors to this plan, while admitting that there must be some restrictions on Orientals have presented no scheme that would not deal unequally with the nations and would not create hot resentment of people with whom we are to be in increasingly close relations. Please God, we are yet to enter the League of Nations. We must be friends with every mem-

ber of the League, ready to give equal opportunities to all and to make American citizenship prized as the mark of a high calling. To this end we have much to do to bring up the standard of our own citizens and to make as high demands of all the native stock as we propose for aliens. The League for Women Voters has set its hand to the plough and will not rest until law prescribes that every voter shall be able to read the law.

The need has long been obvious for Federal control of aliens which would protect any alien who might suffer from abuse and not be able to secure redress through a state government. There have been murders of Chinese for which the national government was as helpless to enforce punishment as it was in the case of the disgraceful lynching of Italians in Louisiana some twenty years ago. The American Bar Association and Ex-President Taft with other eminent citizens have long pleaded for this federal protection, without which we are liable at any time to be placed in a very painful international situation.

The need for a Permanent Oriental Commission is also obvious. It should be composed of the ablest statesmen on both sides of the Pacific who would study and report to their respective governments and to the League of Nations upon the peculiar problems which concern the relations of their countries. Their official and authoritative statements would discredit the rumors and malevolent distortions of fact with which the press always teems.

Japan's attitude toward China has changed since China's boycott and since she has seen the overthrow of German militarism and the abandonment by European nations of an aggressive policy in China. She has withdrawn objections to the consortium in China of America, France and Great Britain to lend China \$250,000,000 for railroad construction and is now willing to join with them. The excesses of her military party in Korea are notorious. But a nation like our own which has an Attorney General capable of permitting the injustice, illegality and cruelty exposed by the recent report of eminent lawyers:* a nation which has not brought to punishment the hundreds of American citizens who participated in the burning alive of eleven human beings during this last year and in the persecution and cruel treatment of many more, may well be patient with a nation which as a modern power is scarcely a half-century old. I close

this brief survey of the problem with the trenchant words of Dr. Paul Reinsch, Ambassador to China. His words are solemn but not exaggerated: "There have been great crises in past history, but none comparable to the drama which is now being enacted in the Far East, upon the outcome of which depends the welfare, not only of a country or a section of the human race, but of all mankind."

NOTE 1. Deans of the Law Schools of Harvard and of Washington University; assistant Secretary of War and assistant Secretary of Labor during the war; professors in Harvard Law School and Chicago University Law School; former captain Military Intelligence Division, General Staff U. S. Army, etc. The committee worked under the auspices of the National Popular Government League.

NOTE 2. For the latest pamphlets dealing with the Japanese question, send to Col. John P. Irish, 1904 Adeline St., Oakland, Cal., and to the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, 105 East 22nd St., New York City.

INEQUITIES (continued)

International Relations.

The United States of America is our country whether right or wrong, but we naturally prefer to have her right. We can not always control the actions of other countries, but we can invariably govern our own conduct according to absolute justice, and if we have fallen short of that, let us not conceal our error under a cloak of chauvinism, but condemn unrighteous action on our own part more severely than when practiced by less enlightened foreigners.

This attitude is not generally considered patriotic, and is not demanded by the churches; and yet we believe it is the highest type, both of religion and patriotism. With true love of America in our hearts, we must regretfully admit our faults in order to obtain perfection in future dealings, and thus make the United States more than ever the land of the free and the home of the brave.

If might does not make right, is it not proper to ask ourselves what our attitude would have been in each international dispute had the conditions been exactly reversed?

Can any one nation establish international law binding upon other nations without their consent?

When we use the motto, "In God We Trust," do we believe that God reserves to us certain rights denied to other peoples?

Some there are who claim that any act of a powerful nation towards a weak country is justifiable if in the line of progressive civilization; that expediency is superior to morality; that we can do anything we please if we can get away with it. Others believe that a consistent course of international fair dealing, regardless of the size of our neighbor, is the only policy permissible for the land we love, and will, eventually, prove more expedient than the exercise of puissant domination.

