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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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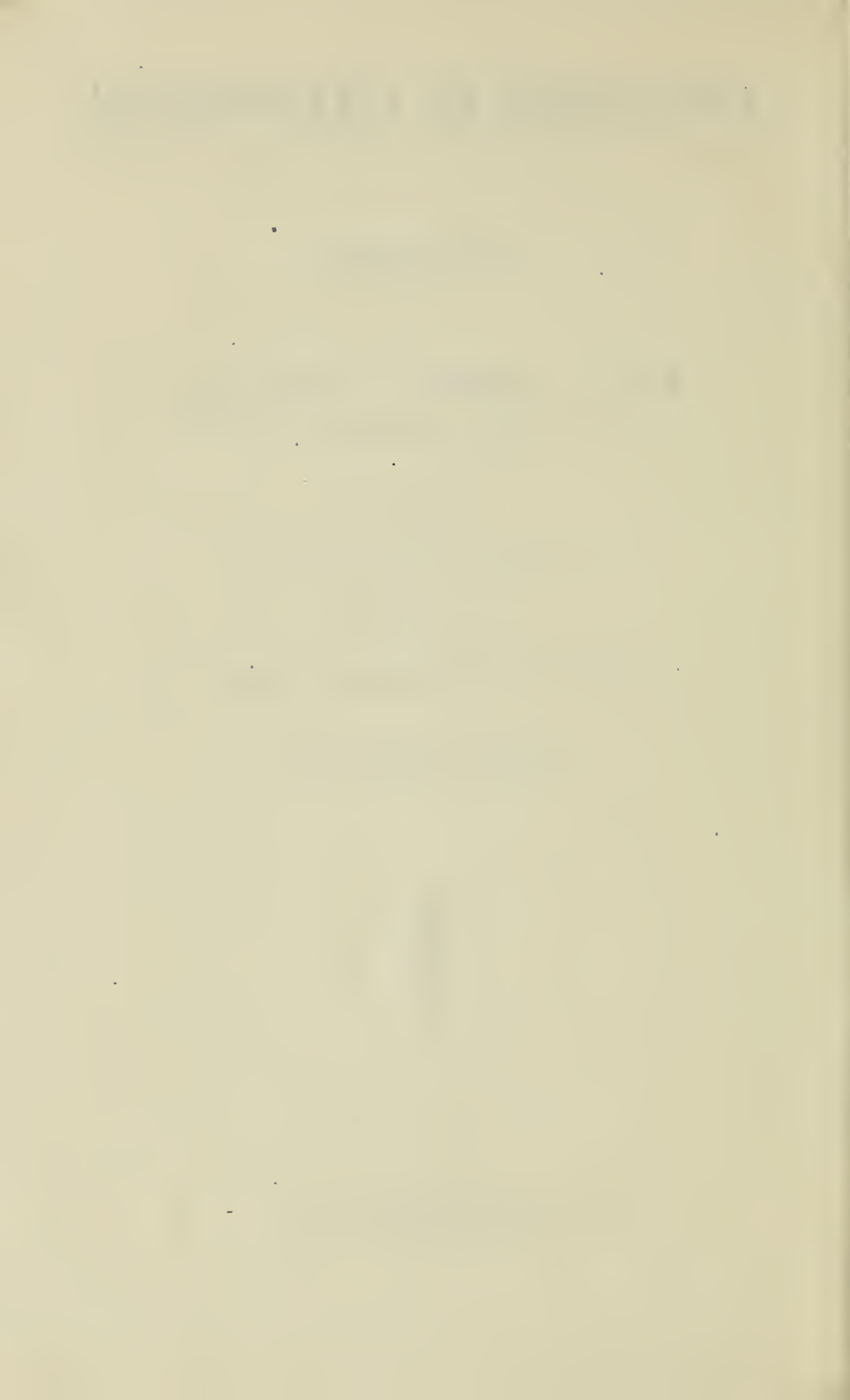
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JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA.

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, Australia, 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 wifedom 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 it 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 PHELAN. 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. EICHER,
 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 Gbbins' 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 Tsingtau 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 (Tsingtau). 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.

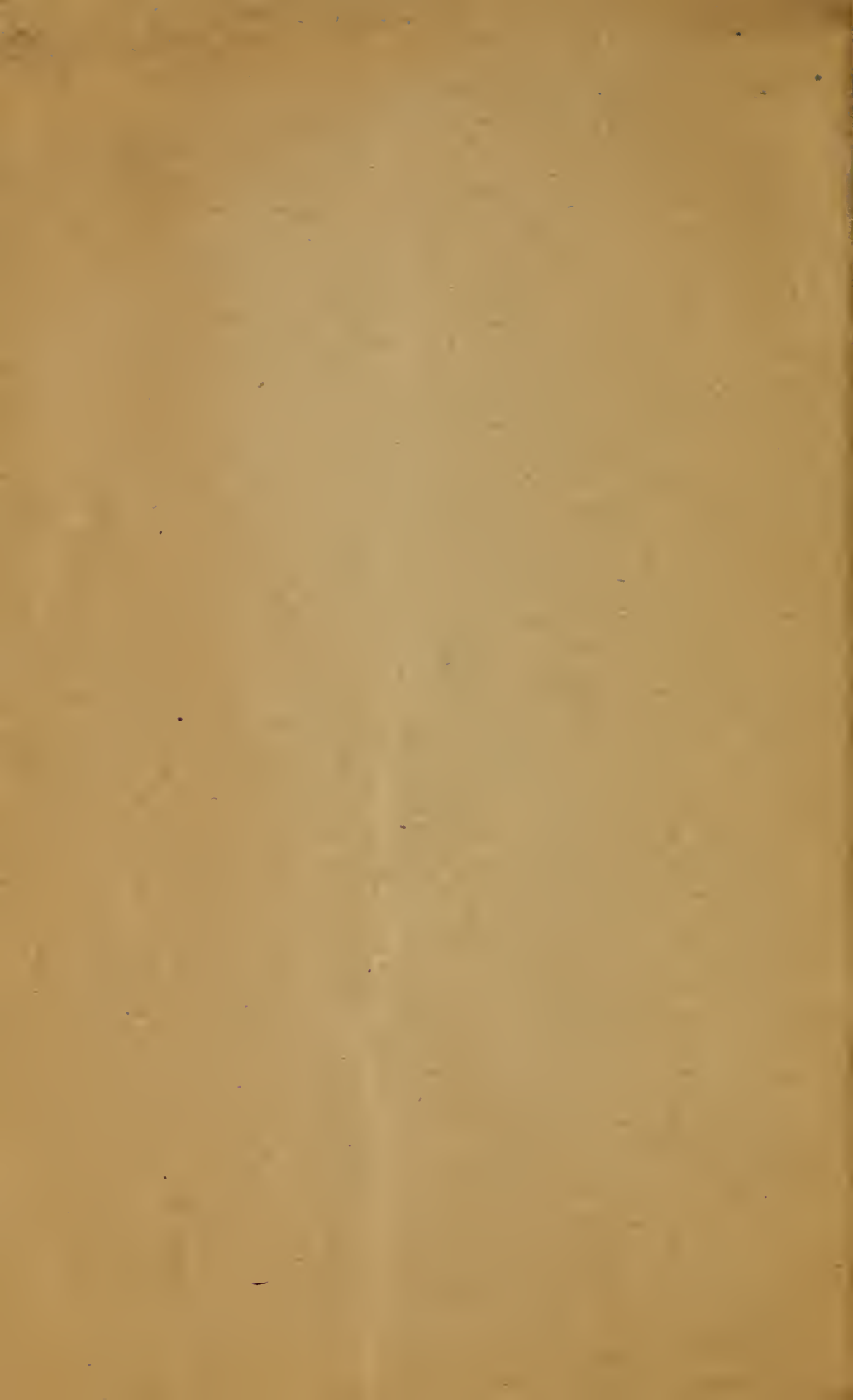
The banquet was supposed to be given by the Japanese Society of America, consisting of a number of Americans. They had a long list of names.

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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Mr. Vanderlip's Message



An Address by

Frank A. Vanderlip

Before the Members of the
San Francisco Commercial Club
and

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce

June 2, 1920



Compliments of

D. S. Richardson

2541 Hilgard Avenue
Berkeley, Cal.

FRANK ARTHUR VANDERLIP

[From WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA]

FRANK ARTHUR VANDERLIP born at Aurora, Ill., November 17, 1864; student of University of Illinois and University of Chicago; Honorary M. A. of Illinois, 1905; LL. D., Colgate University, 1911; reporter, 1889, later financial editor of Chicago Tribune; associate editor Chicago Economist, 1894-7.

Private secretary to Secretary of the Treasury Lyman Judson Gage, March to June, 1897; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 1897-1901; vice president, 1901-1909, president since January, 1919, National City Bank, New York.

Chairman board of directors American International Corporation; director Haskell and Baker, Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, Union Pacific Railroad, Oregon Short Line Railroad Company, McIntosh and Seymour Corporation, Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York, Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, Peekskill Lighting and Railroad Company, New York Edison Company, United States Realty and Improvement Company.

Trustee Consolidated Gas Company, Northern Westchester Lighting Company, Mercantile Safe Deposit Company; trustee Carnegie Foundation, New York University; president New York Clearing House Association.

Visited Europe to study financial and industrial conditions, 1901; delegate to International Conference on Commerce and Industry, Ostend, Belgium, 1902.

Clubs: Economic, Metropolitan, Bankers of America, City, Union League (New York); Cosmos (Washington, D. C.); Press, Commercial, Union League (Chicago); Sleepy Hollow Country of Scarborough (pres.); India House (New York).

Author: Chicago Street Railways; The American Commercial Invasion of Europe; Business and Education, 1907; Political Problems of Europe; What Happened to Europe; also important financial and economic papers.

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Mr. Vanderlip's Message

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I went to Japan in a wholly unofficial capacity. I received an invitation from an organization in Japan called "The Welcome Association." It embraced one hundred of the leading citizens of Japan—leading in business, in political life, in the intellectual life of the nation. They invited me to pick out a party of ten men, to come to Japan with their wives and have a frank, unofficial discussion of the points of difference between the two nations. It seemed to be an important invitation—a promising opportunity to learn something. I approached it wholly as a student of the Far Eastern question, and a student in the primary department, because my attention has been rather fixed on the other side of the world, and while I have been connected with some large business enterprises in the Orient, I have not pretended to understand very much of the Oriental question, or to know much of the Japanese problem.

We met in Tokyo, a party of ten Americans, representing nothing and having no official standing whatever—representing no Chambers of Commerce or similar organizations—simply nine other men I picked out because I thought they were open-minded, able American citizens. And we met with a similar and considerably larger group of Japanese. The first word was, "Put diplomacy aside—let us discuss with frankness and candor the questions involved between these two nations." And then we began to make a statement of what the problems were, and, as we were the guests and were not experts—we were simply students—we said to those gentlemen, "Name the problems." The first problem they named was one that was deep in their hearts. And they named it with the greatest sincerity and the greatest gravity,—the Japanese question in California. Then I was called on to state

what we wanted to discuss, and I said there was a wider question, the question of a growing suspicion in the minds of Americans not at all confined to California, but in the minds of all Americans, as to the purposes and aims and aspirations of the Japanese nation. We had been shocked by what had occurred in Korea. That we had suspicions as to Shantung; as to just what were the aims of Japan in that province of China, and we looked with interest on the situation in Mongolia and Manchuria, and with rather intent interest on the position of Japan in Siberia. We thought all of those questions ought to be freely and frankly discussed. That was agreed to. Then they asked that we go further; that we discuss the idea of coöperation of American and Japanese capital in the industrial development of China, and that we also discuss the question of communication between America and Japan—that is, of better eable faelities. There was the general program.

We spent a week meeting every morning at 9:30 and proceeding in parliamentary order with Japanese and American secretaries and stenographers. Baron Shibusawa was made the honorary chairman. Viscount Kaneko and myself were the presidents of the Conference. Now, remember, it was wholly unofficial. But I will say it assumed something more than just an unofficial conference of citizens, because the government at once began to show a decided interest, a sympathetic interest. The government officials entertained us. The Premier gave us a garden party, the Minister of Foreign Affairs a dinner. We met all the government officials and then it went further. The elder statesmen—there are only two left—Prince Yamagata and Marquis Matsukata, each asked for an interview. The Imperial household twice entertained us. The Governors of the Provinces, the municipalities of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Nara all entertained us in an exceedingly fine and dignified way. So that I feel that we have had, although a

quite unofficial visit, a very unusual opportunity to gauge the sentiment of Japan—the sentiments of the business leaders, men high in politics, even those far back of the government, but powerful in their influence, and we had, too, a pretty close contact in some instances with the common people themselves.

Let me make a very hasty résumé of this conference. The California question is not a question of immigration to California. That was one of the first things I learned. It is a question of the treatment of the Japanese in California. But, even deeper than that, much deeper than that, I think, is the method of approach to those questions. The seriousness of unlimited Oriental immigration into our social structure here is fully appreciated by the Japanese. Nowhere did I find a demand for any backward step in our attitude of exclusion. I did find objections to treatment that differentiated against the Japanese who are here—treatment that infers that they are an inferior people and that they should not have the rights and privileges of other aliens. But deeper than that, as I said, was the resentment—and there was a grave resentment—over the tone, the language, the nature of our approach to the questions and also the fact that there was no approach that reached to the Japanese Government; that our Federal authorities seemed to ignore the whole subject, to leave it in the hands, if you will excuse plain speaking, of politicians, of newspapers, not always moved by the highest motives, inviting anybody with deep racial prejudices to make discourteous remarks in regard to the situation.

When I went to Japan, when I left here, I think I was a little more than open-minded. I think I failed to see as I see today the seriousness of any opening of the door to further Japanese immigration. I left Japan with a very much higher opinion of the Japanese than I had when I landed there, but with a clearer opinion in my mind that we ought not to permit further immigration. But they take

the attitude that our stand in that respect is all right—they were sorry, particularly sorry in so far as it placed them in a position of inferiority, but they said that they had met that with a gentlemen's agreement and that they had scrupulously kept that gentlemen's agreement. Now, I know in your mind there is doubt that they have scrupulously kept that agreement. I find in some minds there is a doubt that we, in the United States, have scrupulously kept it, or seen to it that it is kept scrupulously. I am told here that, perhaps, any criticism might first fall upon our own authorities, if there has been any violation of that agreement.

They said then, further, that they saw the force of the objection that was made to the so-called picture brides, and that they had met that and would scrupulously keep that agreement as soon as the few who still had been contracted for had arrived here.

So the question of additional immigration or the question of bringing in picture brides was disposed of so far as they were concerned. They said that they believed they could dispose of every question, if they were approached with courtesy and sympathy and some understanding of their own situation. That is where this Japanese-California question rests in my mind; that if you will approach it, not in the language of the political arena, not with emphasis on racial prejudices, but if you approach it through the Federal Government, which is the only approach that can be made to the Japanese Government, that everything you seek to accomplish—every reasonable request that you could make could be adjusted and the whole situation left in a position of good feeling. But if there is approach at all, if you merely make it a football of politics and prejudice, you have got a larger question than the California question. You have not only a national question but an international question. Important as your relation to the Japanese question is, there are

other things that in the very brief time I have I think I ought to turn to.

What is in a broad sense the Japanese problem? This question of immigration is one of the phases of it. But it is also one of the least phases of it. I got a little glimpse of this great Far Eastern world, of the situation that a third of the population of the world is in; of the background of the Japanese question. Let me say a word about that. There are 400,000,000 people in China without a government, literally. There is a semblance of a Republic imposed upon a people who have no experience whatever in political life. A people who are 95 per cent illiterate; who have more than 20 different languages, so that one province can not understand another; who lack communications; who lack all the means of developing a democratic government. There has been a semblance of a government elected in some sort of a way, but in a way that never entered the comprehension of probably 90 per cent of the population. It has represented nothing; it has been corrupt; it has been inefficient; it has lacked courage and has been without any real national political feeling or backing, and it has no standing or influence.

There are provinces in China today dominated by bandits, and the Government instead of reaching out and disciplining or hanging some of those bandit leaders has made generals or governors of them. The situation is not quite so hopeless as that would indicate because there is in China the germ of a national political life—the so-called student movement. It is important, it is patriotic, too patriotic in some senses because it is dominated by the greatest racial prejudices, but it is a hopeful element that in time may work out a government for that vast horde of people. And China is next door to Japan,—this vast nation without any central government worthy of the name.

In Manchuria and Mongolia the situation is much the same. In Siberia, that vast tract

from the Pacific to Lake Baikal, the greatest white man's country left in the world, there is complete political disintegration. There is no central political authority. There is no government. On the western border there is an invasion of Bolshevik ideas, of crazy economic theories, but the Government has disappeared; the means of commerce have disappeared. There is no adequate transportation. There is no effective currency. The currency has become valueless. There is no banking. The people are sinking back into a primitive state without the means of exchange and without any real political life.

There is the background of the Japanese questions. We find that they have gone into China and into Shantung. Shantung is a very great province with 30,000,000 people, lying close to Japan. The peninsula reaches out into the Pacific and is the easternmost part of China. The Germans had been granted concessions in Shantung; the concession of 20 square miles where they had sovereignty, and the ownership of a railroad which they had erected and controlled. When Japan was asked to enter the war, which she promptly did, the first request was that the stronghold of Germany in the Pacific should be captured. It was fortified by heavy guns and great ships, and the harbor was laid with submarine mines. Japan therefore asked to approach it from the rear, and obtained from China, a neutral nation at that time, the right to march her troops 150 miles across the peninsula. She did that; she did not keep strictly within the lines of the agreement; the weather was bad, the roads were bad and she went outside of the direct route with some of her soldiers. She invested Kiauchow and captured it, and it has since been under the military domination of Japan. She took possession of the railroad and has policed it with Japanese troops, and I believe has used it in a way preferential to Japanese. She has done things that are subject to criticism, and the people at home are

frank in criticism of the military side of the Government.

Japan has promised to return all sovereignty to China. On the 24th of last January she invited China to a conference in regard to the return of sovereignty and to discuss the commercial advantages she had acquired from Germany at the Peace Conference with the acquiescence of China and Germany. No such conference has been or can be had because the Chinese Government is too weak to engage in such a conference and there the Shantung question stands. There is a good deal to criticize in what Japan has done. She has been harsh in her military administration. She has levied some taxes that ought not to have been levied. She has treated the railways so that they are operated preferentially for Japan's business. Still she has promised and says she stands ready to restore full sovereignty to China if only there can be a government strong enough to accept it from her hands.

Now, Korea. There have been some terrible things in Korea. That the military administration of the Japanese has been harsh and brutal, they admit. Japan stands abashed at the record she has made. When the matter finally came forcibly to her attention, however, she took the most important political action that could be taken in Japan; an Imperial rescript was issued in regard to the situation. The Government changed from a military to a civil government a year ago and since that time the Japanese believe there is little to criticize in the administration of Korea.

Japan entered Siberia at the request of the Allies and accompanied by the troops of the Allies. The Allies' purposes did not appear to be clear in their own minds; their policy vacillated. Finally we withdrew our troops without notification. Even our own Ambassador did not know of it until he heard of it through the War Office of Japan. There was a terri-

tory absolutely without government, with no army to maintain law and order. The Japanese had increased their troops to a larger proportion than they should have had, based on the number of Allied troops. She has about 40,000 troops in Siberia, just a handful in that great territory, where there should be several hundred thousand properly to police it. She says she has no thought or inclination or means to keep them there and she intends to withdraw the troops as fast as she can.

But there is a deeper Japanese problem than any of these things, one that every man ought to have clearly in his mind, and I think sympathetically in his mind. We criticize Japan. There is a condition and not a theory in this problem. The condition is 57,000,000 people on a group of islands not as large as the State of California, 17 per cent of which is arable, a population which is increasing at the rate of 600,000 to 700,000 annually, grown now so large that they can not be maintained even with the most intensive cultivation. It is a cultivation where every grain of wheat is individually planted in a row and tended like an onion bed, harvested with sickles by hand, the most intensive cultivation imaginable, to obtain food enough for those people, and then it can not be done. What is the answer to that? The answer is not in emigration to America. Even if an appreciable part of the 600,000 yearly increase could be transported, their entry into America in such numbers would produce a social situation that would be disastrous. So emigration to the North American Continent we may cut out of the solution. But we have got our hands raised; we sit back here occupying a highly moral attitude and we do nothing. We put no money into the situation, no force of troops. We put nothing into it but criticism, and we say to Japan our hand is up. You must not go into China, or Siberia. Keep your hands off the continent of Asia. Then what other alternative is there? There is one possible,—the de-

velopment of an industrial Japan. She may follow that course, but she is handicapped. England had great supplies of coal and iron, and she entered the world industrially when she had no competition. She had skilled mechanics and trained herself into an industrial organization that holds a large place in the markets of the world. We have come out with our capacity for mass production and are occupying the markets that are left, and even driving England from some she already had. But Japan, with a population not trained to industry, lacking raw material, having almost no coal and very little iron, will find it difficult to turn herself into an industrial nation in competition with Great Britain and America; and we are going to contest Japan's invasion of our commercial field. We are going to do everything we can to keep her from successfully developing.

Now there is a living problem, a problem of tomorrow's dinner for 57,000,000 people, and it has to be answered somehow. We in America can not stay here and say we will assume no responsibility in the East. It is political chaos. Yes, a third of the world is without government, a disappearance of law and order, but we say to Japan, you can't come here or go there. I believe we have got to approach the subject more sympathetically, with more understanding, with some grasp of facts as they are, not as we might wish them to be. We can not put Japan back into the shell of the old hermit nation. We knocked at the door and invited with an insistence that said you must have commercial relations. We demanded that they give commercial relationship with the world. They did. It is only during the boyhood of some men here, that this happened; that a feudal nation, shut in a hermit's cave, came out and transformed herself into a constitutional monarchy and developed a liberal democracy, for that is what they are today. Japan is a liberal democracy which I believe has as high a moral and

spiritual national aim as you will find in any Western nation. There is still a military party, it is true, and the military party does things that the Democracy of Japan thinks are wrong, but can not quite control.

Now, you have got those two forces. The force of a fine, high-spirited Democracy believing that Japan has a great destiny of service in the East, of political leadership for the East, a destiny that can be accomplished without selfishness and to the benefit of the world. And alongside of it but growing less and less in power is this military party trained in Prussianism, with two successful wars back of it, seeing the possibility of an extension of territory and feeling the pressure of expansion from within. But that military party has seen two things in the last few years that have changed its whole attitude. It has seen the downfall of its military idol. It knows that a nation built on military force can not stand in modern civilization; and it has seen America transport 2,000,000 troops in a few months across the Atlantic Ocean. Now those are two great facts, and it left Japan, not only in the minds of the public but in the minds of the military party as well, bereft of any hope of great territorial conquest and extension of political power by force.

This realization has come quite recently, it is true, but I am confident the military party of Japan is in decline. That does not say that it may not do something tomorrow that might upset the East. That is possible. But I believe if we can go on a few years longer the democratic party will be wholly in control of the situation. The franchise is being rapidly extended. While we were in Japan there was a national election and the franchise had been more than doubled over that of any previous election. There has been a requirement that a tax of ten yen must be paid by an individual before he can vote. The Government has reduced that to three yen. Universal suffrage was one of the principal questions. Universal suffrage was defeated, and I believe wisely.

I don't believe Japan is ready for the complete extension of the franchise. Indeed, I don't believe that there is in the mere word "Democracy" a solution of many problems of government. A people must be ready and trained to democracy. Throughout Japan there is a lack of such training at present. If we believe in democracy, however, in a democracy that in its heart has the highest ideals, that has aspirations that can be measured by the highest standards of the Western world, then we ought to be sympathetic with the growing Democracy of Japan, and we ought to be sympathetic with this great fundamental problem of how Japan is to be fed, and sympathize with the general attitude of Japan. She wants to be measured by Western standards. She wants to live up to the highest of Western thought. She hates to be called inferior.

As a people I think the Japanese are the most ambitious of any people I have ever seen. There are universal educational requirements. Every child in Japan has to go to school. Ninety-five per cent of the people are literate. In every public school a four-year course in the English language is a part of the program. The Japanese are handicapped, for it is only the other day that they came out of feudalism. They are handicapped by the fact that no adult alien can learn to speak their language fluently, a language written in part in Chinese ideographs and partly in what they call Kata Kana,—a sort of an alphabet of 56 letters,—a language that requires two years more of every student than our language requires to get only the tools of education. That has greatly handicapped them. They are, moreover, handicapped by racial prejudices, by intense antagonism; and they are handicapped by the record they have made and they know it. They are sad about the record they have made, but are hopeful about the future, although they don't believe the future is going to be free from mistakes, because there is still

a powerful military party. Even in an enlightened Republic we find there are currents at times that become potent and wrongly directed. So there will be in Japan. But it seems to me we should be sympathetic. We should above all be courteous, and courtesy will go further in handling the relations of the United States and the Japanese people than anything else that you can name—the courtesy that goes between gentlemen—not the calling of names, but the approaching of a thing without any feeling at all for the sensibilities of the other side.

So to come back to this question we have here. I would approach it with more courtesy. You will get further and you will leave a sweet and fine understanding in the end. Even though you do things that are regarded as harsh, the Japanese will admit the necessity of much that you want to do, and will cooperate in doing it if the right approach can be found. Of course, that approach is only through the Federal Government.

A year ago I visited Europe and saw something of the awful blow that had been struck civilization, a blow that we in America do not yet comprehend. I saw something of the horrible loss to the world that the war brought. I have thought a little about reconstruction. How can the world make up something of this loss? That led me to think about an economic reorganization of world affairs. Here in the East is the greatest opportunity we have to recover all the losses of the war and further enrich civilization, if the East can be properly organized. We can not do it unless we review the questions in a large way, unless we see that our best interests are parallel with the best interests of our national neighbors. We have grown up viewing foreign trade, for example, with one blind eye. We just wanted to sell things and thought nothing of buying things or helping other people in their industrial development so they could pay for the things we had to sell. The East is the greatest

potential market ever imagined in the history of commerce, but the Far East, if its labor is not converted into something to sell, or if it is without means of transportation or communication, can buy little from us.

With good government, with transportation, with means of communication and a proper utilization of its labor, the East will respond and commerce develop beyond anything you can dream. But if that development is to be dominated by selfish national purposes of Western nations and attempts to get particular benefits, it will proceed but slowly.

If we could all get this broader world attitude— It is no sacrifice of Americanism. It is only seeing Americanism with a clear eye, seeing that America has the greatest opportunity offered to a people in all time. It is a responsibility that should arouse the enthusiasm of every American; it is an opportunity for service. If we can, as a nation, imbue our government with a feeling that the attitude of helpfulness, of real service to other people, will bring to us the greatest possible reward, our contribution to this Far Eastern question will be great. We can not make it with unformed, destructive criticism, even where criticism is deserved. We have got to offer something besides criticism. We have got to offer our contribution of real interest, of understanding, of unselfishness. More of you should go to Japan and the Far East. Go open-minded. Study with a spirit of world-wide citizenship, a world-wide citizenship that makes you better Americans and brings that spirit to the development of the East. It is no time for selfishness. It is time for a broader comprehension than America has ever had of the world's problems—for a wiser treatment of our national relationships than our State Department has been giving us.

I think that is the message that I have brought back, a message that would aim to wake people up to the importance of the opportunity, to the importance of the obligation, to the great service that we can render to civilization through becoming broader citizens and coming to realize and understand some of the problems of the East.

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PAMPHLET NUMBER ONE

The Japanese Problem in California

By

Chester Versteeg

of the Los Angeles Bar



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April 12, 1920

The Japanese Problem in California

America is the frontier where must meet the East and the West. California is the acknowledged gateway of that frontier. Contact through countless ways with higher standards of living is arousing within the breasts of millions of Orientals desires beyond their powers to satisfy.

The ultimate welfare of the Orient—Japan, Korea, Siberia, India—does not depend upon the right to send emigrants abroad. It does depend upon the use of the fundamental process of developing the resources of the Orient, of the painful process of industrialization, and of sanitation and wisely directed birth control, thus approximating the Oriental standard of living to that of the Occidental.

Until that use is understandingly made the Oriental consciousness of growing power will force the Americas and the white races of the Pacific to a choice of either brute force, on one hand, against a Japanized Orient, or the exercise of skillful diplomacy, considerate legislative powers, and the cordial amity of peoples, on the other. Which shall it be? Japan is the mouthpiece of the Orient. The history of Japan during the last fifty-five years has been without parallel in world annals. No other nation in history has so quickly entered the circle of civilized powers. This nation of tradition and culture is highly sensitive to its failure thus far to be accepted fully into the family of nations.

The writer has spent six months in gathering material from all available sources, expressing all shades of thought—a period admittedly most brief. He is convinced that while California feels the burden of the problem most heavily, that problem is, nevertheless, international. The Orient today challenges the Occident on the shores of every white continent facing the Pacific. Circumstances have placed in California the "Beginning of a problem—the biggest race problem that the world has ever known."

History of Oriental Immigration in United States

While California has not now a serious Chinese problem, the history of Chinese immigration is interesting from the standpoint of effectiveness of the Chinese Exclusion Acts and China's future attitude towards these acts. This pamphlet, being devoted to matters of review, will contain frequent statements of-facts and figures.

The records of the U. S. Bureau of Immigration date from 1820. A single Chinese immigrant arrived that year. Up to 1853 a total of only 88 arrived. But the discovery of gold in California brought the Chinaman also for, in 1853, immigration from China amounted to 13,100. The influx was unrestricted for 30 years and during that period (1854-1883) more than 288,000, or an average of 9,600 a year, arrived. With the adoption of exclusion of Chinese immigrants of the laboring class in 1883 the immigration was about entirely checked, 279 arriving in 1884 and only 22 in 1885. During the 35 years since the first exclusion law became fully effective—that is, from 1884 to 1919—the total immigration from that country has been 56,500, or an annual average of about 1,600.

During this entire period emigration has, of course, been continuing also. From 1908 to 1919 the number of aliens departing for China has slightly exceeded the number admitted from that country. Because of this emigration and heavy death toll due to advanced age, the number of Chinese in the U. S. has decreased rapidly from 106,701 in 1890, the maximum, to 56,756 according to the census report of 1910. (This for continental U. S. only, excluding Hawaii, Alaska, etc.) During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, there were 2,963 males and 377 females admitted, fully half through the port of San Francisco. Of the males, 905 were admitted as U. S. citizens, men admitted to citizenship before the federal naturalization law of 1882, and 512 were admitted as returning merchants.

It will be remembered that non-laborers of various classes have been allowed to enter under the Exclusion Law and so long as they retain their status they are not liable to deportation. Laborers who were in America when the Exclusion Law was passed were given the right to return to the U. S. should they wish to visit their home land. The census of 1910 shows that nearly one-half the Chinese males in the U. S. were over forty-five years of age and that there were only 4,675 females, one per every 14.30 males. These figures compared with similar citations following, on Japanese immigration emphasizes the new elements of youth and family in the Japanese problem.

The first Japanese to set foot upon the American continent came to Mexico early in the seventeenth century as guests of the Spanish colonists. The Japanese organized

a merchant fleet and trade routes were established as far distant as Java and India. Over 15,000 Japanese were residing in the Philippines during the sixteenth century. In 1630 all intercourse with Mexico was cut off due to a change in Japan's foreign policy. Japan thus lost her chance for mastery of the Pacific by exploration and settlement of aggressive Japanese traders and colonists. For more than 200 years Japan maintained this policy of seclusion. About 1840 a Japanese boy was rescued from a shipwreck and placed in school at Fairhaven, Mass., and upon his return to Japan acted as interpreter for Commodore Perry in 1853. In 1860 a special Japanese embassy was given passage on American naval vessels and received as guests of the American government. Their reception was varied, civic, state and federal authorities showing them every possible consideration, yet many of our people greeting them with jeers and offensive remarks.

The *California Union* and other California papers of 1869 report a colony of a few score of Japanese settled as prospective silk growers at Gold Hill, California. This project proved a failure. The census of 1870 reported only 73 Japanese as residing in the U. S. In 1880, there were 401. Emigration was legalized by the Japanese government in 1885. Due to the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 there was a dearth of farm hands and a rise in wages of common laborers in California. In 1890 there were 2,292 Japanese in the U. S. By 1910 there were 67,744. The present Japanese population in the U. S., making all allowances for departures, deaths, births, may be fairly estimated as 110,000.

The immigration of Japanese to the U. S., exclusive of emigration from our insular possessions, was 1,380 in 1893. In 1900 as high as 12,626. After the "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect in 1909, the number dropped from 9,948 in 1907 to 1,552 in 1910. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, there were 11,404 Japanese admitted into continental U. S., and 3500 into Hawaii. Deducting departures for the year leaves a net gain for the U. S. of 3,076 and for Hawaii of 595. It will be noticed with interest that the census of 1910 shows nearly two-thirds of the Japanese to be between ages of 25-45 years, and that there are only 6.94 males to every female.

Review of State and Federal Legislation Treaties and Diplomatic Correspondence

Immediately following is the story of Chinese exclusion. As early as 1852, before the larger movement began, the governor of California advised that Chinese coolie immigration be restricted, and in 1885 the state enacted a law imposing a head tax of \$55.00 on every immigrant of that race. This was followed in 1858 by a law forbidding Chinese or Mongolians to enter the state, but all such legislation was declared unconstitutional by both the state and the federal Supreme Courts. The California legislature appealed to the national Congress in 1877 and 1878. In 1879 Congress passed a bill limiting the number of Chinese who could come to the U. S. in any one vessel to 15, and repealing the favored-nation clause in the Burlingame treaty of 1868, which provided for free immigration and emigration between China and the U. S., but President Hayes vetoed the measure. In 1880 a treaty was concluded with China, which gave the U. S. the right to "regulate, limit or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers, but not to "absolutely prohibit" it. In 1882, Congress sought to pass a bill suspending Chinese labor immigration for 20 years. This was vetoed by President Arthur. Later in the same year a bill, providing for a 10-year suspension of such immigration, but giving the right of re-entry to Chinese lawfully in the U. S., became a law.

The Chinese government has several times opened negotiations with our government for a modification of the treaty, but with no tangible results. The Chinese Immigration Act of May 6, 1882, as amended by Act of July 5, 1884, reads as follows:

"That from and after the passage of this act the coming of Chinese laborers to the U. S. be, and the same is hereby, suspended and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborers to come from any foreign port or place or having so come to remain within the United States."

This act was continued by Act of May 5th, 1892, and by Act of April 29, 1902, by which act it was extended to include Island territory of the U. S. and "Until such time as otherwise provided by law." The Act of April 27, 1904, amended the above act so as to read:

"Re-enacted, extended and continued, without modification, limitation or condition."

Thus this final legislative step in Chinese exclusion is in direct contravention of our treaty with China proclaimed December 8,

1894, which provides for the exclusion of Chinese laborers for a period of only 10 years. China has protested but submitted to greater weight. The only classes of Chinese aliens now admissible to the U. S. are teachers, students, travelers for curiosity or pleasure, merchants and their wives and minor children, officials of the Chinese government and their body and household servants, persons holding return certificates, persons passing in transit to some foreign country, and those whose physical condition necessitates immediate hospital treatment. So much for Chinese immigration. Congress made impossible their future naturalization by enacting the following statute May 6, 1882:

"Hereafter no state court or court of the U. S. shall admit Chinese to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed."

Following is the outline of Japanese exclusion from citizenship in and entry into the U. S. The federal constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8) provides that "Congress shall have power . . . to establish a uniform rule of naturalization," etc. The first law of naturalization was passed March 26, 1790, and provided that "Any alien being a free white person who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the U. S. for the term of two years may be admitted to become a citizen thereof." Between 1790 and 1854 Congress passed 15 different laws dealing with naturalization, in each case the phrase "free white person" being retained without discussion. By the Act of July 14, 1870, Sec. 7, and in harmony with the principles established by the Civil War, Congress provided that "The Naturalization laws are hereby extended to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

An amending act was passed Feb. 18, 1875, which read:

"The provisions of this Title (Title XXX Naturalization) shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity, and to persons of African descent."

Federal and Supreme Court decisions have repeatedly held that Japanese do not come within the provisions of this statute. Armenians, Hindus, Parsees and Syrians have been held to be included within its terms as being of Aryan stock. It is because of the wording of this statute that the legislators of California were able to pass the alien Land Law of 1913 without using a direct reference to the Japanese. The dearth of the favored-nation clause in the treaty of 1911, between Japan and the U. S., made fully legal the law of 1913.

The writer is outlining legislation in chronological order only. Little interest was taken by the people at large in California on the Japanese question until, through the efforts of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the first anti-Japanese convention met in San Francisco on May 7, 1905, and adopted a resolution protesting against the national policy which permitted Japanese immigrants to come to our shores and lower the standard of living and American civilization. Organization of the Asiatic Exclusion League followed immediately. Then came the famous San Francisco Board of Education resolution, the import of which became an international issue. The Constitution of California, Article 9, regarding provision for a school system was followed by the following statute, section 1662, of the School Law:

"Trustees shall have the power . . . to establish separate schools for Indians, Chinese or Mongolian children. When such schools are established, Indian, Chinese or Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other school."

Pursuant to this statute on October 11, 1906, the Board adopted a resolution directing all principals to send such children to the Oriental Public School.

An investigation by the federal government and a conference between President Roosevelt and local officials of San Francisco followed. Since the resolution became ineffective by agreement, its relation to the treaty of amity existing at that time between the U. S. and Japan need not be discussed. Moved by force of circumstances, the Japanese government agreed to restrict the issuing of passports to laborers who wished to emigrate. This agreement with Japan has been in effect since 1907, and is more popularly known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement." In substance, it is, "That the Japanese Government shall issue passports to the continental U. S. only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers, who, in coming to this country, seek to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country." Accordingly, the classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists." Subsequently, at the suggestion of Japan, this agreement was extended to the Hawaiian Islands. Statistics of immigration under this agreement have been referred to above. The immigration of Japanese women under this agreement, the source of much friction under the terms

thereof, will be dealt with in pamphlet number two.

Japan and the U. S. concluded a treaty of Commerce and Navigation dated Feb. 21, 1911. Only the first paragraph of Art. I is essential to this discussion:

"The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territories of the other; to carry on trade, wholesale and retail; to own or lease and 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 subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established."

The U. S. Immigration Act of Feb. 5, 1917, in addition to many specifications as to physical and moral defectives, etc., to be excluded, contains a comprehensive provision for general restriction by territory, describing by latitude and longitude, certain geographical regions of Asia and adjacent islands, natives of which shall not be admitted. The area does not include Japan nor East China, but does include the majority of the islands of the Pacific, all of India and the major part of the continent of Central Asia. The original proposal was to exclude "Hindus and persons who cannot become eligible under existing law to become citizens of the U. S. by naturalization, unless otherwise provided for by existing agreements as to passports, or by existing treaties, conventions, or agreements that may hereafter be entered into." The Japanese government, believing the phraseology was aimed at the Japanese, and suspecting it of being a forerunner for annulling the "Gentlemen's Agreement," had objected to it. The phraseology of latitude and longitude was hit upon as a substitute. This exclusion is not absolute. Those excepted are government officers, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, authors, artists, merchants and travelers for curiosity, their legal wives and their children under 16 years. Such persons, when admitted, must maintain their status at the risk of deportation. This is the first immigration law of the fifteen passed in the history of our country to apply a general principle of exclusion to any other people than the Chinese.

Canadian immigration law is as follows. Under the new immigration act, the Governor in Council may publish regulations at his discretion for various reasons, economic, industrial, etc. Under this provision, he

made the following regulation on June 9, 1919:

"From and after the date hereof and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada, at any port of entry in British Columbia hereinafter specified, of any immigrant of the following classes or occupations, viz., skilled and unskilled labour, is hereby prohibited."

New Zealand admits immigrants only after a rigid written English examination, which thus prohibits entirely the labor classes of Japan.

Anti-Japanese Legislation in California

Since 1909, at each successive legislative year, innumerable bills have been proposed restricting Japanese activities within the state, some of them containing more humor than their authors could probably realize. In 1909, the most important bill introduced was known as the Drew Alien Land Bill, a copy of the Illinois Alien Land Law. Under its provisions, an alien acquiring title to lands was given five years in which to become a citizen of the U. S. Failing in this, he was required to dispose of the same to a citizen or have it sold by the County District Attorney. Leasing for longer than one year was prohibited. At the suggestion of Governor Gillett, the Oklahoma Law was substituted. It was defeated by 48 to 28. The Anti-Japanese School Bill then came up for hearing and upon telegraphic request from President Roosevelt, and urgent request of the governor and Speaker Stanton, consideration was postponed for several days, and finally the bill defeated. Nevertheless, a series of Senate Anti-Japanese resolutions were adopted by the Assembly and went to the Governor.

And now we come to California's internationally discussed Alien Land Law, approved May 19, 1913. Section 1 provides that all aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the U. S. may acquire real property, etc. Section 2 follows verbatim:

"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."

Section 3 limits the ownership and leasing of land by companies, associations or corporations of which a majority are aliens or in which a majority of issued capital stock is owned by such aliens in the same manner as section two above.

During the debate on the measure in the state legislature there was established the precedent of a Secretary of State of the nation in the capitol of a sovereign state actively endeavoring to influence the legislation of that state. Upon its passage and before its approval by Governor Johnson, the Japanese ambassador at Washington filed a formal protest May 9, 1913, with the Secretary of State, terming the act, "unfair, unjust, inequitable and discriminatory; primarily directed against Japanese and prejudicial to their existing rights; inconsistent with the provisions of the treaty in force and opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding upon which the conventional relations of the two countries depend." Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, replied on May 19, that the act was "not political nor part of any national policy of unfriendliness, but was wholly economical and based upon particular economical conditions existing in California."

So notes passed back and forth between the Secretary and the ambassador; cablegrams came and went between Washington and Tokyo. The Japanese government was insistent upon the existence of racial antagonism evidenced by the act. It alleged a violation of existing treaty (1911) in

1. Took away, from Japanese subjects right to acquire land by devise, etc., and to acquire leaseholds of land for residential and commercial purposes.
2. Impaired obligation of contracts.
3. Impaired vested rights to dispose of property created under treaty of 1894.
4. Japanese deprived of capacity to bequeath.
5. Discrimination was a denial of most-favored nation treatment.

The U. S. answered that the treaty makes no reference to ownership of land; that the question was in pursuance of the desire of the Japanese government dealt with by an exchange of notes at the time of the adoption of the second treaty (1911), and it was agreed between Baron Uchida and Mr. Knox that that question should be regulated in each country by the local laws and that the law applicable to the U. S. in that regard was that of the respective states; that alien ownership of lands had been secured to other nations by special treaty stipulations and not favored-nation clauses immediately re-

lating to commerce and navigation. The governor refused President Wilson's request for delay and the matter ended by the filing of several formal protests by the Japanese government at Washington.

It is clear that the California statute is within the terms of the treaty of 1911 and in conformity to the federal interpretation of our national naturalization laws. It will be interesting to briefly note the acts of other states and other nations facing the same problem.

Oregon

Aliens have same rights as a native citizen.

Washington

Ownership of lands by aliens other than those who in good faith have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States is prohibited, except where acquired by inheritance, under mortgage, etc. Provisions shall not apply to lands containing valuable mineral deposits, etc. Corporations, majority of capital stock of which is owned by aliens, shall be considered aliens.

Idaho

Aliens denied right to acquire land except mineral lands by act of 1891. Repealed in 1913.

Nevada

Aliens enjoy same right as native born citizens.

Arizona

No person ineligible to citizenship under laws of the United States and no corporation more than 30 per cent of whose stock is owned by persons other than citizens of the United States or ineligible to become such shall acquire title to or an interest in land other than mineral lands. Can lease for 5 years only.

Canada

Aliens may acquire and hold realty.

Australia

No restrictions imposed in any of the states except Queensland, except as to Crown lands.

New Zealand

Same as Canada.

Japan

There are three ways in which foreigners may hold land in Japan:

1. By ordinary lease, running for any convenient time and renewable;
2. A superficies title may be secured in all parts of Japan, except colonial areas, running for 999 years, if desired;
3. May form joint stock companies and hold land for purposes indicated by their charters.

In addition permanent leases were obtainable in certain concessions by purchase from time to time, the rental covering taxes as well. Many of these lots have passed into Japanese hands and it is a disappearing form of ownership. A law was passed in 1910 covering foreigners who maintain an establishment in Japan, but was never made effective by the government.

It is interesting to note that Japanese may not become citizens of the United States, even if they have served or are serving in the army, navy or marine corps because the Act of June 30, 1914, qualifies such admission through service by the words, "Who may, under existing law, become a citizen of the United States." The Act of May 9, 1918, Sec. 4352, Rev. Stats., 7th sub. permits Filipinos, Porto Ricans and any aliens, etc., to become citizens through such service, but also provides that nothing in it shall repeal or in any way enlarge Section 4358 (the provision on Naturalization), except as provided in Section 4352, seventh subdivision above.

The writer hopes this pamphlet has laid the foundation for a more spirited discussion to follow of actual conditions, plans and proposed remedies.



PAMPHLET NUMBER TWO

The
Japanese
Problem
in California

By

Chester Versteeg
of the Los Angeles Bar



Contents Pamphlet Number Two

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May 10, 1920

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The Japanese Problem in California

ERRATUM

There is an incorrect statement on page 5 of pamphlet number One to the effect that Federal and Supreme Court decisions have repeatedly held that Japanese do not come within the provisions of the statute on Naturalization. The annotations to the statute in question state that Japanese and Mongolians have been held not to be "white persons," citing both Federal and Supreme Court decisions. A subsequent reading of the Supreme Court cases show them not to be in point. The note is correct as to decisions of the other Federal courts.



The Part Japanese Play in Industrial and Social Life in California

We have to deal with the Japanese in a four-fold aspect. First, as a race whose laboring class is barred from entrance into the U. S. by a self-imposed agreement suggested by the Japanese to save themselves from the odium of direct immigration legislation. Second, as aliens denied the rights and duties of citizenship. And third, as business men and farmers prevented from owning real estate for any purposes whatsoever in California and from leasing agricultural lands for a term longer than three years. Lastly, as a people whose traditions, language and mere personal appearance create race prejudice. Each of these conditions help to make the place Japanese fill in our industrial and social life.

According to the Census of 1910, out of the total of 72,157 Japanese in the U. S. there were then only 1,643 in the Middle Atlantic states, 2364 in other sections of the East and Middle West, 10,447 in the Mountain States and 57,703 in the Pacific States, mostly in California. Presuming that the 1920 Census will reveal approximately 110,000 Japanese in the U. S., and allowing a fair increase on the estimate of the Japanese population of 69,982 in California made by the Japanese Consulate of San Francisco in September, 1918, we can safely say that almost two-thirds of the Japanese in the U. S. are still living in California and the part they play in industrial and social life in this state assumes the utmost importance, whether the problem be looked upon as a national or international one.

Climatic conditions in California, vast areas of rich, undeveloped lands, need of cheap labor since the enactment of Chinese exclusion laws, the mere fact that the Port of San Francisco was the gateway for oriental trade, all these combined to place and keep the major portion of the Japanese within this state. Previous to 1908 most of the Japanese who came to the Pacific Coast came to Japanese boarding houses and from there secured their first employment as section hands on the railways, as agricultural laborers in field and orchard, or as domestic servants and house cleaners in the large cities. As time passed smaller numbers entered other industrial employments or secured places in shops and stores. One of the chief benefits to the railways and large ranch owners was the convenience with which the Japanese were secured through contractors of their own race, the latter receiving their remuneration through charging interpreters' fees, a fee of five cents per day from the wages of each man and profits from supplies sold at stores run in connection with the work camps. At the time of the investigation of the Immigration Commission in 1909 the railway workers were receiving from 12 to 14 cents per hour, or 25 cents per day less than Greek, Italian and Austrian laborers doing the same kind of work. In recent years due to the scarcity of Japanese laborers they have received the same rate as is paid for labor of other races.

That the Japanese have added decisively to the wealth of California cannot be denied. In the Sacramento River region the Japanese pioneer farmers have fought and overcome unhealthful conditions in reclamation and development work. In Fresno County, alone, in the earlier days of development, the Japanese Agricultural Association estimates the loss of Japanese life due to poor water and unsanitary conditions at 3000. Twelve years ago the Japanese entered the tule jungles around Meridian, clearing tangled growth, cutting timber and blasting out stumps. For ten years they experimented in bean planting. During these years the pioneers merely broke even. Today 50,000 acres around Meridian are in beans. Bean farming is now so profitable there that Americans, Italians and Portuguese have entered the field in such numbers as to reduce the proportionate number of acres planted by Japanese to but 4% of the total acreage.

Livingston, a small town on the Southern Pacific near Merced in the San Joaquin Valley, was surrounded by a hummucky soil

known as "goose lands," or "hog wallows." A white colony established there in 1892 had struggled with hostile conditions and had vanished. A Japanese colony established in 1906 nearly met the same fate, grasshoppers clearing what the wind left. Today the properties of the soil of Livingston have been so clearly demonstrated by the Japanese pioneers that the American population outnumbers the Japanese five to one. Land values have risen from \$35.00 to \$175.00 per acre, 260 carloads of grapes of both table and raisin variety having been shipped from there in 1917.

And so in the development of orchards about Penryn and Watsonville and of vineyards about Fresno and in the much discussed Florin region. They have pioneered in the development of the rice industry in Butte, Colusa, Yuba and Sutter Counties. Mr. K. Ikuta, the real pioneer of commercial rice growing in California was the first to grow rice on a commercial scale after the variety tests conducted at Biggs by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in 1909, 1910 and 1911. After several disappointing years Mr. Ikuta in association with other Japanese organized the California Rice Farming Co. In 1917 the company planted to rice 3,740 acres in two ranches located in Colusa County. The machinery alone represented an expenditure of over \$40,000.00. Americans have followed the Japanese in this industry and now outnumber them. Of the 80,000 acres of rice grown in California in 1917, 8000, only, belonged to Japanese concessions. When the California Rice Co. started at Colusa the land had been renting for \$1.00 per acre and selling at \$8.00 per acre. In 1918 this same land rented for \$20.00 per acre and sold at \$80.00 per acre. On the other hand in the Vaca Valley, which was a comparatively developed country at the time of their advent, the Japanese contribution was to maintain orchards and vineyards already developed and to aid in the gradual expansion that has taken place there. In Southern California the Japanese have come to occupy a conspicuous place in the citrus fruit industry as laborers and, in the growing of melons, celery, berries and vegetables, first as laborers and later as tenant farmers. There has been little of the pioneer work here; little of permanent improvement and development of resources. Increased production through intensive farming and gardening has been at the expense of the soil, but around Los Angeles and in Los Angeles County on lands ultimately destined as city lots and villa sites. Space will not permit a

full recital of Japanese work upon the land. The sons of Nippon—the daughters, too, we are now finding—have brought with them the inherited skill of centuries of intensive farming and have exercised this skill to the full here in California. They have worked under conditions and have borne burdens the white man flatly refuses to meet or bear. Mr. George Shima has graphically said of the Japanese that they are men who “stoop to labor.” Fairness requires that we acknowledge the debt the State of California owes to this alien race within our borders. Yet appreciation of the ability of the Japanese to cope with and master these difficulties of land development should not carry us to the conclusion that they are fully entitled to land ownership, to citizenship, which are rights presupposing assimilability. The problem is a complex one. In skill, tenacity and energy displayed it tends to prove it. In standard of life maintained it tends to disprove it. The first establishes capability. The second shows the price paid, namely, a lower standard of life than our own.

In 1913 the Japanese owned 26,707 acres and leased 255,980, making a total control of 282,687 acres.—In 1916 there were 1,093 Japanese land owners composing 1.6 of all the land owners in California, and 6,402 tenant farmers or 35.2 of all the tenant farmers in California. In 1918 out of a total Japanese population of 68,982 (California) composed of 41,842 male adults, 12,232 female adults, 7,877 male children and 7,031 female children, 526 farms were owned by Japanese farmers while through lease and contract they controlled 390,637 acres, or an average of 63.5 acres per farm owned or controlled. Of these there were 84 farms owned by Japanese in Southern California comprising 2,950 acres and, together with those leased and under contract 2,350 farms with a total acreage of 84,600. In 1916 the total Japanese agricultural wealth was placed at \$25,000,000.00, the total of California at \$1,614,694,584.00. The total value of agricultural products raised by the Japanese in 1918 was placed at \$53,375,720.00, the total of California at approximately \$515,166,000.00. In 1917 the total value of the berry crop raised by the Japanese was \$3,189,000.00, or nearly 90% of the total state crop; tomatoes \$1,824,000.00, or 80% ; grapes \$5,690,000.00, or 35% ; beans \$5,983,000.00 or 18% , etc. Data covering development work by Japanese, ownership and tenure of land and crop values have been taken from the reports of the California Devel-

opment Board for 1916, the Japanese Agricultural Association, Millis on "The Japanese Problem in the United States," Dr. Sidney Gulick's "American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship," and the Japanese-American Year Book. These sources approximate correctness and are the best obtainable. The land ownership phase of the question has been gone into as fully as convenient because, just as the Japanese problem of the United States centers in California, so the problem in California is irrevocably linked with the tilling of the soil.

A passing glance at Japanese activities in other industries will suffice. The number employed in the lumbering industry within this state is negligible. Race prejudice has checked entirely their employment in the lumber and shingle mills of Oregon and Washington, or limited them to common labor and "outside" jobs, at, approximately, the wages of white labor. The San Francisco Fish Canning Co. has discontinued sending Japanese in appreciable numbers to their stations in Washington and Alaska, Filipinos, Italians and Mexicans being better adapted to this work and the Japanese themselves seeking better opportunities in the cities and on the farms. Very few Japanese are employed in factories and workshops. A limited number are in the professions. Japanese day workers, living in groups of from six to forty, fill the needs of temporary house work, window cleaning, etc., at 35 to 60 cents per hour, there being 162 such house-cleaning establishments in San Francisco in 1913 and 67 in Los Angeles.