Often a retrospect diminishes the importance of the controversy in which our government contended that victory was essential for our national honor and advancement; and the triumph of our interpretation of international law appears trivial compared with the satisfaction of a stainless reputation.

For those who consider the universal moral law applicable to nations as well as to individuals, and deem our national honor to be in our own keeping, it is important to study America's former foreign relations in order to determine when if ever, we have transgressed in negotiating with other countries, or have departed from the honorable standards that have elevated us above many nations of both hemispheres. Our national conduct is a sacred thing, revered and imitated by many millions, and any improvement therein will be a valuable contribution towards spiritual evolution.

The Monroe Doctrine.

"The Monroe doctrine" was enunciated in the following words in President Monroe's message to Congress December 2, 1823:

"In the discussion to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting, as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence

and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of opposing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

President Roosevelt in a speech in 1902 upon the results of the Spanish-American war, said:

"The Monroe doctrine is simply a statement of our very firm belief that the nations now existing on this continent must be left to work out their own destinies among themselves, and that this continent is no longer to be regarded as the colonizing ground of any European power. The one power on the continent that can make the power effective is, of course, ourselves; for in the world as it is, a nation which advances a given doctrine, likely to interfere in any way with other nations, must possess the power to back it up, if it wishes the doctrine to be respected."

New Territory Acquired.

Since the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine there have been the following additions to the territory of the United States: 1845,—Texas, formerly a State of Mexico, the annexation of which caused the Mexican war. 1848,—Oregon Territory. 1848-1853,—Arizona and New Mexico, formerly belonging to Mexico. 1867,—Alaska, purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000. 1897,—Hawaiian Islands, annexed after President Cleveland had failed to re-establish queen Liliuokalani on the throne, which he wished to do on the ground that the revolution in Hawaii was wrongfully accomplished by the aid of the American minister, Mr. Stevens, and the American naval force. The population at that time was divided as follows: Hawaiians, 35,000; Chinese, 21,616; Japanese, 24,407; Portuguese, 15,191; Americans, 3,086; British, 2,250; Germans, 1,432. 1898,—Porto Rico, formerly belonging to Spain. 1898,—Isle of Pines; but in 1907 the U. S. Supreme Court decided that it is not United States territory. 1898,—Guam, captured by the U.S.S. Charleston. 1898,—Phillipine Islands, purchased from Spain for \$20,000,000. They have requested their independence, and Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison writes as follows: "It is not right that independence itself should longer be delayed. By temperament, by ex-

perience, by financial ability, in every way, the 11,000,000 Filipinos are entitled to be free from every government except of their own choice. They are intelligent enough to decide for themselves." 1899,—Samoan Islands. "In 1889, a conference of British, German and American representatives met at Berlin, and the neutrality of the islands was guaranteed. . . In 1898 trouble arose over the succession, which resulted in the bombardment, in March 1899, of Apia and villages along the coast by American and British warships." 1904,—Panama Canal, ceded by the Republic of Panama in perpetuity for \$10,000,000. Colombia claimed that the United States of America was instrumental in instigating the revolution in Panama, and in 1919 our Congress was about to pay to Colombia \$25,000,000 as damages, without apologies, instead of \$15,000,000 with apologies, but, according to the New York Sun, of Aug. 8, 1919, "Efforts for an early settlement of the long standing differences between the United States and Colombia growing out of the establishment of the Republic of Panama and construction of the canal received a sudden set back to-day. . . Within the last few days representatives of American oil interests which have holdings in Colombia have been in Washington calling attention to the Colombian Government's attitude toward American oil interests. Then there came to the committee from the State Department a copy of a decree issued in June by the Bogota Government looking to nationalization of all oil resources, with small regard to established private interests."

The following from The Nation of May 22, 1920, indicates that the process is still in operation.

"Whenever the truth about Latin-American feeling toward the United States threatens to come to view, it is promptly "minimized" by the Government. General Pershing was recently held up in Panama by thousands of indignant natives protesting against the seizure by the United States of a large part of Taboga Island; the War Department "minimized" the importance of the affair and said that Panama appeared to misunderstand the motives of the United States. This country merely intends, according to the War Department, to seize as much of Taboga Island as it thinks it needs, build fortifications on it, and then "compensate" the owners. There are countries, it is said, which resent having their territory seized for

compensation, and Panama appears to feel some such unreasonable objection to annexation. The Government of the United States would do better, when it seeks to take for its own everything which is not nailed down around the Caribbean, to use the method adopted in the case of Roncador Cay. By a Presidential decree, which the newspapers either thought unfit to print or did not receive, the United States in June of last year took possession of that island and reef—long claimed by Colombia—and asserted that as they were "not within the lawful jurisdiction of any other government" they would thereafter "be considered as appertaining to the United States." Doubtless Colombia will not fight the United States for its territorial rights; doubtless no other nation will bother about them. What else is needed to establish the claims of the United States to a small undefended island and as the fearless champion of the rights of small nations?"

That the United States is not yet large enough to absorb all its capital is apparent from the following in the Commercial & Financial Chronicle of May 1920:

"Bernhard, Scholle & Co., of 14 Wall Street this city made public this week details of the formation of a new organization—the Overseas Securities Corporation, the principal functions of which will be:

The investment of its capital in securities of foreign countries or of industries or corporations located in foreign countries.

Participating in the financing or refinancing of business enterprises or corporations in foreign countries.

Engaging in such other financial operations, primarily abroad, as may from time to time commend themselves to the judgment of the board of directors."

Is it possible that the flag will follow the dollar?

Mexico.

Did we treat Mexico fairly when we annexed Texas?

General Grant, in his personal memoirs, says: "The occupation and annexation of Texas were, from the inception of the movement to its final culmination, to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American slave holders. Even if the annexation of Texas could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico could not."

Not only has our official conduct towards our southern neighbor been such as to prejudice her citizens against us, but we have been accustomed to refer to them as "greasers," and otherwise treat them as an inferior race. Is it any wonder they hate the "Gringos?"

The Federal Council of Churches, which shows admirable interest in mundane affairs, issues the following regarding recent Mexican difficulties:

"RESOLVED, That the Federal Council, by its Executive Committee, representing more than 20,000,000 of the Christian citizens of the Republic, views with the most serious concern the trend of the present situation, and is moved by a sense of its responsibility to the people it represents to make most earnest protest against a course which may be regarded by the Mexican people as distinctly unfriendly.

We believe further that to follow up even "Trains of wrongs" without friendly conference, with efforts made apparently on the presumption of international trouble, rather than on the clear conviction that mutual interest will find a way to the maintenance of peace, will have a disastrous effect on the strivings of nations for a better world, and further will jeopardize our friendly relations with all the republics of South America, who will read into our conduct only selfish considerations and interests."

The following are some of the typical instances of domineering sentiment towards Mexico:

In January 1919, Senator Ashurst proposed that the United States purchase Lower California and 10,000 square miles of the State of Sonora from Mexico. . . . "By linking the suggestion of payment of American claims with negotiations for the territory there is admittedly a note struck which may arouse the Carranza jingoes."—N. Y. Sun.

Mexico opposed the plan, "El Universal" asserting that Mexico places the promises of President Wilson that small nations will be protected ahead of the menace to Mexico implied in the Ashurst plan.

"The organization by a group of banking and business houses of the Mexican International Corporation, which will centre its attention on Mexico as a field for future development was announced on July 15, 1919. . . . Harvey D. Gibson and Grayson M. P. Murphy, the syndicate managers, made the following statement: 'For the United States

the course of Mexican affairs is particularly vital and if properly followed should offer unusual opportunities. Not only is Mexico so located as to afford a natural field for investment and development by our people, but she has unexploited natural resources, the mere scratching of which would provide the means to clear off all her national debt and place her on a sound financial basis."

Our Ideas of Treaties.

"May a subject of a neutral country be drafted into the military service when the treaty between his country and this country provides to the contrary? Our courts have unanimously held that the selective-service act supplants all previously existing conflicting treaty provisions on the subject."—Report of Attorney-General, Page 43.