It has been estimated by local newspapers that the Japanese operate 15 laundries, 176 confectionery stores, 300 apartment houses and hotels and 465 groceries and fruit stores in Los Angeles at present. The competition complained of by our grocers is without legal redress as the Japanese engaged in business are within the rights granted by the Treaty of 1911. The balance find employment in hotels and clubs, in Japanese-owned laundries or as owners of various shops and stores, meeting the needs of their countrymen.

Now as to the place they fill in social life in California. In the days of Chinese labor the Chinaman was praised for being satisfied with his lot and knowing his place. The Japanese, on the other hand, are criticised both for clannishness as evidenced in work camp and colonies and Japanese quarters in the larger cities and for their refusal to "stay put"; for their decided tendency to improve their social

status, to break the old residence boundaries and to move in the white man's social circles. That aliens so radically differing in color, facial features, in tongue and religion, should be clannish is to be expected. That those same aliens, after a certain period of residence within our country, should be seeking personal betterment and the realization of a better standard of living is most natural for a race with the traditions, the culture, the patriotism and the ambition of the Nipponese.

A process of Americanization has been going on during the last fifteen years among the Japanese of California that has probably altered the spirit and character of large numbers of their race in America. They are here for relatively permanent residence. They now desire to become adopted to their new life and its opportunities. Many are studying English zealously. There are many thousands of Japanese families; many thousands of Japanese children are beginning to attend American schools in every section of the Pacific coast. These things are evidence of the desire of the Japanese to be assimilated into the social life of the land of their adoption. Again this is not the proof of assimilability. It does make them responsible. It fosters a settling and an accumulating. Through such organizations as the Japanese Association and the Japanese Agricultural Association classes in Americanization are conducted, the Japanese are urged to seek an education in English, to adopt the Christian religion, to absorb American customs and to play their part and assume their burdens in American associations dealing with questions of business and agricultural pursuits. They have formed prefectural clubs representing various provinces of Japan, similar to our state societies. When the union waiters went out on strike in 1916 all the Japanese waiters did the same, although they were not then members of the union, and refused to be employed as strike-breakers. A new spirit in recent years has been manifest in the relations of organized labor to Japanese labor, which, by the way, is itself well organized, and collective bargaining has very nearly obliterated any difference of wage scale between the white man and the Japanese and in many lines of labor has approximated the standard of living of the Japanese to that of the white man of the laboring class. The Japanese Christian Missions are aiding the Japanese to play a more complete part in our social life; so also the Japanese churches of which there were 40 in California in 1914 with a membership of

2,000. There is little or no friction between the Japanese and the white children in the public schools. The establishment of kindergartens where Japanese children may learn English before taking grade work will remove most of the problem connected with the public schools.

Formerly Japanese used the public tennis courts in Oakland at the price of harsh words and occasional stone-throwing. A new spirit of understanding has now accorded them the same treatment and opportunity as others receive and enjoy. That the best class of Japanese has experienced difficulties in entering, even to a limited extent, into the social life of their neighborhood is evidenced in the case of the San Francisco Manager of Mitsui and Co., the Japanese international trade firm. When this Japanese business man, a gentleman of cosmopolitan culture who had traveled extensively in Asia and Europe, rented a house in Berkeley his neighbors threatened to boycott the fuel dealers and provision merchants of Berkeley, thus forcing the new tenant to purchase supplies from Oakland and San Francisco. As the weeks passed his neighbors began to realize the folly of their actions with the result that social felicitations were eventually exchanged. When Mr. George Shima, popularly called the "Potato King," and president of the Japanese Association of America, secured a residence in an exclusive section of Berkeley, insinuations and invectives were heaped upon him and the newspapers of the Bay cities hurled tirades and epithets. But sumptuous furnishings, a beautiful garden with rare shrubs and a \$500 donation to the Y. M. C. A. of the State University caused the people of Berkeley to recognize his respectability and public spirit and the social ban was raised. In Los Angeles the Japanese Students' Club, consisting mostly of the U. of So. California Japanese students, were obliged to drop plans for the purchase of a lot for clubhouse purposes due to the prejudice of our citizens. Japanese played an important part financially in the relief of San Francisco after the fire and throughout the war subscribed a full quota to Red Cross funds.

The part Japanese play in our social life might be discussed at much greater length from many different angles, but the discussion itself borders on that of assimilation to be considered later. It is certain that no other race so radically different from our own has made the persistent, serious attempts to become a part of our social life as has the

Japanese race. It is equally certain that, except in isolated cases, as exchange of neighborly visits between whites and Japanese in Florin and similar settlements, and common attendance at church services at Livingston, the Japanese have not been accepted as an integral part of the social life of California or any section thereof. In this respect they still remain an alien people in a foreign land.

Assimilation

Assimilation has been defined as the act, process or result of making or becoming like, homogeneous, or harmonious; a modifying of one thing or element to make it harmonize with or resemble another. The outstanding proponent of Japanese assimilability to American life is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, a former professor and lecturer in Doshishi University and the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan, an American of long residence in Japan, the author of several books on that country and now serving as secretary of the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, with headquarters in New York City. Assimilability is referred to casually in both his books, "American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship" and "The American Japanese Problem," but directly in the latter where two chapters entitled "Are Japanese Assimilable" and "Can Americans Assimilate Japanese" cover 65 pages. In brief Dr. Gulick tells us that assimilation does not involve free intermarriage of races. He earnestly deprecates intermarrying, drawing his conclusions from various cases cited, many of which have, nevertheless, resulted happily for both parties. It is to the possibilities of assimilation without intermarriage that he directs our attention. He tells us that the untrained thinker takes the concrete whole as he finds it, the difference in color, in physiognomy, language, psychic characteristics, civilization, morals and religion; that each element is unconsciously regarded as carrying with it all the rest, so that whenever one element exists the possession of the others may be assumed; that these characteristics are thought to be inherited from generation to generation by the regular vital processes.

Continuing, he states that the universal characteristics of all mankind, whatever the race, is their common possession of power of abstract thought, of language, of moral sense and of religious aspirations; that man is by his innermost nature social; that so-called race characteristics, then, fall into two groups, the physiological and the psychological, the form-

er transmitted by biological, the latter by social, heredity; the former completed in the case of each individual not later than birth, while social heredity begins possibly before birth, but reaching its maximum activity during childhood; that physiological and social heredity have no necessary connection; that it "is not physical amalgamation that unites mankind; it is mental community. To be great a nation need not be of one blood; it must be of one mind"; that the spirit and even the play of expression on the faces of Japanese children born and raised here disclose the subtle influence at work transforming them; that any social heritage whatever can be given to any child; that modern science has completely refuted the arguments of the defenders of Japanese non-assimilability. Dr. Gulick ends his chapter by stating that while adequate scientific data are lacking covering the desirability of biological assimilation of the Japanese and white races, the social assimilation of the Japanese is beyond question. Recognizing the masterly contribution of Dr. Gulick to the question of race assimilation, the writer, nevertheless, reserves his own humble opinion to be expressed in the concluding remarks.

Mr. H. A. Millis, Professor of Economics, University of Kansas, a thorough investigator of our relations with Japan, in his book, "The Japanese Problem in the U. S.," states that the Japanese quickly conform to certain standards of the adopted country, namely, in dress, diet, mastery of the English language, reading of American periodicals and newspapers, etc., but draws the following conclusions as to their assimilation, that is, that they have many personal qualities which make for rapid assimilation; that in their assimilation much progress has been made; that whether they could be completely assimilated under favorable conditions only time would tell; that even with limited numbers the situation is such that assimilation is unlikely to occur in the desired degree; that with large numbers it would not take place; that the evil of race mixture is pretty much of a bogie. Following are authorities more clearly in favor of assimilation:

Mr. K. K. Kawakami, formerly head of the Japanese Association of America, head of the Pacific Press Bureau (Japanese) of San Francisco, and author of "Asia at the Door," is not only an emphatic believer in Japanese assimilability but urges intermarriage of the two races as a practical solution.

Mr. Yamato Ichihashi, a graduate of Stanford University, formerly a special agent of the U. S. Immigration Commission, and author of a comprehensive pamphlet, "Japanese Immigration—Its Status In California," asserts that "present facts clearly indicate the capacity of the Japanese for assimilation." To the contrary are the following:

Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, author of "The Japanese invasion, A Study In the Psychology of Inter-Racial Contacts", asserts that the Japanese, being peculiarly responsive to strange surroundings might surpass other nationalities in their ability to acquire American civilization, but doubts whether the difficulty of giving them a fair chance will ever be overcome.

Dr. Robert E. Park, of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, says that the Japanese wear a "racial uniform," and that like the negro are "condemned to remain among us an abstraction."

Mr. Montaville Flowers, author of "The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion" and a voluminous gatherer of the opinions of authorities on the question, asserts the Japanese to be wholly unassimilable; that the belief that the "Melting Pot" can absorb all races is the Great American Illusion; that if we were to attempt to assimilate the Japanese under Dr. Gulick's proposed immigration law (see Discussion of Organizations and Programs in this pamphlet), our citizens would awake some day to find but the dead Soul of America in the Melting Pot.

Senator Phelan, Mr. Chester Rowell, editor of the Fresno Republican, Mr. V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento Bee and a student of the question at the source of immigration, Japan, all assert emphatically the non-assimilability of the Japanese race into American life.

In the answer to questionnaires involving a group of questions sent out by the writer to both American and Japanese employers of Japanese labor the answers to the question of what per cent of those Japanese with whom the individuals were acquainted could qualify for citizenship if our naturalization laws permitted their acceptance ranged from none to 50%, and the answers regarding assimilation given by white employers was that they could not be assimilated, or at least not within several generations.

The situation in Hawaii, while somewhat beyond the scope of this pamphlet, is of exceptional interest as regards assimilation. In

1916 the total estimated population of the Islands was 228,771 of which 97,000 were Japanese, 23,770 Hawaiian, 23,755 Portuguese, 21,954 Chinese, etc., while the Americans, British, Germans and Russians together numbered only 16,042. With reference to intermarriage by the Japanese in a given year, out of 1,314 Japanese men who married, 1,305 married Japanese brides. The tendency to maintain a pure stock is marked. A small American minority is seeking to Americanize vastly larger groups of diverse races. Hawaiian population will in all probability become increasingly a mixture of Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian and white, the pure blood constituting a constantly diminishing proportion. That American citizens of Japanese parentage will soon be the voting power in Hawaii is a foregone conclusion. Whether they will be permeated with American ideals in the exercise of the franchise remains to be seen. The supreme test of their patriotism in peace or in war will be made there.

New Problems Under Gentlemen's Agreement

These problems are two in number, first, evasion of the agreement; second, recent influx of wives of resident Japanese, so-called "Picture Brides." Japan has been charged with infidelity in her part of the enforcement of the agreement by permitting certain numbers of emigrants to embark for our ports who proved upon arrival to be in fact of the laboring class. The report of the Commissioner of Immigration for 1919 shows that 335 Japanese immigrants were found to be without proper passports, 290 of whom had none at all. On the other hand Professor H. A. Millis, while employed by the Immigration Commission to observe the workings of the agreement. Mr. MacKenzie, California Commissioner of Labor; and the Commissioner of Immigration at Seattle, Washington, all state that, though the letter of the agreement is sometimes evaded by individuals, as a restrictive measure the agreement has been very successful and much more effective than the enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Laws. This phase of the problem is best met by rigid inspection at the ports of embarkation by Japanese officials and at the ports of arrival by our authorities and prompt deportation of those who do not maintain the class status their passports call for. The Japanese Government has placed great restrictions upon emigration to Mexico and Canada with the re-

sult that according to the Bureau of Immigration the surreptitious entries made through Mexico were straggling and negligible. In 1919 there were 117 contraband Japanese laborers apprehended at the California-Mexican border and deported. We see that the number is small despite flaring newspaper headlines. The Bureau states that a larger working fund at its disposal would eliminate this phase of the problem.

As to the second problem, prior to May 5th, 1917, the class of female immigrants known as "picture brides," when presenting passports under the agreement, were admitted only after the performance of a marriage ceremony in accordance with the laws of this country, the applicant being detained in port until the ceremony had been performed. Of course this did not prohibit; it merely inconvenienced. This proving unsatisfactory to the Bureau, an extensive investigation was made of the legality of the picture marriage under Japanese laws. The Bureau, having ascertained the complete legalization of this marriage ceremony dependent upon official notification by the contracting parties and their witnesses to the Japanese Government Registration Bureau, adopted a rule that the validity of these marriages be recognized and a further rule requiring a certified record of the registration and a certified copy of the notification of marriage made out by the party to the same living in the U. S. From 1909 to 1916 the net increase of alien Japanese females in the U. S. was 10,996. In 1919 there were 3,192 Japanese "wives" admitted. The report of the Commissioner of Immigration nowhere states the number of females who departed for that year. Since the percentage of net gain for all Japanese immigrants for that year is 37% of total arrivals, and presuming the net gain on the 3,192 Japanese wives was also 37% (probably much greater as "picture brides" included in the number would be of a class not likely to depart) we would have a net immigration of 1,181 Japanese wives for the year 1919.

A pamphlet published by the California Farmers Co-operative Association gives as the number of "pictures brides" to enter the Port of San Francisco for 1919 as 668. It will be borne in mind that there is a distinction between "picture brides" and "wives," the latter being the larger term. (Many writers and newspapers have failed to make this distinction.) Since the total female immigration from Japan, wives and all, was

4,311 for 1919, or nearly one-half of the whole period from 1909 to 1916, and despite the fact that data is not available to tell us of the increased number of "picture brides" recently come to our shores, these figures would ordinarily give us food for serious thought. But on December 17th, 1919, the Japanese Government announced that on and after Feb. 25th, 1920, it would stop issuing passports to "picture brides." That the great majority of these wives perform the labor of men in the fields in addition to the bearing of children is beyond dispute.

G. Charles Hodges, writing in *Sunset* for June, 1917, and quoting the State Board of Health, says that the Japanese show an annual increase by 37 births per thousand to the white race increase of about 20 births per thousand. The *Los Angeles Times* states that there has been an increase of 3,000% during the last 10 years of children born of Japanese parents in California and a decrease during the last four years of 8% of children born of Caucasian parents. But *The Times* is here dealing only in percentages. Senator Phelan falls into the same error, quoting percentages without comparing totals of population.

Dr. Wm. L. Holt, stacieian of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commeree, tells us that in the year 2024, supposing little or no Japanese immigration, the white and Japanese populations will have equaled each other, but he has allowed a white increase by immigration to California of only 750,000 for each of the ten year periods between 1917 and 2024 and has palpably erred in placing Japanese fecundity at 65 per thousand for the year 1917, claiming State Board of Health figures. Mr. Hodges, quoting the same Board, places the figure at 37%. As long as "picture brides" are barred from our shores by being denied passports, and remembering population totals, the writer after a careful survey of the situation, past and present, cannot but conclude that there is no present menace in the Japanese birth rate in California.

Discussion of Pro and Anti-Japanese Organizations, Their Programs and Influence on Public Opinion

The most comprehensive program is that of the National Committee For Constructive Immigration Legislation, membership in the committee being open to all American citizens, and the secretary of which is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. This committee proposes a bill to be enacted by the Senate and House of Repre-

representatives to regulate immigration, to promote assimilation, and to modify the requirements for the acquisition of citizenship. Without repeating the provisions contained therein for determining various facts from time to time, nor provisions for the amendment of past acts, the Bill in brief provides—

I. The regulation of all immigration on a percentage principle, with the application of this principle to each people or mother-tongue group separately but impartially.

II. The annual admission of from three to ten per cent of those of each people already naturalized, including the American-born children of that people as recorded in the Census of 1920;

III. The creation of an Immigration Commission to determine annually the rate within the specified limits, with power to admit or exclude labor under exceptional circumstances, to formulate plans for the distribution of immigration, and to deal with other specified and exceptional matters of importance, including the formulation of educational standards for naturalization;

IV. The raising of the standards of qualifications for citizenship and the extension of the privileges of naturalization to every one who qualifies;

V. The separation of the citizenship of a wife from that of her husband;

VI. The repeal of all laws dealing specifically and differentially with the Chinese.

The Japanese Society, of New York, supported by annual patronage, is organized "for the promotion of friendly relations between the U. S. and Japan, and the diffusion among the American people of a more accurate knowledge of Japan, its aims, ideals, arts, science, industries and economic conditions."

The Japanese Association of America, of which Mr. George Shima is now president, with its sub-associations in most of the large cities in the U. S. and innumerable smaller ones in towns and farming districts of California, has its headquarters in San Francisco. Through its press bureaus, magazines and use of pamphlets it is continually reaching a multitude of people. The Japanese are the foremost propagandists of the day. This association, while deprecating the California Alien Land Law of 1913 and urging naturalization for the members of the Japanese race lawfully within the U. S., is at present spending most of its energies in offsetting the activities of the Asiatic Exclusion League and individual agitation for restriction.

The U. S. Bureau of Immigration has drafted a new immigration Bill embodying a nominal head tax for all aliens and requiring their registration annually for a period of four years, or until they shall have been naturalized. The Bill contains elaborate means for enforcement of powers granted but in no way changes the present status of oriental immigration. This Bill, of course, does not touch upon naturalization.

In 1905 the Asiatic Exclusion League of America, then known as the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, was organized. It has been behind and fostered every Anti-Japanese agitation in this state since its organization. Supported by certain newspapers it has at times aroused enthusiasm for its programs among thinking people; at other times it has agitated without cause and failed to receive a complete response from the people. The Asiatic Exclusion League of California is now organizing the Pacific Coast states in support of the following legislation, both state and national—

- I. Entire prohibition of leasing of agricultural lands to Japanese aliens;
- II. Prohibition of purchase of lands by dummy corporations, i. e., corporations whose majority capital stock is owned or controlled by aliens;
- III. Requiring the guardian of the property of a child of alien parentage, if any part of that property shall be realty, to report all financial matters connected with the guardianship to some designated state official semi-annually;
- IV. Amendment of the Federal Constitution whereby children born of parents either or both of whom are ineligible to citizenship will themselves retain the status of their parents;
- V. Cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement;
- VI. Exclusion of all Japanese of the laboring class;
- VII. More rigid requirements for naturalization of aliens.

It is proposed to secure the above state legislation by initiative measures now being prepared. Space will not permit of a general discussion of the merits of this varied program.

Mr. V. S. McClatchy also proposes the bringing in of Chinese laborers for a fixed period of time, and for certain localized industries, in addition to the above program.

CONCLUSIONS

Amidst such pretentious programs and cross-programs the writer hesitates to draw his own conclusions in public. Perhaps an unbiased, although brief, study of this question may warrant the statement of them for the reader's benefit. Those conclusions are arrived at in the knowledge that the census of 1920, and the forthcoming report of the State Board of Control, provided that report be a comprehensive, fair one, open to public inspection, may alter the following conclusions. Nor has the writer ignored on the one hand the possibility of Japan's insistent attitude toward the problems of land ownership and citizenship being a subtle means of keeping America's attention directed away from the "peaceful penetration" of China, Manchuria and Siberia by a nation of militaristic ambitions drawing its governmental powers from a German-modeled constitution. On the other hand he has not forgotten the wording of the first treaty Japan ever signed—

"There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the U. S. of A. on the one part and the empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

Under that treaty, which bore the signature of Matthew Calbraith Perry we introduced Japan to the world of western civilization. Quoting Elihu Root—

"It is hard for democracy to learn the responsibilities of its power; but the people now, not governments, make friendships or dislikes, sympathy or discord, peace or war, between nations. In this modern day through the columns of the myriad press and messages flashing over countless wires, multitudes call to multitudes across boundaries and oceans in courtesy or insult, in amity or in defiance. Foreign officers and ambassadors and ministers no longer keep or break the peace, but the conduct of each people toward every other. The people who permit themselves to treat the people of other countries with discourtesy or insult are surely sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, for a world of sullen and revengeful hatred can never be a world of peace. Against such a feeling treaties are waste paper and diplomacy the empty routine of idle form."

These conclusions are—

- I. No change in status of Japanese immigration advisable. A rigid enforcement of the Agreement at ports

of entrance and the Mexican border. If, despite Japan's promise to prohibit "picture bride" immigration continues, a modification of that agreement, or a more drastic interpretation of it by the Immigration Bureau, or direct legislation on that point advisable;

- II. The plan of percentage immigration for all races, including the Japanese and Chinese might prove successful when assimilation of oriental races has been demonstrated beyond doubt by time, and some means effected for equal distribution over continental U. S. That time has not yet arrived.
- III. No change in Naturalization laws advisable, except as an aid to government in the naturalization of those aliens to whom citizenship may be now granted. Any attempt to amend the Federal Constitution refusing citizenship to children born of alien ineligible is dangerous and un-American. It would result in two groups of American-born orientals, those now citizens and those who would remain alien under the amendment. It could not be retroactive and would, therefore, not affect ownership of land in California by any considerable number of Japanese for many years to come advisable only as a last resort measure.
- IV. The Land Law of 1913 should be amended permitting leasing of agricultural lands for a period of possibly ten years, thus insuring a higher standard of living and ultimate Americanization of those Japanese who are here with us, whether we want them here or not;
- V. Enactment of the Dummy Corporation provisions;
- VI. State supervision of incomes derived from realty owned by alien minors and controlled by guardians;
- VII. A constructive policy of Americanization of Japanese who are permanently a part of our population should be mapped out by the state;
- VIII. Distribution of oriental immigrants lawful entering U. S. under existing treaties;
- IX. Cessation of all unwarranted agitation disrupting international amity;

X. The importation of Chinese coolie labor for short periods of time, thereby preventing encystment, but only when in the opinion of the proper department of the government the need is urgent, and such importation is under government control with proper safeguards for full protection of the rights of those imported.

Such a program, as the problem now stands, would protect all the interests of California, for strict enforcement of agreements will, as the Bureau of Immigration points out, has been true in the past, prove more effective in operation than direct exclusion. At the same time it places upon the Japanese themselves the burden of proving ultimate assimilability and therefore cannot disrupt the cordial friendship existing between the two governments. The Japanese Government recognizes the existence of our Japanese labor problem. Any further program seems unnecessary from a domestic standpoint, unwarranted from an international standpoint.



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Hemp

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THE JAPANESE FARMERS IN CALIFORNIA

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THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

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The Japanese question in America, if there indeed be such a question, is one which should be studied most dispassionately. Consider it in the light of authentic facts, not through the glamor of suspicion, prejudice, and malice, and the question, which to many cursory observers may appear portentous, will not only prove unalarming, but susceptible of amicable solution. What we need in this case, as in all other matters, is not so much argument and discussion as cold facts and the application to their appraisal of the sound common-sense for which the Americans are noted.

In the presentation of facts relative to this question, certain statistics seem essential. Let us begin with those for the Japanese population in continental United States. As no up-to-date statistics are obtainable from American sources, I shall give figures obtained as the result of investigations made by the various Japanese consulates in this country. There are in continental United States six Japanese consulates, whose respective districts are as follows:

Seattle Consulate—Washington; Montana, Alaska, and a section of Idaho.

Portland Consulate—Oregon, Wyoming, and a section of Idaho.

San Francisco Consulate—Northern section of California, and the whole States of Colorado, Utah, and Nevada.

Los Angeles Consulate—Southern section of California, and the whole States of Arizona and New Mexico.

Chicago Consulate—States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Ohio, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma.

New York Consulate—Other Eastern States.

According to an estimate prepared on June 30, 1916, by the six Japanese Consulates, the Japanese population in the respective consular districts was as follows:

Consulates	Male	Female	Total
Seattle	7,397	1,835	9,232
Portland	4,497	906	5,403
San Francisco	35,531	15,259	50,790
Los Angeles	19,992	3,774	23,766
Chicago	2,131	250	2,381
New York	2,552	246	2,798
Total	72,100	22,270	94,370

We see that the total Japanese population in continental United States is 94,370. Of this total only 5,179 are in the consular districts of Chicago and New York. The remaining 89,191 are in the consular districts of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Again, of these 89,191, 74,556 are in the San Francisco and Los Angeles consular districts, covering six States measuring 694,515 square miles. Finally, the Japanese population in California, 158,297 square miles in area, is 55,095.

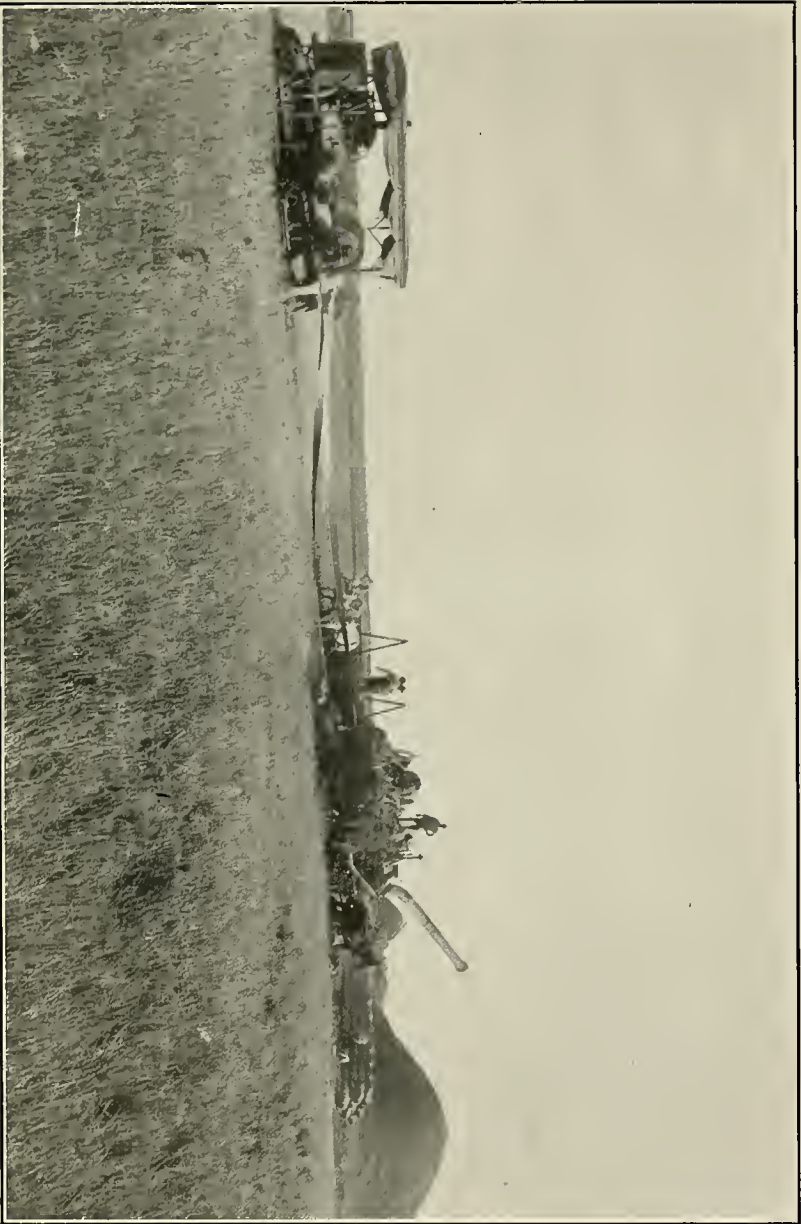
It is interesting to note the proportion of the Japanese population to the total population of the Pacific Coast and the adjacent States which constitute the four Japanese consular districts mentioned above. We have seen that the Japanese population in these districts in 1916 was 89,191. Now the total population, including all races, in the same territory (California, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Oregon, Wyoming, Washington, Montana, and Idaho) was, in 1910, 6,825,821. Judging from the rate of increase of population in the decade from 1900 to 1910, this number must, by 1916, have grown to more than 10,000,000. Put this number beside the above-named total of Japanese population, and we have one Japanese to every 112 of the total population. Since the area of the eleven States is 1,189,140 square miles, there is one Japanese to every 12 square miles. If we confine ourselves to the three States on the Pacific Coast, there will be about 67,000 Japanese as against the total population of some 6,000,000, namely, one Japanese to every 89 of the total population. As the three States have a total area of 334,123 square miles, one Japanese is apportioned to every five square miles. Finally, California has 55,095 Japanese, while its total population is 3,242,895, making a proportion of one to 59. There is in this State one Japanese to every 2.87 square miles.

In considering the Japanese question in America, 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. I do not wish to say whether this contention was well founded. I shall simply set forth authentic facts and let the reader arrive at his own conclusion.

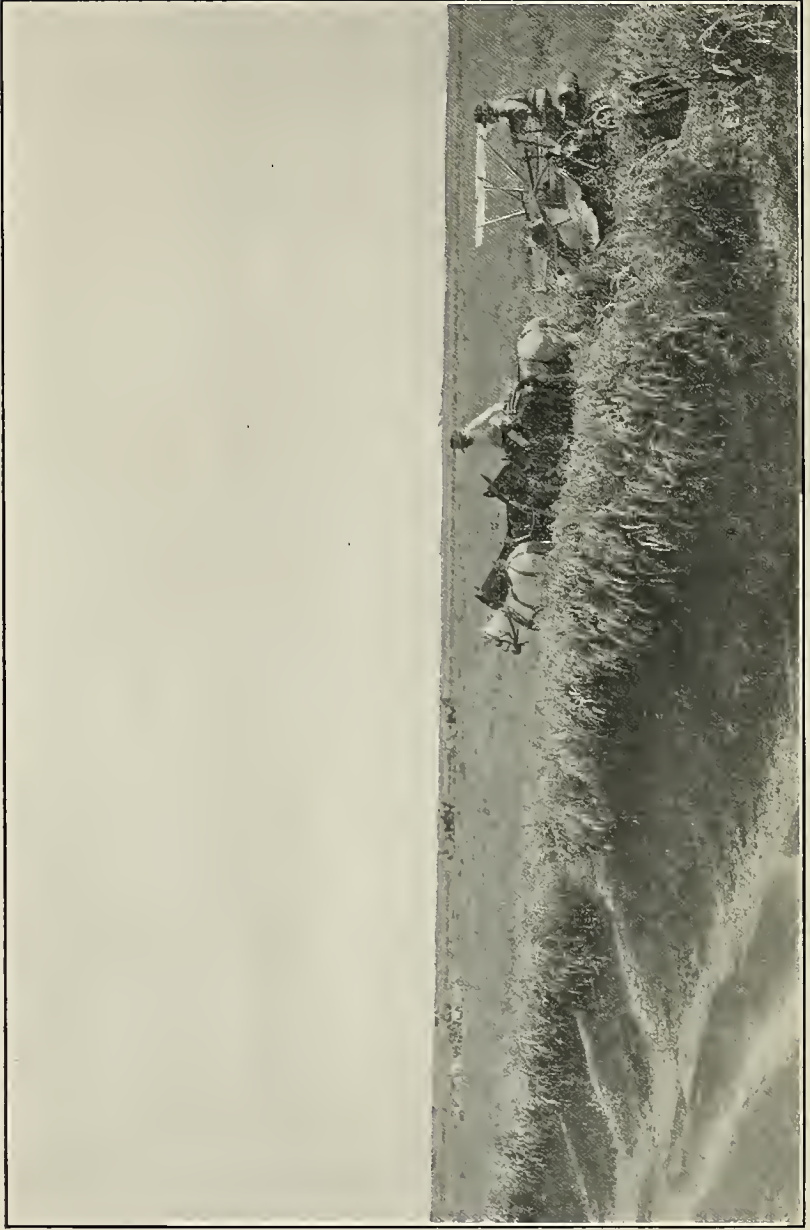
According to Mr. George Robertson, statistician of the California Board of Agriculture, a Government organization, the Japanese in that State owned, in 1913, 331 farms, totaling 12,726 acres, and having an assessed value of \$478,990. In addition, the Japanese leased 282 farms, with a total acreage of 17,596.

Now, the farm lands of California, according to the census of 1910, aggregated 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.

An editorial writer on the staff of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who has recently made a tour of California for the specific purpose of studying the conditions of the Japanese farmers, has published in that newspaper a number of illuminating articles, reporting the result of his investigations and observations. Describing the important part played by the Japanese in utilizing waste lands and opening new agricultural resources in this State, this writer says:



Threshing on a rice field cultivated by Japanese in northern Sacramento Valley



A rice field cultivated by Japanese in the northern Sacramento Valley

“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 *Chronicle* says:

“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 far 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.”

Again, his account of the Japanese community at Livingston, in central California, is not only interesting, but highly inspiring. He admires the indomitable courage with which the Japanese pioneers in that district conquered the obstacles offered by nature, and draws a happy picture of the remarkable success which finally crowned their efforts. Says the writer:

“The soil was 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 was no shade, 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.

“At Livingston, Japanese and Americans live in amicable co-operation. The striking feature of the community is the co-operation of both races in both spiritual and physical work. Here the fact that most of these colonists are Christians has given them a decided advantage. It has brought them into closer contact with their American neighbors, and has therefore greatly advanced the Americanization which they desire. This increase in likeness of life and manners to that of their neighbors has in its turn reacted to produce still closer social relations. The same co-operation that exists between the Japanese members of the colony exists between the Americans and the Japanese. ‘You can’t find any difference,’ said a resident.

“A large proportion of the money deposited in the Livingston bank belongs to the Japanese farmers. Americans and Japanese alike are interested and active in the community affairs, and all are concerned with the development of Livingston. Though the members of the Japanese colony are of different denominations, they sink that difference in non-denominational support of the church.”

In describing the Japanese in America it is essential to note the present status of Japanese immigration to this country with special reference to the so-called "gentlemen's agreement." The Government at Tokio regards the question of Japanese immigration as settled through the instrumentality of that agreement, and would greatly regret to be obliged to reopen the discussion of that question. What I am going to say, therefore, is meant simply to acquaint the public with the real actual working of the gentlemen's agreement.

In studying this particular question we have two sources of information. The first is the statistics prepared by the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, and the second those prepared by the Foreign Office of Japan. Although the two reports agree in the main, the discrepancy that exists is important enough to justify a comparative study here.

First let us examine the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration. According to these reports, Japanese arrivals to and departures from continental United States from 1909 to 1917 are as follows:

Year	Arrivals	Departures
1909.....	2,432	5,004
1910.....	2,598	5,024
1911.....	4,282	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.....	9,159	6,581
Total	57,191	52,751

From the above table it appears that in the eight years covered in the reports there were 4,440 arrivals in excess of departures. I have no reason to dispute the correctness of these figures, but according to our own investigation, which we believe to be equally unimpeachable, there were in the same period 60,235 departures from this country, as against 56,587 arrivals. This shows that 3,649 more Japanese have departed than arrived.

In the following table, prepared from the reports of the Japanese Foreign Office, are shown Japanese arrivals to continental United States from 1909 to 1917:

Year	Male	Female	Total
1909.....	1,063	850	1,913
1910.....	1,468	1,554	3,022
1911.....	1,912	2,008	3,920
1912.....	3,261	2,945	6,206
1913.....	3,780	2,814	6,594
1914.....	4,799	3,400	8,199
1915.....	5,194	3,235	8,429
1916.....	5,523	3,296	8,819
1917.....	5,858	3,637	9,495
Grand total.....			56,597

As to Japanese departures from continental United States we have the following table, also prepared from the reports of our Foreign Office:

Year	1st class	2d class	3d class	Total
	pass.	pass.	pass.	
1909.....	290	469	3,779	4,538
1910.....	278	646	4,257	5,181
1911.....	322	1,006	4,599	5,927
1912.....	1,048	1,161	4,440	6,649
1913.....	378	1,444	4,860	6,682
1914.....	444	1,484	4,603	6,531
1915.....	448	1,159	5,456	7,063
1916.....	610	2,008	6,613	9,231
1917.....	741	1,394	6,298	8,433
Grand total.....				60,235

These figures for Japanese departures from continental United States are absolutely correct, because they were obtained from the passenger lists of the steamships arriving at Japanese ports from this country.

A further analysis of the above table reveals the fact that large numbers of Japanese who cross the ocean, to and from this country, are non-laborers, such as officials, financiers, merchants, students, and travelers. The gentlemen's agreement does not, and cannot, of course, aim to restrict the movement of such classes. On the contrary, we should all welcome the increasing arrivals of Japanese of such classes, for it indicates a closer relationship between the two countries in commerce, in scholarship, in intellectuality, and, in fact, in all that tends to strengthen international understanding and friendship.

According to the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the proportion of laborers and non-laborers who entered continental United States from 1909 to 1917 is as follows:

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

Laborers in the above table are mostly (1) Japanese who are domiciled in this country and have returned here after a visit to Japan, and (2) parents, wives, or children of Japanese domiciled in this country. According to the gentlemen's agreement, Japanese who are already settled here, whether laborers or non-laborers, are permitted to return to America after they have visited their native country.

In recent years, and especially since the outbreak of the European war, trade and intercourse between the two countries have been increasing phenomenally. Japanese students, who under normal conditions would be sent by the Government to European countries, are, under the present extraordinary circumstances, all coming to this country. Again, many Japanese firms have opened new offices in New York, in Chicago, in San Francisco, in Seattle, and various other cities. Japanese professors and experts, who used to go to Europe for wider observation and experience, now come to this country. In considering the recent increase of Japanese arrivals, these circumstances must be taken into consideration.

In examining the history of the anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast one is struck with the apparent inconsistency of the arguments advanced by the sponsors of that agitation. Indeed, one is compelled to suspect that such arguments were put forward merely for the sake of argument, and not because there was any real ground to support them.

When the agitation against the Japanese was started in 1905, the argument was that the Japanese immigrants must be excluded because they were inferior. In recent years the organized and systematic propaganda directed against the Japanese has died a natural death, because its *raison d'être* has long since ceased to exist. Now and then, however, some publicists or writers try to rekindle the dying embers. Curiously enough, such latter-day apostles of anti-Japanism employ an argument which is in direct contradiction of the stock argument of their prototype, for they say that the Japanese must be excluded because their superiority is such that American farmers and traders, when confronted by their competition, will go to the wall! To any sane thinker it must be obvious that such arguments are not backed with sincerity.

It is gratifying to note that the sentiment of the Pacific Coast towards the Japanese has, within the past few years, greatly improved. It is wrong to say that California is especially anti-Japanese. Fairness demands that high tributes be paid to many Californians, who have justice and fair play sincerely at heart. Nor is it right to place all the blame for the anti-Japanese agitation at the door of the labor leaders. "The objection of the American to the Japanese," writes Mr. James W. Mullen, editor of the *Labor Clarion*, organ of the California Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, "was not based upon racial grounds, but upon economic grounds; the racial aspect has since been injected into the issue by designing persons." When, in 1915, a Japanese labor delegate arrived in San Francisco with a request that he be admitted to the conventions of California and American Federations of Labor, Mr. Olaf Tveitmoe, a prominent labor leader in California, said to a newspaper reporter: "I would rather sit with a Japanese delegate than with a lot of other delegates."

If the press be the barometer of public opinion, recent utterances of some of the leading journals in California are highly significant. Says the *San Francisco Bulletin*:

"It will be unfortunate if the impression is created at Washington that Senator Works, Senator Phelan, and Senator Poindexter represent anything like a majority of their constituents when they make the discussion of the Immigration bill an excuse for sensational declamations against the

Japanese. If Senator Phelan remarked, as he is said to have done, that 'this Government ought to be conducted from Washington, not from Tokio,' he showed less understanding than was to be expected of him. Such forms of argument might have represented public opinion in California ten years ago, but they do not represent it now. By her adherence to the terms of the Root-Takahira 'gentlemen's agreement,' Japan has earned the right to be treated with more courtesy than this, and as far as this paper is informed on the subject, most Californians are willing to grant her that right. If our representatives in Congress cannot discuss Japan in a spirit at least as courteous as that displayed on the Japanese side in the negotiations which preceded the 'gentlemen's agreement,' it is ourselves, not the Japanese, who will appear the less civilized."

To which the Los Angeles *Express* assents by saying:

"It is not sufficient that the question of anti-Japanese legislation be lightly regarded because of the knowledge that no bill of an offensive character can become law. Mere reckless agitation of the matter may provoke trouble. The only safe thing to do is to suppress the agitators, and frown upon efforts to play politics with legislation that menaces the peace of the entire nation."

It is indeed a dangerous thing to exploit international problems for domestic politics. "The latest stunts in the Pacific Coast politician's bag of tricks is hostility to the Japanese," says the San Francisco *Argonaut*. "It is not that there is any real conflict of interest, nor that anybody is suffering or in reasonable expectancy of suffering through the presence here of Japanese. It is because hostility to everything Japanese is good political stock-in-trade." I regret to have to confess that in my own country such questionable exploitation of international questions is not altogether unknown.

I have said that the Japanese Government does not wish to reopen the discussion of the immigration question. It is willing to let the gentlemen's agreement take care of that. The only question before us is whether the small number of Japanese who are lawfully here shall be accorded fair treatment. Just now the greatest concern of the Japanese is the law of California's depriving them of land ownership and restricting farm lease by Japanese to three years. This law has entailed upon the Japanese not only great inconvenience, but serious material injury. When the extent of this suffering endured by the Japanese is fully known, I trust that the leaders of California will not be callous to the appeals of the Japanese. Surely, the American people, who have always championed the cause of liberty and fair play, will not permanently adopt a policy of deliberate persecution with regard to the Japanese. I hope that this question will be dispassionately but seriously studied in the light of the authentic facts which I have given in the foregoing paragraphs.

As a representative of my people on this Coast, and, after much study and careful consideration of all aspects of the so-called Japanese question in America, I am satisfied that it is in process of satisfactory solution. By satisfactory I mean a solution acceptable at once to the people of both America and Japan. The hopeful sign consists in the important fact that the period of passion in its discussion has gone by. The irresponsible politicians and the mischief-makers no longer have their undisputed way, either on this Coast or in Japan. Politics is giving way to sober thought and the

earnest desire to understand. I believe it is but just to my people on this Coast to say that they have striven hard, and with great patience, to live down the fears and the early prejudices of their American neighbors. As a class, they have striven to be good citizens, to obey the laws, and to lead lives of useful industry. They have supported schools and churches and interested themselves in all movements for the betterment of the communities in which they live. It is gratifying to know that these facts are beginning to be understood and appreciated and that the people of the Pacific Coast are gradually learning that the Japanese in their midst are not a menace, but a positive asset for good in the State. The great world war which has made us allies has come to support and encourage this better feeling. The Japanese and Americans are beginning to find out that they have common interests and feelings, and that the traditional gulf which has been supposed to forever separate the East from the West is not so wide and deep as it has been supposed to be. When men, irrespective of their color and their religion, find that they can stand shoulder to shoulder in support of principles which they both love—and for which they are ready to make the supreme sacrifice—it is but a question of time when they will forget their lesser differences. It was inevitable, perhaps, that the people of Japan and America should clash when they first came together on this Coast; but if from those conflicts better understandings have emerged and broader sentiments of charity and fraternity have arisen, then the struggle will not have been in vain.

It is the conviction of the Japanese people on the Pacific Coast that recognition and full justice will eventually be conceded to them in all their relations with the people of this country.

THE JAPANESE FARMERS IN CALIFORNIA

By TOYOJI CHIBA

Director of Japanese Agricultural Association of California
(*Reprinted from San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 16, 1918*)

Much has been said about Japanese farmers in California, but little has been known about them. In the present article the writer wishes to present without bias a few facts concerning their present status.

The history of Japanese immigration in America is of recent origin. One of the first Japanese settlers in California was Kanae Nagasawa, the present owner of the Fountaingrove Winery of Santa Rosa. In 1865 the then young Nagasawa was sent to Scotland for education by the Prince of Satsuma. While in Edinburgh he was befriended by a Mr. Harris, founder of a certain religious faith of high idealism. In 1868 Harris came to the United States to found an ideal colony and Nagasawa accompanied him to New York, where he stayed for over ten years. When Harris established a colony in Santa Rosa in 1880, Nagasawa was his confidant and fellow pioneer. By his indefatigable zeal and industry he converted the wilderness into a land flowing with milk and honey, and today his wines command the highest prices in the markets of London and Paris. Truly, he is one of the best examples of Japanese farmers in California. With his steadfast faithfulness and loyalty to the land of his adoption, for the last fifty years Nagasawa has proved himself to be a worthy citizen of the United States.

HOW JAPANESE LABOR CAME TO STATE

When, in 1884, the Chinese exclusion law was enacted, a great demand for farm labor was created in California. It was just at this time that agriculture in California was undergoing a transition from raising grains to fruit crops. Hence a great shortage of mobile labor was felt keenly throughout the State. To fill the gap thus created, Japanese labor was introduced.

In the summer of 1888 there was a group of some sixty Japanese in the vicinity of Vacaville engaged in gathering fruit crops. There was another group in Sacramento and still another in the vicinity of San Jose. The agility and adaptability of Japanese laborers were greatly appreciated everywhere, and later Japanese laborers were introduced in the vineyards of Fresno and in the cultivation of sugar beets in Watsonville and Salinas. At the time we saw a few Japanese pioneers in the marshy deltas of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin River valleys, where neither American nor European laborers would go. There George Shima, who is well known as the Potato King, has spent more than thirty years of his life, and has made the delta region popular and attractive to American farmers today.

STATISTICS CONCERNING JAPANESE AGRICULTURE

According to the latest statistics available, the Japanese population in California, including men, women and children, numbers 55,695. Of this total nearly 7,000 men are engaged in agricultural enterprise and 11,000 are agricultural laborers. The total number of farms operated by Japanese farmers in the State is 5,800, covering 339,800 acres of land. Of the total acreage above mentioned, only 29,000 acres are owned by Japanese, and the remaining 310,000 acres are leased by them. When, in 1913,

the anti-alien land law was enacted, 32,000 acres of land were owned by Japanese farmers. But during the last five years, since the enactment of the law, the Japanese ownership of land has decreased by 3,000 acres.

The total wealth of the Japanese is estimated at \$25,000,000, including land, buildings, farm implements, machinery, horses and cattle. Their chief products are vegetables, fruits, beans, rice, sugar beets, cotton, hops, whose total yield amounts from \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000 annually. By co-operating with American firms, Japanese farmers are now shipping even such perishable articles as flowers and vegetables into the Eastern markets, and their market is extending year after year.

PRODUCT VALUED AT \$42,000,000 A YEAR

The following statistics will make clear the present status of the Japanese farmers of California:

	California	Japanese
Total population	2,757,895	55,695
Agricultural population	1,049,492	32,530
Number of farms.....	88,197	5,800
Farms owned by farmers.....	66,632	649
Cultivated area (acreage).....	27,958,894	349,800
Land owned by Japanese.....		29,000
Average acreage of each farm.....	317	60
	California	Japanese
Total agricultural wealth.....	\$1,614,694,584	\$25,000,000
Value of agricultural produce.....	417,166,000	42,310,000

(The figures given in the foregoing table in regard to the list from the population to the wealth of California were taken from the United States Census for 1910. The figures concerning the agricultural products are taken from the annual report of the California Development Board for 1916, and the figures concerning the Japanese are taken from the estimate made by the Japanese Agricultural Association.)

The following table shows the approximate acreage and the value of Japanese produce in California for 1917, the estimate of which has been made by the writer as a result of his investigations for the last two years:

	Acreage	Value
Fruits	38,000	\$ 4,560,000
Grapes	37,000	3,330,000
Berries	8,800	3,720,000
Beans	52,000	4,160,000
Beets	45,000	2,700,000
Potatoes	35,000	4,200,000
Cotton	18,000	1,800,000
Cantaloupes	14,500	3,190,000
Rice	16,500	910,000
Asparagus	11,000	1,650,000
Tomatoes	9,500	950,000
Onions	7,500	2,625,000
Lettuce	4,800	620,000
Cabbage	2,500	340,000
Celery	2,400	672,000
Seeds	4,500	675,000
Hay, etc.	35,000	3,500,000
Other vegetables	7,800	1,560,000
Totals.....	339,800	\$41,162,000

Besides, the dairy industry and hogs yielded \$500,000; nursery products, \$450,000, and poultry, \$200,000; thus making the total value of the agricultural products of the Japanese farmers of California \$42,310,000 in 1917.

It is interesting to note that in 1917 the Japanese farmers in the State produced nearly 90 per cent of the total crops of strawberries and cantaloupes, 80 per cent each of the total crop of onions, asparagus, tomatoes, celery, lettuce and cut flowers; 55 per cent of cabbages and seeds; 40 per cent of the potato crop; 20 per cent of the total crop of beans and cotton; 10 per cent of the total grapefruit and rice crops. Very few Japanese farmers are engaged in extensive agriculture which requires machinery. However, they occupy an important place in truck gardening and demonstrate their genius in intensive agriculture.

JAPANESE AND THE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

When President McKinley succeeded Cleveland in 1897, and adopted the protective policy, there was a rapid growth of American industries, which created a demand for labor not only on farms, but also in railways and factories. The efficiency of Japanese labor was already recognized, and in 1900, from Mount Lassen in the north to the orange groves of south of Tehachapi, Japanese were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

But Japanese who came to America after the enactment of the Chinese exclusion act were misunderstood by Americans as if they were the same race as Chinese, with the same vices and weaknesses. Consequently Japanese fell heir to the prejudice and hatred which Americans had formerly entertained toward Chinese. Thus the anti-Japanese agitation, inflamed by labor unions, spread like wildfire in California, which finally resulted in the gentlemen's agreement of 1907.

The gentlemen's agreement prohibited the immigration of Japanese laborers both from the Hawaiian Islands and from the Japanese mainland. Thus the supply of Japanese farm laborers and railroad workers was entirely cut off. It dealt a severe blow not only to Japanese farmers, but also to the fruit growers of California. Up to this time there were very few independent Japanese farmers who owned land, but the gentlemen's agreement served as an impetus to Japanese farm laborers to become independent farmers on a small scale.

In 1905 the total acreage of land owned by Japanese was about 2,400 acres, and leased land was 61,000 acres, while in 1912 the figures increased to 30,000 and 250,000 acres, respectively. From that time on, it was foreseen that Japanese farmers would make a more systematic development with a growing social order and with less speculative spirit. Japanese farmers were gradually settling down in their homes with wives and children. Rapidly the process of assimilation and the Americanization was going on in the Japanese communities in California, and their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes was manifest everywhere. At this time there came like a bolt out of the blue sky a sudden blow to Japanese farmers in California. It was the passage of the anti-alien land law of 1913.

GENERAL EFFECT OF ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAW

The anti-alien law prohibits the Japanese to own land and limits the period of lease to less than three years. After the operation of the law

for the last five years, its evil effect, both financially and socially, has become very conspicuous today. Because of the difficulty in transfer and inheritance of the land, its value as a mortgage has decreased considerably, thus causing a great deal of difficulty to farmers. Consequently, Japanese farmers have lost their interest in the land and are gradually leaving farms. Thus, in 1917, nearly twenty Japanese farms, with a total acreage of 1,000 acres, were sold.

The evil effects of the law, both upon the land owner and the tenant, are quite obvious. The three-year clause does not give the tenant any stability. In order to raise a profitable crop it takes a farmer at least three or four years with a sufficient investment. Even raising such an annual crop as potatoes, it is necessary to make the rotation of crops in order to preserve the fertility of the soil. But, under the existing system, it will be utterly impossible for the farmer to make such a preparation. Naturally land owners lease their land to the highest bidders, and the competition arises among the farmers for the lease. It makes the rent so high that no experienced farmers could continue agriculture without taking the best advantage of the soil during the period of the lease. At the same time the land owner would try to squeeze all he could from the tenants.

That the Japanese farmers are second to none in their agricultural genius has been universally recognized. As pioneers, they have turned the marshy deltas of the San Joaquin and the Sacramento Rivers into the most fertile lands for potatoes and vegetables, and they have converted the arid lands of Fresno and its vicinity into the farms flowing with milk and honey. By their indefatigable zeal and industry they have been responsible for raising invariably the land values from ten to twenty times. Thus the anti-alien land law has made it impossible to continue such contributions of Japanese farmers to the development of California.

The evil effects of the law have been recognized alike by the farmer and the tenant. Its only solution is to extend the term of lease from three to, say, at least, ten years. In the convention of nearly 400 Japanese farmers from all over the State, assembled in Sacramento last September, they pledged their loyalty to America, their adopted land, and, at the same time, passed a resolution that the fair-minded citizens of California would amend the anti-alien land law for the best interests of the State.

JAPANESE ARE LOYAL TO UNITED STATES

Japanese farmers in California have shown their praiseworthy spirit of loyalty to the land of their adoption. They are eager to render their services to America in the moment of her need, by conserving and mobilizing agricultural resources. During the last two years the writer has visited almost every Japanese farmer in Central and Northern California, and is thoroughly convinced of their steadfast faithfulness to Uncle Sam. They are the most sober, dependable and efficient farm labor that can be found in the State. They are interested in the promotion of the interest of their own community, and the example of Livingston bespeaks it most eloquently. Given a fair chance, the Japanese farmers of California will become faithful citizens of the United States, with their characteristic spirit of loyalty of the Samurai.

JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION TO CALIFORNIA'S AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

(Written by a member of the editorial staff of the San Francisco Chronicle, and reprinted from that newspaper of January 16, 1918)

The Japanese farmer has been pre-eminently a pioneer in California agriculture and horticulture, and characterized by all the pioneer's qualities of enterprise, perseverance and daring. Vast areas along the lower Sacramento and the San Joaquin reclaimed from an original condition of swamp and tule beds, long reaches of orchard and vineyard on the east side of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys developed from a semi-desert, where at the best only crops of hay or grain were produced before, great areas of garden and orchard in the Santa Clara Valley, which, in like fashion, have sprung up on former hay fields, and many other improvements in various parts of the State, testify to the pioneering of the Japanese.

JAPANESE FARMER IS ALWAYS AN IMPROVER

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 far 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.

JAPANESE DEVELOPED MANY RICH DISTRICTS

He is the skilful agriculturist who has done so much to bring out the riches of the vast delta of the San Joaquin and the Sacramento. He is the vine planter who has transformed the poor clay lands of Florin, Acampo and Lodi into rich vineyards. He is the horticulturist who dared to settle on the shifting sands of Livingston, in Merced County, and Bowles, in Fresno County, and turned those wastes into valuable orchard and vineyard. He is the adventurer who had the nerve to level the formidable "hog wallow" lands along the thermal belt in Tulare County and plant on them the oranges and vines, the proved success of which has changed these spring sheep pastures into another prosperous extension of the citrus region of California. He is the persistent experimenter who hung on in rice growing until it became a success.

In all this and in much more the Japanese farmer was the pioneer. It must not be thought that he struck out these successes for himself alone. He does not enjoy alone the wealth he created and the prosperity he produced. In all these places his daring and industry immensely increased the

value not only of the lands he had bought or leased, but as well of those of the American landholders in the vicinity. His success as a pioneer was the example that brought many times his number of American farmers to these localities to engage with profit in the industries which he had demonstrated for their benefit.

LAND VALUES HAVE BEEN MUCH ENHANCED

Prosperous as the Japanese farmers in California are, it is just to say that they have produced for American farmers many times the wealth they have gained for themselves. In the enhancement of land values alone Japanese farmers have added millions to the total wealth of the State. This means not only the enlarged value of the lands they have farmed and improved, but also the increased value of the neighboring lands. In all the once hopeless districts in which Japanese farmers have made a success, the American farmers who came after have them to thank.

George Shima alone has drained and cleared thousands of acres of tule and willow jungle in the delta of the San Joaquin. He is now preparing to drain many thousands of acres more that still lie under the overflow waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin. The Japanese farmers whose level fields of asparagus and beans spread over mile after mile of the diked country around Clarksburg, Courtland, Vorden, Walnut Grove and Isleton on the lower Sacramento took those lands when they were solid expanses of tule. Such farmers as Y. Horiuchi and K. Hotta, of Walnut Grove, can tell you how their present great 1,000-acre gardeus looked when the tules waved over them in blue-green seas. They can describe the costly work of reclaiming these swamps and the expensive experiments they were forced to make before they learned to what crops this new land was best adapted.

PIONEERS SUFFERED NUMEROUS DISASTERS

These farmers did not make money from the beginning. Their pioneering was attended by many losses. They won their success out of many disheartening failures. They had everything against them, floods, malaria, financial stringency, poor prices, everything that can afflict a farmer, but they stuck it out. With that remarkable Japanese perseverance in the face of utter discouragement, of which the highest California example is that of the colony at Livingston, they stayed until they compelled success.

Hotta has been farming in the island region for twenty years. He worked hard as a farm laborer for five years before this until he had saved money enough to make a start for himself. Then he began with 210 acres on Victoria Island and lost all his capital. Again he tried farming on Bradford Island, and again he lost his capital. It was not until his third attempt on Tyler Island that he made a success. Now he is so strong financially that he is planting 1,000 acres to asparagus, a venture that will cost him \$150,000 before he gets his first crop in the third year.

George Shima, the so-called "Potato King," the most successful of all the Japanese farmers in California, lost his capital time and time again. His first season as a river farmer barely broke even. For four successive years after this he lost money, and finally everything, when his creditors took all his horses and implements, leaving him nothing but debts. But he kept on, though for twelve years more, through floods, poor crops and bad

prices, he lost oftener than he gained. In 1907 he lost \$160,000. It was not until 1908 that Shima, after seventeen years of hard experience, found himself firmly on his feet.

Another feature of the heart-breaking work by which Japanese farmers have won success in California has seldom, if ever, been touched upon before. In their pioneering these farmers have encountered and had to endure many difficult living conditions. When they first broke their way into the delta swamps, conditions of health were extremely bad. Malaria was prevalent everywhere. Fever, bad water, no sanitation, exposure, took a heavy toll of the farmers and their laborers. Only the natural personal cleanliness of the Japanese, who almost invariably follow a day's work on the soil with a hot bath, saved them. They were badly housed, because in most cases they lacked capital to do much building and their landlords refused to furnish good quarters.

BRIEF TENURE IS BAR TO GOOD CAMPS

The character of Japanese camps in the delta has been criticised often enough, but without going to the root of the matter. It is extremely doubtful if camps of farmers of any other race working on the same small capital and on leased land would have been any better. It seems certain enough that the habitual Japanese bathing made this condition much better than it would have been with most other races, and far better than it appeared to be on the surface. Whatever blame there is attaches more to the landowners than to the tenants, who could not be expected to build much on leased land. The fact that Japanese, who appreciate and desire good quarters and will have them when they can, complain bitterly about their island camps, is some evidence of where the blame belongs.

K. Hotta, of Walnut Grove, one of the large farmers of the lower Sacramento, puts the case thus:

"When Japanese farmers took this river land it was worth \$25 to \$50 an acre. Because of the development we have done the land is now worth from \$200 to \$300 an acre. It brings a cash rent of \$20 to \$30 an acre. Under the share system landowners are realizing from \$60 to \$70 an acre.

"Yet, with all this increase in value that we have made for them; with all this heavy rental we are paying them, the landowners are unwilling to spend a cent on camps, buildings or conveniences. They leave it all for the tenants. When tenants ask them to fix up the camps, the owners complain that they have no money.

"Can you expect the tenant farmer to put up good buildings, install permanent sanitary arrangements and beautify his camp when he may be turned off the place at the end of three years? It is very easy to urge farmers to make their homes models of convenience and places of beauty, but in this case it comes down to practical business."

BEAN MEN CLEARED VAST TULE JUNGLES

Ten to twelve years ago Japanese entered the tule jungles around Meridian, cleared the tangled growth, cut the timber, blasted out the stumps and planted beans. It was a heart-breaking job, and for several years after the land was cleared it was necessary to experiment to discover the kinds of beans best suited to the soil and conditions. For the first six or seven

years the pioneers merely held even. It was not until three or four years ago that they began to make a profit, and not until the last two years that big returns came.

But now the business is so profitable and has grown to such an extent that 50,000 acres around Meridian are in beans. Led on by the Japanese pioneers, American, Italian and Portuguese farmers have entered the industry in such numbers that the acreage planted by the Japanese bean growers now makes but 4 per cent of the total.

Where they have not actually pioneered new lands, founding new settlements and establishing advanced bases for the coming of American farmers, the Japanese agriculturists in California have everywhere been busy improving the character of crops on old lands, introducing better methods and finding more productive and more profitable uses for the soil. Without exception, this has taken place in every district into which the Japanese have gone.

Two reasons explain this character of the Japanese as improvers of agriculture and horticulture in California. In the first place the Japanese has been trained through long centuries of farming in his crowded home country to use highly intensive methods to get the greatest possible production from the soil. He is, by habit and custom, almost by instinct, an intensive farmer.

In the second place he has a great advantage over the American farmer in that he has nothing to unlearn when he begins farming in this country, and consequently has a mind open to learn the most advanced modern methods. He may have been a farmer in Japan and may be filled with the ancient methods of his native land, but when he comes here every condition is so different that he must throw overboard his whole cargo of agricultural knowledge and begin all over again. Perforce he approaches agriculture here absolutely free and untrammelled.

Thus open-minded, and with an intelligence singularly alert and appreciative of scientific methods, the Japanese farmer in California proceeds to learn his new business in the best way. He wants nothing but the best way, and being unhampered by traditional methods or notions about the dark of the moon, he does his utmost to take advantage of every improvement. In this he is helped by the Japanese Agricultural Association, which includes most of the farmers, and keeps closely in touch with every agricultural development.

JAPANESE BOUGHT MANY LIBERTY BONDS

J. K. Hosaka, secretary of the Japanese Association of Fresno, stated that the Japanese farmers in his district are poorer on the average than the American farmers because they spend too much money and are exceedingly liberal for public and patriotic purposes. He used the term patriotic to mean American patriotic purposes. Japanese of Fresno and the vicinity bought \$50,000 worth of the second Liberty Loan, in spite of the fact that farming at the present time brings a far greater return on their capital than 4 per cent. Japanese farmers all over the State bought heavily, comparatively speaking, of the Liberty loans.

A. T. Yamaguchi, a Stockton farmer, took \$1,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and gave \$600 to the Red Cross. Japanese farmers at Lodi sub-

scribed to \$7,000 worth of the second Liberty Loan. T. Ito, of Acampo, took \$1,000 worth. "We are going to die in this country, anyway," he said. K. Mayeda, of Dinuba, took \$1,500 worth of Liberty Bonds. Japanese farmers at Tulare bought \$10,000 worth; Sacramento Japanese bought liberally and gave heavily to the Red Cross. At San Jose, Japanese farmers took \$8,000 worth of bonds. Frank Funabeki, of Mountain View, bought \$1,000 worth. K. Kamigaki, of Watsonville, put his name down for \$1,000, and is a life member of the American Red Cross. Other Japanese at Watsonville bought \$2,900 worth of bonds. The Japanese farmer who did not take bonds is the exception.

MANY LIVES WERE LOST IN EARLY DAYS

Of course, housing conditions are vastly different where Japanese farmers own their own lands. On Japanese-owned farms at Florin, Lodi, Livingston, Fresno, Clovis, Fowler, Parlier, Dinuba, Visalia, Tulare and in the Santa Clara Valley, and in many other places, homes compare well with those of their American neighbors. The Japanese farmer is anxious to be an American and wishes to live as well as his American neighbors.

In many other places in California besides the river region, the Japanese farmers have met, fought with and overcome unhealthful conditions. They have not overcome them without fearful losses. In Fresno County alone in the earlier days of development, when water and sanitary conditions were bad, the Japanese lost 3,000 lives. It is not too much to say that the lives of these Japanese boys were expended in the service of the State and the United States.

Examples of the same sort of development work as that carried on in the river delta region are as many as the number of places where Japanese farmers have settled. Everywhere the story is the same. The Japanese farmer has never been content to do merely as well as the American farmer under whom he learned farming in California. When he has not been pioneering new land, he has always found a way to make the soil produce a better and more profitable crop than it did before.

DARING CONQUERS HOG WALLOW LANDS

Perhaps the most brilliant example of Japanese agricultural pioneering in California is the colony at Livingston, which will be described in more detail later on.

There is another good example, though making no such tale of hardships conquered as that of Livingston. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley in many places are belts of hummocky soil known sometimes as "goose lands," sometimes as "hog wallow" lands. The appearance of these lands is so peculiar that it never fails to excite comment by the stranger. Imagine a sea of short, choppy soil waves, sometimes as much as four feet in height from the crest of the wave to the bottom of the trough.

Almost all of these lands have always been idle, producing nothing but a little sheep pasture. Whatever might be the fertility of the soil, the cost of leveling prohibited their use for ordinary crops. As a rule, too, the goose lands are adobe with a hardpan, and they are arid.

RICE CULTURE, CALIFORNIA'S NEW INDUSTRY, STARTED BY JAPANESE

(Reprinted from San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 16, 1918)

Colusa County has already been noticed as one of those regions in which the Japanese agricultural pioneer has been active in the work of improvement and development. We have already told how the first Japanese farmers plunged into the tule swamps and willow jungles along the Sacramento River and clearing and grubbing the land, opened up those productive areas that have since spread over great tracts of the lower Sacramento Valley. On other lands, not so completely idle as were the river jungles, they extended and improved production and introduced new and more profitable crops.

Particularly does this apply to the rice industry, in the establishment and extension of which the Japanese played a great part, and which had its earliest development in Butte and Colusa Counties.

California owes a huge debt to the pioneer rice growers. The story of agricultural development in this State contains no more striking example of lands otherwise worthless put to a highly productive use than this episode of the rice industry.

RICE GROWERS ADDED NEW SUPPLY OF FOOD

The nation, too, in fact, the whole world, is in the debt of the pioneers of rice. Just at the time when the world is short of food, just at the time when it needs every grain that can be produced, the work of the California rice growers has brought into the markets a great food crop, and what makes this gift to the world still more valuable, a food crop produced on land that will not raise anything else.

Among these pioneers the Japanese were not least. They were the first to grow rice commercially, and to one of them is largely due the fact that after the first real beginning the industry, through many disappointments and repeated losses, was kept going until it reached final success.

Consequently the early rice growers, including many Japanese, forced to costly experiments, lost money. Rice acquired a reputation as the most dangerous of all crops. The banks fought shy of it. Even three years ago, according to R. Takata, one of the largest of California growers, banks refused to loan \$1.00 a sack on rice crops, though the market price was \$2.00 a sack. Most farmers who attempted rice gave it up after a year or two.

GRIT OF JAPANESE WINS LONG STRUGGLE

One farmer stuck. He was a Japanese, K. Ikuta, the real pioneer of commercial rice growing in California, and the one who has stayed with it through thick and thin. Ikuta was the first to grow rice on a commercial scale after the variety tests conducted at Biggs by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1909, 1910 and 1911 had given the first inklings of varieties and methods. Ikuta assisted the Government in these experiments and then showed his faith by embarking in the industry. He raised and harvested near Biggs the first commercial crop of rice grown in California, and he kept at it year after year. His fight was very hard. Though his first crop made money, succeeding years were disappointing until 1914, when he was again successful.

The California Rice Farming Company, the largest of the Japanese rice concerns, and which may serve as an illustration of present rice growing, is a lineal descendant of this pioneer work done by Ikuta. After Ikuta's success in 1914, H. Matsushige, then secretary of the Japanese Association of Oakland, became interested. He connected with Ikuta, secured the help and backing of R. Takata, principal owner and manager of the Union Laundry of Oakland, and formed the California Rice Company. Takata looked after the finance and managed the business end of the concern, while Matsushige and Ikuta handled the rice growing. The company put in 2,000 acres of rice in 1915 in Colusa County.

SUCCESS OF JAPANESE QUIETS THE SCOFFERS

The enterprise was laughed at in Colusa County; but when the new company produced a crop of forty-seven sacks to the acre and sold it for from \$1.90 to \$2.00 a hundred, proving the value of rice on the salt-grass lands of Colusa, the laughter was stilled and other farmers hastened to follow the pioneers. In the following year a smaller crop and low prices bore out the reputation of rice as a great gamble. The company made no money.

In 1917 the California Rice Farming Company was organized, including some but not all of the members of the older company. R. Takata remained the general manager with the principal interest and H. Matsushige the field manager. In this year the new company planted to rice 3,740 acres in two ranches, one of 2,600 acres at the headquarters ranch about ten miles from Colusa and the other of 1,140 acres on the Princeton road. Although returns were not complete at the time of writing, one ranch showed an average of forty sacks to the acre.

RICE FARMING MEANS A HEAVY INVESTMENT

To farm so large an acreage of rice requires a great initial outlay for implements and stock as well as a continuous outlay for labor. The California Rice Farming Company used in 1917 three seventy-five-horsepower caterpillars, two Yuba engine binders, forty-six rice binders and six separators, to say nothing of harrows, plows, scrapers, wagons, trucks and a vast amount of supplementary tools. The machinery alone represented an expenditure of \$40,000 to \$50,000. Yet with all these machines the company employed during the sowing season 200 men and 200 horses and during the harvest 500 men and 400 horses.

An important feature of the development of the rice industry has been the employment it has given to men and teams after most other harvesting is over. Japanese rice farmers say that when they first went into Colusa County the feeling between them and American farmers was not neighborly, but that now this has all vanished. The better feeling is in large part ascribed to the great amount of employment the rice growers have furnished to their neighbors, both for men and stock, in what would otherwise be a slack season. Farmers from as far away as Lake County go over to the Sacramento River in the fall and early winter to work in the rice harvest.

When the cost of equipment and the expense of handling the crop are considered in connection with the undoubted great risk of rice farming, such profits as the growers made in the season just past are wholly legiti-

mate. Rice growing is a gamble. The farmer who engages in it faces the possibility of heavy loss if a north wind springs up when the field is in bloom, or if wind or rain come after it has ripened. Ripe rice is prone to shatter, and either wind or rain will cast down the stalks, which cannot then be harvested. As rice ripens in California just on the edge of the rainy season, these dangers are always imminent. The wheat farmer, whose crop ripens in early summer, takes no such chances. The gambling feature of rice growing is made still more serious by the comparatively heavy investment.

It is for these reasons that the California grower is eager for a rice that will ripen a few weeks earlier. The Japanese Agricultural Association imported in 1917 ten varieties of early rice from Korea and distributed them to the Government Experiment Station at Biggs and to various growers in the hope that an early California rice may be found among them.

LAND VALUES ARE INCREASED FOURFOLD

Though the Japanese led in the development of the rice industry, they are now far outnumbered by the Americans who have followed them. Of the 80,000 acres of rice grown in California in 1917, 8,000 belonged to Japanese concerns. Of this the California Rice Farming Company had 3,740 acres, the Union Rice Company 700 acres, the Butte Rice Company 600 acres, the Nippon Rice Company 500 acres and M. Kawahara 700 acres.

But the Japanese were pioneers, and played a great part in the development of this valuable industry. When the California Rice Company, which became later the California Rice Farming Company, started at Colusa, the lands it took had been renting for \$1.00 an acre and could be bought for \$18 an acre. Now they rent for \$20 an acre and could not be bought for less than \$80. The Japanese rice growers made this change, and, what is more, developed on these otherwise worthless lands a great food crop when the whole world was clamoring for grain.

Next year the California Rice Farming Company, still under Takata's management, plans to plant an additional 4,000 acres. R. Takata, who has been here twenty years, is also the manager and principal owner of the Union Laundry of Oakland, a concern which he established ten years ago and which now employs forty persons, both Americans and Japanese, and does business all over Alameda County. Takata is president of the Japanese Association of Oakland, president of the Laundrymen's Association of Alameda County, and a director of the Japanese Association of America. His financial ability was strikingly demonstrated in 1910, when he stepped into the Japanese Bank of Oakland, which had closed its doors, reopened it and succeeded in a year and a half in so winding up its affairs that its creditors were paid almost in full.

The Butte Rice Company, of which the pioneer Ikuta is a member, with S. Yamada, K. Hayashi, J. Kawahara and others, grew the banner crop of 1917—fifty-two sacks to the acre—on 600 acres five miles west of Princeton. The company sold its crop for \$3.50 a hundred pounds. Its success this year has led the company to lease for 1918 a tract of 3,000 acres of rice land five miles from Willows.

BEAN GROWERS, TOO, HAD TO EXPERIMENT

The Nippon Rice Company, T. Hayashi, is another of the big concerns.

Hayashi was one of the immediate followers of Ikuta in rice at Biggs. Beginning in 1913, he has now been in the business for five seasons. In this last season he had 500 acres of rice eight miles west of Biggs. Hayashi was formerly a bean farmer at Meridian and before that a storekeeper at Stockton.

Among the large bean growers who have made the country around Meridian a center of this industry is S. Yokoi, previously mentioned as a pioneer of the district. Yokoi farms 600 acres of beans and is also interested in some of the rice companies. He began at Meridian eleven years ago with five partners on 200 acres of tule-covered land and worked for six years with no profit, compelled to do much experimenting until he finally settled on the pink and white beans that have brought good returns in the last four years. Yokoi had been a river farmer before at Clarksburg.

COLUSA MERCHANTS INTERESTED IN RICE

U. Wakamatsu, another of the early farmers at Meridian, is now growing beans on the river four miles from Colusa, where he leases 135 acres. He cleared this land of tules and timber eight years ago when it was valued at \$10 an acre. Now it is worth \$250. With partners, Wakamatsu farms 300 acres on Moulton Island and another 100 by himself. He is also interested in the Nippon Rice Company and the Butte Rice Company.

Colusa merchants are interested also in farming operations. The Tozai Company, K. Hayashi, manager, S. Yamada and T. Noguchi, is heavily interested in the Butte Rice Company, and all the members of the partnership are interested in various farming ventures. The Tozai Company deals in groceries and general merchandise, and has a branch in Sacramento, and San Francisco offices at 24 California Street. It has been established in Colusa for two years under its present ownership. The manager, K. Hayashi, has been in the United States for fifteen years.

T. Nakagawa, dealer in groceries and general merchandise, has been established in his present business for two years. For four years before he conducted a laundry in Colusa, where he has been for twelve years altogether.

A TYPICAL JAPANESE VILLAGE IN CALIFORNIA

(*Reprinted from the San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 16, 1918.*)

Though not the most typical, Livingston is the highest example of Japanese agricultural settlement in California. It is at the same time the most interesting of all these communities. Yet, strange to say, it is one of the least known to Americans.

The story of Livingston is almost a romance. It is a tale of tremendous struggle against hostile natural conditions, financial disaster and year after year of disappointment, but a struggle maintained by stout hearts with indomitable perseverance until it ended, as a romance should, in complete victory. It is a tale, too, of the power of Christian faith, of a moral triumph over material obstacles no less than the material triumph that the Livingston colonists have won.

For Livingston is a Christian colony, and that fact has, in more than one way, profoundly influenced the development of the colony. It is that fact that prevents Livingston, the highest example of a Japanese farming community in California, from being taken as the most typical example. The fact that many of its members were Christians has had so much to do with the success of the community that it has in a measure set this colony apart from other Japanese agricultural settlements.

This is said with no intent to draw any comparison whatever between the values of different religious systems. It is merely stating a fact. Because Livingston colonists are Christians they have had certain advantages in the community of which they are a part, and these advantages have brought development of a kind that might not otherwise have come to them. Men of other faiths agree in this statement. Why this is true will appear in the story of the colony.

The soil was 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 was no shade, no water, 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.

The colony was almost blown away. Established in 1906, it faced disaster after disaster and almost starved through five lean and hungry years before a profit came. It found conditions at Livingston to be as bad as they had been represented. The wind, unhindered as it now is by plantations of trees, swept away the soil they had loosened by cultivation and dried up their young plants. Grasshoppers devoured what the wind left. Water for domestic purposes had to be carried for two miles. Then, in 1909, the Japanese-American Bank in San Francisco, which held a second mortgage on their lands, closed its doors.

The outlook was then the bleakest the colony had faced. The members had no money in their houses. Families were without a nickel on hand. Through the long hard times that followed there were many days when families could not buy bread. They got along only by little borrowings and there were many instances when five cents carried an entire household for several days.

FAITH HELD LITTLE BAND TO THE PLACE

But they hung on. In the darkest days they refused to think of giving up. They were determined not to be blown away. It was then that their faith saved them.

Livingston owes its selection as the site of this colony to a romantic, at least a sentimental, reason. The town is in Merced County, close to the modest channel through which the Merced River flows to end in the San Joaquin the course it begins in the magnificence of the Yosemite.

Before the colony was established, one of its founders visited the Yosemite. There, as he saw the River of Mercey in the splendid purity of its Sierran fountains, he determined that the site of the future colony should be on the plains where these pure waters flow.

COLONISTS FACED HARD CONDITIONS

Thus was chosen a location, which, though one apparently more hopeless in soil and conditions could hardly have been found in California, was traversed by the merciful waters of the purest and most beautiful river in the world. The choice was characteristic at once of Japanese faith and Japanese ideals of beauty.

The contrast is striking between the Livingston of today, with its rich plantations and comfortable homes, its pleasant gardens and well-kept highways, its schools and churches, and its prosperous population, with the sandy, sun-scoured, wind-torn waste of eleven years ago, when the jack-rabbit, the horned toad and the grasshopper lived in sole enjoyment of the land.

The Japanese colony made Livingston so prosperous, demonstrated so clearly the possibilities of this once hopeless soil, that American farmers flocked back to the land they had once abandoned. At the present time the American population of Livingston, almost nothing eleven years ago, outnumbers the Japanese by five to one. In the year just closed an American company has planted 1,100 acres at Livingston to Thompson seedless grapes. Before the company bought the land at Livingston, it searched the valley from Bakersfield to Modesto, and when its final decision rested upon Livingston it was avowedly because of the success demonstrated by the Japanese colonists.

PIONEERS ARE NOW REAPING RICH REWARD

The Japanese colony here now includes twenty-two farmers, all of whom have families. Most of them are organized in the Livingston Co-operative Society, which markets their crops and buys their supplies and materials. The society, which has been very successful, is capitalized at \$25,000, and owns a packing house which cost \$10,000. The members of

the colony own a total of 1,730 acres, with forty acres as the average holding, all under cultivation. Grapes, both of the table and raisin varieties, are the principal crop, with peaches next. Some other fruits are raised.

In the eleven years since the Japanese founded their colony, fruit shipments from Livingston have increased from nothing in 1906 to 260 carloads in 1917. The value of bare land has risen from \$35 to \$175 an acre. There is nowhere else in California a more striking example of the increase of community wealth due to the grit and industry of Japanese pioneers than this at Livingston. Nor is there elsewhere among the many cases in which the Japanese farmer has discovered and proved soil possibilities for the benefit of American farmers coming after, one more striking than this example of the Livingston colony.

RACES LIVE HERE IN FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

At Livingston, Japanese and Americans live in amicable co-operation. The striking feature of the community is the co-operation of both races in both spiritual and physical work. Here the fact that most of these colonists are Christians has given them a decided advantage. It has brought them into closer contact with their American neighbors and has therefore greatly advanced the Americanization which they desire. This increase in likeness of life and manners to that of their neighbors has in its turn reacted to produce still closer social relations. The same co-operation that exists between the Japanese members of the colony exists between the Americans and the Japanese. "You can't find any difference," said a resident.

A large proportion of the money deposited in the Livingston bank belongs to the Japanese farmers. Americans and Japanese alike are interested and active in the community affairs and all are concerned with the development of Livingston. Though the members of the Japanese colony are of different denominations, they sink that difference in non-denominational support of the church.

FARMING IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

(Reprinted from *San Francisco Chronicle*)

Fresno County exhibits one of the most solidly prosperous Japanese agricultural communities in California. Throughout the upper San Joaquin Valley from Turlock south to Tulare, a far larger proportion of the Japanese farmers own their own land than in most other portions of the State. The contrast is striking between Livingston in Merced County, where every Japanese farmer has his own estate, and the Pajaro Valley, where, with 350 farmers, only ten acres are owned by Japanese.

Equally striking is the contrast between Fresno County, where 60 per cent of the Japanese farmers own their land, and the three counties of Colusa, Sutter and Yuba, where, out of 12,500 acres farmed by Japanese, only 165 acres are owned. The difference expressed by this contrast is due to several reasons, but it comes back largely to the fact that in the upper San Joaquin, Japanese farmers were really pioneers.

FRESNO JAPANESE LARGELY PIONEERS

In many of what are now the most flourishing communities of Fresno and Tulare Counties, Japanese farmers were the first. They entered upon the land in many cases when it was lying idle and was supposed to be almost worthless. The land was cheap. They were able to buy. They had vision large enough to enable them to see what might be done with this soil and they backed their judgment by investing in it. Their enterprise, followed, as it was, by industry and painstaking skill, has made them well to do.

The farms owned by Japanese in this district are not large. They average from twenty to forty acres. They are, however, practically all in orchard or vineyard and producing up to their highest capacity. With forty acres of good shipping or raisin grapes in these times any farmer may consider himself well to do. But whether his farm is large or small, the man who owns his own land must be considered more solidly prosperous than any leaser. And it is this kind of prosperity, as we said before, that distinguishes the Japanese in the southern San Joaquin.

The history of Japanese farming in Fresno County runs back over a period of twenty-five years, and includes many real pioneers. Though Fresno itself is old, the galaxy of farming communities that surrounds it, each with its central town, is comparatively new. Few of them have definite histories of more than twenty-five years, and many of these rich communities trace their beginnings to Japanese pioneers.

Such places as Fowler, where H. Sumida bought the first farm owned by a Japanese in Fresno County, and Clovis, where the Aways, father and sons, led the way in development, received from Japanese settlers the impetus that carried them on to their present prosperity. Places like Bowles owe their whole being to the enterprise of Japanese pioneers, who took hold of lands neglected and passed over by others.

Things are easy now in prosperous Fresno, but back of the present affluence is a history of laborious years with no profits, hardships endured, losses suffered and life lived under all sorts of adverse conditions. Water was scarce and bad, undrained marshes produced clouds of malaria mosquitoes, there was no such thing as sanitation, the winds swept unrestrained

over treeless wastes, blowing up terrible sandstorms, and the sun, untempered by cool green plantations, beat down fiercely on everything.

Three thousand Japanese lost their lives in the earlier days of development in Fresno County. But their lives, truly given in the service of the development of California, went to build up the conditions on which are based the present prosperity, comfort and pleasure of life in this district.

JAPANESE FARMERS PROGRESSIVE MEN

As elsewhere, the Japanese farmers here are highly efficient. Their places, whether owned or leased, are always in the best of condition. The care given to their plantings tells heavily in results. According to bankers, a Japanese farmer will pay off his mortgage more quickly than anyone else. In this district Japanese farmers are almost all growers of raisins, table grapes or peaches, with some alfalfa raisers, and one or two dairymen. Very few Japanese anywhere go into dairying. They have had no experience with it in Japan, and their genius does not lie in that direction.

They are intelligent, progressive and public-spirited residents. It is said that their prompt co-operation was a large element in the successful organization of the California Raisin Association, which has stabilized and established on a solid foundation the grape industry of the San Joaquin Valley. The Japanese growers were among the first to sign.

Such Japanese farmers as K. Awaya at Clovis and K. Mayeda at Dinuba are regarded as leaders in every community work and are reputed to have as great an interest in the good of the country as any of their neighbors. They are liked and respected by the people of their communities.

THE JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION, ITS AIMS AND ACTIVITIES

The Japanese Agricultural Association was organized in January, 1915, at the instance of the leading Japanese farmers of the State. Since then the association, under the directorship of Mr. T. Chiba, has been conducting educational work and a systematic campaign for the betterment of conditions among the Japanese farmers in California. The Association has been giving the farmers technical advice, assisting them in marketing their produce and promoting their agricultural interests. In all these activities the Association has been animated by the hope that the Japanese farmers in California might make greater contribution to the development of agricultural resources of the State. It has received from time to time the co-operation of the Department of Agriculture of the University of California.

Today its membership comprises over one thousand Japanese farmers in Northern California, more specifically in the farming communities along the coast and in the San Joaquin and the Sacramento Valleys.

Its aims and purposes are as follows:

I. To be a faithful adviser of Japanese farmers in California, and teach them American ideals, and thus help promote the agricultural development of the State.

II. To organize farmers' associations in various localities, thus establishing among them the unification and co-operation necessary to promote their efficiency and interest.

III. To promote wholesome home life and progressive ideas among the farmers, and to encourage frugality, industry and economy among them.

IV. To disseminate the necessary knowledge for the improvement of agricultural methods, and thus encourage scientific farming.

V. To study market conditions, to improve the methods of packing, and to facilitate the shipping, transportation and storage of agricultural products.

VI. To establish a rural credit system and encourage the habit of saving.

VII. To assist the farmers in the selection of land and in farm management, and to encourage the establishment of model farming communities.

VIII. To promote better understanding between the landowner and the tenant, and to protect their mutual interests concerning leases, rents and contracts.

IX. To promote harmonious relations between Japanese farmers and commission merchants and cannery owners.

X. To encourage farm laborers to become independent farmers, and to train young men who desire to be farmers.

XI. To assist Japanese farmers in the improvement of their dwellings and camps, and in the selection of vocation for women as well as in the education of children.

XII. To open such establishments as may afford the farmers wholesome recreation and amusement, and to adopt such measures as may promote their health and improve the sanitary condition of Japanese rural communities.

In order to accomplish the foregoing aims, the following methods are recommended:

- (a) Publication of periodicals.
- (b) Co-operation with newspapers and magazines.
- (c) Lectures and public meetings.
- (d) Personal visits to individual farmers and camps.
- (e) Inviting questions from the farmers.
- (f) Examination of soil and inspection of farms when requested by the farmers.
- (g) Establishment of a circulating library and the loan of books and periodicals.
- (h) Co-operation with American and Japanese organizations with similar purposes, and with the State and municipal authorities and the State Council of Defense.

WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

By KIICHI KANZAKI

General Secretary of Japanese Association of America.

Japan and the United States have always been friendly, but never in the past has the relation been so pre-eminently close and amicable as at the present time. Virtually the two nations are allies, fighting together against common enemies for a common cause. Therefore, in this time of growing friendship, it is important to remove any hindrances or obstacles caused either by misunderstanding or by misrepresentation, deemed to be detrimental to this happy condition of today. In this regard it is a matter for congratulation that the note exchanged between Secretary Lansing and Viscount Ishii last year completely wiped out the fears and suspicions of the American people toward Japan, especially with reference to the latter's attitude toward China. In addition to this gratifying understanding between Japan and America, it is also necessary that there should be a correct and unbiased explanation as to the true attitude of the Japanese in America. For this purpose I will give hereunder a few facts of which I have personal knowledge.

JAPANESE PROVE LOYALTY IN WAR

Unfortunately, with some Americans, it has grown to be almost an established theory that the Japanese are so unshakably devoted and faithful to their country that they will never become loyal American citizens. Such a theory is a useful weapon for German propagandists to estrange Japan from America. However, their campaigns become effective only when people are ignorant of true facts. Consequently I am happy to feel that America's entrance into this war gave a fair opportunity to test the true attitude of the Japanese toward America.

When the United States declared war against Germany, the Japanese in America unanimously pledged their loyalty to America, and determined to stand behind President Wilson with all their hearts and souls. The following is an extract from the declaration, made immediately after the outbreak of the war, by the Japanese Association of America:

STATEMENT BY JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

“The Imperial German Government, disregarding the right of humanity and civilization, has thrust war upon the United States, and America has at last taken up arms as a champion of liberty, justice and humanity. At this moment, when the United States faces the supreme test of the nations, the Japanese Association of America, in co-operation with thirty-nine various Japanese organizations in California and other Pacific Coast States, pledge our unswerving loyalty and steadfast faithfulness to the Government and the people of the United States, and appeal to our fellow-countrymen to give their united support to President Wilson and to the American Government. Especially those of us who enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness under the Stars and Stripes owe our special duty to the Government and people of the United States. Our lives and property are protected by the laws of the United States and we enjoy the blessings of our home through the hospitality of the American people. Therefore, today, when America faces an emergency, we cannot but rise as one to offer our humble services for the cause of our adopted ‘Land of the Free and Home of the Brave’!

“Moreover, America’s entrance into the world war has automatically established the most intimate friendship of alliance between the United States and Japan. Providence has brought out two sister nations across the Pacific on the side of the allies for the defense of the human right and civilization. . . . There may be many ways to serve the United States in the world crisis. At present we consider it proper to give our support to the American Red Cross. We appeal to our fellow-countrymen, therefore, to enlist their services to raise membership and funds in its behalf. Yet this is not all we can do. There may arise in the course of the present war many things that might require our services. Come what may, we are ready to spend our best efforts for the cause of America when America is mobilizing the military, industrial and agricultural resources of the nation. . . . We appeal to our fellow-countrymen to unite their thoughts and prayers for the promotion of the interests of the United States.”

SONS OF NIPPON SUPPORT RED CROSS

With the progress of the war, the Japanese in America put the above statement into practice. When the Red Cross started its first membership campaign, we lost no time in persuading our people to subscribe quickly and willingly. In San Francisco alone the subscription came up to the handsome number of 1,008, out of about 5,000 Japanese population. In one locality, all Japanese men, including laborers, subscribed contributory memberships, while their wives became annual members. As a matter of fact, you will find that at least one out of each twenty Japanese is a member of the American Red Cross.

With regard to the Liberty Bonds, the Japanese also gave fullest vent to their loyal spirits. Although no exact statistics are available, the Japanese subscription for the first and second Liberty Loans amounted to at least above three million dollars. But by far the best result was obtained in the third Loan.

The following are the reports received from various local Japanese associations relative to the subscriptions of the Japanese in those different localities:

San Francisco Association.....	\$463,500.00
Stockton Association	83,000.00
Oakland Association	34,500.00
Fresno Association	21,150.00
Placer County Association.....	3,800.00
San Jose Association.....	9,950.00
Kings County Association.....	4,700.00
Berkeley Association	1,800.00
Alameda Association	2,900.00
Alameda County Association.....	10,000.00
Chico Association	2,000.00
Watsonville Association	8,150.00
Contra Costa County Association.....	5,400.00
Vacaville Association	1,150.00
San Mateo County Association.....	1,700.00
Courtland Association	9,400.00
Loomis Association	8,200.00
Suisun Association	3,350.00
Florin Association	4,550.00
Salinas Association	3,650.00
Sacramento Valley Association.....	21,700.00
Sonoma County Association.....	5,000.00
Nevada Association	11,250.00
Salt Lake Association.....	36,300.00
Ogden Association	5,750.00
Colorado Association	8,000.00
And so forth.	

It must be understood that the above reports cover only those subscriptions made through the Japanese associations and do not include many others directly subscribed. It is our estimate that the total amount of the Japanese subscriptions for the third Loan very easily surpassed the three million dollar mark. However, a more pleasing and hopeful feature of it than the amount of the subscription is the spirit shown through it. For in comparing the records of the three Loans, we find a remarkable progress in each of the campaigns. This is an illustration of the fact that the Japanese in America are taking increasing interest in the cause of their adopted nation.

MANY VOLUNTEER FOR MILITARY SERVICE

By virtue of the treaty now existing between the United States and Japan, all Japanese in America are exempted from any military duty. However, there were not a few Japanese who expressed their desire and willingness to serve as volunteers. One of the writer's friends, a graduate of the University of Southern California, a bright young man, robust in health and strong in mind, realizing it his duty to fight for the country which gave him shelter and education from his boyhood, rushed to apply for voluntary service. But to his disappointment, the application was turned down. This is merely a typical case. There are many other such instances. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there are many Japanese who are really willing to fight for America when they are needed.

Not speaking of the Japanese from Japan, how about Japanese born in America? Let a fact speak its words once more. There are as yet

very few American-born Japanese who have attained military age. In San Francisco, so far, about ten Japanese boys attaining the military age responded to the call of the American flag. Of these, I am personally acquainted with two boys. So, taking them as typical examples of the American-born Japanese, something will be said with reference to the quality of these men as American citizens, and their loyalty to the country of their birth. The two boys are Tsukamoto and Togasaki. First as to their education: The one is a high school graduate, while the other is an undergraduate student of the University of California.

TWO JAPANESE BOYS AMONG DRAFTED

Last year, for the first time, they exercised their civic duty of casting a vote at national and State elections. The one voted for Wilson and the other for Hughes, but both voted for prohibition. They are both Christians, loved by friends and admirable in their moral character. A college professor whom I know well once told me he had a long chat with the college student referred to one day while crossing the bay, and the young man appealed to him exactly like an American college boy in all respects excepting the brown color of his face.

These two boys were drafted and they are both in camp at American Lake. One more thing needs to be added as to their spirit and the aspirations with which they left the city. At noon of the day one of the boys departed a group of his friends assembled to give him a hearty send-off. The writer was an eye-witness of the memorable scene. Several of his friends urged him to fight courageously and nobly as the first American-born Japanese to stand on the battlefield for America's sake. In response, the young soldier, with a smile typical of American optimism, but with an attitude of a determined warrior, said:

AN HONOR TO DIE FOR AMERICA

"It is an honor for me that I can go as the first American-born Japanese. I will do my very best and when duty calls me I will lay down my life for the cause of humanity and democracy. I pledge that I will bring no dishonor either to the land of my birth or to the country of my forefathers."

His father, who was with the boy, thanking the assembly for the boy's sake, added:

"I am filled with joy from the very bottom of my heart that I can give my first-born child in America for this country for the noble cause of justice and humanity."

The other soldier, a day before his departure, came to bid me farewell, and with a cheerful countenance said:

"I am exceedingly glad that I am going. Like my friend already gone, I will pledge myself, soul and body, to fight for America's cause; I will do my duty, even sacrificing my life under the flag of the Stars and Stripes."

As has already been remarked, the Japanese in various ways have shown their devotion and loyalty to this country. But by far the more important part the Japanese are occupying at this moment of national crisis is in the battlefield of agriculture, where fighting is being waged with hoes and plows. It is needless to say that farmers working hard for the

supply of bread material are as loyal as the soldiers fearlessly fighting on the battlefield.

JAPANESE FARMERS REALIZE THEIR DUTY

In this respect I believe that the Japanese farmers are serving America well. The appeal of President Wilson to American farmers for more bread inspired the Japanese farmers as well as Americans. Responding to his appeal, the Japanese Association of America appointed a special committee for the purpose of co-operating with the plans and work of the State and Federal Councils of Defense. The Japanese, the majority of whom are farmers, well experienced in this occupation, fully realize that it is their special duty to supply America with as much agricultural products as they can. In California alone, over ten per cent of farm products are raised by the Japanese, whose number is less than two per cent of the State's total population.

I have attempted to describe the foregoing incidents and occurrences for the purpose of throwing a little of the light of true information in the hope that the truth, based on real facts, may conquer the rumors and deceitful news which German intriguers are constantly manufacturing with the malicious intent of disturbing the growing friendship of Japan and America.

SEEKS BETTERMENT OF ALL CONDITIONS

That they have their limitations and shortcomings we fully realize. Because of this realization on the part of the Japanese farmers, we are exercising our influence for the betterment of their conditions not only material but also moral. The work of the Agricultural Association in this direction has been progressing quietly but steadily. Within our limited means we have striven to do the utmost. Our association is always glad to receive suggestions and advices not only from the Japanese, but from all who are sincerely interested in the welfare and progress of the commonwealth of California.

We work without ostentation, but with sincere desire for the development of the community in which we are privileged to live. So far we have achieved little we may be proud of, but we are always striving for the high aim for which the association was inaugurated.

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Marion Lloyd + Doris

PRELIMINARY REPORT
ON THE
MENTAL CAPACITY
OF
JAPANESE CHILDREN
IN
CALIFORNIA



Introductory Note.

The following is the first preliminary report by Prof. M. L. Darsie, Assistant Director of Stanford University Research regarding Intelligence Tests of Japanese children. Prof. Lewis M. Terman is the Director of this work.

The object of the tests is to make a thorough scientific investigation of the mental, moral and physical characteristics of the Japanese children in California, along the following lines:

1. Intellectual ability, as shown by the standard mental test.
2. Moral characteristics, as shown by school conduct and character tests.
3. The extent to which mental deficiency and degeneracy are prevalent among them.
4. Social characteristics and the extent to which these are being influenced by American Ideals.
5. School success of the Japanese children and attitude of the Japanese towards education.

The main part of the research is a study of American-born Japanese school children, from ten to fifteen years of age, who have attended an American school at least four years. This study is intended to give a true picture of the important traits of American-born Japanese who will reach the age of twenty-one during the years 1928-1933, and will then enjoy political rights as American citizens.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE MENTAL CAPACITY OF THE JAPANESE CHILDREN IN CALIFORNIA

To The Japanese Association of America:

I herewith submit a short statement of the most important results of the survey of Japanese children in the cities and towns of Northern and Central California. The final and complete report will be ready by January 1, 1923. The facts presented have been compiled with extreme care, and the statistical treatment has been carefully checked. It is believed that the results are entirely trustworthy.

1. The Group Tested.

a. Numbers.

Binet tests were given to 568 children, from 10 to 15 years of age. The distribution by ages follows:

10 years.....139	13 years.....72
11 "144	14 "57
12 "124	15 "32

Complete tests were given to 440 of these children.

b. Localities studied.

Alameda.....	54	Children
Fresno.....	68	"
Oakland.....	25	" (Binet only)
Sacramento.....	96	"
San Francisco.....	115	"
Santa Clara County..	91	"
Stockton.....	51	"
Florin.....	52	" (Partial tests)
Los Angeles.....	58	"

c. Distribution according to occupation of fathers.

1. Professional men, and managers of large businesses..... 8.4%
2. Managers of small stores, hotels, etc..26.1%
3. Skilled laborers, tailors, carpenters, mechanics, etc..... 8.4%
4. Semi-skilled laborers, waiters, janitors, barbers, farm tenants, etc..40.6%
5. Unskilled laborers.....16.3%

d. Distribution by sexes.

Boys.....	292
Girls.....	276

e. **Distribution by school grades.**

Age	Average grade
10.....	Low 4th
11.....	Low 5th
12.....	Low 6th
13.....	Low 7th
14.....	High 7th
15.....	Low 8th

(Unfortunately we were not able to get complete data on high school pupils, hence the grades assigned to 14 and 15 year olds are too low.)

2. **General Results of Tests.**

a. **Binet tests of general intelligence.**

1. Average I. Q. of whole group.....90.2
Boys.....90.5
Girls.....89.4
2. Distribution of I. Q. according to locality.
 - a. Large cities, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles99.2
 - b. Smaller cities, Fresno, Sacramento, Stockton.....87.6
 - c. Small towns and rural schools, Florin and Santa Clara County.....86.3

3. **Distribution of I. Q. according to occupation of fathers.**

- a. Professional and large business.....110
- b. Small business..... 94
- c. Skilled labor..... 91
- d. Semi-skilled labor..... 88
- e. Unskilled labor..... 82

(According to army figures, the average I. Q. of American men falling in the foregoing classes is as follows:

- | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|
| a. 115 | c. 81 | e. 71) |
| b. 96 | d. 74 | |

4. In general Japanese children were markedly inferior to American in those tests in which language plays an important part, and equal or superior in tests not of the language type. In tests of reasoning power, apart from language, the Japanese children were equal to Americans, and in tests of rapid learning markedly superior to Americans.

5. Comparison with other immigrant groups.

(It should be noted that the following figures are based upon studies of children made in large cities. In the absence of further data upon rural children, they should be compared with the figures for Japanese in large cities.)

Immigrant group	Average I. Q.
Northern European.....	100.3
Finn.....	90.0
Slovak.....	85.6
Southern Italian.....	77.5

The average American I. Q. seems to be about 97.

6. A study was made of the relation between size of family and intelligence of children. No correlation was found. This signifies that intelligent Japanese are reproducing themselves as rapidly as the less intelligent, at present.

a. (The figures given above include results obtained from the Army Beta test. The general showing of Japanese children on this test is given separately, however.)

b. Results of the Army Beta Test.

Age	Av. score, Japanese	Av. score, American
10.....	60.2	60.5
11.....	70.0	66.0
12.....	79.5	68.3
13.....	82.0	(No. American norms)
14.....	82.0	"
15.....	84.0	"
Average score, Italian 12-year-olds.....54.		
"	" Spanish 12 "	" "52.7
"	" Portuguese 12 "	" "52.5

The Japanese made remarkable scores on this test. It has not proved to be nearly as reliable a measure of intelligence as the Binet, however, so one must be cautious as to the interpretation of results.

c. Tests of School Achievement.

Subject	Japanese Retardation in Months	Japanese Acceleration in Months
Reading, whole group.....	15	0
rural group.....	24	0
city (S. F.).....	0	1
Language, whole.....	12	0
rural.....	15	0
S. F.....	0	5
Spelling, whole.....	0	3
rural.....	0	1
S. F.....	0	8

Subject	Japanese Retardation in Months	Japanese Acceleration in Months
Arithmetic,	whole....20
	rural....110
	S. F.... 08
Information,	whole... 60
	rural....120
	S. F.... 011
Total School Achievement,		
whole.. 60	
S. F..... 07	

There were no important differences between boys and girls in school achievement, except in information (science and history), in which the boys were superior to girls.

It is worth noting that in knowledge of American history and literature, Japanese boys and girls in San Francisco are superior to American children.

d. Teachers' Ratings of Japanese Children.

The following ratings represent the combined judgments of over 400 teachers on the abilities and character traits of Japanese children as compared with American.

School Subjects	Character Traits
Japanese children are rated as very superior in school deportment, slightly superior in school application, drawing & painting, music, penmanship, spelling, arithmetic, physical training, slightly inferior in reading & language history, geography, nature study and science	Japanese children are rated as slightly superior in the following traits, appreciation of beauty permanence of moods desire to excel freedom from vanity conscientiousness
	as approximately equal in physical energy prudence self confidence will power cheerfulness popularity sensitivity to approval sympathy generosity truthfulness mechanical ingenuity desire to know general intelligence
	as slightly inferior in originality

3. General Summary.

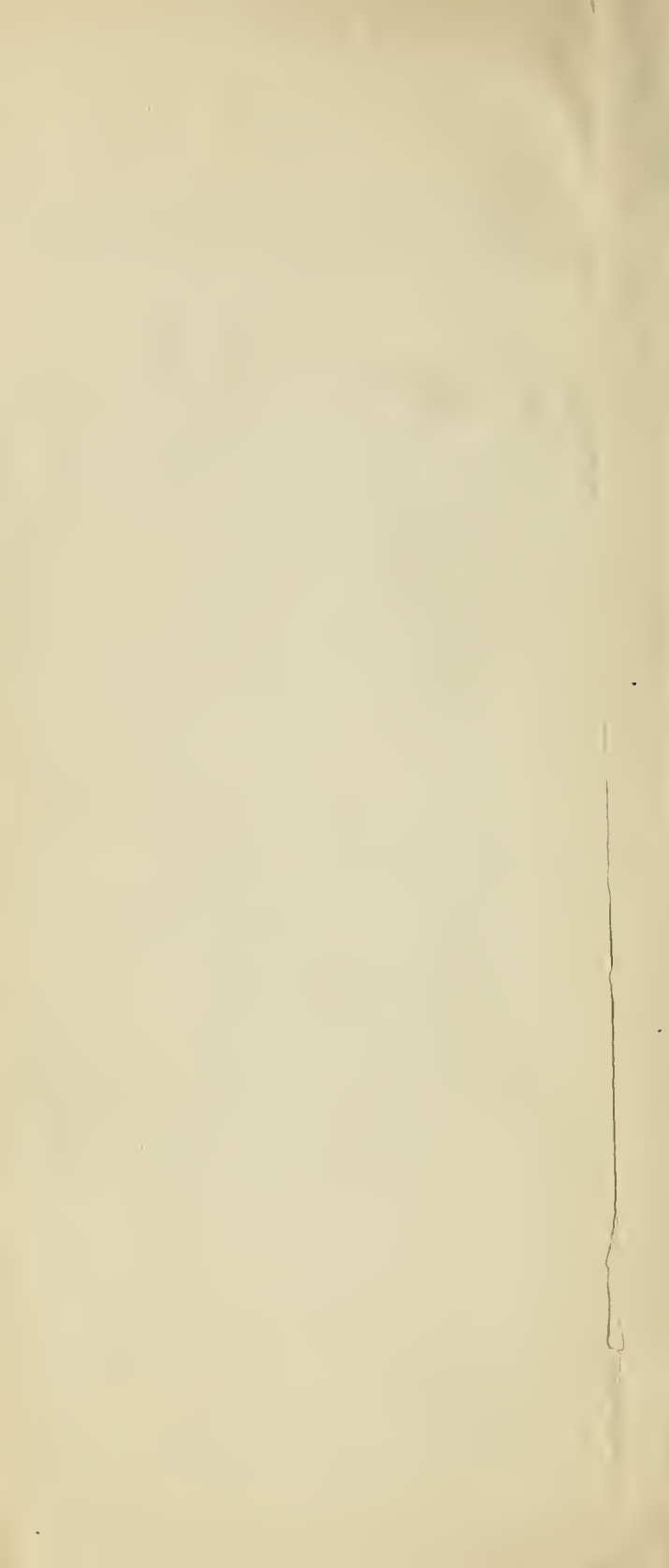
Language handicap is very evident in most of the test performances, and its effect upon final scores is, unfortunately very hard to estimate. It is fair to assume, however, that it probably tends to lower the I. Q. somewhat. Taking all of the results into account, the following conclusions seem fully justified:

1. The Japanese in California are as a group, somewhat inferior in intelligence to Northern Europeans, but markedly superior to Southern Europeans.
2. In application and capacity to learn, they are probably superior to any European race in America, as well as superior to native Americans.
3. In social-moral traits, they are fully equal, and in many respects probably superior to the average child of other races in California, as judged by their teachers, this being true with respect to native American children as well.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) M. L. DARSIE.

WITH COMPLIMENTS OF
THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
SAN FRANCISCO.



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An Appeal to Justice

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*The Injustice
of the
Proposed Initiative
Measure*



George Shima
Farmers and Merchants Bank Building
Stockton, California

An Appeal to Justice

There are now being circulated petitions for an important initiative measure. This measure is directed against all peoples from Asia, but especially the Japanese. Its object is:

1. Absolute prohibition of land ownership by Japanese.

2. Absolute prohibition of leasing of farm land by Japanese.

3. Prohibition of the American-born Japanese minor, an American citizen, from acquiring real property under the guardianship of his or her own parent. To put it another way, the Japanese parent is prohibited from being the guardian to his or her own minor son or daughter acquiring real property.

4. Prohibition of the Japanese from becoming a member of, or acquiring any share in, any company or corporation owning farm land.

5. The confiscation of real property upon certain prima facie presumptions.

These are the main points of the proposed measure, which, for severity and harshness, has no equal. Around these main points are wound detailed provisions, all evidently conceived in the idea that the Japanese should not be permitted to till the soil, that they should play no part in the development of California's agricultural resources—except as wage laborers.

Obviously these extreme proposals involve the question of constitutionality. Strong argument can be advanced against them upon the ground that they are unconstitutional.

To us, however, the prime consideration is not a legal one, but one of justice and equity.

In our judgment, and we trust, in the judgment of all true Americans, this proposed

legislation is an infringement upon the fair play and square deal traditional with the American nation.

The people of Japan, for two generations, have been taught friendship and good-will for the people of America. They have fostered respect for the ideals and institutions of the United States. Your great emancipators, your champions of liberty and equality have been idols of our students and young men. Your missionaries have preached to us not only the Christian gospel of brotherhood but the American ideals of equality and equity.

We know that the constitution of the United States guarantees to all "persons" under the American flag the equal protection of laws. We have believed, as we still believe, that this is a promise of protection for the homes and fortunes of all who come here under the law and under the treaty to help develop your great resources by their labor and enterprise.

In the face of all this, it is hard for us to believe that the present agitation against us has the sanction of Americanism—that it springs from the heart of the true American.

We know that there is no trouble between Americans and Japanese who come in direct and intimate contact with each other. Americans who employ or are employed by Japanese have no complaint against us. American business men and bankers who have dealt with Japanese have little to say against us. American workmen are willing and eager to work for Japanese. They work harmoniously and friendlily side by side with Japanese laborers. Why allow outsiders, who know little about us, who have their own axes to grind, to stir up ill-feeling and animosity where there is no cause for them?