Perhaps the Attorney-General was not to blame for this apparent exaltation of our physical need over our given word, but there is no indication that he regrets the courts' decisions, or the infraction of a treaty.

Suppose all foreign countries interpret treaties as they, and we, so often have, what becomes of national honor?

If Mexico should find herself involved in a war with Venuezela and should draft the resident sons of our oil magnates to fight her battles, would that be quite correct? If we do not permit certain foreigners to acquire land here, can we object to the laws of any country regarding oil properties? Can we not treat Mexicans in so liberal a manner that they will recognize the advantage of the development of their resources?

Mrs. Mead calls attention to the disregard of our treaty in excluding Chinese.

"Hans Hohner, an enemy alien, brought suit in the United States District Court yesterday to recover stock worth more than \$200,000 from Francis P. Garvan as Alien Property Custodian. Hohner, through George H. Merkel, his counsel, asserts that the stock was seized in violation of the terms of a Prussian-American treaty of 1785, which were reaffirmed in treaties executed in 1799 and 1828.

The following paragraphs of the treaty are quoted in the complaint:

If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs and may depart freely carrying all of their effects without molestation or hindrance.

"And it is declared that neither the presence that the war dissolves all treaties nor any other whatsoever shall be considered as annulling this and the next preceding articles but, on the contrary, that a state of war is precisely that for which they are provided and during which they are to be sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature or nations."—N. Y. Sun, Aug. 29, 1919.

Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.

"Our governments in Haiti and Santo Domingo are military despotisms. There is no freedom of speech or of the press, no political liberty of any kind. In Nicaragua, which we have absolutely controlled since 1912, conditions are quite as bad. We essayed to set up a "stable government" in this "sister Republic." The only way we have found to keep it "stable" is to keep the population forever under our guns. Under our beneficent rule the Nicaraguans have no freedom of expression, no political liberty of any sort. The Nicaraguan elections, as "supervised" by American forces, are as much a farce as the elections staged in Mexico in the darkest days of the Diaz despotism. Americans governed Vera Cruz for seven months, but they did not give the Mexicans a free press. General Funston suppressed Mexican newspapers in Vera Cruz. We have not given self-government to Porto Rico or the Virgin Islands. In 1917 we landed forces in Cuba to support a government that had perpetuated itself by fraud."—From the Nation, Nov. 29, 1919.

Panama Canal Tolls.

A law was once passed exempting coast trade steamers from tolls in the canal. Great Britain claimed that such exemption was contrary to a treaty agreement, but many of our population wished to disregard their protest. There was some doubt as to the infringement of the treaty, but, at the insistence of President Wilson, the law was repealed.

Counting the gains and losses was not the good-will of England and the satisfaction derived from honorable action ample reward for any sacrifice? Might not such a law, considered by other nations unjust, whether actually so or not, have plunged us into a war which would have involved far greater loss than will be sustained to the end of time from payment of tolls?

But the N. Y. Sun-Herald of May 19, 1920 has the following editorial:

"The Wilsonian attitude toward free tolls for American coastwise vessels was an early manifestation of that idealistic internationalism which developed later into the general merger scheme and covenant for which he is still obstinately fighting, to the immeasurable loss of the country he swore to serve."

Anything "idealistic" is usually denounced by the press, but the failure to live up to our ideals may be the greater crime.

Dutch Ships.

Washington, March 20, 1918. Special despatch to The Sun—"Basing his action on "the law and practice of nations" and also on the authority conferred on him in the naval bill of 1917, to commandeer foreign merchant ships within the jurisdiction of the U. S., the President by proclamation issued to-day commanded the Dutch ships to be seized, stating "that the imperative military needs of the U. S." required their utilization. . . . The ships which passed to-night into control of this Government number sixty-eight, with a total tonnage of 470,000. At the same time Great Britain seized 400,000 tons in British waters."

Vigorous protest was made by the Dutch; but the best test of the legality of the transaction may be the consideration of what our attitude would have been towards Holland if she had seized our ships under similar circumstances.