We recognize that racial difference engenders a race feeling. But no one will deny that this is a feeling which should not be fostered or deliberately stirred up. All sensible men will agree that it is criminal to exploit that feeling for ulterior purposes.

The hope of our age lies in the effort to minimize race feeling. Its spirit, its ideal, its tendency is not to emphasize, but to alleviate racial difference. If we make business of fanning and feeding race feeling, there can be no hope of international peace, and all efforts for a league of nations must be set at naught. Surely race feeling should not be injected where there is no occasion for it.

Permit us to repeat that between Americans, who deal with Japanese, and Japanese, who deal with Americans, there exists little or no cause of trouble. Is it the part of wisdom to permit outsiders to create discord where harmony prevails?

We wish it clearly understood that we advocate nothing akin to free immigration. On the contrary, we recognize the wisdom of restricting Japanese immigration. We, therefore, believe that the "gentlemen's agreement" is a wise arrangement. If there be any doubt as to its interpretation or its enforcement, there should be frank and straightforward exchange of views between the two governments.

With this in view we took the initiative in stopping the arrival of "picture brides." Need we say that our minds are always open to friendly, reasonable suggestions and advices calculated to improve our relations with our neighbors?

Our only contention is that those Japanese who, comparatively small in number, are already here, should be treated justly and equitably. A policy of discrimination and persecution will merely complicate the question and render its solution all the more difficult.

We have not neglected to foster Americanism among the Japanese in California. We have always coöperated with the American authorities or organizations in the Americanization movement. We have issued circulars and pamphlets, and sent out lecturers, explaining to the Japanese throughout the state what American ideals stand for.

The Japanese in California never fail to respond, and respond heartily, whenever they

are called upon to shoulder their share in patriotic or charitable enterprises. Their economic activities have been deeply curbed by various devices, legislative, and otherwise, making it extremely difficult for them to improve their financial status, and yet they have never shirked their duty in regard to any undertaking calculated to advance public welfare.

The proposed initiative measure, outlined at the outset, will, if adopted, condemn the Japanese in California to a status little better than that of slaves or serfs. It will deprive them of all opportunity for material progress and economic advancement. It will render it impossible for them to provide for the future of their American-born children who are going to remain here as American citizens. Is it wise, is it in conformity with the American tradition of fair play, is it calculated to promote America's own welfare, that such a law should be adopted, virtually compelling the Japanese in California to fling upon the world, upon the American community, their sons and daughters, unprovided, and ill-trained to perform duties as members of a body politic of which these American-born children are destined to be a factor?

As we listen to the passing storm of passion, of denunciation, of abuse and slander, we ask ourselves if we were mistaken in our belief in your honor, in our faith that you would not strip us of the protection of the common law of equity and deny us the equal protection of your laws.

It is a painful question. We are few in numbers, defenseless except by the truth. You are a myriad in numbers and strong. You are taught at your altars to love your neighbors and that it is a scarlet sin to bear false witness against them. Surely you would not heed those who make business of spreading falsehoods about us, and urge you to persecute your peaceable, industrious, and law-abiding neighbors such as the Japanese?

Our good opinion of you and your country may seem of little value to you. But it has

been of great value to us. It has guided us on our hard march onward for the past sixty years. It was a march to which your land summoned us, with promise of peace and friendship at its end. If you listen to enemies of the world's good order, and deny us that promise which we have followed as a great light, how can you summon others to trust you?

Many of the foregoing statements undoubtedly require elucidation and amplification. Some should be supported by statistical data. Perhaps, too, there should be an explanation of Japanese laws concerning the expatriation of Japanese abroad and the rights of aliens in Japan, for these Japanese laws are much more liberal than are commonly known to you.

But we feel it advisable to make this appeal as brief as possible. With that consideration in mind we have deliberately omitted such data as might otherwise well have been included herein. But the Japanese Association, whose headquarters are at 444 Bush Street, San Francisco, will undoubtedly be glad to supply any one interested in this question with such information as it possesses or may be able to obtain.

GEORGE SHIMA.

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Facts in the Case



A Statement Based upon the
Report of the
State Board of Control.

Japanese Association of America
44 Bush Street
San Francisco, California

Facts in the Case

While the petitions for the proposed Anti-Alien Land Initiative Law were being circulated for signatures, our Association received numerous letters from Americans asking for information on the question.

When Mr. George Shima, president of our Association, published an appeal to the people of California, he was deluged with letters, asking him to furnish more data bearing on the question.

As the November election approaches, we are receiving more and more letters from various clubs and societies, not only asking for literature on the question, but urging us to send speakers to present our side of the case before their meetings.

These facts encourage us to believe that the public is open-minded and means to be fair. Unquestionably it is willing and eager to hear both sides.

Substance of the Initiative Measure.

This measure now before you proposes (a) to prohibit land ownership by Japanese, (b) to prohibit leasing of farm land by Japanese, (c) to prohibit the acquisition of real property by American-born Japanese minors, who are American citizens, under the guardianship of their parents, (d) to deprive the Japanese parents of their natural right to be the guardians to their minor sons or daughters owning real property, (e) to escheat real property to the state upon certain prima facie presumptions, (f) to prohibit the Japanese from taking any interest in any company or corporation owning real property.

Increase of Japanese Farming.

If you study the growth of Japanese farming carefully, you will observe that most of the increase in farm lands cultivated by the Japanese appeared during the war. As a war measure both the Federal and the State Government encouraged the increased production of food materials.

Appeal after appeal was issued by them and the Food Administration, urging the farmers to extend their acreage and to increase their produce. The Japanese Association and the Japanese farmers' organizations in California were repeatedly called upon to render their assistance in the execution of the war-time agricultural policy adopted by the authorities. These organizations translated, and published in newspapers and in pamphlets, the declarations and appeals issued by the President and the Food Administration.

The Japanese, having lived while at home under an efficient, though somewhat bureaucratic, government, had been trained to respect official proclamations and instructions. It was but natural that our farmers in California responded to the call of the President and the Food Administration heartily and promptly. Not only did they extend their acreages, but some Japanese, with no farming experience, embarked upon agricultural ventures from motives of public duty. Most of such inexperienced farmers lost heavily and have already withdrawn from the field.

With the restoration of normal economic conditions and the decline in the prices of food materials, the total acreage operated by the Japanese is bound to decrease.

Japanese Land Control Very Little.

California's land area measures 99,617,280 acres, of which 28,000,000 acres are farm lands.

According to the report of the Board of Control, which is the basis of the Governor's

letter to Secretary Colby, of the 28,000,000 acres classified as farm lands the Japanese cultivate 458,056 acres, that is, 1.6 per cent of California's total farm lands.

For the sake of clarity we tabulate acreages cultivated by Japanese in various forms:

1. Owned by Japanese individuals	26,988
2. Owned by American corporations with Japanese shareholders	47,781
3. Cultivated by Japanese under cash-rent lease	192,150
4. Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract	121,000
5. Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract	70,137
Total	<u>458,056</u>

Of these five classes, acreage owned by Japanese individuals is justly said to be under Japanese control.

Acreage owned by corporations, in which the majority of shares are held by Americans, can not be regarded as under Japanese control.

In the case of cash-rent leases, the Japanese tenants may be said to control the land they cultivate for the period of the lease.

In the case of crop-share and labor contracts, the Japanese have no control over land.

We have seen that under the war stimulus acreage cultivated by Japanese increased a great deal. But this increase is by no means as great as is commonly assumed.

The report of the Board of Control states that in the past ten years this increase has been 412 per cent. This calculation is made upon the basis of an inaccurate and altogether too low estimate of the acreage cultivated by Japanese ten years ago.

Ten years ago there was no authentic official estimate of farms operated by Japanese. Figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, upon which the calculation of the Board of Control is based, are not accurate.

According to our own investigations, made in 1909, farms cultivated by Japanese in that year totaled 195,948 acres, instead of the Board of Control's 83,253 acres.

In our estimate, therefore, the increase in the past ten years is 117 per cent instead of the Board's 412 per cent.

This increase, as we have explained in a foregoing passage, was due chiefly to the stimulus of the war and the encouragement of the government.

In this connection it may be noted that in most cases the Japanese have taken waste lands, considered by American farmers to be unsuited for profitable farming, and by dint of industry and patience converted them into highly productive farms.

Again, they have specialized in certain kinds of farming, usually avoided by American farmers, and therefore do not come in competition with the latter.

No Japanese Control of Farm Produce.

California's farm products are valued at \$507,000,000, of which Japanese produce amounts to \$67,145,000, that is, 13 per cent of the total.

Out of the total of \$67,145,000, representing the value of Japanese production, 35 per cent goes to landowners as rents, 45 per cent to labor in the form of wages, leaving only 20 per cent to Japanese tenants or contractors.

While the Japanese are producers, they have no power to control the prices of their products.

For fruits, beans, berries, and rice, in the culture of which the Japanese are most interested, growers' associations have been organized to fix prices and to protect the general interests of the growers, but in the direction and management of such organizations the Japanese have no voice, for those are controlled by more influential American landowners and producers.

Japanese Population.

The census of 1910 shows a Japanese population of 41,356 for the State as against the total population of 2,377,549, a matter of 1.7 per cent.

The census of 1920 estimates the total population of California at 3,426,536, but the census figures for the Japanese population alone are not yet available.

Taking as correct the figures of the State Board of Control for the Japanese population for 1919, i. e., 87,279, the percentage of the Japanese to the total population is 2.5 per cent.

But there is grave doubt as to the accuracy of the Board's figures. Our own investigations, which we believe to be as accurate as any such investigations can be, show that the Japanese population in the State at present is about 78,628, or 2.2 per cent of the total.

If the present negotiations between the governments of Japan and America result in a more effective restriction of Japanese immigration, the proportion of the Caucasian and the Japanese population will change more favorably for the Americans.

Japanese Birth Rate.

According to the California Board of Health, Japanese births in California in 1910 were 2.2 per cent of total births. In 1919 this increased to 7.4 per cent. This increase is due to abnormal conditions and will soon decline.

In the first place, immigrants of all races have large families in the first generation, but from the second generation the birth rate, irrespective of race, begins to decline. The Japanese in California are no exception to this general tendency.

Again, Japanese immigrants came to this country at first without wives. But in the past seven or eight years these Japanese have in-

vited their wives to join them. Sudden increase in Japanese births was the natural result.

To compare the Japanese birth rate of 1910, when only a few of the Japanese had their wives here, to that of 1919, when a majority of them were married, is not the right way of estimating the rate of increase in Japanese births under normal conditions.

In the past decade or so most of the Japanese adults have married. As the average age of these adults is about forty, it is reasonable to presume that the birth rate among the Japanese will soon begin to decline.

If the negotiations now going on between Washington and Tokyo result in a new agreement, it will bring about a condition more favorable to California.

Japanese births, at their highest point of increase, have not exceeded 7.4 per cent of total births. It must be remembered that 90.8 per cent of babies born in the State are Caucasian. Figures for Japanese births should not be considered independently, but should be considered relatively with other births and the steady increase of the Caucasian population in California.

No Hawaiianization of California.

We have shown that out of California's total population of 3,426,536, only 78,628 are Japanese, a matter of 2.2 per cent.

In a few years, this proportion will become even more favorable to the American population, for the reasons we have set forth.

In the meantime Americans east of the Rockies will continue to come to live in California, all tending to increase the Caucasian population in the State, and make the Japanese population relatively smaller.

Under these conditions there is no danger of California being Hawaiianized, as some seem to fear.

The history of the growth of the Hawaiian population is unique and abnormal. It does not and can not serve as a basis of forecast for any State on the continent.

To begin with, Hawaii was not a white man's land. Years before the American annexation of the islands, American capitalists, in small numbers, went there to develop sugar plantations. As the islands were too far from the continent, and as their climate was too hot, these plantation operators could not get American labor, but relied upon labor brought from the Orient. So they brought Japanese laborers by shiploads. From the beginning these Americans never intended Hawaii to be a white man's land—they plainly intended it to be a land of the natives and Orientals. When America finally annexed it in 1897, she inherited the conditions that had already been established by ceaseless importation of Oriental labor by a handful of Americans who had been there to develop its sugar resources. Had America been in a position to apply to Hawaii the same restrictive measure that she has applied to continental United States, Hawaii would have had an entirely different sort of population.

To argue from Hawaii to California is illogical. Here in California the American population, since the Chinese exclusion, has always been preponderant, and promises to be increasingly so. Today the Japanese population here constitutes only 2 per cent of the total population. With steady inflow of Caucasian population from across the Rockies, and with the increasing Caucasian births within the State, California has not the slightest chance of ever becoming a second Hawaii.

Japan's Alien Land Laws.

In this connection you will allow us to explain the real status of Japanese land laws as applied to aliens.

In Japan foreigners as individuals are not allowed to own land, but judicial persons enjoy this right even though they include no Japanese members or interests. Again, foreigners, even as individuals, can lease land of any description for fifty years on an equal footing with natives, and can also hold the right of superficies for unlimited periods. Superficies for one thousand years, for instance, is considered almost as satisfactory as ownership. In addition to these rights foreigners in Japan enjoy the right of lease-in-perpetuity which was established in the days when exterritoriality was exacted by foreign nations. Under these liberal provisions, there is no doubt that American farmers would flock to Japan if Japan were so large and resourceful a country as America, while America were so small and congested with population as Japan is.

Our Faith in American Justice.

The Japanese in California are not excited over the situation. They are facing it calmly and in a philosophical frame of mind, because they have faith in the goodness of the American heart, in the fairness of the American mind, and in the innate sense of justice of all true Americans.

We do not doubt that the people of California will think twice before they decide to vote upon such an important measure as has been presented to them, involving the grave question of the national honor and justice in the defense of which their fathers did not hesitate to sacrifice even their own blood.

They will also consider that negotiations are now going on between the American and the Japanese Government with a view to

finding a basis upon which to solve the question in a way satisfactory to the fair-minded people of California.

We do not doubt that all these facts will be carefully weighed by the public, and we feel justified in hoping that in the end California will be fair and just, and will settle the matter "with malice towards none, with charity for all."

California Press Comments

On Proposed Anti-Alien Land Initiative Law



Sacramento Labor Tribune,

September 10, 1920.

At the meeting of the Federated Trades Council Tuesday evening, September 7, considerable discussion was devoted to the Oriental question.

A resolution passed by a joint committee of the two labor councils in Stockton was read, which received unanimous indorsement of the Sacramento body. The resolution was as follows:

“Whereas, the Oriental question having become one of the burning issues of the day; and

“Whereas, propaganda is being spread by designing parties to the detriment of labor as to its position in the matter, therefore, be it

“Resolved, That this council, in regular session assembled, does adopt the four following points as labor’s position:

“(1) Absolute restriction of all alien immigration;

“(2) No fight to be made upon any person or persons who are legal residents of the United States;

“(3) Organize all workers who are capable of taking a union man’s job;

“(4) We do not favor the removal of the Oriental from land to the industries.”

San Jose News,

August 27, 1920.

Keep the Japanese from overrunning the country, of course, but also try to keep a sense of proportion—and always bear in mind that this is a campaign year, and that politicians have to have some grand glorious issue to talk about.

Richmond Independent,

August 31, 1920.

Nothing can be more calculated to disturb the friendly relations of the United States and Japan than the injection of the Japanese question into our local politics. California has spoken through her Governor.

Fresno Republican,

June 28, 1920.

If the limit of California's power is a futile and unenforceable expression of sentiment, we can not see that it makes any difference whether this initiative power is exercised or not.

Byron Times.

With wages for common labor at \$4 a day, and hard to get, and with agitators trying to prevent Japanese from even LEASING land, the farmer is confronted with a condition that will spell disaster to the country unless measures are taken to throttle the demagogues who are seeking, for reasons political and otherwise, the dethronement of the only king that can supply the people with bread.

Los Angeles Express,

July 20, 1920.

The committee (House Immigration Committee) may be well assured that a vast majority of the sober, sensible men and women of California have no sympathy whatever with the fanatical, bitterly prejudiced, jingoistic anti-Japanese campaign of which it may have perceived some unhappy evidences.

Parlier Progress,

July 16, 1920.

We of the "Progress" are in doubt about this question of anti-Japanese (initiative) legislation. While we are willing to concede that an amount of moderate legislation in Washington is needed, we do not think that this legislation should be as extreme as some of those who urge it insist that it be.

Oakland Tribune,

July 16, 1920.

The important thing to avoid is conversion of a perplexing state and international question into a political prop for men seeking office.

Yolo Independent,

August 6, 1920.

But there is such a thing as justice and fairness and equity that must be meted out to the Japanese as well as to all other races in the melting pot of the United States.

San Francisco Recorder,

August 17, 1920.

The weak point in California's armor in all this anti-alien land law business has always been that the law was aimed particularly at one nationality instead of being uniform in its operation as to all aliens.

Los Angeles Times,

July 1, 1920.

The dangerous initiative measure to be voted on at the November election, which is urged in this state as a Japanese exclusion act, does not, as we read it, go to the extent of providing for the actual deportation of the industrious Orientals who are now here, but virtually denies them the results of their labors. Although they represent the highest efficiency in farming, this act would practically forbid them to till the land.

Oakland Enquirer,

August 14, 1920.

Why not bar all aliens from land ownership? While we have welcomed settlers of all the "white" or European races during the late war, we found quite a lot of them as "unassimilated," and apparently as "unassimilable," as anybody has ever charged the Japanese with being.

Broderick Independent,

August 13, 1920.

In quest for political office men defile their very souls, and in the case at hand they don't hesitate much because they believe the Japanese to be friendless.

M. B. Patton,

In the South Pasadena Record,

July 23, 1920.

Should the people of California inform themselves at first hand as to the real conditions, and what is required to raise a crop of vegetables or berries, their censure would turn to praise for these most industrious, peaceful and hard-working people, the Japanese.

Los Angeles Express,

August 17, 1920.

Let us provide, by state or national legislation, or both, that all aliens shall have and enjoy the right of land ownership here without any restriction not applicable to American land owners, provided such aliens are citizens of a country extending like privileges to citizens of the United States, and provided further that California, together with such other areas as from time to time may be declared of strategic value, be exempted to such alien ownership, such exempted areas to be determined from time to time as the national interest may dictate.

ALABAMA STATE LIBRARY

The Japanese in California

Comments in the California Press

NOT STATE QUESTIONS.

[Editorial in the Fresno Republican, April 12, 1920]

A meeting of various anti-Japanese societies is reported to have decided on the circulation of initiative petitions for new anti-Japanese laws. This is of course their privilege. But the very vagueness of most of the published descriptions of the laws they propose, demonstrates how little occasion there is for their proposed action. Practically everything they have found interesting enough to discuss is either unconstitutional, or is within the sole power of Congress and outside the jurisdiction of the state.

The reason, of course, is obvious. There is only one important Japanese question, and that is one which the state can do nothing about. We can not prohibit the immigration of Japanese, deport those who are here, nor deprive them of the equal protection of the laws. These are the only things the anti-Japanese care anything about, and they are all national, not state questions. We can not deny native-born Japanese the right to vote. The law of California does deny that right to native-born Chinese, but the law is null and void, and they do vote. We can not limit their right to work at any jobs they can get, and to live where they please. We can not even limit their right to own and lease land for business, manufacturing, or residence purposes. All we can do is to forbid them to buy farm land, and that we have already done.

Among the laws proposed is one excluding Japanese from the state, with the proviso that if it be declared invalid as in violation of the treaty it shall not go into effect until the expiration of the treaty, in 1923. If this were all, then why the hurry to propose the law by initiative in November, instead of to the legislature in January? But, of course, the law would be unconstitutional permanently, with or without a treaty. Whoever has the right under national laws to live in the United States has the right to live in any state, regardless of state laws. Another proposal is an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, denying citizenship to those whose parents are ineligible to citizenship. If California is to propose such an amendment, it can be done much quicker by the legislature than by the initiative. It would take the action of two-thirds of the states, by legislatures or by elected conventions, in either event, but the legislature could do California's part in a day. An initiative would take two elections, the assembling of a convention, and at the shortest a year's time, besides imposing a similar dilatory process on each of the thirty-five other states.

We might as well realize that the things the state can do about the Japanese question are very few and com-

paratively unimportant, and that we are more likely to get national and international support on the big questions if we conduct ourselves with self-respecting discretion in the small ones.

ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION

[D. E. Myers, of Riverside, in the Riverside Press, March 2, 1920]

Editor Press: I have read with much interest the discussion of the Japanese question, at the last meeting of the Present Day Club.

My sympathies are with the Japanese, not because they are Japanese, but because they are human beings and as such are endowed by the Creator of all men with certain rights of which they can not be deprived by the people of California or any human government.

When God created man he laid upon him the responsibility of earning his own living. In order to do this he must work, and in order to guard against want he must save, and in order to save he must produce more than he consumes himself, therefore the right to work, produce and save are natural rights, of which man can not be deprived, no matter what his color, nationality, or previous conditions may have been. Human life, human progress and civilization itself, depend upon the full and free exercise of those rights. Our fathers in making their statement to the world giving their reasons for organizing a new government, stated the case as follows: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal (not all white men, but 'all men') that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Admitting these facts to be true the standards of civic virtue established by the necessities of life are industry, thrift and efficiency in production. Do the Japanese measure up to these standards? If they do, what right has any one to say that they shall not cultivate the soil of California, if living here, to produce the necessities of life that not only they need to preserve life, but we need also.

In the division of labor which has taken place in the world to supply the needs of humanity, every one is afforded the opportunity of doing that which he can do best and exchanging his surplus productions in the market of the world for other things he needs that others can produce better than he can. In this way production is increased, and the cost of living is reduced to the consumer. There are many things we can produce cheaper and better than the Japanese; there are some things he can produce cheaper and better than we can. Among these are garden stuff and small fruit. Why not let him do it?

For centuries Japan has struggled with the problem of feeding an over population from a restricted acreage. In doing so she has naturally found out many things that it is important for us to know. Through all the centuries of her national life she has been studying and assimilating the best methods of production. With the help she gets from the sea she is now actually feeding 45,000,000 people from 95,000 square miles of land. This is because cultivation in Japan is truly intensive, not only in farming, but in market gardening, as well. When we consider this latter science, which the Japanese has learned from his necessity of adapting soils to the growing of each kind of vegetable and grain to its individual nurture, he has demonstrated the fact that

under such culture the production of an acre of land is almost unlimited. There has been grown from one acre in one year 125,000 pounds of vegetables.

This is the practical science the Japanese nation has brought to us. Her people are demonstrating to us every day in the year that farming is an exact science and not a game of chance, as has been practiced in this country heretofore. In view of the fact that in many of the nations in Europe, the people are starving and we must help to feed them, and the further fact that the abundant supply of food for our own nation is fundamental and vital to our life, and the progress of all our industries, could the Japanese have brought to us anything more valuable than the knowledge of how to increase the productions of our soil?

Senator Phelan, for whose benefit this race agitation has been organized, is represented to have said in his speech before the U. S. Senate: "The infiltration of Asiatics is destructive. They have gradually taken over cultivation of various products in California. It may be true that production has slightly increased, but we have lost what is dearer. California refuses to permit its native population to be deprived of the soil."

To show the utter absurdity of the Japanese or any other race dispossessing our native population of the soil, I will call attention to our Hawaiian possessions, where the Orientals outnumber the whites nearly five to one, and have for thirty years, and yet practically all the valuable real estate, consisting mostly of sugar and coffee plantations, belong to the whites, and will continue so. Why? Because the whites have a greater capacity for organization, for doing business on a large scale, for making other people do the work, while they enjoy the profits. It will be observed that nature in one way or another, through economic law, will take care of all these phases of progressive development if we can only keep the half-baked politicians and demagogues from butting in.

There is another thing about which Senator Phelan is disturbed, and that is the way the Japanese multiply. Notwithstanding they have the authority of nature, the Bible and Roosevelt for doing so. Still the Senator thinks it is taking a mean advantage. In vain it is pointed out the whites have the same rights and privileges, but he seems to be obsessed with the idea they will not exercise them, which only deepens his gloom. A locality near Los Angeles seems to have been found where the climate and other conditions are so favorable that one-third of the births were Japanese, time and specific place not mentioned. The Senator figures from this, that if such work is allowed to continue, in ninety years (I believe Friend Cuttle, at the Present Day Club put it at ninety-nine years) the white race will practically have passed in its check and the Japanese will be running the whole thing.

In order to relieve their minds from the suffering such gloomy foreboding must cause I will point to the fact that the Russians, Poles, Germans, Greeks, and Italians, all classed white, multiply quite as rapidly as the Japanese, and greatly outnumber them, even in California, so the great calamity prophesied by the Senator may be averted after all.

D. E. MYERS.

LYMAN GAGE ON THE JAPANESE

[From San Francisco Journal of Commerce, April 8, 1920]

"Japanese in California are law abiding and hard workers and are the victims of unfair racial prejudice," according to Lyman J. Gage, former Secretary of the

United States Treasury, who is at the Palace Hotel. The former Secretary came up from his home in San Diego and is on his way to Japan, where, with a number of other prominent Americans, he will make a study of the Japanese people and their institutions.

"Nothing that I have seen warrants the oft published statement that the presence of the Japanese in California is a menace to the civilization of the state and its moral atmosphere," he said. "I am not appointing myself as champion of the Japanese in California, but I like fair play—and the Japanese are not getting it.

"The United States and Japan should be good friends and a help to each other. The two countries are neighbors, trade with each other and therefore there should be a cordial feeling. If the Japanese government were to discriminate against Americans, how would we feel about it?

"There is no reason for uneasiness about the Japanese in California or any other place in the United States. California is millions of dollars richer today for their coming. Their farms are models and they know how to get the most out of the soil.

"Immigration of the Japanese as well as other races and nationalities should be restricted. No country should be allowed to send its people here in unlimited numbers. Congress could very easily pass a bill limiting the number of people coming here. Five per cent of the past number of Japanese to settle in California would be a fair percentage. That would be about a thousand a year. If California or the United States can't absorb that many Japanese then we ought to quit business. This great country will be benefited by the coming of this industrious, thrifty people."

ALWAYS AT HAND

[Bakersfield Californian, September 22, 1919]

The Japanese scare breaks out every now and then in new and virulent form, despite the fact that the thoughtful person sees nothing in the relations between this country and Japan, or between Japan and the rest of the world, to be frightened over.

One paper figures it out that the birth rate among Japanese in America is much greater than among our own people, and taking some percentages as a basis, it estimates that in 160 years the Japanese native population in the United States may be 216,000,000. Some increase, considering that the present population is less than a quarter of a million.

That's about as sensible as some other deductions that are drawn in connection with the Japanese. When some of our exchanges can't find anything else to work up a scare over, there is always the Japanese question at hand and serviceable. And the results they work out are along the lines of the girl with the basket of eggs who figured out her future wealth when the eggs were hatched and the chickens in turn became layers and mothers and so on to the end of the chapter.

SENATOR PHELAN AND THE JAPANESE

[Editorial in Modesto Herald, April 12, 1919]

Everything points to the conclusion that U. S. Senator Phelan was on the whole "playing politics" when, a few weeks ago, he sprung the sensational story that Japanese with the underhanded support of the Japanese govern-

ment were concluding a deal for the purchase of concession of 800,000 acres of land in Mexico on the California border.

Senator Phelan comes up for re-election next year. It must be said that he has been a negative member of the august body in which he represents us as one of our two members. On the other hand, his dear friend can not say that he has been a positive member of that body, rearing above the average.

Senator Phelan's "sensation" has turned out to be a mere "mare's nest." It has served its apparent purpose of getting him personally before the legislature of California and a little more prominently before the people of the state who will next year pass on his claims for re-election.

Phelan knew, of course, that his largely baseless agitation here at this time would embarrass his very much harassed party chief, President Wilson, in the latter's contentions before the peace conference.

But Phelan didn't give a damn about that—party loyalty, Wilson and his high idealisms looking to universal and permanent peace were subordinated to the Phelan ambition.

We note with pleasure that our State Senator Dennett did not "fall" for the Phelan re-election propaganda. We all know that Dennett would never fail us in the face of an actual menace. Nor will the national government fail us should such a condition present. In that emergency—the Phelan "situation"—we will promptly "clean up" not only Mexico but Japan also if the evidence warrants. We will not be "too proud to fight."

Statistics as to the Japanese immigration, land ownership and leaseholds, "picture brides" and all the rest of the agitation, by no means indicate a menace.

For the rest, we need hold only to our policies ranking Japan on an even basis internationally, and the Japanese subject to our laws as to immigration, landholdings and leases, and whatever else—just as we are subject to and acquiesce in their laws in the same respects.

CALIFORNIA MISSION TO JAPAN

[From San Francisco Call, April 26, 1920]

Wallace M. Alexander, chairman of the Japanese relations committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, recently returned from the Orient, made public today a report on the trip in which he expressed the opinion that as a result of the conference between members of the committee and Baron E. Shibusawa, Viscount Kaneko, Baron Sakatani, and many other influential Japanese, a beginning was made that may lead to a solution of the international difficulties between Japan and the United States.

"The American-Japanese Relations Committees of Tokyo and San Francisco pledged themselves before the conclusion of the conferences," Alexander says, "to use their utmost endeavors to bring about a situation so that the vital and intricate questions that concern the peace of both nations can not be used by politicians and agitators to bring discord between Japan and the United States, but can be referred to some impartial committee appointed by both governments, to study carefully and to suggest a solution."

At the conferences Japanese ownership of land in California, immigration, coöperation of capital, cable com-

munication, exchange of professorships, trade arbitration and industrial questions were discussed.

"All the members of both committees were given every opportunity to state their views frankly and freely," says Alexander's report. "The greater part of the time was consumed in a discussion of the perplexing situation in California relative to the ownership of lands by the Japanese.

"Our committee endeavored to give their Japanese friends an absolutely clear picture of the development of sentiment in California and the United States concerning this matter, and every phase of the proposition was entered into, including the racial and economic sides of the question. A frank statement was also made as to the Americanization of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands and the significance of the present Japanese labor strike on the Island of Oahu.

"The matter of having arbitration committees to which disputes arising from commercial complications could be submitted, was brought up by the chairman of the San Francisco committee. It was brought out that our San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has an arbitration committee to which disputes among its members are referred and that this has worked out very successfully in San Francisco.

"The suggestion was made that if a committee of responsible Japanese business men could be formed in Tokyo, to which questions in dispute between merchants of both countries could be submitted, it would tend to a greater feeling of confidence and friendliness between the two countries and prevent the clogging of the courts with lawsuits, the final results of which are frequently very unsatisfactory.

"The conference took the matter under serious consideration and we hope that something definite can be evolved from the suggestion."

CHURCH FEDERATION ON THE JAPANESE QUESTION

[From San Francisco Chronicle, April 2, 1920]

The purchase of real property by Japanese in the interests of their American-born children is not only legitimate but advisable and the proposal absolutely to prohibit the leasing of agricultural land is unjustifiable, according to a statement issued yesterday by the San Francisco Bay Federation of Churches. The federation, which consists of ministers and laymen in four counties bordering San Francisco Bay and has as president Fred Parr, president of the Parr-McCormick Steamship Company and the Parr Terminal Company, has resolved:

In view of the acuteness of the political situation in California and of its international aspects we deem it wise to make the following utterance:

1—The restriction of Oriental immigration is both necessary and wise, and the existing agreement between Japan and America should be continued, and, if necessary, strengthened.

2—We deprecate the spirit of venom and bitterness that is being sedulously injected into this discussion. Our national honor and our sense of international morality demand that our alien residents and their children be treated justly.

3—We heartily indorse the effort of our national government for the Americanization of our alien elements and believe that in order to Americanize them we should

deal with them sympathetically and in accordance with our traditional spirit of equity and fair play; otherwise we will nullify our attempts at making loyal Americans of them and their children.

The statement of which this resolution is part argues that it is the instinct and duty of all parents to provide for the well-being and education of their children, and that adoption of the proposal to prohibit the leasing of agricultural land would condemn the Japanese to a condition little better than that of serfdom or slavery.

PROPOSED INITIATIVE MEASURE

[From Byron Times, April 16, 1920]

Anti-Japanese legislation, now proposed, threatens the owners of Delta lands in the Sacramento and San Joaquin at a time when labor is more greatly needed than ever in the history of these farming districts.

One section of the proposed bill is absolutely confiscatory, for it denies the right of any citizen to lease land for any purpose whatever to a Japanese, under penalty of the state confiscating the citizen's lands.

Colonel J. P. Irish, prominent Delta farmer, sounds the warning—that every man may know exactly what he faces. It is inconceivable that such an anarchistic measure could receive the support of the people.

Colonel Irish writes:

Editor Byron Times: I have examined the anti-Japanese initiative measure, proposed by United States Senator Phelan and State Senator Inman.

It proposes to remove Japanese children from the guardianship of their parents and force them under the guardianship of the Public Administrator.

If Japan were to pass such a law respecting American children domiciled there, our government would demand its repeal, backed by a threat of war.

The measure also provides that if a citizen of California lease land for any purpose to a Japanese, the state shall at once confiscate the citizen's real estate!

It will be seen that this is not only a destructive blow at the farm lands of the Delta, but it turns the Japanese out of doors and leaves them unsheltered and homeless.

Malignity can go no further except to murder these people.

When it is remembered that when thousands of our people in San Francisco were turned out of their homes by the earthquake and fire of 1906, hungry and houseless, Japan was the only foreign country that pitied them and sent \$250,000 in gold to the relief committee, of which this same Senator Phelan was a member.

This initiative measure, if adopted, will disclose us as the only people in Christendom who in their extremity accept food and shelter, and then stab the giver in the back.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

[Ernest L. Berry, in the Sacramento Bee, March 15, 1920]

To the Editor of the Bee—Sir: Having read your two interesting editorials on the Japanese question in the Saturday evening issue, I would like to say that the policy of Japanese persecution and Japanese baiting is a very wrong diplomatic and commercial policy.

It is all right to restrict the number of laborers of any race coming to this country and every nation recognizes

that another nation has that right. But to brand a race as great and powerful as the Japanese as inferior to negroes, Malays, Turks, Greeks, Mexicans, Indians, is going too far, and will react on the commerce and diplomacy of this country.

When you brand a race or class of people as inferior they will soon give you opportunity to dispise them.

By giving the Japanese the right to become citizens on the same terms as other races, they in time would be assimilated better than Mexicans, etc., as they learn English more thoroughly than many others, but being persecuted and baited like the Jews were, they naturally become clannish.

The best way to weaken the military party in Japan is to treat the Japanese in the United States, Canada, Australia, etc., fairly.

These immigrants came here to escape the poverty and tyranny of their homeland.

The small number of Japanese here, even after the time elapsed for naturalization, would not amount to anything in a political way, anyway. * * * *

ERNEST L. BERRY,

535 Virginia Street, Vallejo, March 7, 1920.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

[E. Clemens Horst, Presidio Terrace, San Francisco, in the Sacramento Bee, March 27, 1920]

To the Editor of the Bee—Sir: I have listened to and considered with great interest the recent address on the subject of Japanese immigration before the immigration committee of the Commonwealth Club, by Mr. V. S. McClatchy, and have read also your able editorials in the Sacramento Bee on this important subject.

Perhaps you may be interested in the viewpoint of one who does not wholly agree with your views, though this disagreement may be because the writer, while disagreeing with you on minor points, goes much further than you on the major points.

You may draw your own conclusions whether or not the writer is biased in his opinions, because of personal interest.

For the past thirty years I have hired many Japanese laborers, have done much business with Japan and have found the employment of Japanese laborers and the dealings with Japanese merchants satisfactory; but I have concurrently employed many more laborers of other races and have done much more business with the peoples of other races than I have done with Japanese.

In considering the subject of Japanese immigration I am looking, or am trying to look, at the subject wholly from the viewpoint of an American whose policy is America and Americans first, last and all the time.

With that policy in mind, I go on the theory that our country has been developed far enough to make further immigration not only unnecessary, but absolutely harmful to America and Americans, and, therefore, I would go as closely as is practicable to stopping immigration altogether.

When we get to that viewpoint, then the Japanese question cures itself.

The Japanese that came to this country under our country's invitation should not have curtailed in any way the rights and privileges that were held out to them as an inducement for coming here. The same policy holds good as to all other races.

The Japanese who have entered our country without our invitation; that is, those who have landed illegally,

should be deported. This same policy also holds good as to all other races.

If our country has pursued a mistaken policy with reference to immigration from any country, or of any class of men, it is our own fault, and for us to squeal as to any people or race that came here legally, or to abridge the rights and advantages we held out to them, would be a case of welching on our part.

In any case, the number of Japanese who are now legally within this country need not worry us as much as the number of various other nationalities that are in our land and are still coming in endless numbers. It is time to call a quick halt.

* * * * *

CULTIVATE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

[Editorial in California Christian Advocate, January 15, 1920]

An article written by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt seven months before his death upon "What Japan and the Japanese Have Stood Firm for During the World's Struggle for Democracy's Ideals" has recently been published. It ought to have a very wide reading. We especially commend it to people in California who have been misled upon a great many things Japanese because of Senator Phelan's agitation in the Senate upon the subject and its power as a partisan political slogan.

The following paragraphs ought to be read with thoughtful consideration lest through political demagoguery our country will be led into a position which will not only be humiliating in the years to come, but interfere with the welfare of a large part of the human race. Mr. Roosevelt says:

"Japan's career during the past fifty years has been without parallel in world history. Japan has played a part of extraordinary usefulness to the allied cause in this war for civilization. Japan's friendship should be peculiarly dear to the United States and every farsighted public man in the United States should do his utmost to keep a cordial working agreement of sympathy between the two nations. These three facts should be continually in the minds of every good American; and especially at this precise moment. * * *

"Japan is playing a great part in the civilized world; a good understanding between her and the United States is essential to international progress, and it is a grave offense against the United States for any man, by word or deed, to jeopardize this good understanding."

THE PICTURE BRIDE

[The San Francisco Bulletin, October 31, 1919]

Agitation against Japanese "picture bride" marriages culminated today in action by the Japanese Association of America, with headquarters here, to stamp out the practice.

Resolutions have been adopted by the Japanese Association tabooing the system as in "contravention of the American conception of marriage" and "out of harmony with the growing ideals of the Japanese race." Action will be taken to do away with the custom of arranging marriages for Japanese men in America by the exchange of photographs with girls in Japan.

The Japanese government is considering the advis-

ability of prohibiting the practice further, according to information received here by the association.

The following statement was issued by the Japanese Association of America from its offices at 444 Bush Street, today:

It is the sense of the board of directors of the Japanese Association of America 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 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.

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 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 at 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 governments.

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.

We shall take immediate steps to carry out this decision, but we realize that the complete enforcement of such a measure requires time. There must be a small number of women who have recently been married through exchange of photographs and who are expecting to sail for America. It would be unjust to deprive these women of the privilege to come and join their husbands here. But when this decision comes into effect no more marriages of this nature will be permitted. We are, therefore, confident that within a few months the coming of picture brides will completely cease.

[Note: The Japanese government ceased to issue passports to picture brides at the end of February, 1920. But as a passport is valid for six months from the date of its issuance, it is reasonable to presume that picture brides, who had secured passports before the above date, will continue to come until the latter part of July, although undoubtedly in smaller numbers.]

STEPHENS IS RIGHT

[Editorial in the Fresno Republican, November 2, 1919]

"God give us a Governor," prays the Sacramento Bee, because Governor Stephens has refused the Bee's frantic appeal to call a special session for the emergency passage of the Bee's anti-Japanese legislation.

Instead of praying to God to give us a Governor, let us rather thank Him that He has done so. The Republican has not always agreed with Governor Stephens, and particularly it has sometimes thought that his decisions were not always prompt or firm enough. But there can be no question either of the correctness or the firmness of this decision. If this legislature were to be turned loose to wrangle over anti-Japanese legislation, there would be no end of buncombe debate, and Governor Stephens would have to veto most of the legislation passed.

The Japanese problem in California is potentially the biggest thing in the world. It is the most important focus of the world race question. It is the entry through which, if ever, the preponderance of white civilization will be destroyed. It is the issue over which, if ever, the peace of the world will again be broken. It is in its possibilities so great a matter that to deal with it in any small and reckless way is as inexcusable as smoking cigarettes in a powder magazine. The local questions of our small Japanese problem in California must be met locally.

Investigation has already been started to determine with accuracy just how far present legislation is working. When the facts are ascertained we must meet the question of steering between justice to the Japanese already legitimately here and menace to our Occidental institutions. Sudden and hysterical demagoguery is no way to meet even this local problem. And when it is realized that this local problem is located at one end of a fuse the other end of which might set off the powder maga-

zine of the world, recklessness on our part becomes inexcusable.

It is just because this local problem is so bound up with world problems that we are right in determining that it must grow no larger. But, for the same reason, we owe it to the world and to ourselves to conduct ourselves with prudence and decency as to such problems as we have. This has been the policy of every Governor of California since the question became acute. The exact contrary is unfortunately the policy of an irresponsible faction of every California legislature. Governor Stephens, in refusing to permit the precipitation of the question now and in determining, as we assume he has, that when it does come up it shall be met sanely, is rendering a service to the state which should be appreciated by sober-minded citizens in exact proportion as it arouses the howling indignation of the less responsible.

STEPHENS AND THE JAPANESE QUESTION

[Editorial in the Los Angeles Express, November 1, 1919]

Governor Stephens declines to include in his call for a special session of the California legislature any subject other than equal suffrage for the womanhood of the nation.

In this action the Governor has taken the wise and patriotic course, and on sober second thought, even those deeply concerned in a solution of the Oriental question and the living cost will concede the wisdom of his firm stand.

Governor Stephens makes it very plain that he is profoundly interested in each of these other problems pressing for consideration, one of which is of special moment to California, the other of vital consequence to Californians in common with the people of every state in the union. Both of these questions are, however, too important and far-reaching in their bearing to be safely entrusted to a body called upon to act hurriedly and under a very pressing sense of economy in time and expenditure. The Japanese question is, as the Governor says, a most important issue in California, altogether too important to be handled either safely or wisely in a crisis like this and in a hurried session without ample time for deliberation. It has its international bearing and this is no time to complicate international relations by forcing such an issue. It can be handled later with greater deliberation and calmer judgment, and rightly handled.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

[A. Bert Bynon, in the Selma Irrigator, September 20, 1919]

The Japs may be a menace to California, yet from what I have been able to gather from the fruit growers and beet growers of this state a much more definite and tangible menace to these two great sources of wealth would be the absence of Japs. I don't go as strong on these "menaces" as some people. This is possibly due to the fact that "the foot of travel lengthens the stirrup of belief," and because I have seen several highly promising menaces fail to function, even when guaranteed deadly by quite as high authority as our present crop of alarmists.

Old settlers of California will recall the money-back guarantee of Dennis Kearny, in the early seventies, that

the Chinese were about to put the kibosh on the white race on the Pacific Coast. This was when the coast employed many Chinese in work on railroads, as domestics, and for other purposes that white men refused to work at. Then we had our scare over the Hindu invasion, also hopefully promising in the eyes of many of putting us out of commission. As we are still here, in more or less force, the backers of these two menaces have now joined the ranks of those who see utter ruin in the presence of the Jap, and, of course, the chorus is much stronger than when the forces were divided.

The evidence of many men establishes a fact. We have the evidence of many, very many, fruit growers to the effect that white men will not work in the fruit as the Japs will, and do. The work must be done, or there can be no crop. The Jap does it. The white man will not. He does not get the work from any sentimental preference, but simply because he is more reliable and more industrious than his white hater. Any one loves a horse better than an auto truck, yet the auto truck now threatens to put the horse on the same back shelf reserved for that element of the white race distinguished for a marked distaste for work and with a capacity for nothing else. Indeed, I wouldn't be a bit surprised to see the horses of this state organize and begin a fierce propaganda against all gas wagons.

THE JAPANESE IN RIVERSIDE COUNTY

[San Diego Sun, October 1, 1919]

That Japanese, at least in Riverside County, are far from obtaining the control of California land which certain newspapers and public orators would have the public believe is indicated by records at the court house.

These show that in and around the City of Riverside not more than twelve lots are owned by Japanese. In the rest of the county approximately fifty acres are held by the little yellow men.

In addition to this, however, some land has been leased by Japanese, principally in the Coachella Valley. Definite figures as to the tracts Japs are occupying in the valley were not obtainable yesterday, but it was estimated at 200 acres.

"There seems to be a good-sized number of Jap farmers in this valley," said a Coachella man, "but I must say they make admirable citizens."

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS

[Editorial in El Centro Zajero, May 13, 1919]

Repeatedly in this country we have heard the cry raised against the immigration of foreign elements, the Know-Nothing movement, the A. P. A. movement, the Dennis Kearny anti-Chinese agitation and later the anti-Japanese crusade. It is a spirit that has found existence in every other country menaced with immigration of foreigners. In China they called it the Boxer movement and in Turkey the Young Turk movement.

Now there is being started in the northern counties a crusade against the renting of land to Japanese.

We are believers in the amended doctrine of America

for American institutions. We do not believe in the antagonism of races, but we do consider it right and proper that we protect our governmental and industrial and family ideals from any invasion by a foreign race, and we think that can be done without discrimination. We look on the Japanese as a race that in some respects is even superior to the Caucasian, even as the Caucasian race is superior in other respects. We believe that the American has as much of value to learn from the Japanese as he from us. But there is a great evil in the Japanese colonization of certain districts in California, and that evil in self defense we must correct.

We have repeatedly expressed the opinion that the solution is to be found in laws which will make it illegal for members of any alien race to settle in any political subdivision of the state—ward or township—after an authorized public official has proclaimed that that particular alien race already numbers 10 per cent of the total population.

No part of America will be menaced by an alien race that does not exceed 10 per cent of the population of any division, and there is no more reason for antagonizing Japanese colonization under proper restrictions than there is for restricting colonization of other races, some of which have neither the industry nor the cleanliness and other virtues of the Japanese.

JAPANESE IN VENTURA

[Ventura Post, April 10, 1919]

While much interest is centering over the state in the bill introduced by State Senator Inman against land leasing to Japanese, it is apparent that no condition arises in this county for one, which requires such a law.

The records show that there is only one ranch in this county owned by Japanese and that is a waste tract in the Fillmore district, which would be worthless to any Occidental, but which the thrifty little brown men have cultivated to an exceptional degree.

According to the records in the office of County Recorder Argabrite, there has been but little leasing of land in this county to Japanese within the past six months and in fact the practice has never shown any considerable number of cases in Ventura County.

JAPANESE HOUSED BETTER THAN WHITES

[Sacramento Union, June 15, 1919]

A report filed with the State Commission of Immigration and Housing by Leo Mott, Inspector, condemns housing conditions in the Winters Ranch district, especially where white labor is employed. The Japanese have been better provided for.

The criticism has been confirmed by Edward A. Brown, Director of the Bureau of Camp Sanitation, after investigating Mott's charges. Brown says that when the amended sanitation law goes into effect July 22 the state will be able to enforce improvements.

INCITING DISORDER

[Editorial in the Oakland Tribune, January 5, 1920]

The expected has happened: a few ubiquitous individuals of Oroville, who thought affairs should not be permitted to take a peaceful course, attacked a Japanese householder who had a Japanese flag displayed in his home. A small riot followed, in which three Japanese were injured.

This is the natural outcome of the inflammatory campaigns of politicians and jingo newspapers striving to divert attention from their real purposes. There was nothing unlawful, and presumably nothing improper, in the Japanese having a Japanese flag in his possession. Barely a year ago every patriotic American might properly have had, and many of them did have, in his home or place of business a flag of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, China, Portugal, and Japan. If they are normally sentimental persons they are preserving those flags as a reminder of the terrible period in which the nations represented were in a life-and-death alliance for the overthrow of a common enemy. The Oroville disturbers probably would be disposed to tear up any one of these flags if its appearance did not happen to please them.

But the reason for the open manifestation of hostility against the Japanese resident was the animosity incited by reckless statements as to fact and untimely, distinctly harmful, derogatory utterances in the personal political interests of office seekers. For instance, Senator Phelan, who is a candidate for reelection, has stated in a public address that Japanese own 5000 acres of land in Merced County, whereas the published statement of the County Clerk of that county lists less than 500 acres. He has made statements about the number of Japanese males and so-called picture brides entering this state which do not at all coincide with the official records of the Immigration Bureau. Senator Inman and others have indulged extravagances which can have no other purpose than to arouse passion and create hatred which will be inimical to a just settlement of any problems connected with Japanese immigration.

If riots and outrages against Japanese residing here according to existing law take place to the grave embarrassment of the relations between this country and the Japanese government, to the danger of domestic peace, these politicians who have been sowing the seed must take responsibility for the scandalous and hateful crop.

Whatever the merits of the objection to permitting alien Japanese from acquiring control of any more land in California, and the objection admittedly possesses merit, the question can not be solved by politicians as they run for office. It should be taken up and disposed of by the state government of California in accordance with the law and the best interests of the people of this state.

Such episodes as that of Oroville, though trifling in their immediate local aspect, are potentially very distressing to the course of international good-will. Some of the fomenters of trouble will say they care nothing about good-will between nations, but they are not worthy of an audience, except to be with a jailer. Moreover mob attacks are a disgrace to the state and the nation, whether committed in California or the Carolinas. They become a blot upon the fair name of a community and those responsible for them should have a care.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

[Aubrey Jones, in the San Francisco Bulletin, December 22, 1919]

Editor the Bulletin: Applying as test logical analysis it is proved that the attitude of the white nations toward Japan as a country and the Japanese as a nation, as a race, is wholly inconsistent and therefore wrong.

Japan was wanted and was accepted as one of the nations that constituted the entente at war against the central powers. This was an admission by the white nations of Japan's racial equality with them.

At the peace conference at Versailles Japan was participant as one of the world's great powers—one of the "Big Five." This, too, was an admission of Japan's racial equality with the white nations.

When Japan's spokesman at the peace conference asked for specific recognition of her racial equality as a nation it was refused. At the same time, however, Japan was besought to continue to "sit in" at the peace table. This was in effect an admission of Japan's racial equality as a nation, albeit declared recognition of such equality had just been denied by the conference.

Fearing Japan's withdrawal were another discrimination made against her by act of the conference, her request for cession to her of Germany's rights in Shantung was acceded to. This was further admission of Japan's equality as a nation with the white nations. Because it was deemed both desirable and necessary that Japan should be a charter member of the League of Nations.

Why this, if Japan be not worthy of recognition as having as a nation equality with white nations?

It is argued in certain quarters that to keep Japan in the League of Nations is essential on the score of our nation's self-preservation. And yet those who thus argue seek to invidiously discriminate against Japanese as a race, as a nation, because of the inequality with white races, white nations.

If they are inferior, why fear them? The logic of this situation shows conclusively that the superiority of the Japanese as a race, as a nation in the economic world contest soon to begin and to be waged to gain supremacy is recognized and that by this token they must be discriminated against racially by the white nations.

In the humble opinion of this writer the white nations will make a grave mistake if such discrimination be enforced. Much wiser will it be to cultivate and maintain amicable relations with Japan than to incur her enmity. The German and the Russian people as nations are not yet in the League of Nations; neither is Mexico, and some of the South American nations in close sympathy with Mexico and very friendly toward Japan. Japan could in her own time and way sever relations with the League of Nations. What this might portend, certain nations in the league having won Japan's enmity, and these same nations being unloved by the other peoples mentioned, one may readily conjecture.

If the world is to be kept at peace it can not be done by fanning into flame the embers of hatred. These embers must be made wholly dead by throwing on them the water of good-will.

AUBREY JONES,

San Francisco, December 19.

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The Anti-Japanese Pogrom

Facts versus the Falsehoods of Senator Phelan and Others

By Colonel John P. Irish

Let it be repeated that the present anti-Japanese agitation, like the anti-Chinese movement of years ago, has the same psychology as the Russian anti-Jewish pogrom, which always starts with the lie that Jews have murdered Christian children to use their blood in the rites of the Synagogue. The leader of the anti-Japanese pogrom is Senator Phelan. An election is approaching. He has made no record of any benefit to the state in the Senate; so he must divert attention from his uselessness as a senator by attacking the Japanese and trying to stampede the state by lying about them.

It is my purpose to take up his public statements and those of his helpers in this ignoble work, and prove them false, not by my word, but by official and other indisputable authority.

Senator Phelan began his pogrom by publishing that an American company had sold to Japanese 800,000 acres of land on the Mexican side of the Imperial Valley.

The American company at once proved this

to be a lie. It had not sold land anywhere to Japanese.

Mr. Phelan then changed his statement and charged that the Mexican government had sold 800,000 acres of land adjoining our boundary to Japanese, and that this was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine!

The Mexican government immediately replied with proof that it had not sold land anywhere to Japanese, and as Senator Phelan had claimed that under the Monroe Doctrine the United States can dictate to the states of Central and South America what private parties may own land in their jurisdiction, President Carranza very promptly and properly repudiated the Monroe Doctrine.

In November, Mr. Phelan published in the Chico "Enterprise" that he had been approached by a Japanese who presented a letter from our Ambassador to Tokio, and who proposed that we should surrender the whole Imperial Valley to the Japanese.

But the Senator had furnished a clue to test the truth of the story by naming a letter from our Ambassador, and soon changed the story, and in its new form it was published in the "California Cultivator" of January 31, 1920, as follows:

"When I left Washington an American representing powerful Japanese organizations said to be backed by the Japanese government, proposed that Americans be ousted from the Imperial Valley and it be turned over to the Japanese."

Notice that in this last version no names are mentioned, and no clue given, not even finger marks. As no Japanese and no American can be thought of to be fool enough to go to Mr. Phelan with such an idiotic proposition, the statement has the face of a lie in both versions.

In November he made a speech to the Chamber of Commerce of Oakland. After some vagrant vituperation of the Japanese, he ventured upon a specific statement to call attention to the "horrible condition of Merced

County, overrun by Japanese who own there 5000 acres of the best farm land in the county."

I immediately wrote to the Recorder of Merced County to let me know the acreage owned by Japanese. In reply he sent me the 1919 report of the County Assessor, just made to the State Controller. The Assessor says there are 185 Japanese in Merced County. They own 395 acres of farm land and 36 town lots. There are 27 Japanese children in the primary schools and two in the high school. The white neighbors of the Japanese all say they are good people to do business with, and unobjectionable.

On the 18th of last December Mr. Phelan made an anti-Japanese speech to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, in which he said that Japanese births in California were three to one white birth.

The official report of the State Board of Health, sent to me by Mr. Ross, Registrar of Vital Statistics, shows for 1919:

White births. 50,898

Japanese births. 4,378

The records of the Board of Health show more white births in the single year 1919 than Japanese births in the full ten years preceding. His speech on that occasion strung other lies on this birth rate lie, like beads on a string.

In their statements made to the Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate, both Senator Phelan and Mr. McClatchy said that there were in California 20,000 picture brides and that "they usually each give birth to a child once a year." The official report of the California Board of Health for 1919 records 4378 Japanese births in the state for that year. So that of the imaginary picture brides, 20,000 in number, reported by Phelan and McClatchy, more than 16,000 must have been asleep at the switch.

After Governor Stephens refused to call an extra session of the Legislature to pass anti-Japanese laws, Phelan said in Washington that the Governor had received a letter from the

Japanese Association warmly thanking him for his refusal, and Phelan published the letter.

I wrote the Governor's office asking if he had received such a letter. The answer was: "Phelan's statement is an absolute lie."

There are men in San Francisco who know the inside facts about this little comedy. When those facts are made public, as they undoubtedly will be, the Senator will have to face an embarrassing situation. In the meantime, it is sufficient to say that the Governor never received the letter.

Recently a questionable item in a naval appropriation bill was before the Senate. Mr. Phelan demanded its passage as necessary to the defense of this coast, for he said, "the largest Japanese warship lies in the harbor of Honolulu."

A few days later the Associated Press published from its agent in Honolulu that no Japanese warship was in Hawaiian waters, nor had been for a long time. Commenting on this, the New York "Sun" said maybe Senator Phelan does not know where Hawaii is!

The Senator has uttered other defamatory statements, and every one is a lie. They are as thick in his record as cooties in a battle trench. I leave him now to attend to the cases of his companions in falsehood and exaggeration.

I dislike to say that Mr. V. S. McClatchy, of the Sacramento "Bee," intentionally lies, but his bitter prejudice and hatred had fed his credulity until he has become a "carrier" of falsehoods, as some people are "carriers" of typhoid. Mr. McClatchy has published that during the twelve months ending June 30, 1919, 9678 Japanese were found to be illegally in this country and were arrested and deported.

Now the official report of the Commissioner of Immigration shows nine Japanese deported for being illegally in the country, in the year ending June 30, 1918.

The Commissioner's report for the next year, ending June 30, 1919, shows 117 con-

traband Japanese were apprehended and deported. So for the full year covered by Mr. McClatchy's statement, the official report shows only 126 Japanese illegally in the country and deported. I wrote the Commissioner General of Immigration asking the foundation for Mr. McClatchy's statement, and that official seems to think that his official report, above quoted, is sufficient answer. The circumstantial evidence is against the truth of McClatchy's figures, since the arrest of so large a number could not have escaped the notice of the newspapers and of the Japanese Consul. Mr. McClatchy follows his apocryphal figures with the statement that "No account is taken of the picture brides who arrived." This is not true. They all had to land at the Immigration Station and be registered, undergo a physical examination, and their names and those of their husbands recorded.

In Mr. McClatchy's statement to the Immigration Section of the Commonwealth Club he said the Japanese on landing at first drive white labor out by working for low wages and then proceed to conquer everything. This statement is not true. I am a farmer and know, as do all farmers, there was no white labor to drive out. Instead of working for low wages, the Japanese in California are paid the highest farm wages in the world, and they are the most industrious and skillful land people in the state.

The glaring falsehoods of Honorable John S. Chambers I have already answered. The lies in the newspapers are too numerous to mention. One in the "Call" may suffice. That paper, under infuriating headlines, published that Japanese stevedores in loading an American cargo of vegetable oils had maliciously punched holes in the tin containers with loading hooks, and the oil leaked out, and this was done to damage American commerce. The owner of the oil in San Francisco and the officers of the ship at once exposed the story as a malicious lie, as did Lloyds, whose surveyor in Kobe watched the loading and certified to the proper condition of the cargo.

Then it was shown by the same parties that Japanese stevedores use no loading hooks. But did the "Call" correct the lie? Not up to date.

Another member of Phelan's pogrom gang publishes that Japanese have leased ten million acres of land in the Sutter Basin. Go to the maps in the office of the State Reclamation Board and you find that in the whole Sutter Basin, from the mouth of Butte Slough to the confluence of the Sacramento and Feather rivers, there are only sixty thousand acres. But people who don't know what or where Sutter Basin is, read that ten million lie and rush to join the anti-Japanese pogrom.

Senator Phelan has published a study of the "hybrids," as he calls them, half Japanese and half white children. I refuse to accept his as an expert opinion.

During the anti-Chinese pogrom there were long and hot discussions over Chinese and white hybrids, impossibility of assimilation, etc. But the multi-millionaire Chinese, Ah Fong, of Honolulu, had a bevy of charming daughters by his wife, who was half and half Portuguese and Hawaiian. The Ah Fong girls were the toast of the Pacific, beautiful and accomplished, and they all married well, to white gentlemen, several of the husbands being officers in the American army and navy.

It is demonstrated by the foregoing that politicians are trying to stampede the people of California to do an act of dishonor against an industrious, cleanly, and law-abiding people. The proposed initiative measure has to go back to the cruelties attending the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, to find an equal in cruelty, inhumanity, and dishonor. It violates our treaty with Japan and the Fourteenth Amendment to our own Constitution, and is a proper offspring of the disgraceful lies from which it comes. I stand for American honor, decency, and fair play; I stand for what is called our Christian civilization and wonder if there is enough of its spirit in California to save the honor of the state. JOHN P. IRISH,

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California's Threatened Hegira of Japanese



*Results Following Alien
Land Law Enforcement*



*The State's Attitude and
the Conditions Which
Provoked the Law*



By V. S. McCLATCHY

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

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California's Threatened Hegira of Japanese

By V. S. McCLATCHY

THE LAW OF CALIFORNIA which forbids ownership, lease or profitable use of agricultural lands by aliens ineligible to citizenship was recently upheld in an uncompromising decision of the United States Supreme Court. Following that decision in December, the entire country was flooded by telegraphed statements from California to the effect that the Japanese, who are most affected by the decision, would decline to work for wages; that 50,000 or more of California's 100,000 Japanese population were about to leave the State; that farms and orchards could not be operated without the Japanese; that hundreds of thousands of acres of the richest lands must cease to produce and that the State's annual revenues would decrease over \$70,000,000 in consequence; and that the initiative would be invoked to secure modification or repeal of the objectionable law.

Publication of these statements brought application from landowners in many portions of the United States—outside of the Pacific Coast states—indicating an eagerness to secure the dissatisfied Japanese of California to work uncultivated lands in such states.

In the face of what the country assumed must prove an overwhelming disaster for California, that self-satisfied, reckless and improvident commonwealth not only failed to acknowledge her blunder and adopt means to correct it, but as soon as her various and varied interests could confer and survey the situation, calmly announced to the world that if the Japanese wished to leave the State, they would be bidden "God-speed;" that while the State is bound by treaty and in fairness to protect the resident Japanese in commercial pursuits, and even as farm laborers under wage, their presence on farm and orchard must prove an ultimate detriment much more serious than the temporary loss which might result from their departure. The district attorneys of the State, called together in conference by the State Attorney-General (with 49 out of 58 counties represented in attendance) gave public notice that the law would be rigidly enforced after the present growing crops had been harvested; the Farm Bureaus proceeded to organize a State clearing house for farm and seasonal labor, and to encour-

age the establishment of attractive conditions of employment for farm labor throughout the State. Requests from other states for Japanese laborers were turned over in friendly spirit to the Japanese Association of America with headquarters in San Francisco, that they might be filled.

SOME of the reasons which actuate California in adopting this course—consistent with her declarations and policy of the past—will appear in the course of this article. Briefly, it may be said that any considerable migration of California Japanese at this time seems improbable; that should such migration

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occur, it is believed the place of the Japanese will be filled in time by competent white labor with benefit to the State; and that even should the departure of the Japanese leave idle for many years some of the State's rich lands, it were better so than to have such lands, with their marketable products and the industries connected therewith, in control of unassimilable aliens whose presence constitutes not only a national but an international danger as well.

First, as to the facts of the present situation. There was apparent foundation for the reports sent out from California in December, in the attitude of the Japanese, as announced in their vernacular press at the time, and in the claims of landowners whose profits for years past have been made by leasing to Japanese. That same vernacular press today, from the Canadian line to the Mexican border, and following California's determined action, voices the urgent advice of Japanese leaders that the Japanese do not leave California but re-

main here, and working under the conditions permitted, take concerted action to force such change of the law within the next few years as will enable the Japanese to colonize the State under conditions more satisfactory to themselves.

This policy is urged not only in the interest of the California Japanese, but also to avoid injury to their countrymen in other states, which, if threatened by new Japanese immigration, may be induced to copy California's law. A notable case in point is furnished by an urgent appeal from the Idaho Japanese Association to the Japanese in California, published in *Nichi Bei*, of San Francisco, January 22nd not to come to Idaho as the Chambers of that State have petitioned the Governor to call

an extra session of the Legislature to protect Idaho against the threatened invasion. The appeal naively states that as the Japanese born in Idaho average fifteen years younger than those born in California, it will be many years before their rights as American citizens can be utilized to secure lands for the proud Yamato race. They are, therefore, less able to protect themselves than are their brethren in the Golden State against alien laws!

IT IS IMPROBABLE that a large number of Japanese will leave California at this time. The Japanese regard California, if they must leave Japan, as the most desirable place in the world for residence. Two-thirds of all the Japanese in Continental United States are in the Golden State, whose climatic conditions permit them to utilize in agricultural activities, practically all the hours of a 365-day year. The Japanese do not like cold climates—even refusing for that reason to settle their own northern island of Hokkaido; and they have the experience of a few thousand of their countrymen who about three years ago went to Idaho and Montana, but drifted back again to California.

The great objection made by the Japanese to the California law is that it does not permit them to share in the profits of the crops—and thereby utilize to the greatest advantage their low standards of living, their willingness to labor long hours and utilize woman and child labor in competition with the

farms and orchards managed and worked by white owners and white labor.

A number of Japanese who shared in crop profits through leases and cropping contracts, now forbidden, have accepted positions as foremen, or superintendents, at satisfactory compensation, and they will continue to employ Japanese as laborers at day wages as they did when they were lessees. In some orchards, former Japanese tenants are accepting contracts to perform the season's work under separate bids, for pruning, for cultivating and irrigating, and for picking and packing, and they will employ Japanese labor as they did before.

Some Japanese, dissatisfied with existing conditions in agricultural districts, will embark in commercial pursuits in the cities and small communities, where their methods of work will give them profit. Since the passage of the amended alien land law there has been a marked tendency in that direction. For instance, the License Collector of Los Angeles City months ago reported over four thousand separate businesses conducted in that city by Japanese, over one thousand of these being vegetable and fruit stores and over six hundred grocery stores—each one of which probably displaced a similar store supporting a white man or a white family. This situation is causing concern in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Undoubtedly some Japanese will leave the State for a time at least—how many it is difficult to estimate. Without question, temporary loss and inconvenience will result in certain districts in consequence, and continue in diminishing extent during the period of readjustment. It is believed there will be no difficulty in securing in time all the competent white labor necessary to replace the Japanese who may abandon the agricultural districts.

EXPERIENCE shows that the white orchard manager who has gained a reputation for providing conditions of employment attractive to self-respecting white labor, has no difficulty in securing plenty of such labor. A notable instance is found in the Humphrey orchard at Mayhew Station, situated in the midst of the American River fruit district, extending twenty-two miles from Sacramento City to Folsom. For many years past, the Humphrey orchard, employing as many as sixty men and forty women in the busiest season, has used white labor exclusively—although all other orchards in that district use Japanese labor in part or entirely. This orchard has never had difficulty in securing all the competent white labor needed. The Chief Camp Inspector of the State Housing & Immigration Commission, who enforces proper sanitary conditions

in the out-door working camps of the State, declares that conditions similar to those which obtain on the Humphrey's place, invite an adequate supply of competent white labor in other portions of the State. Letters received by the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce indicate the desire of many people living in the middle west to come to California and to labor on farm and orchard if they can be assured of such conditions as are indicated.

Undoubtedly, enforcement of California's alien land law will cause a drop in the price of rich, cultivable lands, particularly those under irrigation, because white lessees will not pay as high rental as Japanese. But land values which cannot be sustained without making permanent the situation rapidly developing are too high for a white man's country. Objectionable social environment and economic competition which he cannot meet are driving the competent and intelligent white farmer and orchardist from the land in that State wherein soil and all-year climatic conditions lend most attraction and profit to agricultural pursuits.

For instance, the manager of the Rindge properties, 22,000 acres in the rich delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, voices in published interview, the indignation of his corporation because it can no longer lease those lands to Japanese to carry on truck farming under contracts which have netted the corporation in the past a yearly rental of \$50.00 or \$100.00 per acre. He complains that whites will not truck-farm on the lands and that hay and grain crops on shares will not yield a profit to the owners of more than \$10 or \$15 per acre.

For years past this corporation has made large profits per acre from reclaimed but otherwise unimproved land, without effort, by turning control thereof over to unassimilable aliens ineligible to citizenship under our laws, thereby preventing the chance of having the district populated by white citizens. Under the present law this corporation's profits will be considerably decreased whether it elects to lease to white tenants or to cultivate the land itself, either with white labor or with Japanese labor at day wage, as is permitted by law. For, be it known, the wily Japanese, working for day wage for the white farmer, has managed to make the cost of operation 50 to 75 per cent greater than when working for his countryman who shared in the crop.

CALIFORNIA is more concerned in wresting her rich lands from alien control, and in encouraging the return thereto of the intelligent white citizen and his family, than in maintaining an

excessive profit per acre for a comparatively few landowners, individuals and corporations, whose view of the interests of the State, Nation and race, is obscured by the immediate dollar.

These land owners declare that white farmers will not lease the river lands for truck farming. Probably not—at the terms which Asiatics are willing to pay; but those terms, in standards of living, hours of labor and social conditions are too high for citizens of this nation to pay. In answer, too, it is to be said that many white farmers who own their lands, are truck farming on the Sacramento River; that more would do so with Japanese competition removed; that throughout many eastern states, where Japanese have not yet secured a foothold, whites do the truck farming, and that the same is true in certain districts of California as well. California is confident that with the Japanese removed from the lands, whites, either from California or from other states, will be content and glad to take their place as owners, lessees or wage earners.

Some of the great fruit shipping companies of the State look with marked disfavor on the coming rigid enforcement of the alien land law. They have been prominent factors in bringing about the present situation because they felt impelled by the necessities of their business to finance the season's operations for Japanese lessees in orchard and vineyard, and have assisted, by fostering Japanese competition, in driving the white tenant and the white proprietor-farmer off the land. The companies now face a situation under which the fruit shipments for a few years may be less and their profits correspondingly smaller. Eventually the State, and incidentally these companies, will profit.

The average well-informed Californian who lays aside selfish personal interests, does not regard the threatened hegira of the State's Japanese population as an unmixed evil. He may even regard it with equanimity. A few—and one corporation in particular—a large employer of Japanese farm labor in the past—encourage the departure.

The preceding outline of certain phases of the existing situation will explain in part this attitude of California. But to appreciate her point of view thoroughly, there must be a better understanding of certain fundamental facts, for a time unknown to, or ignored by, the Nation at large, and only forced on public attention in the past few years through the State's continued agitation of the subject.

California has before her the startling example of Hawaii, where by the year 1940, Japanese will control the elections because of the great number of their

Hawaiian-born children who will have reached the age of twenty-one by that time. In consequence, the territory will be compelled to abandon its present form of government and ask for a Federal Commission. (See in ASIA Magazine for July 1923 the report of a two-year investigation of conditions in Hawaii made by Louis R. Sullivan for the American Museum of Natural History). Japanese comprise already nearly half the population of the Territory and furnish more than half of the school children; they provide 60 per cent of the labor and have a monopoly of the Territory's fisheries. They control the building trades in Honolulu and various branches of business; and in the sugar strike a few years ago, they acted with absolute racial solidarity,—most of them voluntarily and some under duress, but all regardless of affiliations or American citizenship. (See testimony of the Hawaiian Commission before the House Immigration Committee at Washington in 1921).

California sees in various districts of the State a similar development; and she ponders over the published statement of the Registrar of Vital Statistics for her State Board of Health that if present conditions continue, the Japanese in California will in time exceed the whites in number.

FOR two decades and more, California has regarded herself as a frontier state, making the fight of the nation against the peaceful penetration of insidious alien invaders from the Far East. She has been willing to accept the loss and trouble which come inevitably to the territory on which battles are fought, but has resented the complacent blindness of many other states which could see no danger, and insisted that California, because of unfounded racial prejudice, was precipitating this country into trouble and possible war.

California has always held that the presence in any district of this country of unassimilable aliens, massing in communities or occupations and capable of driving out the whites in economic competition, must lead to racial friction and international trouble; and that it were therefore in the interests of our neighbors across the Pacific, as well as ourselves, to exclude such elements of discord.

President Theodore Roosevelt was in thorough accord with this point of view, and said so frankly to Japan, insisting that while Japanese already here should be fairly treated, no more should come if the friendship between the two countries was to be maintained. He induced California to abandon her anti-Japanese bills under consideration by the Legislature

of 1909 by giving her guarantees contained in his memorable telegram of February 9th of that year, addressed to Speaker Stanton of the State Assembly. In that telegram, Roosevelt declared that under the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement he had arranged with Japan so that Japanese immigration should cease by her own act, and with the understanding that the number of Japanese in this country should gradually decrease; he said the plan had worked so successfully during the first six months of its operation that the number of Japanese in the United States had decreased 2000; he acknowledged that if equally satisfactory results did not follow future operation of the Agreement, California would have just cause for complaint, and said in that case the Federal Government could and would apply the necessary remedy,—meaning thereby the passage of a Japanese exclusion act. In his autobiography, he explains that this safeguard was destroyed by his successor, President Taft, under the terms of the 1911 treaty with Japan.

At all events, under the operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, with admission of "picture brides" and "kandodan brides" and lax regulation on the part of our government, the Japanese population in continental United States trebled between 1904 and 1920, instead of decreasing—while the Chinese population, under the Exclusion Act, diminished one-half. California's Japanese population quadrupled in the same period.

AS the Japanese increased in number in California, they took practical control of certain districts. First, driving out white labor in competition, they gradually sought to become owners of the land, and when that was prevented by law, they obtained leases with privilege of renewal, thus giving them permanent control. In time there grew up the present system, under which the owners of large pieces of unimproved land and bearing orchards found it more profitable to lease to Japanese, who undertook the entire management and the risk of financing, while the owner retired to the city and received his share of the profits at the end of the season. That plan, naturally, drove white tenants or lessees off the land, as well as white labor. But it did more. The small farmer or orchardist, owning and cultivating his own land nearby, found himself, when marketing his produce, in competition with the Japanese-grown article, produced with all the advantages to be had from low standards of living, long hours of labor, woman and child labor, etc. In time he gave up the contest, was forced off the land, went into industrial or business occupation,

and sold or leased his land to the Japanese. Whole communities of whites, as for instance in the strawberry-growing district of Florin, in Sacramento County, were displaced by the Japanese.

And so, in California where climatic conditions offer most inducement for pleasant and profitable all-year work in agricultural pursuits, conditions were permitted to develop which encouraged the farm-to-city movement and gave control to alien Japanese by the year 1920, of one-eighth of all the State's valuable and productive irrigated land.

California's consistent and insistent policy in this matter has forced the problem upon the attention of the Nation at large. Other states which have been invaded by the Japanese, or which have taken warning from California's experience, have passed laws similar to that State's alien land law. There has developed throughout the country a demand for the exclusion, as permanent residents, of all aliens ineligible to citizenship, as a fundamental step in restricting unassimilable immigration. In response to that demand, a provision to that effect appears in the Immigration Bill recently favorably reported by the House Immigration Committee, although, according to published reports, Japan, through our State Department, violently protested against it; and certain American commercial interests complained that Japan had threatened them with cancellation of \$200,000,000 in contracts for reconstruction of the devastated districts of Japan if this provision be enacted into law. The provision has received the unanimous approval in national conventions of three great organizations—the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor and the Grange. Its effect, if enacted, will be to exclude without further legislation, all the yellow and brown races of Asia, including Hindus, Malays, Chinese, Japanese and Philipinos—about half the population of the globe.

EVEN assuming, however, the enactment of such a provision into law and the rigid enforcement of her alien land law, California faces a grave problem in the presence within the State of one hundred thousand or more Japanese, all of whom are entitled to remain in the State and engage in industrial or commercial pursuits, or work as farm laborers at wage, if they so desire. Thirty thousand or more of these are California-born (there are over five thousand Japanese births yearly in California) and entitled therefore to full citizenship rights, including ownership of land. These rights are already being utilized as individuals come of age, to make place

in the agricultural districts for their alien relatives and countrymen. These native-born Japanese are, in the mass, and with notable individual exceptions, only less unassimilable than their immigrant parents, and furnish an additional problem in a dangerous dual citizenship which ties them to Japan.

California feels that for years she has done her duty as a loyal State of the Republic in giving warning of a grave impending national danger and in oppos-

ing it to the extent of her limited authority. She has repeatedly urged Congressional action as the only effective remedy against the danger frankly pointed out by President Roosevelt in permitting the growth in our midst of alien and unassimilable communities of Asiatics. She has no patience with the week-kneed Americanism which at the urge of halting diplomacy or commercial greed closes its eyes to the welfare of nation and race, under veiled threats of

war or loss of trade. Her insistence, and the official investigations forced in consequence, have aided in arousing a general public sentiment. She hopes that Congress will take the necessary action before the Golden State first, her two sister Pacific Coast states next, and the remaining rich agricultural states of the Union in order of the attraction they offer, shall have passed under economic and racial control of the Japanese. For unfortunate Hawaii it is already too late.

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The Anti-Japanese Pogrom

Facts versus the Falsehoods of Senator Phelan and Others

By Colonel John P. Irish

Let it be repeated that the present anti-Japanese agitation, like the anti-Chinese movement of years ago, has the same psychology as the Russian anti-Jewish pogrom, which always starts with the lie that Jews have murdered Christian children to use their blood in the rites of the Synagogue. The leader of the anti-Japanese pogrom is Senator Phelan. An election is approaching. He has made no record of any benefit to the state in the Senate; so he must divert attention from his uselessness as a senator by attacking the Japanese and trying to stampede the state by lying about them.

It is my purpose to take up his public statements and those of his helpers in this ignoble work, and prove them false, not by my word, but by official and other indisputable authority.

Senator Phelan began his pogrom by publishing that an American company had sold to Japanese 800,000 acres of land on the Mexican side of the Imperial Valley.

The American company at once proved this

to be a lie. It had not sold land anywhere to Japanese.

Mr. Phelan then changed his statement and charged that the Mexican government had sold 800,000 acres of land adjoining our boundary to Japanese, and that this was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine!

The Mexican government immediately replied with proof that it had not sold land anywhere to Japanese, and as Senator Phelan had claimed that under the Monroe Doctrine the United States can dictate to the states of Central and South America what private parties may own land in their jurisdiction, President Carranza very promptly and properly repudiated the Monroe Doctrine.

In November, Mr. Phelan published in the Chico "Enterprise" that he had been approached by a Japanese who presented a letter from our Ambassador to Tokio, and who proposed that we should surrender the whole Imperial Valley to the Japanese.

But the Senator had furnished a clue to test the truth of the story by naming a letter from our Ambassador, and soon changed the story, and in its new form it was published in the "California Cultivator" of January 31, 1920, as follows:

"When I left Washington an American representing powerful Japanese organizations said to be backed by the Japanese government, proposed that Americans be ousted from the Imperial Valley and it be turned over to the Japanese."

Notice that in this last version no names are mentioned, and no clue given, not even finger marks. As no Japanese and no American can be thought of to be fool enough to go to Mr. Phelan with such an idiotic proposition, the statement has the face of a lie in both versions.

In November he made a speech to the Chamber of Commerce of Oakland. After some vagrant vituperation of the Japanese, he ventured upon a specific statement to call attention to the "horrible condition of Merced

County, overrun by Japanese who own there 5000 acres of the best farm land in the county."

I immediately wrote to the Recorder of Merced County to let me know the acreage owned by Japanese. In reply he sent me the 1919 report of the County Assessor, just made to the State Controller. The Assessor says there are 185 Japanese in Merced County. They own 395 acres of farm land and 36 town lots. There are 27 Japanese children in the primary schools and two in the high school. The white neighbors of the Japanese all say they are good people to do business with, and unobjectionable.

On the 18th of last December Mr. Phelan made an anti-Japanese speech to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, in which he said that Japanese births in California were three to one white birth.

The official report of the State Board of Health, sent to me by Mr. Ross, Registrar of Vital Statistics, shows for 1919:

White births. 50,898
Japanese births. 4,378

The records of the Board of Health show more white births in the single year 1919 than Japanese births in the full ten years preceding. His speech on that occasion strung other lies on this birth rate lie, like beads on a string.

In their statements made to the Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate, both Senator Phelan and Mr. McClatchy said that there were in California 20,000 picture brides and that "they usually each give birth to a child once a year." The official report of the California Board of Health for 1919 records 4378 Japanese births in the state for that year. So that of the imaginary picture brides, 20,000 in number, reported by Phelan and McClatchy, more than 16,000 must have been asleep at the switch.

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Japanese Association warmly thanking him for his refusal, and Phelan published the letter.

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There are men in San Francisco who know the inside facts about this little comedy. When those facts are made public, as they undoubtedly will be, the Senator will have to face an embarrassing situation. In the meantime, it is sufficient to say that the Governor never received the letter.

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The glaring falsehoods of Honorable John S. Chambers I have already answered. The lies in the newspapers are too numerous to mention. One in the "Call" may suffice. That paper, under infuriating headlines, published that Japanese stevedores in loading an American cargo of vegetable oils had maliciously punched holes in the tin containers with loading hooks, and the oil leaked out, and this was done to damage American commerce. The owner of the oil in San Francisco and the officers of the ship at once exposed the story as a malicious lie, as did Lloyds, whose surveyor in Kobe watched the loading and certified to the proper condition of the cargo.

Then it was shown by the same parties that Japanese stevedores use no loading hooks. But did the "Call" correct the lie? Not up to date.

Another member of Phelan's pogrom gang publishes that Japanese have leased ten million acres of land in the Sutter Basin. Go to the maps in the office of the State Reclamation Board and you find that in the whole Sutter Basin, from the mouth of Butte Slough to the confluence of the Sacramento and Feather rivers, there are only sixty thousand acres. But people who don't know what or where Sutter Basin is, read that ten million lie and rush to join the anti-Japanese pogrom.

Senator Phelan has published a study of the "hybrids," as he calls them, half Japanese and half white children. I refuse to accept his as an expert opinion.

During the anti-Chinese pogrom there were long and hot discussions over Chinese and white hybrids, impossibility of assimilation, etc. But the multi-millionaire Chinese, Ah Fong, of Honolulu, had a bevy of charming daughters by his wife, who was half and half Portuguese and Hawaiian. The Ah Fong girls were the toast of the Pacific, beautiful and accomplished, and they all married well, to white gentlemen, several of the husbands being officers in the American army and navy.

It is demonstrated by the foregoing that politicians are trying to stampede the people of California to do an act of dishonor against an industrious, cleanly, and law-abiding people. The proposed initiative measure has to go back to the cruelties attending the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, to find an equal in cruelty, inhumanity, and dishonor. It violates our treaty with Japan and the Fourteenth Amendment to our own Constitution, and is a proper offspring of the disgraceful lies from which it comes. I stand for American honor, decency, and fair play; I stand for what is called our Christian civilization and wonder if there is enough of its spirit in California to save the honor of the state. JOHN P. IRISH,

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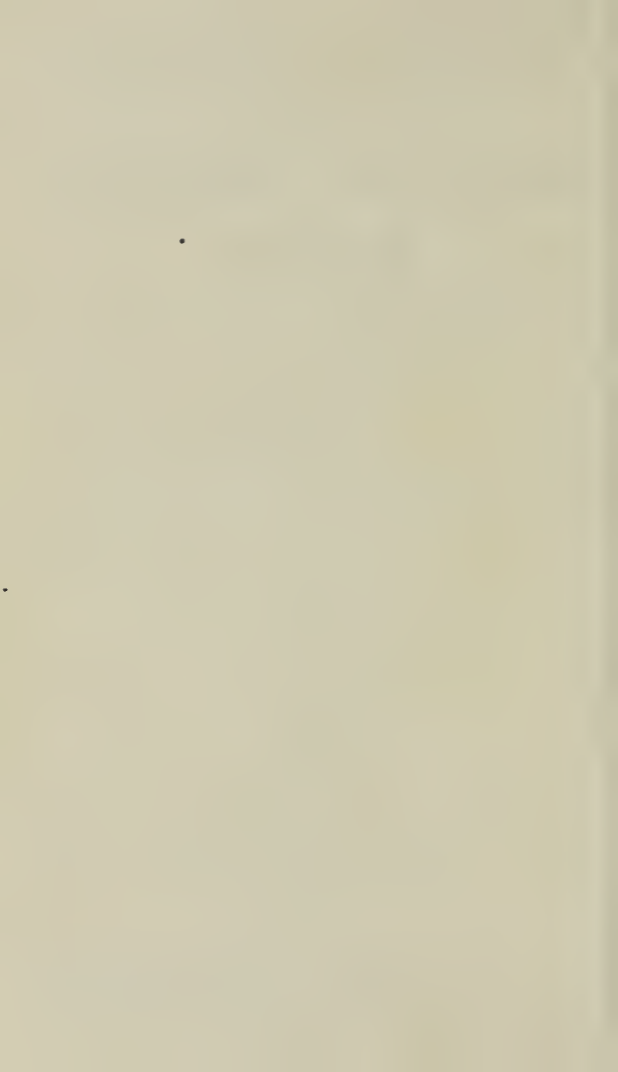
America's Japanese Problem

By Dr. HERBERT B. JOHNSON



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Prefatory Note

In view of the unjust initiative measure now being circulated for signatures, the following statement of facts is submitted to the consideration of my fellow citizens in California. This measure proposes:

1. To prohibit land ownership by Japanese.
2. To prohibit leasing of farm land by Japanese.
3. To prohibit the acquisition of real property by American-born Japanese minors, who are American citizens, under the guardianship of their parents.
4. To deprive the Japanese parents of their natural right to be the guardians to their minor sons or daughters owning real property.
5. To escheat real property to the state upon certain prima facie presumptions.
6. To prohibit the Japanese from taking any interest in any company or corporation owning real property.

In my judgment this proposed measure outrages the American sense of the square deal much more violently than it does injustice to our Japanese residents.

HERBERT B. JOHNSON.

Berkeley, June 15, 1920.

America's Japanese Problem

By DR. HERBERT B. JOHNSON

The Interchurch World Movement of North America recently issued a Text Book outlining a discussion of some paramount national issues, including the race question, Christian Americanization, and free speech and national loyalty. The immediate need is stated as follows: "To discover the truth in the mass of misinformation, to keep methods of finding truth unobstructed by propaganda, and to give citizens facts to think about, opportunity for discussion and the crystallization of opinions, and then a chance to make these opinions operative." In outlining the extent of the problem, the pamphlet shows that we have 13,515,000 foreign-born in America, a large per cent of whom are as yet unnaturalized, and suggests that they must be assimilated, protected from exploitation and instructed in American ideals.

Not to exceed 100,000 of these are Japanese, including possibly 20,000 Japanese children born in Continental America, yet little effort has been made to assimilate them, protect them from exploitation, or instruct them in American ideals except as it has been done through our Japanese Missions. On the contrary, it has been almost constantly asserted in certain quarters that this is a white man's

country, that the Japanese are different and can not be assimilated, and that their presence here is a menace to our people and our institutions.

For nearly a decade and a half, through the press and in various ways, the citizens of the United States have been hearing of the menace connected with Japanese immigration to this country. The question has passed through various stages. It was first an immigration question, then a school question, then a land question, then a picture-bride question, and now it is a combination of all these. The increasing violent campaign, which has been carried on against the Japanese among us, has been largely based on misrepresentation, has tended to influence our citizens against them, and has been calculated to prejudice against us their children born in this country who are prospective American citizens, to make more difficult Christian work among them both here and across the Pacific, and to strain our traditional friendly relation with Japan. There has been a strong tendency to mix political questions across the sea with questions here which should be regarded as purely domestic. This has been both unnecessary and unjust, but it has been part of a deliberate plan to discredit the Japanese.

Mr. Will Irwin, in *Sunset Magazine* for December, 1919, has an illuminating article on "Age of Lies." While not referring specifically to the Japanese question, he shows how the propagandist attacks the foundation of public opinion, the object being the same—to slant, to bias, to color the news.

In the interest of truth and justice, we present the following facts which we believe to be authentic and accurate.

I. Japanese Immigration

The official reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration show the net increase from Japanese immigration to be comparatively small. For some years, after the adoption of the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, the departures equaled or exceeded the arrivals. The official figures for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1917, 1918, and 1919, are:

1917: Continental United States:

Admitted 9,159

Departed 6,581—Net 2,578.

Hawaii:

Admitted 4,129

Departed 2,581—Net 1,548

1918: Continental United States:

Admitted 11,143

Departed 7,691—Net 3,452

Hawaii:

Admitted 3,936

Departed 3,149—Net 387

1919: Continental United States:

Admitted 11,404

Departed 8,328—Net 3,076

Hawaii:

Admitted 3,500

Departed 2,905—Net 595.

Surely there is little menace in numbers.

The Commissioner General of Immigration has stated, in substance, that so far as restricting Japa-

nese laborers is concerned, the Gentlemen's Agreement has worked far more satisfactorily than the Chinese Exclusion Law ever operated in excluding the same class. This was confirmed last year (1918) in his Annual Report which included the report of the Commissioner of Immigration at Seattle, in part as follows:

"As heretofore, the Japanese arriving on the Pacific Coast are of the better class and are able, with few exceptions, to comply with all the provisions of the immigration law. There are but few violations of the agreement between the two countries regarding the issuance of passports to Japanese laborers."

II. Vital Statistics of California

Much has been made of the increase in births in California, but here again the numbers, after deducting the deaths, have been ignored. The official figures from the reports of the State Board of Health are as follows:

Births in California

1906—134	1912—1467
1907—221	1913—2215
1908—455	1914—2874
1909—682	1915—3342
1910—719	1916—3721
1911—995	1917—4108

This is an average of 1745 per year for the last twelve years, including 1917. I have been unable to obtain the figures for 1918 and 1919.

For the last year reported (1917), 1644 were born in cities of 5000 or over and 2464 in the country and in the smaller towns up to 5000.

The average Japanese deaths in California for the past seven years, 1912-1918, namely 650, is practically the average of the so-called picture brides arriving at the port of San Francisco for the same period.

The figures for births and deaths are from the reports of the State Board of Health and are given from 1906 to 1917, inclusive. The figures for the picture brides are since 1912 only, and are from the records of the Japanese Association of America which are unusually reliable.

Japanese Deaths in California

1906—384	1912—524
1907—517	1913—613
1908—431	1914—628
1909—450	1915—663
1910—440	1916—739
1911—472	1917—910

The average for twelve years is 564, and for the last seven years is 650.

III. The Picture Brides

The yearly average for the Japanese picture brides arriving in San Francisco for the past seven years (1912-1918) is 658, as the following table will show:

Japanese Picture Brides Arriving
in San Francisco

1912—879	1916—486
1913—625	1917—504
1914—768	1918—520
1915—823	

For a time, the Immigration authorities of this country required a marriage ceremony on arrival in the case of the so-called picture brides, but this was done away with about two years ago in view of the real nature of marriage in Japan. The registration of marriage being properly recorded in Japan after the necessary ceremonies, the wife comes to this country bearing the husband's name and directly from the home of the husband's parents. These women are, with very rare exceptions, healthy, well educated, and moral. They average high among the foreign-born mothers of this country.

Considerable notoriety has been given to the picture bride question of late in view of the action of the directors of the Japanese Association of America. While maintaining the legality of such marriage, the directors, in order to conform to the high ideals and customs of this country, some time ago adopted a resolution recommending the discontinuance of the custom. Considerable discussion followed among the Japanese residents in this country, which resulted in a recent general meeting of delegates from California, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. Those who opposed the action of the directors of the Japanese Association did so as a protest, insisting that it is a matter to be settled between the governments of the United States and Japan, and

that a return to Japan for marriage involves great expense and is exceedingly difficult under present passport arrangements. Mr. George Shima, the president of the Association, is reported to have upheld the action of the directors, saying that the quickest way for the Japanese to cement their friendship with Americans is in conforming to the high ideals and customs of the country of their adoption. In furtherance of this position, the directors resigned in a body. The legality of the so-called picture marriage was not questioned. The whole question has been raised in this country largely as a result of a misunderstanding of the custom, and the whole marriage customs in Japan as well.

(After the above was written, that is, on December 17, 1919, the Japanese government announced that after February 25, 1920, the practice of so-called picture marriage would be stopped. In the meantime the Japanese Association of America, at a general meeting, also endorsed the action of the old directors by reelecting all of them.)

IV. The Present Number of Japanese in Continental America

An approximate estimate of the Japanese population in Continental United States is found in an article by Mr. M. Hanihara, former Consul General for Japan at San Francisco, appearing in the New York Evening Post, March 16, 1918. The estimate is given by consular jurisdictions and by sex as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
Seattle Consulate— (Including Washington, Montana, Alaska, and Idaho in part)	7,397	1,835	9,232
Portland Consulate— (Including Oregon, Wy- oming, and Idaho in part)	4,497	906	5,403
San Francisco Consulate— (Including Colorado, Utah, Nevada and the northern part of Cali- fornia)	35,531	15,239	50,790
Los Angeles Consulate— (Including Arizona, New Mexico, and the southern part of Cali- fornia)	19,992	3,774	23,776
Chicago Consulate— (Including twenty States in the Central West and South)	2,131	250	2,381
New York Consulate— (Including the Eastern States)	2,552	246	2,798

It is possible that the number at present is a little larger than the above estimate. Of course, included in this number are 20,000 or more children born in this country who should be regarded as Americans rather than Japanese. Some method

should be adopted to determine what portion of these will claim American citizenship and who, if any, will declare their loyalty to Japan. It is remarkable with what unanimity they and their parents declare allegiance to the United States.

V. The Amount of Land Owned and Leased by Japanese in California

Here we approach the crux of the whole question, particularly as, under certain circumstances, Japanese children born in America may own land in this country. A Japanese resident of Riverside County, long proprietor of a restaurant at Riverside, some time ago purchased a home in the interest of his American-born child, and the case went to the courts and was decided in his favor. It was appealed and is now awaiting decision in the Court of Appeals. It may go to the Supreme Court. It is significant that Governor Johnson, in his reply to Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, the Secretary of State, before he signed the Anti-alien Land Law of 1913, conceded the right of the Japanese in this country, under the treaty, to hold land for other than agricultural purposes. His language is:

“We assume that the right of the Japanese to own real property for the purposes described (in the treaty) is absolute in our state, and we seek to deal only with agricultural lands.”

Yet an effort has been made to exclude the Japanese from buying homes even in the interest of their American-born children.

We are indebted to the Japanese Agricultural Association of California for recent investigations

showing the number and acreage of farms cultivated by Japanese in California under various methods. These are classified in seven districts. The summaries are as follows:

	1919	1913	Gain
Ownership acreage.	30,305	26,707	3,598
Tenant acreage . . .	336,724	205,983	130,741
			<hr/>
			134,339
			Loss
Contract acreage . .	23,608	48,997	25,389
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total acreage . . .	390,637	281,687	108,950

The crops, in the order of their total values, last year were as follows: fruits, grapes, beans, greens, sugar beets, berries, rice, potatoes, seeds, cantaloupes, onions, cotton, tomatoes, asparagus, celery, hay, and cereals, corn, ornamental plants and flowers, miscellaneous. Berries averaged \$700 per acre and other produce from \$300 down to \$50, the grand total being \$53,375,720. The largest acreage was devoted to beans and then, in order, to sugar beets, grapes, fruits, potatoes, cotton, greens, rice, etc.

VI. Discrimination in the California Land Laws

While in our laws there is no technical discrimination against Japan, yet in the California Anti-alien Land Law of 1913 there is discrimination in intention and in fact.

There could have been no objection to a general anti-alien land law of universal application, such as

has been adopted by certain states and proposed by some of the representatives of this state.

In this connection it must be noted that the laws of Japan, as applied to foreigners, are much more liberal than our law. In the foreign settlements, formerly maintained in open ports, foreigners hold lease in perpetuity, which is, to all practical purposes, the same as ownership. In addition, foreigners in any part of Japan can lease land for fifty years in accordance with the provisions of the civil code of the country. Then, too, foreigners can own land anywhere in Japan if they organize a partnership or joint stock company, even though such partnership or company includes no Japanese interest.

While other Orientals are included in the California land law, the Chinese, for example, have less reason for complaint, as the campaign was not publicly centered upon them and their larger number of adult children of American birth makes the law less embarrassing and humiliating.

From the point of view of our own national welfare (we believe that) the various discriminatory measures proposed against the Japanese are unjustifiable and untenable. (We believe that.) It is the duty of all parents to provide for the wellbeing and education of their children. It is human instinct, an inherent desire, of all true fathers and mothers. Therefore, (recognize that) the purchase of real property by Japanese in the interest of their American-born children, who are American citizens and are going to live here, is not only legitimate but advisable. If we thwart them even in

this matter, we are going to create a generation, ill provided, ill educated, ill developed.

Equally unjustifiable is the proposal to absolutely prohibit the leasing of agricultural land by Japanese, thus compelling them to remain permanently in a status of wage laborer. If such a proposal were adopted, it would condemn the Japanese to a condition of life little better than that of serfdom or slavery. Ever since its foundation this Republic has stood for freedom, justice, and equality. The outstanding quality of the American people has been love of independence and liberty. We have always admired that spirit and have fostered and encouraged it. It is unthinkable that we should compromise that spirit and repudiate our traditional love of justice and equity in dealing with a law-abiding, enterprising, industrious, and progressive class of foreigners who have, in comparatively small numbers, come to live among us. Such a course is in contravention of the real spirit of our Constitution. In justice to our national tradition, our Constitution, our own community we must see to it that all residents of this country are given fair opportunity for progress and preferment, and to develop their natural abilities and attain their legitimate aspirations.

The Japanese in California



Results Following Alien Land
Law Enforcement



The State's Attitude and the
Conditions Which Provoked
the Law



By V. S. McCLATCHY

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"For two decades and more, California has regarded herself as a frontier State, making the fight of the Nation against the peaceful penetration of insidious alien invaders from the Far East. She has been willing to accept the loss and trouble which come inevitably to the territory on which battles are fought, but has resented the complacent blindness of many other states which could see no danger, and insisted that California, because of unfounded racial prejudice, was precipitating this country into trouble and possible war."

NOTE

Since the following article was written for the "Overland Monthly," almost a year ago, the matters discussed therein have assumed more definite shape. The efforts of the Japanese and certain large land owners to evade the intent of the alien land law through various forms of cropping and bonus contracts were finally ended by decisions of the State Supreme Court in December, 1924. Comparatively few Japanese have left California to farm in other States. Migration to Mexico was discussed but the idea seems to have been abandoned because that country lacks the transportation and marketing facilities which would make such a venture successful. In certain districts of California many Japanese have left the farms and gone into the large cities to open small stores and engage in gardening, window cleaning and similar occupations. In other agricultural districts they remain as day laborers, commanding good, and in many instances high wages. Under these conditions, with annual births of over 5,000, no decrease in the Japanese population of the State is anticipated.

January, 1925.

V. S. McC.

The Japanese in California

By V. S. McClatchy

The law of California which forbids ownership, lease or profitable use of agricultural lands by aliens ineligible to citizenship was recently upheld in an uncompromising decision of the United States Supreme Court. Following that decision in December, the entire country was flooded by telegraphed statements from California to the effect that the Japanese, who are most affected by the decision, would decline to work for wages; that 50,000 or more of California's 100,000 Japanese population were about to leave the State; that farms and orchards could not be operated without the Japanese; that hundreds of thousands of acres of the richest lands must cease to produce and that the State's annual revenues would decrease over \$70,000,000 in consequence; and that the initiative would be invoked to secure modification or repeal of the objectionable law.

Publication of these statements brought application from landowners in many portions of the United States—outside of the Pacific Coast states—indicating an eagerness to secure the dissatisfied Japanese of California to work uncultivated lands in such states.

In the face of what the country assumed must prove an overwhelming disaster for California, that self-satisfied, reckless and improvident commonwealth not only failed to acknowledge her blunder and adopt means to correct it, but as soon as her various varied interests could confere and survey the situation, calmly announced to the world that if the Japanese wished to leave the State, they would be bidden "Godspeed"; that while the State is bound by treaty and in fairness to protect the resident Japanese in commercial pursuits, and even as farm laborers under wage, their presence on farm and orchard must prove an ultimate detriment much more serious than the temporary loss which might

result from their departure. The district attorneys of the State, called together in conference by the State Attorney-General (with 49 out of 58 counties represented in attendance) gave public notice that the law would be rigidly enforced after the present growing crops had been harvested; the Farm Bureaus proceeded to organize a State clearing house for farm and seasonal labor, and to encourage the establishment of attractive conditions of employment for farm labor throughout the State. Requests from other states for Japanese laborers were turned over in friendly spirit to the Japanese Association of America with headquarters in San Francisco, that they might be filled.

Some of the reasons which actuate California in adopting this course—consistent with her declarations and policy of the past—will appear in the course of this article. Briefly, it may be said that any considerable migration of California Japanese at this time seems improbable; that should such migration occur, it is believed the place of the Japanese will be filled in time by competent white labor with benefit to the State; and that even should the departure of the Japanese leave idle for many years some of the State's rich lands, it were better so than to have such lands, with their marketable products and the industries connected therewith, in control of unassimilable aliens whose presence constitutes not only a national but an international danger as well.

First, as to the facts of the present situation. There was apparent foundation for the reports sent out from California in December, in the attitude of the Japanese, as announced in their vernacular press at the time, and in the claims of landowners whose profits for years past have been made by leasing to Japanese. That same vernacular press today, from the Canadian line to the Mexican border, and following California's determined action, voices the urgent advice of Japanese leaders that the Japanese do not leave California but remain here, and working under the conditions permitted, take concerted action to force such

change of the law within the next few years as will enable the Japanese to colonize the State under conditions more satisfactory to themselves.

This policy is urged not only in the interest of the California Japanese, but also to avoid injury to their countrymen in other states, which, if threatened by new Japanese immigration, may be induced to copy California's law. A notable case in point is furnished by an urgent appeal from the Idaho Japanese Association to the Japanese in California, published in *Nichi Bei*, of San Francisco, January 22nd, not to come to Idaho as the Chambers of Commerce of that State have petitioned the Governor to call an extra session of the Legislature to protect Idaho against the threatened invasion. The appeal naively states that as the Japanese born in Idaho average fifteen years younger than those born in California, it will be many years before their rights as American citizens can be utilized to secure lands for the proud Yamato race. They are, therefore, less able to protect themselves than are their brethren in the Golden State against alien laws!

It is improbable that a large number of Japanese will leave California at this time. The Japanese regard California, if they must leave Japan, as the most desirable place in the world for residence. Two-thirds of all the Japanese in Continental United States are in the Golden State, whose climatic conditions permit them to utilize in agricultural activities, practically all the hours of a 365-day year. The Japanese do not like cold climates—even refusing for that reason to settle their own northern island of Hokkaido; and they have the experience of a few thousand of their countrymen who about three years ago went to Idaho and Montana, but drifted back again to California.

The great objection made by the Japanese to the California law is that it does not permit them to share in the profits of the crops—and thereby utilize to the greatest advantage their low standards of living, their willingness

to labor long hours and utilize women and child labor in competition with the farms and orchards managed and worked by white owners and white labor.

A number of Japanese who shared in crop profits through leases and cropping contracts, now forbidden, have accepted positions as foremen, or superintendents, at satisfactory compensation, and they will continue to employ Japanese as laborers at day wages as they did when they were lessees. In some orchards, former Japanese tenants are accepting contracts to perform the season's work under separate bids, for pruning, for cultivating and irrigating, and for picking and packing, and they will employ Japanese labor as they did before.

Some Japanese, dissatisfied with existing conditions in agricultural districts, will embark in commercial pursuits in the cities and small communities, where their methods of work will give them profit. Since the passage of the amended alien land law there has been a marked tendency in that direction. For instance, the License Collector of Los Angeles City months ago reported over four thousand separate businesses conducted in that city by Japanese, over one thousand of these being vegetable and fruit stores, and over six hundred grocery stores—each one of which probably displaced a similar store supporting a white man or a white family. This situation is causing concern in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Undoubtedly some Japanese will leave the State for a time at least—how many it is difficult to estimate. Without question, temporary loss and inconvenience will result in certain districts in consequence, and continue in diminishing extent during the period of readjustment. It is believed there will be no difficulty in securing in time all the competent white labor necessary to replace the Japanese who may abandon the agricultural districts.

Experience shows that the white orchard manager who has gained a reputation for pro-

viding conditions of employment attractive to self-respecting white labor, has no difficulty in securing plenty of such labor. A notable instance is found in the Humphrey orchard at Mayhew Station, situated in the midst of the American River fruit district, extending twenty-two miles from Sacramento City to Folsom. For many years past the Humphrey orchard, employing as many as sixty men and forty women in the busiest season, has used white labor exclusively—although all other orchards in that district use Japanese labor in part or entirely. This orchard has never had difficulty in securing all the competent white labor needed. The Chief Camp Inspector of the State Housing and Immigration Commission, who enforces proper sanitary conditions in the out-door working camps of the State, declares that conditions similar to those which obtain on the Humphreys place, invite an adequate supply of competent white labor in other portions of the State. Letters received by the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce indicate the desire of many people living in the Middle West to come to California and to labor on farm and orchard if they can be assured of such conditions as are indicated.

Undoubtedly, enforcement of California's alien land law will cause a drop in the price of rich, cultivable lands, particularly those under irrigation, because white lessees will not pay as high rental as Japanese. But land values which cannot be sustained without making permanent the situation rapidly developing are too high for a white man's country. Objectionable social environment and economic competition which he cannot meet are driving the competent and intelligent white farmer and orchardist from the land in that State wherein soil and all-year climatic conditions lend most attraction and profit to agricultural pursuits.

For instance, the manager of the Rindge properties, 22,000 acres in the rich delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, voices in published interview the indignation of his

corporation because it can no longer lease those lands to Japanese to carry on truck farming under contracts which have netted the corporation in the past a yearly rental of \$50.00 or \$100.00 per acre. He complains that whites will not truck-farm on the lands and that hay and grain crops on shares will not yield a profit to the owners of more than \$10 or \$15 per acre.

For years past this corporation has made large profits per acre from reclaimed but otherwise unimproved land, without effort, by turning control thereof over to unassimilable aliens ineligible to citizenship under our laws, thereby preventing the chance of having the district populated by white citizens. Under the present law this corporation's profits will be considerably decreased whether it elects to lease to white tenants or to cultivate the land itself, either with white labor or with Japanese labor at day wage, as is permitted by law. For, be it known, the wily Japanese, working for day wage for the white farmer, has managed to make the cost of operation 50 to 75 per cent greater than when working for his countryman who shared in the crop.

California is more concerned in wresting her rich lands from alien control, and in encouraging the return thereto of the intelligent white citizen and his family, than in maintaining an excessive profit per acre for a comparatively few landowners, individuals and corporations, whose view of the interests of the State, Nation and race is obscured by the immediate dollar.

These land owners declare that white farmers will not lease the river lands for truck farming. Probably not—at the terms which Asiatics are willing to pay; but those terms, in standards of living, hours of labor and social conditions are too high for citizens of this nation to pay. In answer, too, it is to be said that many white farmers who own their lands, are truck farming on the Sacramento River; that more would do so with Japanese competition removed; that throughout many eastern states, where Japanese have

not yet secured a foothold, whites do the truck farming, and that the same is true in certain districts of California as well. California is confident that with the Japanese removed from the lands, whites, either from California or from other states, will be content and glad to take their place as owners, lessees or wage earners.

Some of the great fruit shipping companies of the State look with marked disfavor on the coming rigid enforcement of the alien land law. They have been prominent factors in bringing about the present situation because they felt impelled by the necessities of their business to finance the season's operations for Japanese lessees in orchard and vineyard, and have assisted, by fostering Japanese competition, in driving the white tenant and the white proprietor-farmer off the land. The companies now face a situation under which the fruit shipments for a few years may be less and their profits correspondingly smaller. Eventually the State, and incidentally these companies, will profit.

The average well-informed Californian who lays aside selfish personal interests, does not regard the threatened hegira of the State's Japanese population as an unmixed evil. He may even regard it with equanimity. A few—and one corporation in particular—a large employer of Japanese farm labor in the past—encourage the departure.

The preceding outline of certain phases of the existing situation will explain in part this attitude of California. But to appreciate her point of view thoroughly, there must be a better understanding of certain fundamental facts, for a time unknown to, or ignored by, the Nation at large, and only forced on public attention in the past few years through the State's continued agitation of the subject.