Russia.

A school child said about Elijah, "Very little is known about this holy man, except that he took a widow on a three weeks cruise."

A few years ago in The Atlantic Monthly appeared an absurd and highly commended article on Holy Russia, in which it was predicted that Russia would be the first to see the second coming of Christ. Soon after that came Trotsky.

It is almost impossible to find the facts about Russia. On April 9th, 1920, Brig.-General William S. Graves, commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary forces which recently evacuated Siberia, declared: "98 per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolsheviki;" and on May 9th, 1920, Nicholas Murray Butler, Commander-in-chief of Columbia University, said: "The so-called Soviet Government of Russia is a tyranny of a small, well organized minority."

However, there are some things we do know about our treatment of the Russian sit-

uation. In 1917, President Wilson mentioned in his message "the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia. From August 1918 to June 1919 our troops were fighting Russia without authorization of Congress or declaration of war, resulting in the loss of 553 of our men, some of whom had enlisted to fight Germany.

The U. S. official report shows that our Government's emissary to Russia, William C. Bullitt, brought a peace proposal from the Soviet Government which was never answered and which he was not permitted to make public.

A blockade has been maintained against Russia although no state of war exists between that country and ours.

We have recognized the Finnish Government where "among the 120,000 Red prisoners in Finland some 15,000 were shot," but have not recognized the Russian Soviet Government where similar, but less numerous, atrocities have been perpetrated.

China.

The United States' representatives at the peace conference acquiesced in the seizure of Shantung by Japan, and claimed that it was necessary in order to satisfy Japan.

Chinese are not accorded the same rights in our country as other foreigners, and it is a question if we should consider a similar law in China regarding Americans as a friendly act.

Japan.

We do not permit the Japanese the same rights as other foreigners, but have made a "gentlemen's agreement" with them, which they have kept like gentlemen.

We captured the Philippines near their empire, but should resent their purchase of any territory near us.

Treatment of Aliens.

"3500 aliens day's quota for Europe. . . None is permitted to take gold or silver either in coins, metals or certificates. Furthermore none may take with him more than \$1,000, and that in letters of credit, bank books and bonds of certain kinds."—N. Y. Sun, July 15, 1919.

These were voluntary departures.

From incomes of British subjects, and other aliens, derived from investments held in this country, eight per cent. is withheld by our Government, although England does not

make similar demands upon citizens of the United States unless they reside permanently in Great Britain.

"In the case earlier referred to, the particular alien had been bundled off to prison without a warrant being issued, and pamphlets and papers had been taken from the I.W.W. hall, and from the man's apartment, without search warrants being issued. While in custody he had been examined by a Department of Justice agent, and the notes of the examination and the papers seized were afterwards put in evidence. Judge Bourquin says that the proceedings were "unfair in that they violated the searches and seizure and due process clauses of the Constitution to the protection of which as a resident alien the petitioner is entitled."

The Declaration of Independence, the writings of the fathers of our country, the Revolution, the Constitution and Union, all were inspired to overthrow the like government tyranny. They are yet living, vital, potential forces to safeguard all domiciled in the country, alien as well as citizen."—From The Survey.

Have our international relations in the past indicated a belief that might makes right? Shall we in future depend entirely upon the right to make us mighty?

"The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations."—Grover Cleveland.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which enobles human nature. Alas, it is rendered impossible by its vices.—George Washington, April 22, 1793.

Books Worth Reading

Any of the following books will be sent postpaid on receipt of the publisher's price; or for 25 cents less if ordered with an annual subscription to the Arbitrator.

Now It Can Be Told, by Philip Gibbs (\$3.)

Economic Consequences of the Peace, by John M. Keynes (\$2.50.)

New Wars for Old, by John Haynes Holmes (\$1.75.)

Why War, by Frederic C. Howe (\$2.)

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You may select **one** of the following pamphlets to be sent free with a year's subscription.

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The New Social Order in America, by Hornell Hart
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1000 Good Books for Children, U.S. Bureau of Education.
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League of Nations Covenant.
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