California has before her the startling example of Hawaii, where by the year 1940, Japanese will control the elections because of the great number of their Hawaiian-born children who will have reached the age of twenty-

one by that time. In consequence, the territory will be compelled to abandon its present form of government and ask for a Federal Commission. (See in ASIA Magazine for July, 1923, the report of a two-year investigation of conditions in Hawaii made by Louis R. Sullivan for the American Museum of Natural History.) Japanese comprise already nearly half the population of the territory and furnish more than half of the school children; they provide 60 per cent of the labor and have a monopoly of the territory's fisheries. They control the building trades in Honolulu and various branches of business; and in the sugar strike a few years ago, they acted with absolute racial solidarity, most of them voluntarily and some under duress, but all regardless of affiliations or American citizenship. (See testimony of the Hawaiian Commission before the House Immigration Committee at Washington in 1921.)

California sees in various districts of the State a similar development; and she ponders over the published statement of the Registrar of Vital Statistics for her State Board of Health that if present conditions continue, the Japanese in California will in time exceed the whites in number.

For two decades and more, California has regarded herself as a frontier State, making the fight of the Nation against the peaceful penetration of insidious alien invaders from the Far East. She has been willing to accept the loss and trouble which come inevitably to the territory on which battles are fought, but has resented the complacent blindness of many other states which could see no danger, and insisted that California, because of unfounded racial prejudice, was precipitating this country into trouble and possible war.

California has always held that the presence in any district of this country of unas-similable aliens, massing in communities or occupations and capable of driving out the whites in economic competition, must lead to racial friction and international trouble; and

that it were therefore in the interests of our neighbors across the Pacific, as well as ourselves, to exclude such elements of discord.

President Theodore Roosevelt was in thorough accord with this point of view, and said so frankly to Japan, insisting that while Japanese already here should be fairly treated, no more should come if the friendship between the two countries was to be maintained. He induced California to abandon her anti-Japanese bills under consideration by the Legislature of 1909 by giving her guarantees contained in his memorable telegram of February 9th of that year, addressed to Speaker Stanton of the State Assembly. In that telegram, Roosevelt declared that under the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement he had arranged with Japan so that Japanese immigration should cease by her own act, and with the understanding that the number of Japanese in this country should gradually decrease; he said the plan had worked so successfully during the first six months of its operation that the number of Japanese in the United States had decreased 2000; he acknowledged that if equally satisfactory results did not follow future operation of the Agreement, California would have just cause for complaint, and said in that case the Federal Government could and would apply the necessary remedy,—meaning thereby the passage of a Japanese exclusion act. In his autobiography, he explains that this safeguard was destroyed by his successor, President Taft, under the terms of the 1911 treaty with Japan.

At all events, under the operation of the "picture brides" and "kandodan brides" and lax regulation on the part of our government, the Japanese population in continental United States trebled between 1904 and 1920, instead of decreasing—while the Chinese population, under the Exclusion Act, diminished one-half. California's Japanese population quadrupled in the same period.

As the Japanese increased in number in California, they took practical control of cer-

tain districts. First, driving out white labor in competition, they gradually sought to become owners of the land, and when that was prevented by law, they obtained leases with privilege of renewal, thus giving them permanent control. In time there grew up the present system, under which the owners of large pieces of unimproved land and bearing orchards found it more profitable to lease to Japanese, who undertook the entire management and the risk of financing, while the owner retired to the city and received his share of the profits at the end of the season. That plan, naturally, drove white tenants or lessees off the land, as well as white labor. But it did more. The small farmer or orchardist, owning and cultivating his own land nearby, found himself, when marketing his produce, in competition with the Japanese-grown article, produced with all the advantages to be had from low standards of living, long hours of labor, woman and child labor, etc. In time he gave up the contest, was forced off the land, went into industrial or business occupation, and sold or leased his land to the Japanese. Whole communities of whites, as for instance in the strawberry-growing district of Florin, in Sacramento County, were displaced by the Japanese.

And so, in California, where climatic conditions offer most inducement for pleasant and profitable all-year work in agricultural pursuits, conditions were permitted to develop which encouraged the farm-to-city movement and gave control to alien Japanese by the year 1920, of one-eighth of all the State's valuable and productive irrigated land.

California's consistent and insistent policy in this matter has forced the problem upon the attention of the Nation at large. Other states which have been invaded by the Japanese, or which have taken warning from California's experience, have passed laws similar to that State's alien land law. There has developed throughout the country a demand for the exclusion, as permanent residents, of all aliens ineligible to citizenship,

as a fundamental step in restricting unassimilable immigration. In response to that demand, a provision to that effect appears in the Immigration Bill recently favorably reported by the House Immigration Committee, although, according to published reports, Japan, through our State Department, violently protested against it; and certain American commercial interests complained that Japan had threatened them with cancellation of \$200,000,000 in contracts for reconstruction of the devastated districts of Japan if this provision be enacted into law. The provision has received the unanimous approval in national conventions of three great organizations—the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, and the Grange. Its effect, if enacted, will be to exclude without further legislation, all the yellow and brown races of Asia, including Hindus, Malays, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos—about half the population of the globe.

Even assuming, however, the enactment of such a provision into law and the rigid enforcement of her alien land law, California faces a grave problem in the presence within the State of one hundred thousand or more Japanese, all of whom are entitled to remain in the State and engage in industrial or commercial pursuits, or work as farm laborers at wage, if they so desire. Thirty thousand or more of these are California-born (there are over five thousand Japanese births yearly in California) and entitled therefore to full citizenship rights, including ownership of land. These rights are already being utilized as individuals come of age, to make place in the agricultural districts for their alien relatives and countrymen. These native-born Japanese are, in the mass, and with notable individual exceptions, only less unassimilable than their immigrant parents, and furnish an additional problem in a dangerous dual citizenship which ties them to Japan.

California feels that for years she has done her duty as a loyal State of the Republic in giving warning of a grave impending national

danger and in opposing it to the extent of her limited authority. She has repeatedly urged Congressional action as the only effective remedy against the danger frankly, pointed out by President Roosevelt, in permitting the growth in our midst of alien and unassimilable communities of Asiatics. She has no patience with the weak-kneed Americanism which at the urge of halting diplomacy or commercial greed closes its eyes to the welfare of Nation and race, under veiled threats of war or loss of trade. Her insistence, and the official investigations forced in consequence, have aided in arousing a general public sentiment. She hopes that Congress will take the necessary action before the Golden State first, her two sister Pacific Coast states next, and the remaining rich agricultural states of the Union in order of the attraction they offer, shall have passed under economic and racial control of the Japanese. For unfortunate Hawaii it is already too late.



13 35

California's Answer to Japan



Japan's Honor Not Hurt

by the

Immigration Act



Story of the Facts



A Reply to the Special Edition of
the Japan Times (of Tokyo) and
its Friendly "Message from
Japan to America"

Published by
**CALIFORNIA JOINT
IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE**

910 Humboldt Bank Bldg.

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Foreword

The "Japan Times" of Tokyo, the oldest English language newspaper of Japan, now owned and published by Japanese, issued on October 1, 1924, a special edition of 20 pages under the title "Message from Japan to America," devoted entirely to consideration of the question which has arisen between the two nations in connection with the subject of immigration.

In this issue, between 60 and 70 of the most prominent Japanese in various walks of life present their views on the subject partly in answer to a comprehensive questionnaire from the "Times." The contributors include officials of the government, peers of Parliament, heads of the great financial, shipping and commercial interests, prominent educators and journalists, leaders of the great civic organizations, and private citizens of international repute, like Viscount Shibusawa, Motosado Zumoto, the "Col. House" of Japan, and others. The edition presents a striking symposium of Japanese opinion on the subject, such as had not been offered before.

The object sought by the publication is aptly expressed in an editorial explanation, one paragraph of which reads as follows:—

"The Japan Times has solicited the letters and articles herein published in order to present them as a message from Japan to America in the hope that this message will rekindle the fires of true understanding, and in the future hope that this publication of views and opinions will elicit a message from America to Japan in the form of as equally a frank and broad expression of American views."

The editorial further declares the belief of the editors that such an exchange of honest opinions will clear away existing misunderstandings and lead to renewal and permanent maintenance of the old international friendship, and states that if

an answering message be had from America it will be published in a bi-lingual edition.

The tone of the contributed articles is generally restrained, showing pain rather than anger, and an apparent inability to understand the motive which impelled Congress to take action providing for exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship. A resume of catagorical answers to the questionnaire discloses the following interesting picture of individual Japanese opinion.

"Is immigration a purely domestic question" is answered affirmatively by 27, negatively by 16, and conditionally by 21. These conditional replies concede the theoretical and moral right to exclude, but claim it should not be exercised so as to disturb international relations, or as between nations of equal honor and dignity, or where there is understanding such as the "Gentlemen's Agreement," or if it violates rights already acquired, or if it disregards the friendly attitude of Japan, etc.

The exclusion paragraph of the Immigration Act is held discriminatory against Japanese by 58 while 5 say "It cannot be helped."

A quota provision based on the census of 1890, and restricting Japanese as immigrants on the same basis as other nationalities but allowing entrance of only 100 Japanese per year, would be satisfactory to 9 and unsatisfactory to 37, while 20 express acquiescence in such a restriction for various reasons such as:—"it would be the best obtainable," "it is better than exclusion," "it is inconvenient to Japan's interest but we must accept the theory," "Japan had already agreed under the Gentlemen's Agreement to send no emigrants to America," etc.

Japan's policy in allowing the lower coolie class to form the bulk of Japanese immigration to America is deprecated by 32, while 11 hold that Japanese immigrants were not inferior to European immigrants, 15 say the natural economic law was followed, and 7 declare America's demands responsible for the class introduced.

As to President Coolidge's statement that "the incident is closed," 8 agree, 52 hold to the contrary and 4 "do not care."

As to the motive which impelled Congress to act, 40 ascribe it to race prejudice, 10 to the inferior type of Japanese immigration and the economic competition fostered thereby, 5 to momentary impulsiveness, 4 to party politics, and 2 to suspicion of Japan's policy in the Far East.

The articles which accompany the answers to the questionnaire from many of the contributors exhibit even more strikingly the general misunderstanding which exists among the Japanese in Japan as to the facts and as to the motives of Congress.

Realizing that no satisfactory adjustment of our relations with Japan can be reached until there is on both sides full knowledge of the facts, and desirous of doing its part to promote the necessary understanding of those facts, the California Joint Immigration Committee was prompt to accept the friendly suggestion of the Japan Times and mailed on Dec. 23rd, a letter, reprinted herewith, for consideration of the contributors to the special edition of the Times.

In that letter there is an attempt to set forth without color the facts as they are understood on this side of the Pacific by those intimately familiar therewith, and particularly as to certain phases which are clearly misapprehended in Japan. The misunderstanding as to these matters has been encouraged undoubtedly by misinformation, advice and suggestion sent by friends of Japan in this country, acting in good faith, but without sufficient knowledge and certainly with little discretion.

For full understanding of the points at issue, and of the manner in which Japanese opinion has been misled, the letter to the Times, Dec. 23rd, reproduced herewith, should be read in conjunction with the letter of July 23rd, to the Editor of Nichi Bei, San Francisco, to which reference is made. This latter letter is also in reprint, under the title "Congress and Japan."



JAMES K. FISK

DEPT. ADJ. AMERICAN LEGION
[CHAIRMAN]

California Joint Immigration Committee

PAUL SCHARRENBERG
SEC.-TREAS. STATE FED. OF LABOR

HON. U. S. WEBB
STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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GEO. R. HARRISON
MASTER STATE GRANGE

V. S. McCLATCHY
[SECRETARY]

PHONE GARFIELD 2697

San Francisco, Cal.

To the Editor of the Japan Times, Tokyo, Japan:

Sir: The special issue of the Japan Times of October 1st, "A Message from Japan to America" is most interesting for it sets forth the views of many of the leaders of Japan as to the existing misunderstanding between the two nations on the subject of immigration.

This statement is written in response to your expressed desire (page 3) that the publication would elicit a frank expression of American views in order that, thru such exchange, misunderstanding-

December 23, 1924.

EDWARD J. LYNCH
GRAND PRES. NATIVE SONS OF
THE GOLDEN WEST

ings might be removed and the friendship between the two countries restored to a secure footing.

The statement is written on behalf of the California Joint Immigration Committee, representing four state organizations—American Legion, State Federation of Labor, State Grange and Native Sons of the Golden West—which have been prominent for some years past in urging exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship, but which have been equally urgent in insisting on just and courteous treatment for all aliens of that class, now legally resident in the country.

In the many expressions of opinion which you publish, two things stand out prominently; the desire of the Japanese to retain the friendship of the United States, if it can be done without sacrifice of their own self respect, and a general misunderstanding of the point of view of this nation, and of the basic facts and reasons which seemed ample justification to Congress for its practically unanimous action in enacting into a general law our long established and strictly maintained policy of excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship. Many of these points are discussed in my letter of July 23, 1924, to my good friend, Mr. K. Abiko, Editor of "Nichi Bei," of this city, copy of which is enclosed. Other points suggested by your special edition will be considered here.

NEITHER ILL WILL NOR POLITICS

First, and most important. The action of Congress was not prompted by ill will on its part, or on that of the American people, toward the Japanese. The exclusion paragraph of the Immigration Act would have been passed if the Hanihara letter, with its suggestion of "grave consequences," had not been written, tho doubtless not with such unanimity. Nor is there involved any question of assumed racial superiority. In the face of what Japan and the Japanese have done and are doing, and what we know of them thru contact, such a belief on the part of this nation would convict it of lack of intelligence.

It is equally a mistake to assume that the result was due to local racial prejudice, or was manipulated by political schemers. The practically unanimous action of Congress in the matter, without

distinction as to party, or class, or district, or administration affiliations, and the close co-operation of such widely different national organizations as the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion and the National Grange (farmers), furnish conclusive disproof of such charges.

NOT RACIAL PREJUDICE

In the editorial comment made by the Japan "Times" reference is had to the unanimity with which its correspondents ascribe the action of Congress to "race prejudice unaffected by either economic or labor question." That conclusion is not shared by well-informed Japanese living in California, where race prejudice, if it existed, would be most rampant. In fact, one of your contributors, Mrs. Ito-ko Niizuma, who had lived in California, bears witness to the contrary. If there had been here the intense racial prejudice which the "Times" edition stresses, nothing could have saved the Japanese in California from serious mistreatment during the past few years when they were displacing white men and women in economic competition, as at Turlock and elsewhere.

There is always more or less dormant racial feeling between races widely different, based on misunderstanding of each other; and racial friction will inevitably ensue, when an alien race, thru peaceful penetration, commences to displace the home race in its own country. That would be true anywhere, and perhaps more so in Japan than elsewhere. President Roosevelt called attention to the fact that racial strife would ensue if Japanese penetration were encouraged in this country. Conditions which existed early in this year undoubtedly did encourage such penetration, and the basic reason for the action by Congress was the certainty that racial trouble on the Pacific Coast could be averted only by prompt and decisive action promising actual remedy.

It was charged many years ago that racial prejudice inspired passage of the Exclusion Act against the Chinese. But there is found in California today no antagonistic feeling against the Chinese. Why? Because they have ceased to be an economic menace under the operation of the

exclusion act. There would be today no symptoms of racial feeling against Japanese on the Pacific Coast if the Gentlemen's Agreement had successfully removed the menace of economic competition and increase of alien unassimilable population, as it was intended to do. The present friction in California will disappear as Japanese penetration gradually decreases, unless Japan and the Japanese keep the friction alive by unwise action.

PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTS CONGRESS

Japan has been misled, too, in believing that the sentiment of the nation does not support the action of Congress. Congress would not have dared with unanimity to take such an important step unless assured of public endorsement. It is true that there was much publicly expressed opposition to the action, both before and after passage of the bill. But that criticism was due in greater part to ignorance or misunderstanding of the facts and reasons in which Congress saw justification of its policy. As those matters become generally known Congress is receiving the endorsement which it confidently believed would follow such knowledge.

NOT DISCRIMINATORY

The "Times" criticizes the act of Congress on the ground that it "affects the Japanese alone of all races heretofore eligible to enter the United States." It is a mistake to assume that the Japanese were recognized as eligible to enter continental United States any more than any of the other races ineligible for citizenship under our laws. Chinese, Hindus and other nationalities of the yellow and brown races entered under sufferance for a time, but were barred when their numbers justified concern. The same is true of the Japanese; but in the case of the latter, at Japan's request, it was agreed the exclusion measure should be carried into effect by Japan, instead of by this government as was done in other cases.

What Japan has gained since then in entrance of her people and in increase of Japanese population in continental United States has been secured thru failure of the Gentlemen's Agreement in operation to accomplish what Japan

agreed with President Roosevelt it should accomplish.

President Coolidge, who thruout this matter has certainly shown his friendship for Japan, correctly described the situation when he said in his speech of acceptance of the nomination for President, August 14, 1924, "Restricted immigration is not an offensive but a purely defensive action. It is not adopted in criticism of others in the slightest degree, but solely for the purpose of protecting ourselves. We cast no aspersions on any race or creed, but we must remember that every object of our institutions of society and government will fail unless America be kept American."

The charge that discrimination was shown against Japan falls to the ground on investigation. The exclusion provision itself certainly is not discriminatory, since it simply reiterates a general policy in force for over forty years, the propriety of which Japan conceded when she made the Gentlemen's Agreement; and since it applies to half the population of the globe, of which portion the Japanese constitute perhaps seven per cent. Congress followed this plan to accomplish a necessary result, because the plan was not discriminatory, and because the only other practical plan, an exclusion act against the Japanese, would have been discriminatory on its face and a wound to Japan's pride. Nevertheless, such an exclusion act would have been in strict accord with the understanding had by President Roosevelt with Japan under which an exclusion law was to be enacted if the Gentlemen's Agreement failed in operation.

The Times editorial insists that Japan does not object to exclusion, but does object to discrimination against her people. Careful investigation, however, shows that it is really exclusion to which Japan objects, and that she would protest as discriminatory any exclusion of her people which did not at the same time exclude all peoples on the globe.

THE UNITED STATES PROBLEM

In the past two or three decades the United States has received as immigrants many millions of alien people who have not been assimilated and who apparently cannot be assimilated for some

generations at least. Thru them the standard of citizenship, particularly in certain localities, has depreciated, and we were threatened with an annual inflow of 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of still less desirable immigrants if the gates remained open. Public opinion demanded, as a protective measure, either drastic restriction of immigration or absolute exclusion for a term of years; and Congress, in obedience to that sentiment, passed the present radical measure. European immigration has been cut down thereby to about 260,000 annually, whereas, under the previous restrictive act about 600,000 had been coming in, and before the great war, under our open gate policy, the number had been as high as 1,250,000.

In the new lengthy restricted immigration act of 20 pages, the so-called exclusion provision occupies only one short paragraph of seven lines, and provides simply that no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted unless he come as student, diplomat, tourist or merchant.

In a law intended to limit to a minimum the entrance of elements difficult of assimilation it is certainly logical to exclude those who under our own laws may not become citizens and are therefore hopelessly unassimilable. (Assimilation is used in this connection by me always in the sense of absorption or amalgamation.)

The law which makes individuals of the yellow and brown races ineligible to citizenship has been in force for 134 years; and the exclusion feature of the immigration act simply enacts into a general law the established policy of the nation which for 42 years has excluded by government act any of the barred races, when it showed an undue increase in this country. Therefore, until the present law and policy of the nation is changed at the command of public opinion, Congress would have no alternative save to act as it did.

THE ONLY FEASIBLE PLAN

Some claim that the intent of this nation's policy could have been carried out by Congress in some way less hurtful to the pride of Japan; but Japan and her friends suggested only three substitute plans—agreement, treaty and quota—and Congress showed that no one of the three could be considered for reasons partly explained in my

letter to Mr. Abiko, and partly in this communication.

The difficulty was, apparently, that any plan which Japan was willing to consider as properly recognizing her national dignity and pride involved a sacrifice either of a sovereign right of this nation, or a Constitutional prerogative of Congress, or made an exception in favor of Japan alone to our general and long established naturalization and immigration laws and policies. National pride and dignity are not confined to the Far Eastern shores of the Pacific Ocean; and when these things were understood manifestly Congress would not yield. The Japanese Diet, under similar conditions, would have been forced to adopt a similar policy.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to consider the justice or injustice, propriety or impropriety, of the policy of this nation in making the yellow and brown races ineligible for citizenship, in excluding such races as immigrants, and in refusing to make an exception in favor of the Japanese. It is sufficient to call attention to the established law and policy in these matters, and to say that Congress has no discretion while public sentiment supports the law and policy.

If Japan has a legitimate complaint in this matter it is against our nation's established policy as to naturalization and exclusion of those aliens ineligible for citizenship, and not against Congress, which performed its manifest duty in following that policy.

Under the circumstances it would seem that Japan's friends in this country, in encouraging her to assume an attitude of criticism and protest against Congress, have shown either a lack of information as to the reasons which induced Congressional action, or a lack of discretion in giving advice.

It was doubtless the logic of the situation, as thus explained, that led President Coolidge to say in the speech referred to, that while he "should have preferred to continue the policy of exclusion by some method less likely to offend the sensibilities of the Japanese people" and while he did what he could "to minimize any harm that might arise," "the law has been passed and the incident is closed. We must seek by some means besides

immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect we feel for the Japanese nation."

JAPANESE INCREASE IN NUMBERS

In the "Message to America" edition it is said editorially "that Japan does not resent restriction from the United States was evidenced by the willingness with which this country entered into the 'Gentlemen's Agreement,' which agreement Japan has most scrupulously observed to such an extent that today there are fewer Japanese subjects in the United States, including Hawaii, than fifteen years ago."

The agreed intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement was in line with the results which are thus credited to it; that is, to prevent an increase of Japanese population in this country. President Roosevelt pointed this out in his telegram to the California Legislature, Feb. 9, 1909, when he assured California that in the arrangement with Japan the Federal Government was "doing the very thing which the people of California wish to have done"; that the plan was working satisfactorily inasmuch as during the preceding six months (the first six months operation under the Agreement) "the total number of Japanese in the United States had diminished by over 2,000"; and that "if, in the next year or two the action of the Federal Government fails to achieve what it is now achieving it can be made entirely efficient." By the last statement he meant, as shown by other documents, that if Japan, in her operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, failed to keep down the Japanese population, then the United States would enact an exclusion law against the Japanese in accordance with the understanding.

Unfortunately, you are mistaken in your understanding as to the results obtained under the Agreement in operation. Far from decreasing in the past 15 years, as you believe, the number of "Japanese subjects in the United States, including Hawaii" has increased over 123,000. Today there are 275,000 Japanese in the United States,—125,000 in Hawaii, over 100,000 in California, and the remainder in other states of the Union. In 1910, according to the United States Census, there were 151,832 Japanese in the states and territories of the Union, so that in less than 15 years there has been the increase mentioned.

Of this entire number, 275,000, all are Japanese subjects with the exception of less than 2,000 who have been permitted to expatriate. And this large Japanese population is being increased by birth alone at the rate of about 13,000 a year, nearly 6,000 of which are credited to Hawaii, and over 5,000 to California.

In continental United States, which the Gentlemen's Agreement aimed specially to protect against an increase of Japanese population, the increase has been nearly 80,000—from 72,157 in 1910, to over 150,000 in 1924, while the increase since 1907, when the Gentlemen's Agreement was negotiated, has been nearly 100,000—from 53,000 to over 150,000.

In 1880 there were no Japanese in Hawaii and only 134 in continental United States. To find 275,000 here now, with a steady increase from the coming of relatives, new wives and surreptitious entries, as well as by birth, has caused justifiable concern on the part of those who realize what troubles may be occasioned by the presence in this country of a large unassimilable alien element of a different race, and with superior advantages in economic competition.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII

In the Territory of Hawaii today, as shown by the report of Governor Farrington, just published, the Japanese comprise over 43 per cent of the total population but they furnish more than 50 per cent of the school children. In 1940, according to estimates of the American Museum of History, the Japanese will have control of the electorate of the territory; and in the recent election the Japanese electorate was urged by one of the Japanese newspapers of Honolulu to combine to defeat one of the candidates for Congressional representative who was unpopular with the Japanese. White mechanics and laborers are warned to keep away from Hawaii because industries and trades are controlled by the Japanese. Certain districts in California, where the Japanese had concentrated and secured control of land and industries were threatened with similar results in the future.

Entirely apart from the injury thus inflicted upon our own people by a competition which they cannot meet successfully, racial strife would be

certain to result in time unless the districts affected had positive assurance that the government was doing what was possible to put an end to the menace thus outlined. It is with difficulty that serious overt acts invited by this situation have been prevented in the past. The action taken by Congress, therefore, while it may seem precipitate to many in Japan, in absence of intimate knowledge of all the details, was inspired by necessity, and was taken really to insure future peace between the two nations.

EXCLUSION BY JAPAN AND OTHERS

No other English speaking country has permitted the Japanese, a virile race with superior advantages in economic competition, to gain such a foothold in its territory as has the United States. South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have excluded Japanese from the first; and Canada, having had unsatisfactory results from a "Gentlemen's Agreement" under which a comparatively small number of Japanese were supposed to enter each year, is now attempting to exclude absolutely.

Please consider that under no circumstances would Japan have permitted the development in her territory of communities of Americans aggregating 275,000, or even 100,000, securing control, thru numbers and perhaps use of labor-saving machinery, of certain districts and certain industries; and if the government had been careless in the matter, the Japanese people would have demanded action, and very decisive action.

Remember that Japan, in the exercise of her sovereign right, and with a wise discretion, in order to protect the economic welfare of her people, has refused to allow immigration into Japan of the Chinese, who are people of the same color; that China in consequence has made formal protest to Japan against this policy, declaring it most inconsistent in view of Japan's demands upon the United States; and that on Dec. 9th, officers of the Ss. Empress of Russia, in an interview at Victoria, B. C., called attention to certain action contemplated by the Japanese Government, which would result in deportation of about 6,000 Chinese, who had located in Tokyo, Osaka and outside prefectures.

It is claimed that Imperial ordinance No. 352, under which exclusion of Chinese is enforced,

does not specifically exclude Chinese, but gives the authorities in the various prefectures discretion to act in the matter. But that discretion is always exercised along the line of the nation's established policy in excluding Chinese.

If consistent, Japan would offer no opposition to exclusion of her people from United States, provided it were accomplished under a United States statute granting authority to the respective states to exercise their discretion in the matter, and if the various states adopted exclusion measures against the Japanese.

That, however, is precisely the plan under which land ownership and control is regulated in the United States, the Federal Constitution conceding to each state supreme authority in such matters so far as concerns lands within its own boundaries. And yet Japan has bitterly protested the action of California and other states in exercising this right, not in a discriminatory way against Japan, but as against all aliens ineligible to citizenship, the reason for such protest being that the regulations incidentally apply to Japanese.

AN UNSATISFACTORY AGREEMENT

It has been said in behalf of Japan that if the Gentlemen's Agreement were unsatisfactory in operation to the United States, Japan would have been willing to take up consideration of any modification of its terms desired. To that suggestion this frank reply is made; for good understanding can come only thru frankness on both sides:

For a number of reasons, some of which are indicated in the Abiko letter, and some here, Congress would not consent to a continuance of the existing Gentlemen's Agreement, or a modification thereof, or the adoption of another similar Agreement. Any one of these reasons would seem to furnish justifiable grounds for the decision, but taken together they are unanswerable. The main reasons may be thus briefly summarized:—

1. The Gentlemen's Agreement is a secret compact; and neither Congress nor the American public is satisfied to have matters of vital national concern regulated by a secret understanding. Our motto is now and for the future, "open covenants, openly arrived at." Even the House Immigration Committee, which originates or passes on all

immigration legislation, was not permitted to see this Agreement at a time when intimate knowledge thereof was necessary if the Committee were to pass intelligently on the request of the Territory of Hawaii for certain amendments to the Immigration Law. Secretary of State Hughes, in his letter to the Committee, Aug. 16, 1921, (published in House Immigration Committee Report "Labor Problems in Hawaii," page 928) stated that the correspondence embodying the Agreement is confidential and cannot be shown without Japan's permission.

The Department of Labor, which, thru its immigration section, formulates regulations for handling immigration under the general authority of Congress, has not seen and has not access to the Gentlemen's Agreement (see letter Feb. 15, 1924, quoted in report of House Committee, March 24, 1924, at page 7).

The only official statement issued by our Government in explanation of the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement, appears in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, 1908. That statement is entirely misleading as to the intent and purpose of the Agreement, according to the testimony of President Roosevelt, under whose direction the Agreement was made (see Roosevelt's telegram to the California Legislature, Feb. 9, 1909, his letter to Hon. Wm. Kent, Feb. 6, 1909, and his autobiography, pages 411 to 414).

2. The Agreement surrendered to Japan this nation's sovereign right of determining how many and what particular Japanese should enter this country, our immigration officials at the ports of entry being compelled to allow entrance of any Japanese who presented himself with Japan's passport, unless he were afflicted with disease.

3. Immigration is a domestic question, the control of which, under our Constitution, rests with Congress. Regulation of immigration by the Executive, thru treaty or agreement, is an invasion of the Congressional prerogative, which Congress decided should no longer be permitted. During the present century our immigration from every nation except Japan has entered under the terms of general or special acts of Congress. Congress saw no reason why Japanese immigration alone should be given a special dispensation.

4. Under the Agreement, as operated, Japanese aliens were given privileges refused to American citizens in bringing in alien wives. Certain citizens of California who married wives in Australia and England, were not permitted to bring them in, because the respective quotas of those countries had been exhausted; but in that same year, 1923-24, over 2,000 alien Japanese, living in the states of Washington and California, were permitted to bring in that number of alien brides from Japan; and any additional number could have been brought in under the Agreement as operated.

5. The Agreement was made nominally to protect continental United States from an increase of Japanese population. Incidentally, it sacrificed Hawaii, giving Japan an entirely free hand in colonizing there, with the result that this American territory is now a Japanese colony, nearly one half the entire population and over one half the school children being Japanese. Congress decided that Hawaii is as much entitled to protection as any other territory or any state of the Union; and that, therefore, the Agreement must be cancelled.

6. The Agreement has failed in operation to accomplish its agreed purpose—that is to prevent an increase of Japanese population in continental United States, as explained earlier in this letter. The Agreement should have been cancelled by the government as soon as this fact became evident. California has called attention to this situation repeatedly during a number of years past; and Congress was compelled to act, since the Administration refused or failed to do so.

It would be unfair to say that all or any of these counts against the provisions or the operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement are chargeable to bad faith on the part of Japan, since the conditions created by or following operation of the Agreement were tolerated, where they were not approved, by the United States Government. The facts conclusively prove, however, that the results obtained under the Agreement; first, have not been such as President Roosevelt agreed with Japan should be obtained; and second, have been such as to demonstrate conclusively the unwisdom

of making the Agreement originally, and of the continuance of that or any similar plan.

RECAPITULATION

To recapitulate then the points of this statement:—

The action of Congress in excluding all aliens ineligible to citizenship was not inspired by feeling on its part against the Japanese, nor by local prejudice, nor by political schemers. There is no proof, even in California, and among those most insistent on an exclusion policy, of ill will against the Japanese. The Japanese themselves and the well informed friends of Japan in this state bear witness to that fact.

The action was taken by Congress in line with the long established policy of the nation to protect its citizens and its institutions thru exclusion of certain elements of immigration—a similar policy to that followed justly and rigidly by Japan.

The plan inaugurated in agreement with Japan more than 15 years ago to secure the desired results, so far as concerns Japanese, had signally failed, the blame for that failure being chargeable in large part to the blunders and tolerance of our own government.

Congress insists that the plan now adopted is the only practical one, which, while effective cannot be fairly considered offensive or discriminatory. None of the three other plans suggested by Japan and her friends could be followed for conclusive reasons developed in Congressional investigations.

The protest made by Japan and her friends against this action of Congress is shown now to have been based largely on a misconception of the facts and the reasons which induced that action.

Congress, certain that it was right, took action, notwithstanding the expressed opposition of certain elements and interests in the nation; and as understanding of these matters becomes general that action steadily gains the approval of loyal Americans who formerly criticized it.

The American Congress, convinced that its position is right, is not likely to recede from its position under influence of actions or gestures which, however, diplomatically framed, or by whatever agency made, must be construed as

demands or threats in a matter involving this nation's sovereignty.

And that portion of the American public which comprises Japan's friends and well wishers cannot continue to support her in the face of the facts, as they become generally known, without a serious strain on their loyalty to the nation.

That situation will be better understood in Japan if it be assumed that conditions are reversed, and that it is Japan which for good reasons in protection of her own people, is enforcing a long established policy of exclusion against the white race, and that the United States is protesting and demanding exception to the law in favor of her own people. Under these conditions how long would Japan receive formal protest and be made the object of appeal to the League of Nations and of abuse and threat on the part of the American newspapers and public gatherings without making sharp rejoinder? And how long would church and peace organizations of Japan support the United States in its contention, or be permitted to do so by the loyal people of Japan?

This statement is not written for the purpose of criticism, however, but in the hope that a frank consideration of facts on both sides and incidental correction of misunderstandings which may have arisen will remove causes of friction and pave the way for satisfactory adjustment of existing problems and for permanent restoration of friendly relations.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SOLUTION

President Roosevelt suggested the practical solution of the immigration problem, sure in its result and offering no offense to Japan's susceptibilities, when, in Feb. 1909, he wrote to Hon. Wm. Kent of California as follows: "Let the arrangement between Japan and the United States be entirely reciprocal. Let the Japanese and Americans visit one another's countries with entire freedom as tourists, scholars, professors, sojourners for study or pleasure, or for purposes of international business, but keep out laborers, men who want to take up farms, men who want to go into the small trades, or even in professions where the work is of a non-international character; that is, keep out of Japan those Americans who wish to settle and become part of the resi-

dent working population, and keep out of America those Japanese who wish to adopt a similar attitude. This is the only wise and proper policy. It is merely a recognition of the fact, that in the present stages of social advancement of the two peoples, whatever may be the case in the future, it is not only undesirable, but impossible, that there should be intermingling on a large scale, and the effort is sure to bring disaster. Let each country also behave with scrupulous courtesy, fairness and consideration to the other."

If Japan and Japan's friends had recognized the necessity of an exclusion policy in the interests of both nations and had devoted their efforts to some such reciprocal arrangement as was suggested by President Roosevelt, instead of insisting that the long established policy of this nation must be changed in favor of the Japanese, the present friction might have been avoided. Or, if the facts, as they are now known, had been recognized and conceded by Japan and her friends a year or more ago, and an attempt made to inaugurate a policy which would fit those facts, it is not improbable that Japan's diplomacy would have found in the action of Congress the same lack of discrimination, insult and injury as it concedes in the regulations of the Dominions of Great Britain for carrying out a similar exclusion policy.

It is certain that this committee, and the four California organizations which it represents, and the leaders of Japanese thought in this state, and the more conservative and well informed among Japan's friends here, are doing what they can to prevent increased friction and to correct existing misunderstandings, and thus pave the way for perfect restoration of good will and cordiality between the two nations.

It is fitting that this message from California to Japan should cross the Pacific at the Christmas time. In the hope that the message may be of service in helping to bring about the results so earnestly desired by the thoughtful and loyal and peace loving citizens of both nations, and believing that it will be received in the kindly spirit in which it is sent,

Sincerely,

The California Joint Immigration Committee.

V. S. McClatchy,

Secretary.

2325

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Vol. 10, No. 3

Japanese Immigration

The California Point of View

AS PRESENTED FOR FRIENDLY
CONSIDERATION OF JAPAN

In Conference and Correspondence with
VISCOUNT EI-ICHI SHIBUSAWA

Sacramento, California
January, 1922

California to Japan

FOREWORD

Viscount Ei-ichi Shibusawa is, it is said, the most prominent and influential private citizen of Japan. Over eighty years of age, but still vigorous, he has devoted his activities for the past twenty years since retirement from official position to his country's welfare, and more particularly to betterment of her relations with the outside world.

To this end he has made four trips to Europe and the United States, his last visit to this country being during the Winter of 1921-22. Prior to coming he wrote to V. S. McClatchy, suggesting a meeting between the two for careful consideration of the so-called "California question," in the hope of better understanding between the two peoples in connection therewith.

Lengthy conferences between the two were had in Washington in December, 1921, and in San Francisco in January, 1922; and following the latter there was prepared, at Viscount Shibusawa's suggestion, a memorandum of the points involved in the California point of view.

The memorandum was sent in the form of a letter, dated January 3, 1922 (reproduced herewith), which the Viscount took with him to Japan when he left a few days later.

The brief to which frequent reference is made therein, is the brief prepared in 1921 by V. S. McClatchy for consideration of the State Department at Washington, in connection with the Morris-Shidehara conferences, looking to revision of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." The brief was presented to Secretary of State Hughes by the entire California Congressional delegation, acting for the State, as embodying the State's point of view already unanimously endorsed by the California Legislature in its approval of the four principles of the Japanese Exclusion League of California.

The Message Carried Back by Viscount Shibusawa in January, 1922

January 3rd, 1922.

Viscount E. Shibusawa,
Fairmont Hotel,
San Francisco, Calif.

My Dear Sir:

In furtherance of the understanding had in our interview January 2nd, I submit a statement in logical sequence of existing conditions and proposed remedies in connection with the various phases of the problem created by Japanese immigration into the United States.

After consideration of the points herein made, you may desire to discuss the subject further. You may assume that I will make any appointment suitable to your convenience for such purpose. We are both striving so earnestly to reach an adjustment which will be fair to both nations and remove possible causes for misunderstanding that I am anxious to take advantage of your visit to find a common basis of principle and facts upon which such an adjustment can be predicated.

FRIENDLY DESIRE OF BOTH NATIONS

We can, perhaps, readily agree as to mutual disposition in the case to the following effect:

1. That there is earnest desire on both sides to avoid or remove sources of friction that will inevitably, or even probably, lead to racial conflict and international misunderstanding.
2. That there is mutual desire to avoid or remove such sources of friction without unnecessary hurt to the pride of either nation and without invasion of individual rights legally acquired.
3. That there is no disposition on the part of either nation to force its emigration on the other nation, or on states or provinces thereof, against the expressed objection of such nation, or its states or provinces.

HOW FRICTION MAY BE CREATED

Going a step further, perhaps you will agree

with me, as a number of leaders of Japanese thought have, that the racial conflict and international misunderstanding which we are striving to prevent may be easily caused by:

(a) The development in either country of an alien, unassimilable element with such advantages in economic competition as will enable it to displace domestic labor and secure control of certain industries. (See Dr. Iyenaga's statement, Section 110 of my brief prepared for the Department of State.)

(b) The rapid increase of such an element, either through immigration or through a birth rate many times greater than that of the home population.

THE CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Assuming agreement between us that the causes outlined in (a) and (b) above would produce results we desire to prevent, the question is, do any or all of these conditions apply to the Japanese in California and will those conditions be found in other states should Japanese immigration extend to them.

You will perhaps agree that the facts are conclusive as to existence of all those conditions in California, with the possible exception of the element introduced by Japanese immigration being unassimilable. Should you make issue on that point the difference between us will be found to be one of terms rather than of facts. Let us clear up that point first.

ASSIMILATION OR AMALGAMATION

Whatever may be claimed as to future possibilities in this regard, it will be conceded that at present there is no general assimilation, and no attempt or indication of assimilation of any kind save in individual cases. Whether the fault be charged to whites, or to the Japanese, or to nature, the fact remains.

This present condition is due to a difference in race, religion, ideals and customs so great that admittedly it will require a number of generations to assimilate the Japanese immigration if, indeed, it can ever be assimilated. California frankly declines to encourage an experiment so dangerous because failure would mean the end of the white race in California. Japan would not permit such an experiment in her own country.

All the known facts, however, point to the impracticability of assimilation of the Japanese by the whites in California. Perfect assimilation or amalgamation would depend on intermarriage, which is out of the question; apparently repugnant to both nations; unwise from the biological standpoint and inducing loss of

social standing for parents and children on both sides of the Pacific. (See Brief, Sections 126 to 134.)

Japanese may not, can not and will not be assimilated into good American citizens, save with rare exceptions, for reasons set forth in my Brief, Sections 119 to 122. The general subject of assimilation will be found discussed at length in my article, "Japanese in the Melting Pot," in "Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science," page 29, and in "Assimilation of Japanese" (copy herewith). Among Japanese authorities, Dr. Iyenaga and C. Kondo and J. Sacamori have pointed out practical difficulties in the way of assimilating Japanese. (See Sections 132, 133 and 228 of Brief.) Their pride of race and national consciousness forbid merging their identity in other races, which they are taught to regard as inferior.

On the other points involved in my paragraphs (a) and (b) above, there will not be question as to their applicability to the Japanese in California.

ECONOMIC COMPETITION

The Japanese have undoubted advantage in economic competition with the whites, and displace them in industries and in localities when opportunity offers. That has been demonstrated not only in California, but in other states of the Union and in Hawaii. (The facts in connection therewith are fully treated in the Brief, Sections 160 to 192.)

INCREASE BY IMMIGRATION

There has been, and is, a steady influx of Japanese immigration, authorized and surreptitious, as shown by the great increase of Japanese population in California and Continental United States, after making due allowance for births. In Continental United States there has been an increase of Japanese population from immigration since 1906 of 62,000. Of this number 47,000 are in California. (See Section 245 of Brief.) It should be borne in mind that the United States census figures of Japanese population are entirely wrong. (See Sections 68 to 83 of Brief.)

"PICTURE" AND "KANKODAN" BRIDES

Japan is still sending over large numbers of women immigrants. She discontinued the sending of "picture brides," but has inaugurated the plan of "Kankodan, or excursion brides, with the result that there came into Seattle and San Francisco during the year ending September 1, 1921, 2197 new Japanese wives who had never been in this country before. The Japanese government now allows Japanese visiting Japan to get wives 90 days' stay instead of 30, as called for by law, without performance of conscription duties.

JAPANESE BIRTH RATE

There is an alarming increase of Japanese population in California due to a birth rate three times as great per thousand as that of the whites, and to the fact that practically all Japanese women are married and producing children, while many white women are not married, and those married have few or no children. Because of these conditions the Japanese in California are increasing by reproduction ten times as fast as the whites. The Registrar of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health holds the opinion that "unless checked, the Japanese will, in time, equal the whites in number in California." (See Sections 141 to 159 of Brief.) This situation grows worse because Japan is now encouraging the shipment of Kan-kodan brides and new wives, as noted above. The intent is, from published statements in Japanese newspapers, to supply a wife as speedily as possible to each of the 45,000 or 50,000 wifeless Japanese in Continental United States, and, through their efforts, swell the Japanese population.

It is claimed that to refuse the unmarried Japanese now here to bring in wives from Japan would be neither fair nor human. But if it be agreed that the rapid increase of Japanese population in California is likely to jeopardize the friendly relations between Japan and the United States, then it would be most unwise for us to do the one thing which would be most certain to produce that rapid increase. And the interest of the individual should be subordinated to the greater interests of the two nations.

HAWAII AS OBJECT LESSON

In Hawaii nearly half the total population is now Japanese and rapidly increasing, while "picture brides" (not forbidden for Hawaii) and new wives continue to flow in in great number.

It is natural for California and other sections of the United States to view this situation with alarm. Japan would not permit similar conditions to exist in her empire, whereby any of her provinces would be overrun by an alien population, no matter how friendly she might be with the nation from which they came.

FAILURE OF GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

Having thus glanced at existing conditions and the serious results which must flow therefrom, we look into the cause for these conditions. It is to be found in the operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement which was made for

the definite, expressed purpose of "keeping Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, out of Continental United States," and with the tacit understanding that it would serve, through Japan's voluntary act, in preventing the increase in this country of an alien Japanese population, as the Exclusion Act prevents similar results with regard to Chinese. (Sec. 236-242 of Brief.)

The Gentlemen's Agreement has failed signally to accomplish its declared purpose. It has flooded California with Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, and it has multiplied the Japanese population of that state and of the United States instead of preventing increase of that population. (Sections 244 to 253 of Brief.)

OBVIOUS REMEDIES

The suggested remedies for the serious situation outlined, as formally approved by the California Legislature by unanimous vote in April, 1921 (see Brief, page 99) are in effect as follows:

1. Cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is not necessary to accuse Japan of violating the agreement or even of so carelessly performing her obligations under it that her nationals have been able to evade not only its intent but its plain provisions. It is sufficient to say that the agreement in operation has done, or permitted, the very things which it was supposed to prevent. That being so, Japan should have no hesitation in agreeing to its cancellation, since it does not carry out her declared intent and since it offers a steady, growing menace to friendly relations between the two countries.

RIGHT TO REGULATE IMMIGRATION

2. Substitution in place of the Gentlemen's Agreement of treaty or laws based on the right of every nation to regulate its immigration as a domestic question without demand or suggestion from any other nation.

The United States has committed the extraordinary blunder of giving temporarily to Japan the privilege of determining the number and character of immigration coming into this country from Japan. That is a privilege granted by us to no other nation. It is a privilege not granted by any other nation, including Japan, to a foreign nation. (Sections 237, 241, 242, 243 of Brief.)

This country has a pride no less than Japan and the present situation is a source of humiliation to any American who understands it. Japan should bear that point in mind when speaking of her own pride.

RECIPROCAL EXCLUSION

3. Such treaty or laws should provide for absolute exclusion hereafter of all Japanese, male and female, who desire to enter this country as permanent residents. Provision should be made for temporary residence by diplomats, tourists, commercial men, etc. And that there may be no suggestion of discrimination, similar laws or treaty provisions should exclude Americans from Japan. This is in accord with the principle enunciated by Theodore Roosevelt. (See Brief, page 104.)

PROTECTION FOR ACQUIRED RIGHTS

4. The personal and property rights of Japanese who have acquired residence legally in California should be carefully safeguarded, as declared in the Fourth Section of the Declaration of Principles approved by the California Legislature. The State of California and her people have given every proof of good faith in fair treatment of Japanese now in the State. (See Brief, Sections 14 to 21.)

When your time permits, I hope you will carefully consider the points herein made, and make such frank criticism thereof as suggests itself to you, pointing out any mistake I may have made as to facts or any lack of logical reasoning in drawing deductions therefrom.

Permit me to express my great admiration for your ability and for the work you have undertaken in bringing your country into closer and more friendly relations with the outside world. I feel that you credit me with an earnestness equal to your own and that, therefore, you will approve rather than condemn the frankness with which I present the California point of view to your attention. It has been an honor to discuss these questions with you, and it will be a greater honor if, through interchange of thought, I can, even in a small way, assist in bringing about a permanent friendly relation between our two countries.

Sincerely,

(Signed) V. S. McCLATCHY.

VS/L
Enc.

CALIFORNIA STATE NEWS



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CONGRESS *and* JAPAN



*Inside History of the Exclusion
Measure*



The Fundamental Reasons Which
Induced Action By Congress



The Movement to Have That
Action Reconsidered

Published by
**CALIFORNIA JOINT
IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE**
910 Humboldt Bank Bldg.
San Francisco

Foreword

On May 26th, 1924, President Coolidge approved the immigration bill under protest, his protest being based on the inclusion in the bill of a general provision excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship. Relying doubtless upon assurances of Secretary of State Hughes, the President insisted that exclusion, so far as concerns Japanese, could be accomplished equally effectively and without injury to Japan's feelings by agreement, or treaty, or by giving Japan place in the quota. Congress almost unanimously, and without regard for party or district affiliations, held to the contrary.

Subsequently, in answer to Japan's protest, Secretary Hughes, in a dignified, courteous and statesmanlike document, advised Japan that Congress had acted entirely within its rights and without any intent to insult Japan or hurt her pride, and that the matter was ended.

President Coolidge, in accepting the Republican nomination for re-election August 14th, said: "I should have preferred to continue the policy of Japanese exclusion by some method less likely to offend the sensibilities of the Japanese people. I did what I could to minimize any harm that might arise. But the law has been passed and approved, and the incident is closed. We must seek by some means besides immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect which we feel for the Japanese nation. Restricted immigration is not an offensive but a purely defensive action. It is not adopted in criticism of others in the slightest degree, but solely for the purpose of protecting ourselves. We cast no aspersions on any race or creed, but we must remember that every object of our institutions of society and government will fail unless America be kept American."

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, acting through its subsidiary organization, the Commission for International Goodwill, and with co-operation of various other associations, inaugurated a campaign to induce Congress to

modify the exclusion feature of the Immigration Act so as to meet the demands of Japan. Assurances were given Japan by these organizations that President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes are opposed to the exclusion measure, that the sentiment of the American people disapproves it, and that effort will be made by Japan's friends in this country "to have the wrong righted."

The reaction upon Japan and the Japanese in response to the suggestions contained in this campaign and to direct messages sent is evident in action taken and statements given out, both official and unofficial in character. The Foreign Office in Tokyo gave out a statement on August 17, which was published in this country, in which it was said: "President Coolidge may regard this incident as closed, but Japan does not. Japan will continue her protests."

In the belief that a campaign of the character referred to would be fruitless in the result desired by the organizations which inaugurated it, but would increase friction and ill will between the two nations, and that the movement was started in ignorance of important facts, a brief statement of the case was presented for consideration of Japan and the Japanese in the following letter to the Editor of 'Nichi Bei', of San Francisco, the most widely distributed Japanese vernacular daily newspaper published outside of Japan:



JAMES K. FISK
DEPT. ADJ. AMERICAN LEGION
[CHAIRMAN]

PAUL SCHARRENBERG
SEC. TREAS. STATE FED. OF LABOR

GEORGE R. HARRISON
MASTER STATE GRANGE

California Joint Immigration Committee

910 Humboldt Bank Building

PHONE GARFIELD 2697

San Francisco, Cal.

EDWARD J. LYNCH
GRAND PRES. NATIVE SONS OF
THE GOLDEN WEST

HON. U. S. WEBB
STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN
[TREASURER]

V. S. MCCLATCHY
[SECRETARY]

July 23, 1924.

"My dear Mr. Abiko:

"This is a memorandum (made at your suggestion) of certain views offered by me in our conversation last week.

"You and I, with others of your race and of mine, are sincerely desirous that the traditional friendship between Japan and the United States shall be maintained and that the two nations shall perform for many years the joint duty of conserving peace on the Pacific.

"I regard as my true friend not he who encourages me to act in accordance with my preju-

dices and feelings, regardless of conditions and my permanent interests, but rather he who, even at the risk of injuring my pride and jeopardizing our friendly relations, acquaints me frankly with the facts and submits them to my judgment for decision. It is in the belief that you entertain similar views, and with appreciation of your position as a leader of Japanese thought in California, that I submit these suggestions for your consideration.

The Unwise Counsel of Friends

"In the matter of Japanese immigration to this country Japan, in my judgment, has been induced within the past six months to place herself in a false and embarrassing position by listening to the unwise counsel of those in this country whom she regards as her friends.

"She was encouraged by these friends to request from Congress and this nation action which could not be taken without violation of the statutes and policies which have governed our conduct in such matters since the nation began. She is now being encouraged by the same parties to persist in this course with the assurance that the action taken by Congress is not endorsed by public sentiment, and that therefore repeal or modification of the exclusion measure can be readily secured.

"I do not question the good faith of these friends of Japan. I do question their discretion. They are either ignorant of, or blind to, the fundamental facts and principles in the case. For reasons explained hereafter, Congress had no alternative than to follow the course adopted, it will not undo what has been done, and, under existing conditions, the American people will not permit it to retrace the steps taken.

Congress, in this matter, acted in strict accord with the long established laws and policies of the nation, which have for their object the preservation of this country for the white race, as Japan is governed in her immigration and other policies by the obvious necessity for preservation of Japan for the Japanese. Until our laws and policies are changed at the demand of public opinion, Congress must continue to maintain its present attitude.

Appreciation of Japan's Feelings

"I say this with full and sympathetic under-

standing of Japan's position. She feels that whatever may have been the justice of an exclusion policy directed against the people of Asia, including Japan, by the United States 100 or even 50 years ago, she has, through her own efforts and by study of Western methods risen to the position of dominant power in Asia and is recognized as one of the great World Powers, sitting in council on equal terms with United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. She feels, therefore, that her nationals are entitled to preferential treatment in the United States over those of other Asiatic nations, and to equal treatment with the nationals of Europe.

"I do not say there is not some justice in Japan's claim. I say only the claim cannot be recognized by the United States in the matter of naturalization and immigration until our fundamental policies in such matters have been changed; and that any efforts intended to secure modification of the existing conditions should be directed towards change in our fundamental policies rather than in urging Congress to violate such policies while still in force.

Our Naturalization and Immigration Policies

"The privilege of naturalization was limited by Federal Statute in 1790 to persons of the white race. After the Civil War that privilege was extended by amendment to the black race in the effort to solve the problem created by slavery. Otherwise, the law has remained unchanged in fundamentals; and members of the yellow and brown races are barred from the privilege of naturalization today as they were 130 years ago. This statute, as applied to Japanese, was upheld by a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court.

"Our immigration policy has been in strict accord with the naturalization policy. Whenever the number of any branch of the yellow or brown races entering this country became large enough to justify concern, exclusion measures were adopted against it.

"The Chinese were excluded in 1882, by special act of Congress.

"The Japanese were excluded in 1907, under the Gentlemen's Agreement, and at Japan's re-

quest in preference to an exclusion law which would have hurt her pride. But, as explained by President Roosevelt in his autobiography and in existing documents, the Agreement was an exclusion measure designed to prevent further increase in Japanese population in continental United States, lest economic competition and racial friction should create trouble between the two friendly nations; and it was agreed that should the plan fail to accomplish its purpose, an Exclusion law should be enacted against Japan.

"The Hindus, and other Asiatics of the yellow and brown races, were excluded in 1917 by what is known as 'the Barred Zone Act.'

The Gentlemen's Agreement Ineffective

"These measures have proved effective in excluding all immigration referred to except that from Japan. The Hindus have ceased to come; Chinese population in continental United States has decreased over one half since 1882; but the Japanese population increased between 1907 and 1920 from 53,000 to 110,000 if the United States Census figures are adopted and from 53,000 to 150,000 if the corrected figures for population for 1920 are used. (See my Brief prepared for consideration of the Department of State in 1921, Secs. 68 to 83). Since 1920 there has been material increase, the Japanese births alone in Hawaii and California amounting to 10,000 per year.

"Japan declares she has fulfilled the conditions of the Gentlemen's Agreement in good faith. It is not necessary to question her good faith in the matter. It is sufficient to point out that the Agreement in operation has failed to produce the desired and agreed results; that while its purpose was to prevent further entrance of Japanese for permanent settlement and any increase of the resident Japanese population, relatives and new wives continued to come with the resulting multiplication of population referred to.

Not Discriminatory

"Congress determined, therefore, that the agreement should be cancelled and some effective method adopted for securing the agreed result—exclusion. Rather than give offense to Japan by enacting a special exclusion law against Japanese (which

was the agreed alternative if the Agreement failed in operation) Congress simply enacted into a general statute, without mention of Japan or the Japanese, the long established policy of the United States in discouraging immigration of aliens ineligible to citizenship.

Japan should not regard this action as discriminatory against her people, since they constitute less than 8 per cent of the peoples affected; and she has no right to object to the principle of exclusion, since she agreed to it in making the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, and since, in the interest of the Japanese, she has found it necessary to exclude Chinese and Koreans from Japan.

"Certainly, this nation, having determined to restrict immigration in the interests of assimilation, has done the obvious and logical thing in excluding incidentally aliens who are ineligible to citizenship and who are and must remain hopelessly unassimilable because of that disability imposed by our laws.

"Japan at the instance of presumed friends in official and unofficial circles in this country, has protested against this action and insisted that the result desired could be secured equally well and with less hurt to her pride through a new Gentlemen's Agreement, or through modification of the existing Agreement, or through a treaty, or by placing Japan under the quota.

Agreement, Treaty and Quota

"The friends who gave Japan this advice were either ignorant of the fundamental facts and principles in the matter or deliberately ignored them; for Congress, with full knowledge of these matters before it, could not and would not pursue any course other than that adopted. All other plans suggested are open to insurmountable objections unless an established policy of the nation as to naturalization and immigration undergoes radical change. This, it is hoped, will be made plain by the following statement:

"Immigration is a domestic question, the regulation of which, under the Constitution, belongs to Congress exclusively.

"All immigration coming to this country during this century save that coming from Japan, has been regulated by general or special act of Congress.

"Any attempt by the Executive Department to regulate immigration by agreement, or treaty, is an invasion of the Congressional prerogative; and Congress apparently will no longer tolerate such invasion, particularly when the obvious intent is to violate or evade the established policy of the nation.

"The Gentlemen's Agreement not only constituted an invasion of Congressional prerogative by the Executive, but it surrendered the national sovereignty in conceding to a foreign nation control of immigration from that nation. Such a relinquishment of sovereign right is made by no other world power, certainly not by Japan; and the United States has made such concession to no nation save Japan. These were sufficient reasons in the judgment of Congress for cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, and for refusal to consider a similar agreement in the future.

"To place Japan under the quota can not be done without violating the established policy of the nation, since such plan would give to certain aliens ineligible to citizenship, and excluded therefore as immigrants, the same rights in admission as are granted to aliens eligible to citizenship, and further would discriminate in favor of one nation whose people are ineligible to American citizenship while still barring all others ineligible to that privilege.

"The quota plan had the additional practical objection that if the immigration act were so modified in the future as to admit wives outside the quota it would make possible the entrance of a flood of Japanese women coming as wives for the 40,000 or 50,000 Japanese bachelors in continental United States, with a consequent material increase of the Japanese population.

The Position of Congress

Congress, through a committee consisting of the Chairman of the Immigration Committee and the Republican and the Democratic leader of each house, explained these facts to the President and assured him, if he vetoed the bill it would be passed over his veto by an overwhelming majority, in pursuance of what Congress conceived to be its plain duty. It must be remembered, too, that the

action of Congress in the matter was due only in small part to resentment at the tone of the letter written by Ambassador Hanihari, for a poll of the Senate two days before that letter appeared showed 54 votes (a substantial majority) in the Senate pledged to the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship, while in the House a much larger majority in favor thereof had been conceded for some weeks.

"What is true as to the facts and as to the attitude of Congress in late May when the President signed the bill, is equally true today. And public sentiment, which generally endorsed the principle of exclusion then, is becoming more pronounced now in its approval of the course taken by Congress as the detailed reasons therefor become known.

"I submit, therefore, with deference, that it ill comports with Japan's dignity to further press upon Congress or this nation requests or demands which cannot be conceded in the face of existing conditions. It is not the new Immigration Law, but our long established naturalization law and the immigration policy which follows it that blocks the way to Japan's desires. If our naturalization law were so amended as to make Japanese eligible to citizenship that provision of the Immigration Bill which excludes aliens ineligible to citizenship would cease immediately to act as a bar to the entrance of Japanese immigrants.

Investigation Suggested

"It is as a true friend of Japan, and as one who desires to see a permanent continuance of friendly relations between Japan and the United States, that I suggest a dispassionate consideration of the suggestions of this letter and an investigation of the conditions as herein outlined. You will not think me presumptuous in expressing the belief that such a course will furnish more dependable basis for just and effective action than implicit reliance upon the assurances and advice of those who, however friendly to Japan, do not know, or else choose to ignore, the existing conditions.

"It is unfortunate, too, that lack of knowledge of these conditions and of the reasons which in-

duced the action by Congress, and a belief that it was inspired by dislike for, or intent to injure or insult Japan, or the Japanese, are creating a feeling of animosity on the part of the Japanese people here and in Japan, which, if not eradicated, may materially interfere with friendly relations in the future. It is important that misunderstanding of this character be corrected by authorized statement from responsible sources.

"You will have noticed that on this side of the Pacific every effort has been made to prevent growth of misunderstanding or ill will; and that the four California organizations most prominent in the campaign for passage of the exclusion feature of the Immigration Act have been equally insistent on just and courteous treatment of, and friendly relations with, the Japanese who have settled in this country practically at the invitation of this Government.

"With appreciation of your friendship and of the efficient work which you have done for your own people in California and for the State as well, in fostering friendly relations, believe me,

"Sincerely yours,

"V. S. McCLATCHY."

MR. K. ABIKO,
Editor "Nichi Bei,"
San Francisco, Cal.



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America and Japan



Their Treatment of Foreigners
and Resulting Conditions



Policies in Immigration, Exclu-
sion Land Ownership and
Lease, Citizenship, Dual
Citizenship



By V. S. McClatchy

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AMERICA AND JAPAN

By V. S. McCLATCHY



Under the leadership of Sidney L. Gulick and George W. Wickersham, a nation wide campaign was inaugurated in April, 1925, to induce Congress to so amend the law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship as to except Japanese from the operation thereof and grant them the same privileges under immigration quota as are conceded to Europeans.

This campaign promises to reopen public discussion of the entire exclusion question, with little probability of securing any change in the law, but with the certainty of reviving racial friction and misunderstanding which has been declining steadily under friendly advances on both sides. President Coolidge has said, "The incident is closed. We must seek by some means besides immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect which we feel for the Japanese nation." If the published statements of the leading members of the Immigration Committee of each House furnish reliable indication, Congress is firmly determined not to open the door to Asiatic immigration by any exception, however slight, to the established principle of excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship.

A CHURCH MOVEMENT

The Gulick-Wickersham movement has the backing of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, in which organization are listed most of the Protestant denominations; the Commission for International Justice and Goodwill, an auxiliary of the Federal Council; the National Committee for Japanese-American Relations; and the National League for Constructive Immigration Legislation. Dr. Gulick is Oriental Secretary of the first named and Executive Secretary of the others, two of which he organized. Wickersham is nominal head of the second and third named organizations. Hamilton Holt's name appears as head of the last mentioned body.

Dr. Gulick, since his arrival, about 10 years ago, in this country from Japan on leave from Doshisba University, has spent much of his time and ability in the attempt to secure some modification of our established policy and laws, so as to admit Japanese to permanent residence and citizenship on the same basis as Europeans.

Wickersham, formerly U. S. Attorney General, has acted as attorney for the Japanese before the U. S. Supreme Court in cases wherein they sought to have certain State and Federal laws set aside so far as they apply to Japanese. He acted as attorney for Mitsui & Co. of Japan, in 1922, when Congress was investigating charges of fraud against two American war-time airplane companies which, it developed, were owned or controlled by Mitsui & Co. The investigation was quashed by Abraham S. Meyers, who was placed in charge of all war-time fraud cases, his selection for that position having been secured through influence of Wickersham, according to charges made on the floor of the House by Congressman Woodruff, April 22, 1922.

Hamilton Holt organized the first Japan Society in this country at New York, and was decorated by the Mikado for friendly services to Japan.

In furtherance of the campaign for amendment of the present law to meet Japan's demands, nation wide distribution has been made among Church and Women's organizations of a leaflet by Sidney Gulick entitled "America and Japan—Facts Bearing on Popular Misinformation," the object being, as stated, "to correct many mistaken assertions regarding Japanese in America and Americans in Japan." The effect, however, is rather to increase misinformation and misunderstanding on the part of those not familiar with the facts. The following discussion of certain points covered in the leaflet indicates the manner in which the omission of some facts and incomplete explanation of others tend to create entirely incorrect impressions of the situation in the mind of the reader.

The statements made in this leaflet by Dr. Gulick furnish a fair sample of many by means of which he has misled sentiment in church and other organizations on the subject of Japanese im-

migration. Other statements made by him can be answered as conclusively by anyone familiar with the facts.

LAND OWNERSHIP IN JAPAN

Reference is made by Dr. Gulick to the "Widespread misstatement that Japan allows no foreigners to own land." He concedes that foreigners may not buy land in fee simple in Japan, but says that 238 foreigners own a total of 851 acres; that 671 foreigners hold 977 acres under lease or superficies; and that 234 acres of the land thus owned or held is farm land. He fails to state, however, that certain old rights under which a foreigner might own land in Japan are no longer granted; and that, regardless of title or lease, no foreigner may use agricultural land for profit. (See House Doc. 89, 69th Congress, 1st Session, p. 11).

As a matter of fact, the conditions under which Japanese own and may cultivate agricultural land in California for profit, are very much more favorable even under the existing restrictive laws than are granted to foreigners, including Americans, in Japan today. In 1920 the Japanese owned and cultivated 74,769 acres of California's richest lands (see "California and the Oriental," State Board of Control Report, 1920, page 47) title to which had been acquired previous to passage of the alien land law in 1913. They have been steadily adding to that acreage since then by purchase on behalf of Japanese, born in the United States, and entitled thereby to the rights of American citizens. Japan wisely allows no such privilege to children of Americans born in Japan. All this acreage of California land is being used by Japanese in truck gardening, orcharding, etc., in competition with white American citizens, a privilege forbidden to foreigners in Japan, even if they have leasehold to a few acres of land. While alien Japanese, as aliens ineligible to citizenship, may not lease agricultural lands in California, they have the right, in accordance with the Japan Treaty and the California law, to lease land for commercial and residence purposes; and hundreds of Japanese have availed themselves and are availing themselves of that right in the large and small cities of the State. The few leases granted to foreigners in Japan are severely restricted.

The following authorities establish beyond question Japan's policy and law in forbidding ownership of land to foreigners:

"Foreigners have no right of land ownership in Japan." (Excerpt from decision of the Tokyo District Court, May, 1913, in the case of Rev. W. D. Cunningham, an American Missionary, vs. Hiranuma Hachitaro, a Japanese).

"Japan does not permit ownership of her land by foreigners." (Language contained in statement made to the Japanese Diet on January 30, 1921, by Baron Uchida and published in the Associated Press report in this country).

"In Japan the right of ownership of land is not granted to foreigners." (Extract from article by M. Maita in December, 1920, number of the Japanese Review of International Laws).

"It is certain that tho the leasing of land is allowed to foreigners in Japan the pursuit of agriculture is not." (Extract from the Kobe, Japan, Chronicle, September 25, 1920).

"The law of 1873 denied to aliens the possession of rights in land in Japan. This law was to be repealed by an enactment of 1910 which, however, was not put in operation." (Extract from letter from T. Taketomi, Consul General of Japan at San Francisco, to V. S. McClatchy, April 11, 1925).

Great Britain has a treaty with Japan (the terms of which in this particular matter were accepted by only one of her Dominions, Canada) under which Japanese are conceded the rights of citizens in land ownership and other matters. Under that treaty Japanese have been acquiring land in British Columbia. The treaty, however, contains also a clause as to reciprocal treatment of the respective citizens of each country in the other; and British Columbia has recently claimed, and has been conceded by official opinion from Dominion authorities at Ottawa, the right, under that provision, to deny land ownership to Japanese. The reason is that Japan denies land ownership to all foreigners, including Canadians.

In March, 1925, the Japan Diet passed a law which, it was claimed, would give, when promulgated, reciprocal rights in Japan in the matter of land ownership to citizens of such countries as

grant similar privilege to Japanese. That law, however, while amendatory of the existing land law, does not give right to any foreigner to own land in Japan, and does not contemplate such a right. It is entirely negative in its effect, and provides only that the Imperial Government may enact reciprocal legislation forbidding or restricting land ownership to citizens of countries, or sub-divisions of countries, the laws of which restrict Japanese in land ownership.

JAPAN'S EXCLUSION OF CHINESE

The Gulick statement declares that "Japan has no exclusion law even for Chinese and Korean laborers" and that Chinese merchants and travelers travel freely in Japan. It is equally true that the United States has no exclusion law for Japanese, and that Japanese merchants, tourists and students come into the country now in greater number and with less inconvenience to themselves than ever before. But we do exclude the Japanese, and Japan does exclude the Chinese.

Our law excludes aliens ineligible to citizenship. The Japanese chance to be in that class, tho they constitute but seven per cent of that portion of the world's population so barred from entrance.

Japan has an Imperial Ordinance, No. 352, which gives authority to governors of prefectures to exclude foreign labor, the introduction of which is deemed detrimental to Japanese interest. That authority is used specifically to keep out Chinese, and if the prefectural authorities are careless in the matter the Imperial Government interferes. Note the following incidents

In January, 1919, under instructions from the Imperial Government, 200 Chinese, who had been admitted into the Prefecture of Hiroshima during the preceding month to labor in a charcoal factory, were ordered deported by the Imperial Government. The "Herald of Asia," of Tokyo, published by M. Zumoto, the "Colonel House" of Japan, said in its issue of December 28, 1918, in regard to this case; "This is the first importation of Chinese labor into Japan. We hope that it will be the last experiment ever to be made. If it is brought into this

country in any large force the welfare of our laborers will be seriously affected."

About a year ago 1,000 or more Chinese who had come into Tokyo and other Japanese cities as umbrella merchants were deported on the allegation that they had become laborers. The statement was published in this country by the Associated Press.

On December 9, 1924, a steamship Captain, just arrived in Victoria, B. C., in an interview which was telegraphed to the United States, said that Japan was about to deport 6,000 Chinese who had located in Tokyo, Osaka, and outside prefectures.

In August, 1924, China sent her seventh formal protest to Japan, concerning exclusion of Chinese, and called attention to Japan's inconsistent attitude in thus excluding people of her own color while demanding admission of Japanese into the United States.

An Associated Press telegram from Tokyo, May 28, 1925, states: "The 'Chuo' says that the Social Bureau of the Home Office has decided to put a strict embargo on the entrance into Japan of Chinese laborers."

No one familiar with the facts, unless it be Dr. Gulick, denies that Japan systematically excludes Chinese. Japanese writers say that such course is necessary in protection of Japanese labor, because of the lower standard of living of the Chinese. It is well known that Japan's attempts to colonize Korea and Manchuria failed because the Japanese could not compete economically with Chinese or Koreans. Japan's policy of exclusion of Chinese is, therefore, a wise and proper one, in her own interest, and follows the recommendation made to her by Herbert Spencer over forty years ago. Our reasons for excluding Asiatic peoples, including the Japanese, are very similar, and are equally wise and necessary in the interest of our citizens. It may be added that, even if Japan, for any reason, saw fit to admit Chinese immigration, the fact would furnish neither reason nor excuse for the United States admitting races ineligible to citizenship, or barred for other good reasons in the nation's interest.

Our new immigration law is liberal in the matter of admission of aliens, including those ineligible

to citizenship, as merchants, tourists and students, for temporary residence. The Japanese newspapers of San Francisco report that under it the number of Japanese entering under the classifications named is very much in excess of the number who came during a similar period under the Gentlemen's Agreement, and that there is less inconvenience to them in the formalities of admission. The new law does not permit any alien ineligible to citizenship and who had already acquired the privilege of permanent residence to bring in wife or relatives, however. It was the abuse of this privilege, particularly in the matter of "picture" and "kankodan" brides, which brought into San Francisco and Seattle each year, up to passage of the new immigration act, between 2,000 and 3,000 Japanese women for wives, to found average families of five each.

INCREASE OF JAPANESE POPULATION

In the effort to show that Japanese population in continental United States has not increased sufficiently to become a menace, Dr. Gulick declares that Japanese immigration since 1908, when the Gentlemen's Agreement was put into effect, "has practically stopped." He claims that the net increase of foreign born Japanese in continental United States in sixteen years following 1908, due to immigration, was only 10,959, and that during that period 21,869 more males departed than entered the United States.

These conclusions are reached only by a misuse of statistics, the figures for "immigrant" and "non-immigrant" classes having been combined. We are concerned only in the immigrant class that comes for permanent settlement. "Japanese Exclusion," by John B. Trevor, (Document No. 600, issued by the House Immigration Committee, February 4, 1925), answers the Gulick contention fully and shows that the increase of the Japanese "immigrant" class for the period referred to was 72,906 (the difference between those arriving and those departing). Of this total gain of 72,906, 17,126 were males and 55,780 were females. Again the report of the Secretary of Labor, 1923, table 4, page 133, "Immigration and Emigration, and Net Gain

or Loss, 1908—1923, by Race," shows for the Japanese an immigration of 125,773 and an emigration of 41,781, a net gain for these fifteen years under the Gentlemen's Agreement, of 83,992.

Those figures, however, do not cover the total increase in Japanese population in continental United States due to, or resulting during, operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. A certain portion of the increase is due to introduction of "picture brides" and "kankodan brides," each producing on the average a family of five children, and to surreptitious entries. The Gentlemen's Agreement was entered into, as explained by President Roosevelt, who made it, for the express purpose of preventing increase of Japanese population in continental United States, since such increase was calculated, in his judgment, to provoke racial conflict and international trouble. This intent was evaded by the importation of Japanese brides; while in the case of Chinese such importation of women was not permitted.

The objectionable conditions resulting from operation of the Japanese Agreement, are indicated by the following comparative statistics furnished by records of the Immigration Department: For the last year, under the Gentlemen's Agreement, ending June 30, 1924, the number of Japanese of the "immigrant" class entering the United States, was 8481, *nearly all of them coming for permanent settlement*. For the first six months, under the new Immigration Act ending December 31, 1924, the number of Japanese of the "immigrant" class entering was 453, *none of whom came for permanent settlement*. It should be explained that the Immigration Department includes in its "immigrant" classification not only those coming for permanent settlement, but also those who come for more than a year's stay, such as diplomats and students.

OUR PRESENT JAPANESE POPULATION

The Japanese population of the United States in 1925 is not less than 300,000, of which 125,000 are in Hawaii and the balance in continental United States. This is exclusive of between 30,000 and 35,000 Japanese minors, born under the American

flag and now receiving education in Japan, and entitled to return to this country, and who may be expected to return almost without exception, before the age of twenty.

The correctness of the 1925 population figures for Hawaii is conceded. Dr. Gulick's figures for Continental United States would be about 137,000 instead of 175,000, because of a difference between the census figures of 1920 and reliable official estimates, for the Pacific Coast states. For instance, the census showed only 71,952 Japanese in California, while the estimates referred to agreed on 100,000. The figures were made by the State Board of Health and received partial confirmation from various sources, official and non-official. Even the Japanese census, gathered under order of the Japanese Government, by postal card and conceded to be incomplete, showed in California 11,000 more Japanese, and in the Pacific Northwest 5,000 more Japanese, than did the United States census. (See McClatchy "Brief," prepared for the State Department, October, 1921, Sections 68 to 83). Dr. Gulick concedes that the Japanese population in California has increased 21,000 or 22,000 since the 1920 census. The Japanese population of the United States increases by birth alone about 12,000 per year, of which nearly 6,000 are credited to Hawaii and between 4,500 and 5,000 to California.

THE JAPANESE BIRTH RATE

In the effort to prove that the Japanese birth rate is not high and does not therefore constitute a menace, Dr. Gulick shows that the Japanese in Hawaii have a lower birth rate than Chinese and certain other races now excluded from entry. He is silent, however, as to birth rates in California. Already nearly half the population of Hawaii is Japanese. In California figures of the State Board of Health show that the birth rate per thousand population among Japanese is three times that among the whites, even where the proportion of adult males to females is three to one among the Japanese while it is practically one to one among the whites. L. E. Ross, Registrar of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health of California, says "A study of the vital factors affecting the several race

stocks in California, as shown by the vital-statistic records leads to the conclusion that there is no race within our borders that can compare with the Japanese in rate of reproduction and vitality. Their birth rate is high and their death rate is low * * * In 1920 alone the Japanese increased their population 5.4 per cent by reproduction, while the white race increased 0.5 per cent, one-tenth as fast." (State Board of Health Bulletin October, 1921.)

JAPANESE VOTERS IN HAWAII

To prove that Hawaii is safe from Japanese domination, the Gulick statement quotes Prof. Romanzo Adams, of the University of Hawaii, to the effect that Japanese voters in 1941 will probably constitute only twenty-two per cent of the total voters of that territory, and will not increase appreciably thereafter.

Louis R. Sullivan made investigations into the racial question in Hawaii, extending over a period of a year and a half, on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History and the Bishop Museum of Honolulu. He published in the "Asia" magazine for July, 1923, an article covering his conclusions, in which he said "It is estimated that in 1940 there will be 31,000 Japanese voters in a total electorate of 66,000." The year 1940 is still fifteen years ahead, and, even now more than half the school children of the territory are Japanese, all of them over six years of age.

LOYALTY OF AMERICAN-BORN JAPANESE

The Gulick statement assumes that Japanese children born in this country will be loyal to the United States rather than to Japan, basing the opinion on statements made by young Japanese school children in the public schools.

It is not doubted that some Japanese children born in this country would become loyal American citizens who could be depended on even in a crisis. It would be unwise to assume that all, or even a majority of the Japanese born in this country would develop into dependable American citizens on no better foundation than a statement from young school children. It must be remembered that after a comparatively few years of association with

American children in the public schools the average young Japanese boy or girl returns to Japanese environment, and, to a great extent, loses contact with Americans. There is no opportunity for assimilation, and he drops back into Japanese trend of thought and ideals. Dr. Gulick himself called attention to this in his pamphlet "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," published in 1914, in which, speaking of Japanese boys after they leave school, he says "Most of these boys will be isolated from English speaking Americans; they will be associated chiefly with men of their own race, inhibiting therefore the Oriental ideas as they approach manhood." And he adds this striking language—"If as Asiatics they maintain their traditional concept of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the state and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes, and American liberty, is impossible."

Dr. Gulick suggested as a solution that the Japanese be converted to Christianity; but comparatively few Japanese become Christians, and even with such as do the efficiency of the remedy appears doubtful.

Speaking of the alien races in Hawaii, Louis R. Sullivan, quoted above, says "It is possible to predict positively that the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans can never be assimilated or Americanized in the sense in which these terms are wont to be used."

It is to be remembered, too, that the Japanese children in Hawaii and California have been persistently taught in the separate language schools, which they are compelled to attend after public school hours, the ideals and national and racial aspirations of Japan; that a Survey Commission of the Department of Education at Washington in 1920 denounced these schools in Hawaii as "un-American if not anti-American" and recommended they be abolished (Bulletin No. 16, 1920); and that Hawaii has been fighting since to secure such control of these schools as will guard against Japanization of the young children who have received the privileges of American citizenship.

As further evidence in the same direction, thou-

sands of the young Japanese children born in California and Hawaii are sent back to Japan each year to remain there at school for from five to ten years, until they have reached ages between 17 and 19. They return then to the United States definitely fixed in their loyalty to Japan, and yet entitled to the rights of American citizenship. From San Francisco alone 6,649 children of ages generally below ten years were sent back for this purpose in the three years ending July 1, 1922, as shown by immigration department records. In 1921 the number of young American citizens of Japanese parentage thus being trained in Japan in Japanese citizenship included 20,000 from Hawaii and between 12,000 and 15,000 from California.

The best indication of the value of the material in the average Japanese for American citizenship is what they will do on the average, or en masse, after reaching maturity and under stress. Hawaii has furnished an illustration. The Hawaiian sugar planters encouraged the entrance of Japanese as plantation laborers, and for many years were warm advocates of their value in that regard, and of the merit of their children as American citizens. In 1921, following the general strike by Japanese, constituting a majority of the laborers employed on the sugar plantations, the Hawaiian Legislature sent a commission of planters to Washington, to ask Congress to protect the territory against the threatened domination of land and industry by the Japanese. The Commission urged that the Immigration Law be so amended that Hawaii might import Chinese, in the hope of driving out the Japanese thereby. In the course of a hearing before the House Immigration Committee (see the published transcript) statements were made on behalf of Hawaii to the effect that the sugar strike was an attempt on the part of the Japanese, as a race, to secure possession of the sugar plantations by causing loss to the owners and then buying them in with Japanese capital; that the strike had become in effect a racial conflict, in which practically every Japanese on the Island of Oahu, whether alien or American born, whether Christian, or Buddhist or Shintoist, and acting either voluntarily or under duress, was assisting his race in this fight, by subscription or action.

THE PROBLEM OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP

The Gulick statement claims that the law passed by the Japanese Diet July 1, 1924, and effective December 1, 1925, does away with the problem of dual citizenship by "recognizing the exclusive American citizenship of American born children." That statement is a mistake.

The United States is the only nation in the world which confers the great privilege of citizenship upon all children born to aliens within its borders, and entirely regardless of the fitness or desire of the recipients for citizenship when they shall reach majority. The grave consequences following operation of this provision of our National Constitution are seen in the case of the Japanese. Up to December, 1925, the law of Japan practically denied to its citizens the privilege of expatriation, for it permitted such withdrawal from Japanese citizenship only between the ages of 15 and 17, and then on application of parents, or guardians, and formal approval by the Home Office. In consequence, in 1920, out of 90,000 or more Japanese born under the Stars and Stripes and holding thereby all rights of American citizenship, only 64 had been permitted to expatriate by Japan, and only 72 had applied for that privilege. The publication of this fact in the United States created so much adverse criticism, particularly in the Territory of Hawaii, that more applications for expatriation were received and more favorable consideration given to those made, particularly during the past two years, so that by the end of 1924 when the new law referred to went into effect, Japan had granted the privilege of expatriation to something less than 2,000 of the 130,000 or more Japanese born in the United States up to that time.

The new Japanese law, in the shape of an amendment to the act which has been in force for many years, provides that a Japanese born thereafter in any one of certain designated countries wherein he shall have acquired nationality thereby, shall lose Japanese nationality from birth unless he declares the intention to retain that nationality; and that a Japanese born in Japan, or born prior to operation of the amendment, in a country conferring citizenship by birth, may renounce Japanese

nationality at will, if he retains the nationality of the foreign country and has domicile therein.

It will be seen therefrom that any Japanese already born in this country and enjoying American citizenship does not lose his Japanese nationality unless he formally renounces it. Arthur Henning, Staff Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, in letters from Hawaii, May, 1925, stated that the Japanese had shown so little interest in renouncing nationality under the new law that the Japanese Consul was urging them to take steps thereto. It is equally plain that under the new law a Japanese born hereafter in this country may retain his Japanese citizenship by registration with the Japanese Consul at the time of his birth; and that course is still being generally, if not universally, pursued. The result is that with comparatively few exceptions, considering the great number of Japanese in this country, the new law has made little change in the dual citizenship of Japanese.

This disinclination of Japanese to relinquish their citizenship is not a fault, but a virtue in them, and furnishes one of the outstanding reasons for the great national solidarity of Japan, unique among the nations of the earth. But it furnishes an equally good reason why the average Japanese may not make a good citizen of the United States.

THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS

From public and private expressions of prominent members of Congress, it is gathered that the quota plan for Japan, now demanded by Gulick and Wickersham, in the name of several organizations, was fully considered by Congress and condemned for a number of reasons, the action on this issue in each House being practically unanimous. 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, as contended for by Dr. Gulick during the past ten years.

Congress gave careful consideration to each alternative plan suggested for solution of the Japanese problem and found them all objectionable or impracticable for reasons which appear fully in the records. The alternative plan which President Roosevelt intended to adopt and which Japan had agreed to accept, if the Gentlemen's Agreement failed, was a Japanese exclusion act. Congress properly declined to pass such a measure because of the hurt to Japan's pride which it would involve and because the object could be accomplished in another way, without discrimination and without giving Japan just cause for offense. This was done by placing in the general law the established principle of exclusion of all aliens ineligible to citizenship, a principle to which Japan had given endorsement when she agreed with President Roosevelt that Japanese population in the United States should not increase lest friendly relations between the two countries might be disturbed by racial friction. It is insisted that Congress took the only course open to her which would protect the interest of this country, that it was done without desire or intent to offend, and that it offers no just cause for offense.

The reasons which influenced Congress in reaching its decision in the matter, are set forth partly in the report of the House Immigration Committee No. 350, March 24, 1924, and further in the House Document No. 600 referred to above. These reasons, as indicated in the documents mentioned and in other records of Congress, were briefed for consideration of the Japanese in two leaflets "Congress and Japan" and "California's Answer to Japan," published by the California Joint Immigration Committee.

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ASSIMILATION

OF JAPANESE

(C)

Can They Be Moulded Into
American Citizens.



Remarks Before the Honolulu
Rotary Club
By V. S McClatchy
October 27th, 1921

ASSIMILATION OF JAPANESE.

The following remarks were made at the luncheon of the Rotary Club at Honolulu, T. H., on October 27th, 1921, by V. S. McClatchy, Publisher of the Sacramento Bee, in response to an invitation to express his views on the Japanese problem:

The members of the Honolulu Rotary Club will find it difficult to believe many of the facts which I shall present to them today in connection with the subject of the Japanese problem which confronts Hawaii and the United States generally. Many will disagree, in part if not entirely, with the conclusions drawn by me from these facts. It should be remembered, however, that the people of Hawaii have greatly modified their view in connection with several phases of this very important subject within the past two years. Up to, say, a year ago, I was severely criticized in this territory for views expressed by me as to the Hawaiian situation and the danger threatened by Japanese immigration, economically and racially. Within the past few months a commission authorized by the territorial legislature has appealed to Congress for help, and has on behalf of the territory endorsed, to a considerable extent, the position held by me and heretofore condemned in the territory.

Two years ago the territorial legislature killed a bill which provided that teachers in separate foreign language schools must know enough of the English language and American civics and history to instruct their young pupils, American citizens by birth, as to the privileges and duties of citizenship. That bill was killed at the demand of the Japanese, who said it would practically destroy their

schools. The territorial legislature this year passed a measure even more stringent in its provisions, a Survey Commission of the United States Department of Education having meanwhile stigmatized these schools as "Un-American if not Anti-American" and recommended they be abolished.

Within the past few weeks the American Legion of Hawaii made formal demand for the passage of an Alien Land Law similar to that of California or Washington. I am told that, even as late as a year ago, a proposition of this character would not have met with any public endorsement whatever. I am not without hope, therefore, that careful consideration may impress the people of Hawaii with the necessity for action along lines now suggested by me, although the suggestions may at first meet with criticism and antagonism.

Subject Is Broad.

Our domestic relations with the Japanese, embracing such matters as immigration, peaceful penetration, economic competition, land ownership and citizenship, form a subject too broad and complicated for explanation, much less discussion, in a luncheon talk. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a brief statement of existing conditions and some consideration of what is really the fundamental question: "Is it practicable to mold Japanese, whether immigrants or American-born, into good, dependable American citizens?"

This question, the solution of which is so vital to continuance of friendly relations between Japan and this country, should be discussed calmly and intelligently, without feeling or prejudice. Here is no question of racial inferiority, since the presence of Japanese in this country, if dangerous to

us, is so because they possess in superior degree some qualities which make for racial life and economic supremacy. We may enjoy friendly and business intercourse with an intelligent neighbor and yet find that we are not adapted to living with him in the same house.

I have not found it difficult to discuss the problems involved, frankly, with M. Zumoto, head of the Japanese delegation to the Press Congress of the World, and now on his way to the disarmament conference at Washington; with Komatsu, formerly prominent in diplomatic and administrative activities in Japan, and now a prominent journalist thereof; with Kansaki, secretary of the Japanese Association of America; with Kawakami, publicity agent for Japan on the Pacific Coast; with Kuno, professor of oriental languages and history at the University of California; with George Shima, the potato king of California; with Abiko, editor of *Nichi Bei*, the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco, and himself, in my opinion, one of the ablest Japanese in California; and with others. Notwithstanding our difference in point of view, I have reason to believe they respect me. They will respect any American, not when he is silent because of policy, not when he says one thing to them and another to his intimate friends, but when, with an intelligent understanding of the facts, he does not hesitate, courteously but firmly, in private conversation and in public statement, to stand for those things which are due to American citizenship and to the great American nation, and which Japan herself, under similar conditions, would demand.

What Would Japan Do?

The wise, the fair, the friendly policy is to call the attention of Japan

to existing conditions and what her people are doing here, at least with sufferance from; if not with indorsement of, the Japanese government, and then to ask her would she permit similar conditions to develop in Japan; what would she do if they did so develop, and will she join hands with us in eliminating factors which, if continued, must put an end to our international friendship.

Komatsu, in a published statement, indorsed my view that development, in the population of Japan or of the United States, of an alien, unassimilable element, possessing great advantage in economic competition, is certain to lead to racial strife and international trouble, and should be stopped by mutual action.

Professor Kuno declared in a published statement, as a loyal Japanese and friend of the American nation, that Japan's present policy of peaceful penetration in the United States and incidental deceit of the American people as to her actions and intent can lead only to trouble between two nations which should remain friends; that it becomes his duty to point these matters out in order that the remedy may be applied.

ROOSEVELT'S CLEARLY DEFINED VIEWS.

The late President Roosevelt, greatest American of this generation, a long-time friend and admirer of the Japanese people, and of all our presidents the one most intimately in touch with the Japanese situation, recognized the impossibility of assimilation between the two races. In a letter to Congressman William Kent, California, written at the White House, February 4, 1909, he voiced the following earnest warning:

“Let the arrangement between Japan and the United States be entirely reciprocal. Let the Japanese and Americans visit one another's countries with entire freedom as tourists, scholars, professors, sojourners for study or pleasure, or for purposes of international business; but keep out laborers, men who want to take up farms, men who want to go into the small trades, or even in professions where the work is of a non-international character; that is, keep out of Japan those Americans who wish to settle and become part of the resident working population, and keep out of America those Japanese who wish to adopt a similar attitude. This is the only wise and proper policy.

“It is merely a recognition of the fact that, in the present stages of social advancement of the two peoples, whatever may be the case in the future, it is not only undesirable, but impossible that there should be intermingling on a large scale, and the effort is sure to bring disaster. Let each country also behave with scrupulous courtesy, fairness and consideration to the other.”

Roosevelt, also, as may be read in his autobiography at Pages 411 and following, strongly condemned the Gentlemen's Agreement as now operated. He points out therein that the original agreement, made under his administration, included a definite understanding that if Japan failed to keep her people out of the United States under the plan outlined, this country reserved the right to exclude them by law, as is done in the case of the Chinese. He states that his successor in office, in negotiating the treaty of 1911 with Japan, “surrendered this important and necessary right.”

Japanese Increase.

Let us look at the present situation. In Hawaii since it became a part of the United States territory, the Japanese have steadily and rapidly increased in number until they now constitute nearly one-half of the entire population of the territory, while more than 50 per cent of new births and new school registration are from their race. It is said by 1930 there will be 25,000 Japanese voters, and that within 10 years thereafter an actual majority of franchised holders will be Japanese.

Sixty per cent of labor in the territory is said to be Japanese and they have control generally of the mechanical trades and the contracting business in Honolulu. Quite naturally the man who is about to erect a \$10,000 house and finds that he can save \$1,000 or \$1,500 by having his detailed plans carried out by a Japanese contractor rather than a white contractor, saves his money. The ultimate result will be that if your son desires to learn a mechanical trade and to make profitable use thereof by establishing himself in business he will be forced to go to the mainland.

The Japanese have a monopoly of the fisheries in Hawaii and you are paying a high price for fish. Dr. Kishinouye, who represented Japan at the Scientific Conference of the Pan-Pacific Union in Honolulu in August, 1920, said on his return to Japan, through an interview in the Tokio Hochi, that he "had investigated the fishing industry along the Pacific Coast from Vancouver to La Jolla, near San Diego, Cal., and that if the present situation may be taken as an indication, some day the Japanese will come to have complete control of the fishing industry."

Oregon, Washington and the territory of Alaska have protected themselves and their citizens in the matter by forbidding to aliens the right of fishing in their waters.

Read of the wonderful work done by the English fishing fleet during the war, and realize how unwise it is to permit our fishing fleets to pass into the control of an alien race.

Conditions pointed so unerringly to gradual absorption by Japanese of the rich sugar lands of Hawaii that you appealed through a commission to Congress for the passage of a rehabilitation act which might postpone such a result.

In California there are already 100,000 Japanese, three times as many as there were when the Gentlemen's Agreement was being negotiated, and twice as many as there are now in the other 47 states combined. They are increasing in California by birth at the rate of 5,300 per year. The Japanese birth rate in California, according to the State Board of Health, is three times that of the whites, although there is but one adult Japanese female to three adult Japanese males, while among the whites the proportion is nearly one to one. Dr. J. L. Pomeroy, health officer of Los Angeles County, the most populous county in the state, in his published report declares that in five years, 1915 to 1919, the Japanese births in 21 districts of the county outside of incorporated cities, were almost one-half as many as the white births, although in population the whites outnumber the Japanese eight to one. He names a list of districts in which the Japanese births outnumber the white births; and he has published tables showing that if there

be no immigration whatever to California in the future, and the comparative birth rates remain as at present, the Japanese will outnumber the whites in less than 100 years. In Sacramento County and in Placer County, in districts outside of the incorporated cities, the Japanese births outnumber the white births. These facts lead Kuno to say that the whites in California have more to fear from the Japanese birth rate than from Japanese immigration.

White Labor Driven Out.

Through their system of concentration and co-operation and with their advantages in economic competition, the Japanese have driven white labor out of various districts and out of various industries in California—the Turlock incident a few months ago, and previously in July, 1920, furnish illustration of the manner in which they operate. They now control, according to official report of the State Board of Control, one-eighth of all the rich irrigated lands of the state. It was for this purpose of protecting her land and protecting her people that California in 1913 passed the original Alien Land Law, and in 1920 so amended it as to close loopholes which were taken advantage of for evasion or violation.

This is a rough outline only of things which have come to pass here and in California. What has been accomplished here and what is being attempted in California has been commenced already in other states, notably in Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, New Mexico and Texas. There would seem to be no reasonable question that if Japanese immigration continues they will displace the whites; while even without immigration, and assuming the existing comparative

birth rates, they will eventually do so. And so we come to the vital question. Is it well for American citizenship, is it well for the life of the American nation, is it well for the world, which has been led forward by American ideals and American constructive statesmanship, to permit the mass of American citizens to be composed in time of Japanese and their descendants? In my judgment it is not possible to make of the Japanese or their descendants reliable American citizens, and it is suicidal for this nation to make the attempt. They are absolutely unassimilable save in individual instances, for three main reasons:

First, because their racial characteristics, heredity and religion prevent assimilation.

Second, because their government, claiming all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens, does not permit.

Third, because individually and in mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born under the American flag, they have shown pronounced antagonism to assimilation.

Attitude of Japanese.

The attitude of the Japanese on this question will be readily appreciated when it is said they are taught from childhood that theirs is the greatest race on the earth, with a god for its ruler, and destined eventually to lead or conquer all other races. Naturally they have no desire to assimilate with or submerge themselves in other and inferior races. In Hawaii, where conditions are more favorable than elsewhere in the world for amalgamation of races, the Japanese have maintained their racial purity almost perfectly, as certified by the survey commission of the federal department of education,

of which Dr. F. F. Bunker, now secretary of the Pan-Pacific Union, was a member.

Aside from pride of race, there are two other reasons which militate against assimilation by marriage: First, the biological law which declares that races of widely different characteristics perpetuate through intermarriage, not their good, but their less desirable qualities; and, second, the fact that Eurasian children of such intermarriages have no social standing on either side of the Pacific.

The Japanese newspapers in California never suggest the idea of the Japanese race losing its identity, even by social amalgamation in the American melting pot. They talk always of permanently establishing the Yamato race on the American continent; and the Japanese are urged as the surest means thereto to beget many children and secure much land. In the Portland Northman of June 10, 1920, appeared an interesting article by Miss Frances Hewitt, who taught English for six years in the public schools of Japan. In that article she said:

"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."

In an article in Nichi Bei, the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco, January 8, 1920, C. Kondo, secretary of the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, called attention to the determined policy of his countrymen in avoiding assimilation in California,

told them they had justly incurred thereby the antagonism of the Californians, suggested that they move to the southern states, where this characteristic was not known, but warned them that unless they changed their policy they would become as much disliked in the south as they are in California.

No Assimilation.

Japan, as a part of her national policy to preserve the solidarity of the race, does not permit the assimilation of her citizens by other nations. Every Japanese, wherever born, and even if his forefathers for generations claim American citizenship by birth, is a subject of Japan and rigidly held to his duties and obligations as such. Japan has a law which ostensibly permits expatriation, but in reality forbids it. It provides that no Japanese may expatriate without formal permission of his government; such permission may not be obtained under any circumstances if applied for after he is 17 years of age. Prior to that age application may be made through his parents or guardian. It is said there are living in Hawali and continental United States today upwards of 90,000 American-born Japanese enjoying, because of birth, all the rights of American citizenship. According to a statement made by the foreign office at Tokio to the correspondent of the Associated Press on September 15, 1920, there had been only 73 applications from these American-born Japanese for expatriation, and permission had been granted in 64 cases. That is to say, less than one in a thousand of the American-born Japanese had been permitted to abandon their citizenship rights by Japan, and even to these such rights will be automatically restored as soon as they return to Japan. There are upwards of 90,000

Japanese in this country upon whom we have bestowed all the rights and privileges of American citizenship and who are in a position to use such privileges, at the behest of the Japanese government, for its purposes in peace and in war. This is a striking exemplification of the suicidal policy pursued by this government in the matter of dual citizenship.

Dr. Iyenaga is publicity agent for Japan on the Atlantic seaboard. In his recent book, "Japan and the California Problem," he says:

"At any rate, Japan does not wish her subjects to become naturalized, nor does she encourage them to lose their racial or national consciousness.' . . . It is likewise observable in the spirit of Japanese education, which is fundamentally nationalistic. This, together with their nationalistic training and education, renders the assimilation of the Japanese exceedingly difficult."

Making Japanese Citizens.

I said that the citizenship of these American-born Japanese would be used, not for the benefit of this country, but for the purposes of Japan. That course will be demanded by Japan, who claims them as her citizens and is in position to enforce that claim through her system of organization in this country. In the Daily News, a Japanese newspaper of Sacramento, on February 4, 1920, there appeared an article calling attention to the matter of dual citizenship and urging the Japanese to register their children as American citizens and omit for the present to register with the Japanese consul. They were assured that the Japanese citizenship could be restored to them at any time, but that the American citizenship was of such

grave importance for Japan that it should not be neglected. Following is an exact quotation of a part of this article:

"It is urged that 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 loyal protectors of the race."

Many are hopeful that the American-born Japanese can be trained into dependable and valuable American citizens. It must be remembered that in the past these Japanese have been taught in separate schools the ideals, religion and loyalty of Japan.

In connection with the wisdom of permitting the continuation of separate language schools under any conditions, the following incident narrated to me this morning has some value. Within the past few weeks at the Kaiulani Public School of Honolulu the teacher was explaining to the young pupils, American-born, but most of them of foreign parentage, the privileges and obligations of American citizenship. At the conclusion of her talk a young Japanese boy arose and said:

"But I do not understand. You tell us that we owe everything to the United States, and that our service and life if necessary should be given in return, but in the Japanese school the teacher tells us that we are Japanese, that we owe everything to Japan and that everything we do must be for the benefit of Japan and the Emperor. Which are we to believe?"

It should be apparent to anyone that the teacher in a foreign language school, who will impress upon his

young pupils principles such as enunciated by this young boy, will not have his views and his teachings changed by the mere fact that a territorial law forces him to learn to speak the English language and to know something of American civics and history.

Even if these separate schools are supervised under the new law, the Japanese, after their few years in the American public schools, drift back into an environment completely Japanese, as called attention to by Sidney Gulick, leader of the Japanese propaganda in the United States. He declared frankly, therefore, that the fact of American birth, public school education and requisite age should not be regarded as adequate qualification for the suffrage. In the same publication, issued in 1914, he says:

"If, as Asiatics, they maintain in their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the state and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

Dr. Gulick suggested that, notwithstanding these disadvantageous conditions, the Japanese could be transformed into good American citizens through conversion to Christianity. That is a most questionable evangelical experiment. Under the call or race during the recent sugar strike the Christianized Japanese left the Christian churches in Hawaii by the hundreds, as testified by Rev. Frank Scudder, head of the Japanese missions in this territory. There are only 5,000 professed Christians among the 150,000 Japanese in continental United States, and Christian converts in Japan

cost from 200 yen to 4,000 yen apiece (C. A. Perry in Japan Advertiser, June 20, 1920.) Japan discourages Christianization of her subjects as she discourages assimilation, and for similar reasons.

Loyalty to Japan.

But Japan and the Japanese do more to insure that American-born Japanese shall be loyal and useful instruments for Japan. There are in Japan today, the Japanese authorities say, 13,000, but our immigration authorities say nearly 20,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese who are being taught in Japanese schools all the duties of Japanese citizenship, and who will return here, when between the ages of 17 and 19, and make use of their American citizenship in accordance with instructions received. According to Japanese authorities there are over 5,000 California-born Japanese being similarly trained in Japan. Professor Gibson, superintendent of the Hood River district in Oregon, testified before the House Immigration Committee that 90 per cent of the Japanese children in his district are sent to Japan for their education.

And so you have before you, told without malice, and based largely on official statistics and Japanese authority, a few only of the important facts in connection with this phase of our problem. If they do not establish conclusively, when viewed in the light of the corroborative evidence, the impracticability of assimilating Japanese into our American citizenship, they at least prove that the attempt to do so will be a most dangerous experiment, since if it fails the consequences will be very grave.

It is not unfair and it is not unfriendly to ask Japan what she would do did she find that her fairest island was in economic control of an alien race and would be controlled politically by that race in a few years; to ask her what she would do if she found in her richest agricultural province 100,000 of that alien race increasing by birth nine times as fast as the Japanese, and already in economic control of certain districts and certain industries; and to ask her what she would do if that alien race insisted on the right to permanently establish itself as a distinct race within the Japanese empire. Let us be courteous and fair to the peoples of other nations, but let us also be just to ourselves. Let us be sure that in entertaining neighbors we are not being forced out of our home.

California's Attitude.

California hopes that in the course which she is following in protection of American interest and American citizenship, she will have the support of the citizenship of Hawaii. The policy of California has been in effect indorsed by 12 other states which have passed laws similar to the California Alien Land Law, or taken preliminary steps in connection therewith, and whose congressional delegations organized at Washington in May last an association to act with California in consideration of and action on the Japanese immigration problem.

That you may understand precisely what is California's policy in this matter, I read the four points of the declaration of principles enunciated by the Japanese Exclusion League of California and formally indorsed, without a dissenting vote, by the California Legislature in April, 1921:

"First—Absolute exclusion for the future of all Japanese immigration, not only male, but female, and not only laborers, skilled and unskilled, but farmers and men of small trades and professions, as recommended by Theodore Roosevelt.

"Second—Such exclusion to be enforced by United States laws and regulations, as done with immigration, admitted or excluded, from all other countries; and not, as at present, under an arrangement whereby control and regulation is surrendered by us to Japan.

"Third—Compliance on the part of all departments of the federal government with the Constitution, and the abandonment of the threat or attempt to take advantage of certain phrasing of that document as to treaties, which it is claimed gives the treaty-making power authority to violate plain provisions of the Constitution and statutes in the following matters:

"(a) To nullify state rights and state laws for control of lands and other matters plainly within the state's jurisdiction.

"(b) To grant American citizenship to races of yellow color, which are made ineligible for such citizenship.

"Fourth—For the Japanese legally entitled to residence in California fair treatment, protection in property rights legally acquired and the privilege of engaging in any business desired, except such as may be now or hereafter denied by law to all aliens, or to aliens ineligible to citizenship; and provided particularly they may not hereafter buy or lease agricultural lands."

And now, as an earnest and loyal American, I leave with you, who are Americans equally earnest and equally

loyal, careful consideration of this serious matter. You owe it to yourselves to determine by investigation whether I am right or wrong. If wrong, I should be exposed. If right, your duty and mine is to do what lies in our power to avert a national calamity which must force eventually a rupture of our friendly relations with Japan.

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

The following leaflets, dealing with various phases of the problem created by Japanese immigration, colonization, and peaceful penetration in the United States, written by V. S. McClatchy, will be mailed prepaid to any address in the United States or Canada, on receipt of the necessary amount in stamps.

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California's

Japanese

Language

Schools



**DANGEROUS AND
UN-AMERICAN**

Serious Work for the New Legisla-
ture. Japanese Language Schools
Foster Japanese Solidarity in Jap-
anese Claiming American Citizen-
ship; Hawaii's Fight to Restrict
Them; California's Ineffective Law
and Poor Management. : : : :

By V. S. McCLATCHY

From the Sacramento Bee,
December 18, 1922.

California's Japanese Language Schools

The subject of separate foreign language schools, and more particularly, Japanese language schools, is likely to receive some attention from the California State Legislature of 1923. The experience of Hawaii in connection with this problem (See Honolulu letter published in The Bee November 17th, 1922) has drawn public attention to the California situation within the past few weeks, and those who have given the matter thought are surprised and perhaps a little alarmed by existing conditions.

The Real Purpose.

The Japanese separate language schools, both in Hawaii and in California, have been used ostensibly to teach the Japanese language to Japanese children born in this country so that they might be closer to their non-English speaking parents. The real purpose of the schools is to teach Japanese ideals and loyalty and to make dependable Japanese citizens of the young Japanese children for whom are claimed, by birth, all rights of American citizenship. These schools are maintained to train in this way the children whose parents cannot afford to send them back to Japan. At present there are in Japan, receiving education and training in Japanese citizenship, nearly 20,000 Japanese children, born in Hawaii, and probably nearly as many born in California. During the three years ending July 1, 1922 (as shown by immigration department records), 6,649 of these California-born children left San Francisco for Japan. They are sent over when between

8 and 10 years of age, and return, if boys, when 17 to 19, and if girls, when a few years younger. They have all been registered as American citizens by birth; and it is inevitable that on their return they will use their American citizenship for the purposes of Japan.

Condemned As Un-American.

In 1920 a survey commission, under direction of the commissioner of education at Washington, D. C., made a survey of education in Hawaii (Bulletin 1920, No. 16) and urged that the Japanese separate language schools be abolished as "un-American, if not anti-American" and that foreign language schools be permitted only for education of foreign born children who never can become American citizens and whose parents prefer to pay the expense of separate schools rather than enroll the children in the public schools. Professor W. W. Kemp, superintendent of the California State Teachers' College at San Jose, was a member of that survey commission.

Hawaii Insists on Restriction.

The Japanese in Hawaii (they constitute almost half the population of the territory) were strong enough to prevent passage of the legislation suggested, and even defeated in 1919 a bill which would compel teachers in these schools to have knowledge of the English language and of American history and civics. Such a bill, however, in view of strengthened public opinion, was offered later by the Japanese themselves, and passed at a special session of the territorial legislature in November, 1920. Under its provisions the territorial department of education is given limited control of these schools.

It became plain, however, that the schools were still being used for the original purpose; and a committee of Japanese and Amer-

icans, in August, 1922, agreed on certain restrictions. The Japanese Association of Hawaii declined to accept these restrictions and proposed to fight them, even if ordered by the territorial government. These restrictions were ordered put into effect by action of the territorial educational department and approval of the governor on November 18, 1922. They are based on the theory that text books shall not be used for conveying ideals or information of Japan, but shall be used only for study of the Japanese language and shall be confined to subjects of interest to English-speaking American citizens; that teachers must be familiar with the English language and American civics and history. American-born children are not permitted to attend such separate language schools until after they have passed through the first and second grades of the public schools.

The California Law.

A precisely similar situation confronted California, and two bills were introduced in the state legislature of 1921, one of which became a law. It is modeled after the Hawaiian Act which has been found since so defective, but it has, in addition, defects of its own.

The California law provided no appropriation, and the state department of education has no funds available for such purposes. A license fee of \$2.00 (reduced from \$10 as provided in the original draft) only meets the expenses of examination of teachers.

As a result, there has been no opportunity for the department to check up the Japanese text books used in these schools, since translations could not be paid for; there is no opportunity for investigation of the conduct of the schools to determine whether a provision of the law calling for teaching of

American ideals and American citizenship is observed; there is no knowledge on the part of the board as to the number and attendance of these schools, save such as has been furnished by the Japanese themselves.

California's Japanese Schools.

On this latter point, Sam H. Cohn, assistant state superintendent of public instruction, says that the Association of Japanese Language Institutes for Northern and Central California, sent him a list of forty such schools north of the Tehachapi with the attendance of each, as of March, 1920, aggregating 1,843, almost equally divided between boys and girls. The management of these forty schools is reported as follows: Christian, 6; Buddhist, 8; Independent, 24; Japanese Association, 2.

From Southern California, there was available, in the state superintendent's office on December 1, 1922, a year and a half after the act went into effect, no information as to the Japanese schools of Southern California save the names of fourteen such schools and the location thereof, furnished by Japanese. On December 8, 1922, in response to request, the "First Japanese Institute" of Los Angeles sent a list of fifteen such schools, with location, name of teacher, enrollment and average daily attendance. The enrollment in these schools, according to such statement, runs from 20 to 234; the total enrollment 1,051, and average attendance 935. The date to which these statistics apply is not given. The figures given for the schools north of the Tehachapi are nearly three years old; and it may be fairly assumed that the present attendance in the Japanese schools in the state is over 3,000. The state department has no means of ascertaining the accuracy of these reports, but believes

them to be correct so far as they go.

Teachers Licensed.

The state has not accomplished much in following out the intent of this act, due in large part, no doubt to lack of appropriation. Applications for licenses have been received from 360 teachers in the foreign language schools, of which number forty-nine failed in examination and forty-five had not been passed on December 1st. The balance—266—were given licenses and are teaching, presumably. Over 80 per cent of the applicants were Japanese, and the others were Germans and Chinese and a few Koreans.

No Check On Management.

The department has no information and no means of ascertaining whether the intent of the law as to teaching American ideals and not Japanese in these Japanese schools is being observed. The obligation imposed on instructors in this regard by the act is very explicit. In Hawaii, a year ago, specific cases of direct violation of this provision of the law were shown on the part of teachers, who instructed their young pupils (all claiming rights as American citizens), that their first duty was owed to Japan. This was done notwithstanding that the law provided for a solemn oath by these teachers to "so direct the minds and studies of the pupils in these schools as will tend to make them good and loyal American citizens, and not instruct or permit said pupils to receive instruction in said schools in any way inconsistent therewith." Manifestly, a mere knowledge of the English language and American history on the part of a Japanese instructor offers no guarantee that he will teach his young pupils (American citizens of Japanese ancestry) that their first duty is owed to

this country and not to Japan. If the oath was not effective in Hawaii it cannot be relied upon in California.

Objectionable Text Books.

As to knowledge and criticism of text books used in the Japanese schools of California, the department is most seriously handicapped by lack of appropriation and inability to pay for translations. It was the understanding that the text books would be revised and everything objectionable removed, and a Japanese committee has been working on the matter. It was represented, however, that the new books could not be provided until some time in 1923, and permission was given to use the old text books if slips of paper were pasted over the most objectionable pages. Unless the Japanese youth are quite different from the youth of other races, these covered pages will be first read and more carefully considered than any of the others. The text thus protected by pasted slips cover subjects connected with Mikadoism, the divine origin of the Emperor taught as history, the glory of Japan, duty of her people, etc.

The retained portions of the books deal with subjects which appeal to Japanese and dwellers in Japan. The Japanese have furnished the department with English translation of the various retained lessons, of the correctness of which the department has no means of judging. Assuming the translations to be accurate, it has marked the series of books "Revised and Passed." I have submitted these translations of the retained portions of these books to a competent translator and am advised that "they are for the most part not complete translations, and in many instances, give no adequate indication of the subject matter." An itemized list of these translations

and their scope, which is in my possession, justifies even harsher criticism. In any event, the retained sections cover subjects entirely inappropriate. The department of education of Hawaii holds that the subjects treated should be such as will be of interest and concern to an American citizen using the English language, and not such as might interest a resident of Japan.

Text Books Controlled by Japan.

The intent of Japan and of the Japanese in California in maintaining these separate language schools will be better understood on consideration of the following facts:

The text books which have been in use for years and which it is proposed to modify, are of the regular series ordered by the Mombusho (the Imperial Educational Department) of Japan for use in the schools of the Empire. Even where changed or modified in text, the effort is to preserve as far as possible their main features, so that the children in Japan, or here, on changing residence, may step into classes with whose books they are familiar.

The Mombusho is evidently to control, so far as it can, the selection of new text books or change in the old ones. The matter for the new California text books is in course of preparation by a committee of the Japanese Association of America, but is to go back to Tokyo to the Mombusho for final approval "in literary style." A commission of Japanese scholars was sent by the department of education to study educational matters in this country, and the leader, Dr. Yanagizawa, was asked last Summer in San Francisco to inspect these new books, but declined to do more than read them and offer suggestions, and refer them to Tokyo. Two Councillors,

of the department of education took back to Japan for inspection copies of completed manuscripts of the new California text books, Nos. 1 and 2. All this is on the authority of Nichi Bei, the Japanese-American News of San Francisco, June 7, 1922.

The Sacramento Daily News (Japanese) of July 11, 1922, calls attention to the fact that these school books are to go back to Japan for approval, and sharply criticises the policy, saying it is likely to cause question on the part of Americans as to the good faith of the Japanese in claiming to amend these books so as to conform to American ideals.

Local Japanese Control.

Going further back in the files of the Japanese newspapers, more can be learned as to the real intent of the Japanese in maintaining these schools. There was held in San Francisco on January 27, 1922 and following, the annual meeting of delegates from Japanese Associations all over the portion of California north of the Tehachapi. Plans for a new educational department of the Japanese Association were adopted, the first three announced purposes of which are (1) to stand between the Japanese language schools and the state authorities and give guidance and help; (2) to undertake the general guidance for education of the children; (3) to hold lecture sessions in every locality. Arrangements were made to bring over a qualified man from Japan to take charge of this department and control the separate language schools, the expense to be borne largely by the parents of children attending.

Why They Are Un-American.

Nichi Bei—the Japanese-American News, San Francisco, January 14, 1922, contains a lengthy article

headed "What We Want in the Japanese Language Schools—Not Mere Language Training—Make Them Literary Centers for the Nurture of National Character." Following are some quotations from the article, as translated:

"It is a serious matter to slip into Americanization to the extent of losing our national character."

"Americanized Japanese must not lose their national character."

"The addition of the beautiful sentiments of the Manyoshu and Kokinshu to the poetical muse of America is the most felicitous thing which could occur for the blending of Eastern and Western culture." (The Manyoshu and Kokinshu are ancient poetical collections which sing the praises of Japan in the early centuries, exploit the divine character of the Mikado and the destiny of Japan to be a leader of nations.)

In these Japanese schools, while the Star Spangled Banner is sung, the place of honor is given to the Kimigayo (Japanese National hymn). The article quoted above from Nichi Bei of January 14, 1922 contains also this sentence. "The Star Spangled Banner is interesting, but is not the Kimigayo, like the ocean in the Spring beating on the shore, also interesting?"

Apparent Intent of Japanese.

It is charged that these Japanese schools are not maintained to assist in Americanization, but carefully planned and controlled in instruction and curriculum by official Japan and maintained by Japanese for Japanese, and to insure control to Japan of the young Japanese born here and claiming American citizenship rights. The frank expression of Japanese newspapers as well as the conduct of the schools certainly give the impression that it is neither the desire nor the intent of the Japan-

ese to permit these schools to be used for any purpose not helpful to Japanese solidarity in this country.

The recommendation of the survey commission of the United States national department of education that such schools be abolished as "un-American if not anti-American" is thoroughly justified by the facts as developed in Hawaii and also here. Hawaii's present policy is to decline to recognize them as a permanent institution; to gradually restrict them more and more until they are eventually wiped out; to follow the spirit of the survey commission's recommendation that such separate language schools should not be tolerated except for teaching children of foreign parentage who can never become American citizens, and then should be maintained solely at the expense of the parents of such children.

It is understood that the state department of education has in contemplation some minor amendments to the existing act, which, however, with the department's present limited powers and resources and indicated policy, will have little value in curing the situation outlined in this article.

There has been no indication so far on the part of the department that it contemplates taking or recommending any action, such as urged by the survey commission from Washington or such as Hawaii has now inaugurated. That is a subject which deserves consideration by the incoming legislature.

NOTE

The foreign language school act, passed by the California Legislature, seeks to regulate such schools so that their pupils shall be strengthened rather than weakened in their American citizenship.

These foreign language schools hold their sessions before or after the public school sessions, because their pupils are forced by law to attend the public schools.

The foreign language schools are sometimes confused with the "segregated schools" which may be established in any district for public school pupils when segregation by nationality is deemed desirable by the school authorities. The Segregation Schools, however, are part of the public school system; the foreign language schools are not.



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Japanese Farmers in California

BY

COLONEL JHON P. IRISH

Persons wishing copies of this leaflet may have the same by writing to

CALIFORNIA FARMER'S COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

510 BATTERY STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

THE JAPANESE 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 house tops.

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 them? 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, the pioneer of it all, owns only forty acres of that vast conquest, and 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 8 to 1 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.

FRIENDS:

Enclosed herewith we take the liberty of submitting to you a document setting forth essential facts concerning the Japanese in California. It is based mainly upon the Report of the State Board of Control.

In the proposed Anti-Alien Land Initiative Law the people of California are asked to vote upon a proposal involving the fundamental principles of honor and justice.

A little over a century ago America proclaimed to the world "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."

Again the Constitution of the United States provides: "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."

Only fifty years ago your sires fought one of the greatest civil wars in the annals of the world for the upholding of these great principles.

In the recent great war America championed the cause of humanity and justice, and urged humanitarian ideals as the guiding principles of diplomacy.

It is because we have faith in the abiding ideals of the American people that we appeal to you, and ask you to give us a few minutes and think over the cold facts set forth in this document.

We wish it clearly understood that we advocate nothing akin to free immigration. On the contrary, we recognize the wisdom of restricting Japanese immigration.

Our only contention is that those Japanese who, comparatively small in number, are already here, should be treated justly and equitably.

The Japanese in California never fail to respond, and respond heartily, whenever they are called upon to shoulder their share in patriotic or charitable enterprises. Their economic activities have been deeply curbed by various devices, legislative and otherwise, making it extremely difficult for them to improve their financial status, and yet they have never shirked their duty in regard to any undertaking calculated to advance public welfare.

During the war this Association and the Japanese Agricultural Association were repeatedly appealed to by the government, Federal and State, and the Food Administration to urge our farmers to help increase the production of food materials. In responding to those appeals and taking the necessary measures to convey to our farmers the wish of the government, we thought we were performing patriotic duties, and there is no doubt that our efforts were appreciated by the authorities.

The proposed initiative measure will, if adopted, condemn the Japanese in California to a status little better than that of slaves or serfs. It will deprive them of all opportunity for material progress and economic advancement. It will render it impossible for them to provide for the future of their American-born children who are going to remain here as American citizens. Is it wise, is it in conformity with the American traditions of fair play, is it calculated to promote America's own welfare, that such a law should be adopted, virtually compelling the Japanese in California to fling upon the American community their sons and daughters, unprovided, and ill-trained to perform duties as members of a body politic of which these American-born children are destined to be a factor?

Pray do not think that we are trying to influence your judgment. We are simply asking you to lay aside for a minute sensational newspaper stories about us, and consider cold facts based upon authentic data. That is all we ask, and we do not doubt that you will grant us this request as a simple matter of fairness.

JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

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Japanese OR Whites?

Which Shall Rule and
Occupy This Land?

✦
*A Question Which the United
States Must Decide Now for
All Time: See What Japan
has Already Done.*

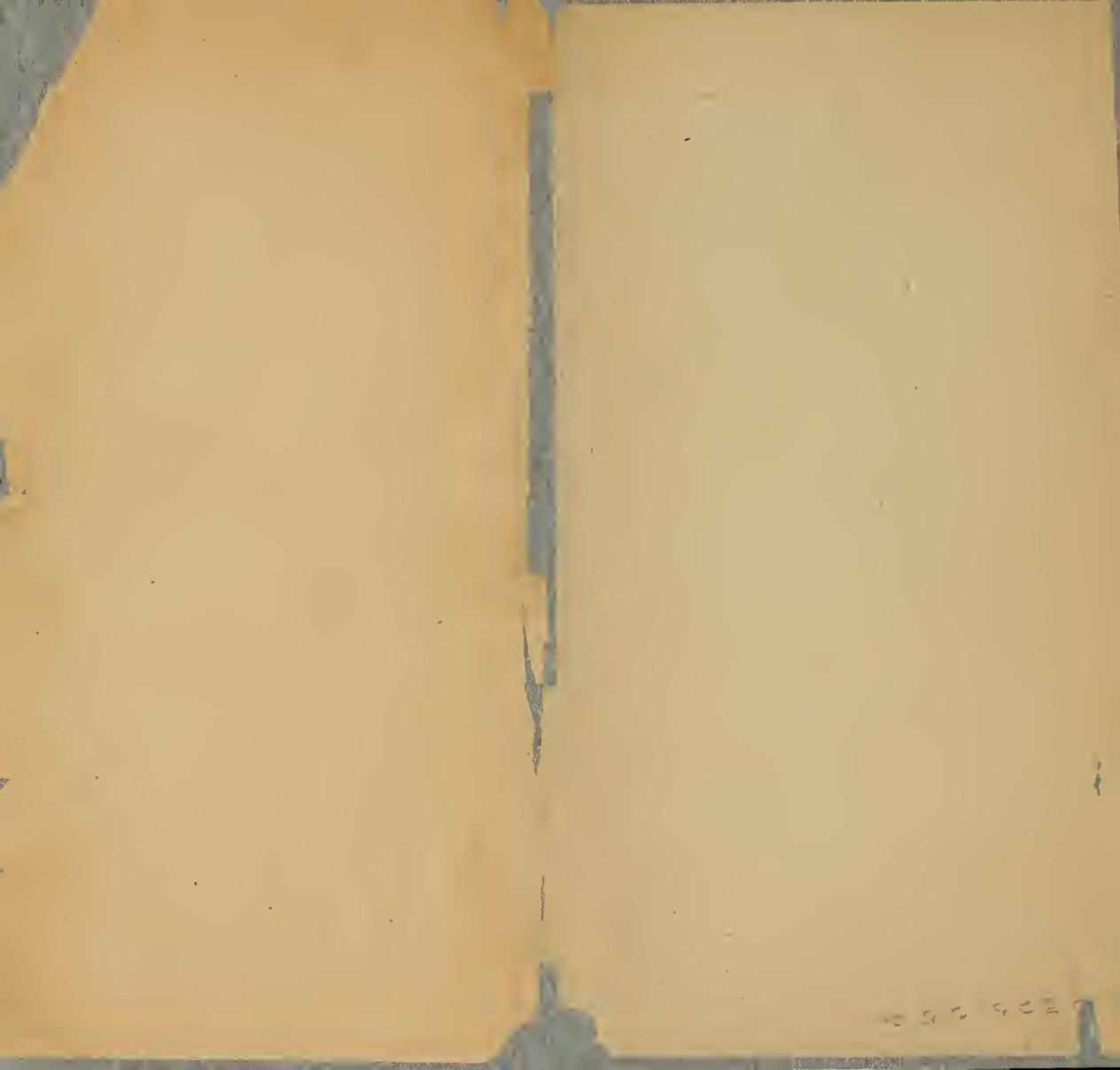
✦
By V. S. McCLATCHY

Publisher THE SACRAMENTO BEE

✦
*Reprinted from The Grizzly Bear,
December, 1919*

✦
The other publications herein referred to, giving
detailed information, will be mailed on receipt of a
2¢ stamp for each—“A Japanese Province” or
“Japan’s Peaceful Penetration.”

Also in booklet form—these articles and a series
on “The Germany of Asia” for five 2¢ stamps. Ad-
dress The Bee, Sacramento, Calif.



UNDER the title of "Indisputable Facts and Figures Proving California will become Japanized Unless Yellow Peril Stamped Out," the December number of the Grizzly Bear, official organ of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, publishes the following article by V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Bee:

Position and privilege carry with them obligation and responsibility. We, who were born under the sunny skies of California, who feel and profess a love for the glorious State, certainly owe her support and protection in her hour of need and danger.

The Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, who have sought through their organization to make public profession of the love and fealty that is in them cannot strive in a better cause than in safeguarding the State's future freedom from foreign enslavement, and in insuring to their children and to their children's children the enjoyment of California's hills and valleys in the glorious years to come.

And when the same danger that threatens the State threatens equally, in time, the entire Nation, then is their duty as Californians reinforced by their greater duty as Americans, to meet and overcome the impending peril.

The State and the Nation are faced now by such a danger! It has already developed within our State, and, unless opposed and conquered, will destroy the State for white occupation within a comparatively short time, and then rapidly extend until other States, and all States, eventually, succumb.

Not a Matter of Opinion.

Even under existing conditions it will be a matter of a few generations only before the Japanese will have so increased in this State that, with the advantages possessed by them in economic competition, they will have successfully ousted the white races from desirable industries and from all desirable localities, as has been done already in a few locations. The result will be hastened if legislation now urged in Congress shall be passed.

This is not simply the expression of an individual opinion, open to criticism and possessing no weight in the face of opposing opinion; it is the statement of an incontrovertible fact, mathematically demonstrated by acknowledged conditions, and by statistics which have not yet been contradicted or met, though they were first presented by me in opposition to the proposed bill of Sidney L. Gulick before the Congressional House Immigration Committee in June of this year.

It is a source of gratification, therefore, to know that the Native Sons and Native Daughters have risen already to the occasion and launched in Los Angeles an organization—the Los Angeles County Anti-Asiatic Association—in favor of Asiatic exclusion, and that individual Parlors of these Orders throughout the State have adopted ringing resolutions asking their Congressional representatives to commence remedial measures.

The Real Issue.

The brotherhood of man and the Golden Rule are appealed to by those who would inundate us gradually with the yellow tide from Japan; but neither principle calls for the surrender by the white race of their favored land to a yellow race which covets it because it offers advantages superior to those which can be found elsewhere. Remember, always, that this problem in its final analysis is simply, "Shall this country of ours be held for our white descendants, or shall it be turned over to the Japanese, that they may rule those descendants as they rule in Korea to-day?"

Remember, again, that there is involved in the subject no question as to racial equality, no reflection upon the Japanese. In fact, our stand upon this matter includes a frank admis-

sion that the Japanese are so much our superiors in certain admirable qualities, such as economy, industry and discipline, that, coupled with their lower standards of living, they would drive the white race to the wall in open economic competition, and that this disaster will inevitably follow if the Japanese are admitted to the country, or to certain portions thereof, in sufficient numbers to make their economic advantages count.

Japan Makes Precedent.

And remember, too, that the right which we claim of protecting our people and our institutions against the importation of cheap labor with lower standards of living is precisely the right claimed and exercised by Japan herself, notwithstanding her vociferous protestations against our attitude and her demand for "racial equality," as a basis for free admission. For her immigrants to the United States, Canada and Australia; that under Imperial Ordinance No. 252, Japan does not admit, and never has admitted, the cheap labor of Korea and China, notwithstanding it is also yellow in color, and says publicly that she excludes these people because their lower standards of living would make their competition unfair to the Japanese.

It is assumed that no one will question the propriety of the principles outlined above, provided the facts are as represented. It remains only to present those facts. Incidentally, it should be said that in the space of a magazine article, the matter can be presented in outline only, and those who desire fuller explanations and details and the statistics are referred to statements made by me before the House Immigration Committee, September 25th, and before the Senate Immigration Committee, October 10th of this year, and now in print; or to my published articles which have since been issued in booklet form.

"The Gentlemen's Agreement."

The established policy of the United States is against Asiatic immigration.

because the lower standards of living of these immigrants and their possible number would seriously endanger the happiness and prosperity of our people, and the perpetuity of our institutions. The Chinese are kept out under the Exclusion Act. Japan was touched in her pride, or said she was, by having her laborers excluded by law, and offered to exclude them voluntarily, if she was not placed in the same category with China. Hence the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which has been in operation since 1907, and under which Japan, it was understood, would restrict immigration of Japanese to this country as immigration of Chinese was restricted by law. The declared object of the agreement was to prevent Japanese laborers, skilled and unskilled, coming into continental United States. No Japanese, unless born under the American flag in Hawaii, and therefore a citizen, may enter any port of continental United States unless he carries Japan's passport, which is in effect Japan's word as a "gentleman" that the immigrant is not a laborer, and does not come to labor.

The agreement has been grossly violated by Japan. It is only necessary to say that the Japanese population of the United States since 1900 has increased six-fold, while the Chinese population has decreased over one-half; and Japan was to have secured under the agreement results as to the Japanese similar to those secured as to the Chinese by the Exclusion Act.

So that, even if the agreement had been kept in good faith, it has failed entirely to accomplish the clearly-declared purpose for which it was entered into, and should therefore be abrogated. As a matter of fact, it could have accomplished that purpose had Japan acted up to its letter and its spirit. Under that agreement as now operating, it would require only a few generations to make of California an economic principality of Japan, and drive Californians to other States, here, in time, they would have to

succumb to the ever-increasing yellow tide from Japan.

Many Japanese Coming.

From 10,000 to 12,000 Japanese immigrants are coming in each year under this agreement; and most of them are at labor within a few weeks after their arrival, while others go into gainful occupations which displace whites.

The Japanese population of California by immigration has increased about 50,000 since 1907, when the agreement was made, and most of these immigrants are laborers. Each laborer forms a separate violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

"Picture Brides" have been imported at the rate of over 4,000 a year for the past five years, most of them being laborers and performing the work of men in field or shop, in addition to bearing children, at the rate usually of one a year. In 1918, the total Japanese immigration was 10,168, of which over one-half, 5,347, were females. In 1900 in the United States there were twenty-five male Japanese to one female. In 1910 there were seven males to one female. At present, it is estimated that the proportion is about three to one.

"Picture Brides" as Laborers.

The "Picture Bride," when she is a laborer, is a direct violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." As a mother, she is a cunning subterfuge for evading the intent of the agreement and increasing the Japanese population of the United States. Notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese females are outnumbered by the males in this country about three to one, while among the white races the sexes are about equal in number, the birth rate per thousand among the Japanese in Sacramento and other cities in California is five times as great as among the white population.

In the ten years following the adoption of the agreement, Japanese births in this State multiplied twenty-fold. Last year they numbered 4,365. The

Chinese births in California are less than one-tenth of the Japanese, and their death rate is twice as large as the birth rate. The Japanese birth rate is between four and five times as great as their death rate.

MANY JAPANESE ARE NATIVES.

There are in California about 25,000 Japanese native sons and daughters, each one claiming the right to hold land through a guardian, and many of them utilized for that purpose.

Los Angeles is the most populous county in the State, and in that county in May, 1913, outside of incorporated cities, the number of Japanese births was one-third of the aggregate births among all white races, as noted in the Los Angeles Times of June 30, 1913.

In Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, in 1918 the Japanese births exceeded the white births. The 1910 census showed eight times as many whites as Japanese in that district.

What Japanese Press Urges.

Since my articles have called attention to these matters there has been continuous comment in the Japanese newspapers of the State. One of them published in San Francisco urged the Japanese to import as many "picture brides" and secure as much California land as possible before restrictive measures are adopted by the State or the Nation.

Increase of Japanese Under Existing Conditions.

The official figures presented above will prepare the reader to consider seriously and to credit the astounding statement that tables carefully compiled show that under existing conditions the Japanese population of this country will increase so rapidly that in a few generations they will drive the whites out of California, and in much less than 200 years can annex the United States as a principality of Japan, the Americans and their descendants outnumbered,

driven to the wall through economic competition, and Koreanized.

Gulick Plan Means Great Influx.

Under the Gulick plan, as urged upon Congress, the Japanese immigration would be increased in a few years beyond the present figures. Careful tables of increase of Japanese population in the United States under that plan, and assuming that the excess of births over deaths will be only one-half of that now shown, place the total in 1923 at 318,600; in 1933 at 542,000; in 1943 at 875,000; in 1963 at 2,000,000; in 2003 at 10,000,000; in 2063 at 100,000,000!

Examination of results secured by Japanese colonization in Hawaii and California will convince any one that long before the last date named the whites would have been driven to the wall either by economic competition or by force of arms, and that the world's glorious Republic would have become an appendage of Japan. Under operation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," as now working, the result would be equally certain, but it might take a little longer.

A year ago this statement would have been laughed at. Remember, today, that the facts and figures upon which it is based have been before the American public and before the House Committee on Immigration since June of this year and neither Sidney L. Gulick nor any other champion of the Japanese, or of the policy of opening our ports to them, has attempted to disprove their correctness.

A Non-Assimilable Race.

The numbers of the Japanese and the manner in which they will inevitably increase in this country form but one factor, however, in the menace which they offer.

They do not assimilate! The melting pot does not affect them as it does in time the most refractory of the European races. They remain always Japanese. They maintain their racial purity more jealously than any

other race which comes to our shores. They preserve their ideals, their customs, their language, their loyalty to Japan, even when born here, partly because Japan never ceases to hold them as Japanese citizens, and partly because they are taught in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers who frequently speak no English, and have no sympathy with American ideals. It is a dangerous experiment to attempt to make good American citizens of such material!

Illustrated in Hawaii.

The nature of this problem is well illustrated in Hawaii. Concerning the lesson taught there, Sidney L. Gulick himself declared in 1914, in his pamphlet "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem":

"If, as Asiatics, they maintain their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the state and the individual, the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The standards of living of the Japanese are much lower than ours. Unless we are willing to work twelve, fifteen or eighteen hours a day, to forego recreation and pleasure, and the comforts of American homes; and to have our women slave in the fields, and incidentally bear a child a year, then it is hopeless for us to attempt economic competition with the Japanese. In such a competition in this country, the white race, even the industrious, hard-working immigrants from Europe, must inevitably go to the wall.

Concentrate Their Numbers.

The Japanese do not distribute themselves throughout the country so as to make a weak solution of Japanese in a great reservoir of Americans. They concentrate their numbers in those localities and industries where most profit can be secured with least effort and least discomfort, and

have a co-operation which is more effective than that shown by any American labor union. In this State for instance, there are say 100,000 Japanese in a total population of 3,600,000, but three-quarters of that 100,000 are found in seven of our fifty-eight counties, and concentrated generally in a few favored localities in those counties.

Under such policy, and with their economic advantages and the assistance received from their government through banks and commissions, it is comparatively easy to conquer one district, drive the whites therefrom, and let newcomers concentrate in other localities. So, in time, the favored spots of the State must succumb—and, unless the remedy is applied, the favored spots of other states.

Three Elements of Menace.

Here are before us, then, the three elements which make Japanese immigration such a grave danger to the country:

First—They do not, and perhaps never will, assimilate.

Second—They have a birth rate so much greater than the whites that time only would be necessary for them to outnumber the whites in communities to which they are admitted.

Third—Their low standards of living, co-operation and thrift give them advantages in economic competition against which it is hopeless for whites to compete.

Hawaii Controlled by Japanese.

Let us glance, now, at what the Japanese, because of the factors named, have already accomplished under the American Flag. A brief outline of the facts, coupled with the undisputed figures as to the rate at which their numbers will increase under existing conditions, furnish a conclusive reply to those who insist that the danger is a fancied and not a real one, and that we can afford to wait until it matures further.

Hawaii is under the American flag, but it has been practically conquered by the Japanese. Half the entire population of the territory is now Japanese, and they number four times as many as those of any other race. They boast in their newspapers that by the votes of native-born Japanese they will hold the balance of power as between Republicans and Democrats before 1933, and it is equally certain that within a generation they will outvote a combination of all other races in the territory. Their influence is already so great, in advance of the actual voting strength, that they defeated a bill before the territorial legislature in June of this year which would have forced teachers in Japanese and other foreign-language schools to know enough of the English language and American civics and history to teach the young American citizens some of their duties and obligations. The Japanese teachers do not fulfill these requirements.

The Japanese naturally control a number of industries in Hawaii, in which white or native labor was formerly employed.

California Following Hawaii.

What has already happened in Hawaii is now in progress in California. Look at Florin and Walnut Grove, in Sacramento County, and various communities in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, where the white population has already been displaced. Look at the orchard districts now largely dominated by Japanese, at blocks of thousands of acres now being colonized by them; note their increased ownership of land through dummy corporations and native-born Japanese under guardians; see their increased control of the rice fields; consider the Imperial Valley; recall entire districts in the fine residence portion of San Francisco and other cities from which the whites have been driven. Will we heed the lesson?

In Oregon, a large tract of 11,000 acres has just been purchased by Japanese, on which these people will

concentrate for growth of garden truck, largely potatoes.

A National Problem.

In Seattle, forty-seven per cent of all hotels and lodging-houses, including the big, pretentious hotels, are owned by the Japanese, and a corresponding number of restaurants, garages, commission houses and small business enterprises.

In the Hood River apple district of Oregon they have already secured control of a large percentage of the orchards. In Colorado they own practically the Rocky Ford melon business, with control of 85 per cent of the district and the crop.

It should be apparent to the intelligent investigator that what has already happened in Hawaii is now taking place in California; that unless drastic remedies are at once applied, existing conditions will in a comparatively short time produce here such results as are noted there; that other favored sections of the Pacific Coast states will suffer in turn; and gradually, as the incoming yellow tide increases, first the most favored districts of other states must succumb, and ultimately all desirable portions of all states.

The problem, therefore, is not a California problem, or even a Pacific Coast problem, but a National problem. Adequate relief can come only from the Federal Government, which has, unwittingly, imposed the burden upon us and blindly permitted it to grow.

Propaganda for Increase of the Evil.

As proof of the necessity for immediate action and continued vigilance in the matter, it should be remembered that for over five years Japan conducted a wonderful propaganda in the United States, through Sidney L. Gulick, for the purpose of securing admission of all Asiatics to this country as immigrants and citizens on the same plane as Europeans, and taking away from the states any authority

in handling matters in connection with the rights of aliens.

Gulick secured endorsement of that policy from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the most powerful church federation in the country, comprising over 100,000 churches and 17,000,000 members, and was employed by the council under salary while he conducted his propaganda.

He organized, a year or more ago, the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, for the ostensible purpose of protecting American citizenship by restricting undesirable immigration, and secured the names of nearly one thousand prominent Americans in the various states of the Union as sponsors for the league. He formulated a bill which he presented in the name of the league to the House Committee on Immigration in June of this year, which bill proposed to safeguard immigration by limiting it to a percentage of those various races who now claim, or may hereafter claim, American citizenship.

How Scheme Would Work.

Incidentally, however, that bill was a framework in which reposed his main objective—throwing open our ports to the admission of Asiatics as immigrants and citizens. As before stated, the bill would permit the admission of more Japanese than now come in under the violations of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." And under its provisions, too, we could not admit one Belgian, Spaniard or Portuguese unless we admitted from 100 to 600 Germans; nor one Chinaman unless we admitted ten Japanese.

It is gratifying to know that most of Gulick's Committee of One Thousand, on learning the facts, have repudiated the League; and that his measure is dead in Congress because he could not make reply to those facts, a few of which are herein quoted.

But Senator Dillingham of Vermont has introduced in the Senate, and

had referred to the Senate Committee on Immigration, a similar bill, which, while it does not admit Asiatics to citizenship, would enormously increase the number of Japanese who could come in as immigrants, not only above the number now coming, but even above the number which could come under the Gulick plan.

The Obvious Remedies.

Through lack of understanding of the subject, and the impression that the Californians are influenced in this matter simply by race prejudice, Congress and the East have been disinclined in years past to consider the menace of Japanese immigration seriously. Shantung and Siberia have given these doubters cause for thought as to Japan, and they are now in a receptive mood. It is the psychological moment for spreading the light of facts throughout the Nation, and creating a mental impression which will stand against Japanese propaganda in the future, and afford substantial basis for remedial action by Congress.

It is through the weak complaisance and the blindness of our Federal Government, and the bad faith of Japan, that the burden has been placed upon us. It is only through Federal action that adequate remedies can be applied. And concerted effort should be made to secure remedial legislation before the menace has become too deeply entrenched. The remedies which I have suggested are:

First—Cancellation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

Second — Exclusion of "picture brides."

Third—Absolute exclusion of Japanese, with other Asiatics, as immigrants.

Fourth—Confirmation and legalization of the principle that Asiatics shall be forever barred from citizenship.

Fifth—Amendment of Section 1 of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution, providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be eligible to American citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizenship.

Time to Fight "Peaceful Penetration."

The facts properly marshaled and considered in their relation to each other furnish striking evidence of the undoubted policy of Japan to secure, by "peaceful penetration," a place in this favored land for an unlimited number of her people, and, ultimately, to obtain through them absolute control of the country. In this matter economic conquest would be quite as effective as conquest by force of arms.

The facts, too, show that we have to deal with a cunning, persistent and implacable antagonist, much our superior in adroitness and in the use of diplomatic subterfuges; and that the Nation can not be saved without the creation of a public sentiment which will put backbone into the Federal Administration, which in the past has permitted Japan to cajole and bluff it on any and all issues.

Japan and her friends have intimated that there will be a serious break, and possibly war, between the two nations if we insist on protecting our people and the future of the Republic by any such restrictive measures as are herein suggested—the only ones which will prove effective. That has ever been the insidious suggestion from Japan, supplementing her plea that the pride of her people must be respected.

If Japan Fair, No War.

If Japan is fair in this matter, there will be no war, for our position is not only just and similar to that of Japan in Asia, but is necessary for our future welfare. If Japan insists on being unreasonable, is it not about time that Americans should demand that the Federal Administration govern this country for the benefit, present and future, of Americans, and not in accordance with the request or threat of a foreign nation?

Our present problem has been created by our weak yielding to such demands, or threats, in the past. Japan does not attempt such tactics with Canada or Australia, which rigorously exclude Japanese under the same laws as govern the immigration into those countries of other Asiatics.

This is our country! It rests with us to say whether we shall share it with the yellow races or not. It is time that we spoke in unmistakable terms to the world on this subject, and that we back up our announced policy in any way necessary for its maintenance.

to a policy as to peoples or their respective quotas when that policy not only does not represent their comparative value to us now as material for upbuilding the republic, but, even if right now, might call for change in the future?

If it be wise to restrict immigration, and our experience indicates that it is wise to do so, why not decide on the number we care to admit each year and select them from the most desirable who present themselves, regardless of the number of their respective races who are already here? Let each applicant be judged on individual merit.

If the Japanese now in our midst threaten our labor, our industries and our economic life, why not adopt such protective measures as are feasible? Why not prevent, so far as it can be done, the movement of Japanese from Hawaii to the mainland; stop at once the importation of "picture brides," and encourage the States to pass alien land laws which will forbid the sale and lease of land to those ineligible to citizenship?

Why not cancel the "Gentlemen's Agreement" at once, since it is not being kept in good faith, and forbid by laws, similar to those enforced by Canada and Australia, the admission of all undesirable Asiatics?

Why not make such Asiatics as, for any reason, are poor, or undesirable, or dangerous material for American citizenship ineligible to that privilege?

Why not decide now and for all time that our immigration policy, our naturalization policy and all our National policies shall be based, not on what someone else desires or demands, but on what is best for the comfort and happiness of the loyal American citizen, for the maintenance of the American home and for the preservation of the American Nation?

And if the necessities of the Nation at any time demand an amount of labor in excess of that to be had at home, or that can be secured from desirable immigration, why not admit the necessary number of Chinese, restrict them to the occupations for which they are needed, and otherwise protect our people from economic competition, and send them back to China at the end of a fixed term of years? This is somewhat similar to the plan followed by the Allies in utilizing Chinese labor in France during the war.

Our Interests or Japan's?

Against these suggestions there will be raised at once the objection that all or any part of the measures proposed will hurt Japan's pride and must not be attempted. There does not occur to me any other objection that might be offered.

They should not hurt Japan's pride, for they are based on economic and not on racial grounds. They are in effect the same measures which she enforces against Chinese and Koreans, who are, too, of the yellow race, and for precisely similar reasons. They are measures enforced against Japan by Canada and Australia, notwithstanding that Great Britain is Japan's ally. And the Paris Conference declined to consider Japan's demand for recognition of the question under the head of "Racial Discrimination," because Australia most vigorously protested, and because Japan's claim was inconsistent and untenable.

And if, notwithstanding all this, Japan shall insist that her pride will be hurt, and we must not do it, then it would seem to be up to the American Nation to say, very politely, that, much as it pains us to run counter to the susceptibilities of our good friends in Japan, our first care must be for the perpetuity of American institutions, and the freedom and happiness of our people, as the first consideration of Japan must be for her own people and their ideals.

Japan's "Peaceful Penetration"

*Hawaii Lost:
California Struggling:
The Nation Menaced*

Dr. Sidney Gulick's proposed
"Constructive Immigration"
Legislation.

*Its Purpose and Inevitable
Result*

By V. S. McCLATCHY

Publisher THE SACRAMENTO BEE

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EXPLANATORY.

COMMENCING on June 12, 1919, the House Committee on Immigration, Hon. Albert Johnson of Washington, Chairman, held at Washington, D. C., an extended hearing in connection with the proposed bill offered by the "League for Constructive Immigration Legislation." Dr. Sidney Gulick, the founder and Secretary of the League, and originator of the plan, explained it in detail.

Subsequently there were read into the record of the hearing, in refutation of Dr. Gulick's theories and assertions, certain articles from The Sacramento Bee, written by the Publisher thereof, V. S. McClatchy, and published June 9th, 11th and 13th. The facts and figures in those articles stood throughout the hearing without disapproval; and they covered, not only the features of the bill and probable results of its passage, but also the existing conditions in connection with Asiatic immigration.

In response to many requests, the articles (slightly revised), are published in this form for general distribution. It developed during the hearing, in the testimony of Dr. Charles McFarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, that the organization named is not now furnishing funds for Dr. Gulick's work, and that he is being financed, partly at least, by Andrew Carnegie, through the Commission on Peace and Arbitration.

THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC AT STAKE

(Editorial from Sacramento Bee, June 17, 1919.)

The experience of the past four years has convinced most Americans that our immigration and naturalization laws are entirely too liberal, and that if we are to preserve the high standards of American citizenship we must be more careful in the selection of material from which that citizenship is moulded. The sentiment is general that immigration if it be not stopped for some years, should be restricted and carefully selected.

With the prevalence of that sentiment it has been an easy matter during the past year to organize what is called the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, and to secure for it endorsement and subscriptions from a long list—one thousand or more—of representative and loyal Americans from all walks of life and entertaining many shades of political opinion. In that list are found Governors, public officials and politicians, University presidents, bank presidents, prominent editors, lawyers and physicians, National labor leaders and heads of Chambers of Commerce.

It now develops that the main object of the promoters of the enterprise is not the same as the intent of this long list of endorsers; that the "constructive immigration legislation" suggested is intended by those promoters simply as a vehicle for opening our gates to Asiatic immigrants and making them eligible for naturalization; and that this purpose was carefully concealed from the one thousand National Committeemen of the League in soliciting their endorsement and their subscriptions for a movement ostensibly to restrict foreign immigration in the interests of American citizenship.

The whole story, with an overwhelming array of facts and figures, largely from the promoters themselves, was told in three articles

written by the Publisher of The Bee. Under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," whose spirit called for a restriction of Japanese immigration similar to that enforced against the Chinese by law, Japan is sending us 10,000 to 12,000 of her subjects a year openly and more across the border clandestinely. Our Japanese population, instead of decreasing, has multiplied six-fold since 1900. The Chinese population has decreased to between one-half and one-third of the original number. And the Japanese birth rate per thousand in California communities where they have concentrated is five times the white birth rate and increasing.

Nearly half the population of Hawaii and more than half the annual births are Japanese; and that territory will be governed in a few years, under present conditions, as a Japanese province though under the American flag. What has happened there is an indication of what has already commenced in California.

It has been conclusively proved that the two civilizations will not exist together; that under economic competition, and because of difference in standards of living and in racial characteristics the Anglo Saxon is displaced by the Japanese.

The "constructive immigration" plan and the proposed legislation will increase the evil and hasten the end. They are shown to be the work of Sidney Gulick, who came here from Japan for the express purpose of securing for the Japanese the same privileges as immigrants and citizens as are accorded Europeans.

The chief value of plan and bill at this time is to offer proof of The Bee's charge that Japanese propaganda is carried on as systematically in this country now as was German propaganda before the War; and that the most efficient propagandists are loyal but misled American citizens.

The facts presented in The Bee's articles seem to demand at once such protective measures as can be applied to diminish the consequences of our blunder and Japan's bad faith.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" should be at once canceled, and all Japanese immigration, including picture brides, forbidden by law, as is done in Canada and Australia—such a law as Japan herself imposes against China and Korea; Japanese should be prevented, if possible, leaving Hawaii for the mainland; and laws forbidding ownership of land by aliens not eligible to citizenship should be made effective.

It is pertinent at this time to ask why this country should adopt, at the request of Japan or any other Nation, a principle under which races are to be admitted in the future, not on the basis of their value to us as citizens but in proportion to the number of their fellows who are already here; why we should admit as immigrants, much less as citizens, the various peoples of Asia in the face of present knowledge and the experience of Hawaii and California; why if it be desirable to restrict immigration, we do not fix the number we are willing to admit, and select on merit and because of their value to us in upbuilding a homogeneous people, the most likely individuals from those offering?

Shall we hereafter conduct this Nation so as best to preserve its institutions and insure its perpetuity? Or shall we, as in the past, open our doors on request or demand, to the elements that will make for disunion in a national crisis, and invite a yellow flood that will eventually dispossess the white race?

These are questions which must be decided now; and on a wise decision may depend the future salvation of the world's great Republic.

ARTICLE I.

Sidney Gulick's Mission to America—His "New Oriental Policy" —Securing Endorsement of a Great Church Federation— Organization of the League for "Constructive Immigration"— Why the Japanese Is Undesirable as Immigrant and Citizen

Japanese propaganda is being carried on in this country as determinedly and as successfully as was German propaganda before we entered the war. The end sought is the same—the conquest of the United States. The means are different. Conquest by arms was shown within the past two years to be impracticable. Conquest by "peaceful penetration" is now the plan.

There is now openly operating in the United States an organization whose work, if successful, will make the country in a comparatively few generations a province of Japan.

The promoter and manager of the organization is a professor of the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan, who has been in this country on furlough for five years and engaged during that time in this work. The President of the organization is one of the organizers of the Japan Society of America.

So cleverly has the plan of organization been carried out under the guise of protection to American citizenship and restriction of immigration generally, that 1,000 representative American citizens in various States of the Union have given it innocently their endorsement and financial support.

The organization has prepared a bill for presentation to Congress which will let down the bars and pave the way for future contributory legislation to hasten the end.

The first work of the promoter, five years ago, was to secure the endorsement and financial assistance of a combination of Protestant churches representing over 100,000 ministers and over 17,000,000 members, which organization pledged itself to the scheme and efficiently aided it—also undoubtedly in ignorance of its full significance.

Hawaii is already hopelessly Japanese, that race now comprising one-half the total population of the territory, and having more than four times the number of Caucasian or any other race.

In a few years the Hawaiian-born Japanese will rule the territory by their votes, and rule it not as Americans, but as Japanese, while under the proposed legislation the Japanese vote would be given immediate preponderance.

What has already happened in Hawaii is now rapidly progressing in California, and it is only a question of time under existing conditions—and even without aid of the proposed legislation—when all the fertile spots of the State will be peopled by Japanese to the exclusion of whites.

Our civilization cannot exist beside theirs in the face of economic competition and a birth rate per 1,000 five times or more as great as ours.

What is happening in California will be brought about in all spots of the United States sufficiently fertile and advantageously located to attract the settlement of the Japanese, provided conditions permit their steady and rapid increase within our borders, as contemplated by the promoters of the plan.

This article is opened with the several remarkable statements above. By the great mass of Americans who do not know the writer, these statements will be classed as the vapourings of an inspired lunatic. They will appear particularly ridiculous to citizens east of the Mississippi River who have no point of

contact with the peoples of the Far East.

There are many thousands, however, confined almost entirely to the Pacific Slope, who know the general situation, but most of these will be astounded at the details.

The statements are not only true in all particulars, but conclusive

proof will be furnished in this and the succeeding articles.

Japanese Propaganda in America.

In previously published articles I have called attention to some of the methods of propaganda pursued by Japan for lulling this country into fancied security and keeping her eyes closed so that Japan's objects could be the more readily and the more quickly accomplished.

There are the various Japanese American Societies, organized ostensibly to promote friendly relations, but used generally to secure the active but innocent assistance of prominent Americans in propaganda work; the commercial and trade organizations used in the same way; the entertainment in Japan of prominent Americans, who come back with a dazzling picture of one side of the shield, and who apparently do not know that the shield has a reverse side; men like Gary of the Steel Corporation, Jacob Schiff, the banker, and others who in public speeches and interviews make assertions and give assurances which any one familiar with Far Eastern conditions knows are entirely wrong; banquets and speeches where most publicity can be secured; special annual Japanese numbers of newspapers like the New York Evening Post and the San Francisco Chronicle; public lectures, and interviews with hired propagandists, both Japanese and American; Japanese news bureaus and magazines. Generally, these means are resorted to along the Atlantic seaboard and east of the Mississippi, where there is no Oriental question, where the public, being ignorant, will not question statements made, and where the greatest number of Americans can be reached with least effort and least expense.

It is thus that Japan has created a public sentiment in this country which must be corrected if the Nation is to be saved.

As will be seen from these articles, the propaganda has now taken on the form of enlisting the Churches in a demand based on the brotherhood of man and an assumed willingness to risk National interests in

order to promote evangelization; and enlisting the intelligent classes of the community in so-called "constructive immigration" legislation saddled with conditions which will give Japan what she wants.

The Instrument of "Peaceful Penetration."

The organization referred to, whose promoters aim to secure in this, the most favored land of the world, homes for the surplus population of Japan, is known as the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, with offices at No. 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

The President is Hamilton Holt of New York City, editor of the Independent, one of the organizers of the Japan Society of America and the recipient from the Mikado of the Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure.

In its published list of one thousand sponsors and subscribers will be found the names of men of State and National reputation from every section of the country—ministers, lawyers, doctors, college presidents, newspaper editors, captains of industry, National labor leaders, heads of Chambers of Commerce, merchants, Governors and capitalists. The great majority of these sponsors are men who would not knowingly associate themselves for a moment with a movement whose result would be such as here charged as the intent of the promoters of the league.

The organization is a remarkable tribute to the cleverness of the Japanese in the work of propaganda in this country. And in this case, as in the case of German propaganda before we entered the war, most of the effective work is being done by earnest and well-intentioned American citizens cleverly deceived and skillfully led.

The plan proposes to restrict all annual immigration from each race to a fixed percentage of the number of people of that race who are now American citizens, whether naturalized or born here. The promoter explains that, so far as Chinese and Japanese are concerned, the number admitted under such a plan will be negligible and easily assimilated; and that a policy of the sort will salve

the wounded pride of Japan by giving her nationals the same treatment as is accorded Europeans, and thus obviate chance of international complications.

Any measure for restricting immigration appeals to the average thinking American since the war, and, under such an explanation, it is not remarkable that prominent men throughout the country who know nothing of the experience of Hawaii and California with the Japanese and who had no time for investigation, gave endorsement and support to the movement.

Dr. Gulick and His New Policy.

The moving spirit in this enterprise, the promoter and manager, who bears the modest title of "Secretary," is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, who describes himself on the title pages of some of his writings as "Professor in Doshisha University and Lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan."

Dr. Gulick was born of missionary parents in the Far East and reared there with adopted Oriental children. He was educated in America and returned to Japan as a missionary about thirty years ago and has made his home there since. He is an able man, speaks Japanese, and has written books on the Japanese.

In 1913 he left Japan on a furlough and has been in America since, at work in promoting his "new Oriental policy." This policy, briefly stated, contemplates "granting to Asiatics in this land the same privileges which we grant to citizens of the most favored Nations," and "placing in the Federal Government, instead of in the State, responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens." This policy would necessitate changes in the Immigration and naturalization laws, and probably in the Constitution as well.

The Churches Take a Hand.

Dr. Gulick's first work on coming to this country was to secure endorsement of his "new Oriental policy" by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, and he was employed, under salary, by the Council to promote the plan.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ comprises constituent churches of thirty Protestant denominations, with 103,023 ministers and a membership of 17,433,826. The list of denominations includes Baptist, Evangelical, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist (all branches), African (all branches), Presbyterian, Episcopal, Reformed, United Brethren and others.

The Federal Council has a "Committee on Relations With Japan," and in 1914 one-fifth of all the Council's revenues were used by this committee. The Council had then no committee on relations with any other Nation.

The Council has spent time, energy and money in propaganda in this country in the interests of the "new Oriental policy" of Dr. Gulick, probably in the belief that an adjustment of international and race relationship along lines satisfactory to Japan would render more easy the promotion of the Christian Gospel among the Japanese.

It is unlikely that the ministers of the 100,000 American churches who have been thus committed to this movement have much knowledge of the facts which appear in these articles; it is certain that they do not realize the gravity of the situation. The 17,000,000 church members, with few exceptions, probably have little knowledge of the matter, but it will interest them to know that they are assessed annually at the rate of \$1 per one thousand members for the purposes of the Federal Council, and that a liberal portion of the assessment has been used for promotion of Dr. Gulick's "new Oriental policy."

Constructive Immigration Legislation

The measure proposed by the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation and endorsed at a called meeting in Washington of persons interested in immigration problems—presumably members of the League—is apparently the same as suggested tentatively by Dr. Gulick. It proposes to so amend the immigration and naturalization laws as to conform to his "new Oriental policy," and incidentally it

imposes certain restrictions on general immigration.

The information at hand indicates that the measure limits the maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any Nation, race or group having a single mother tongue, to 3 to 10 per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens, including the American born children.

There are other features, however, which are important, to be considered in connection with this declared principle, because they affect materially its practical operation.

First—Originally the ten per cent limit did not include aliens coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson or granddaughter. Later this exception was limited to father or grandfather, wife, mother, grandmother, or unmarried or widowed daughter coming to join relatives already here.

Second—All laws and understandings as to exclusion of Chinese and Japanese are to be canceled, and all such nationals now here, or such as may come hereafter, are to become eligible for citizenship.

Third—Any alien who seeks admission to the United States because of religious persecution in his own country, either in overt act or through law or regulation, is to be admitted and become at once eligible for citizenship.

Fourth—Any number of aliens may be admitted if they come as "students," and no provision is made for their return to their own country.

Further study may disclose other features having equally vital bearing on the operation of the proposed measure.

Japanese Undesirable Immigrants.

Criticism of this proposed legislation in these articles is confined generally to consideration of its effect upon our Japanese problem, and is based on the postulate that the Japanese is for us an undesirable immigrant, and an undesirable citizen.

He is an undesirable immigrant for economic rather than for racial reasons, and the strongest of these

reasons are creditable rather than discreditable to him.

His standards of living are lower than ours; he will work longer hours for less money; he is thrifty, industrious and ambitious; he is a competent farmer, truck gardener and orchardist; he can and does underbid American labor whenever necessary in any community, until he has driven it out; then his wages rise to American standards; ultimately he declines to work for wages, insisting on leasing where he cannot buy the farm or orchard. The white owner finds it more profitable to lease on shares to the Japanese, who will work, under the co-operative plan, twelve, fifteen or eighteen hours a day, than to operate the place himself with white or Japanese labor, at high wages, for eight or nine hours' work. The whites will not mix with the Japanese, and gradually leave the community.

It is not in one industry, but in all, that the Japanese displace us. It has been repeatedly proven that our civilization does not survive in open competition with theirs—it cannot, unless we accept their standards of living.

An Undesirable Citizen.

The Japanese is an undesirable citizen because he does not assimilate. He does not intermarry, nor is it desirable that he should. He does not become an American, save in very rare instances, always remaining a Japanese. Even when born in this country and educated in our common schools, he is still compelled to attend Japanese school before and after his public school hours. He is taught by Japanese teachers, who usually speak no English, and who have neither knowledge of nor sympathy with the principles of American government and citizenship. He absorbs Japanese ideals and patriotism, and that contempt for all other Nations which is the spirit of every Japanese school text book.

Our School Teaching Nullified.

The testimony of Dr. Gulick on this point, as given on pages 19 and 20 of his pamphlet, "Hawaii's American-

Japanese Problem," will perhaps be considered conclusive. He says:

"It is not to be assumed that the education they (Japanese children) receive in the public schools, which they leave at 14 or 15 years of age is adequate to prepare them for citizenship during the six or seven years after they get out from under the influence of their American teachers. Most of these boys will be isolated from English-speaking Americans; they will be associated chiefly with men of their own race, imbibing, therefore, the Oriental ideas as they approach manhood. The mere fact accordingly, of American birth, public school education, and the requisite age, should not be regarded as adequate qualification for the suffrage; for it is to be remembered that during the entire period of schooling, not only have they been in Oriental homes, but the Japanese at heart have been diligently drilled in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers, many of whom have little acquaintance, and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization."

Again Dr. Gulick says on page 14:

"If, as Asiatics, they maintain their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the State and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

Japan Retains Control of Her People.

The theory of the Japanese Government has always been that once a Japanese, always a Japanese, and that the children of Japanese, wherever born, and under whatever circumstances, are Japanese, subject to the power of the Japanese Government. Even where an individual Japanese claims the right to expatriate himself, he is subject to the requirement that though he might be naturalized by another Nation, if he had not already served his term in the Japanese army, he must respond, no matter where he might be. In the same way, all children born of Japanese anywhere are considered subjects of Japan; and she exercises in California and in Hawaii the same rigid discipline over them

as to schooling and other matters, as would be exercised in Japan itself.

Dr. Gulick says, in the pamphlet already quoted, at page 33:

"The Japanese alone, of all immigrants, educate their children most earnestly in their National language and customs."

The Japanese Parliament, some two years ago, passed what was called

the Nationality Option Bill, under which foreign born Japanese children might declare at the age of fifteen whether they wish to remain Japanese, or become citizens of the land in which they were born; but Japan reserves the right to grant or withhold permission. So that even in this bill Japan specifically calls attention to the fundamental principle that a

child born of Japanese parents anywhere is a Japanese subject, with the duties and obligations thereof, and may not renounce those obligations save with permission. It should be noted, too, that this bill, like all bills passed by the Japanese parliament, does not become operative unless and until promulgated by the Emperor; and so far as my knowledge goes, it has not yet been promulgated.

ARTICLE II.

Present Conditions as to Asiatic Immigration—Hawaii Half Japanese—Japanese Votes Will Soon Rule Where Japanese Influence Now Dominates—Japanese in United States Multiplying—"Picture Brides"—White Industries and White Communities Displaced—California's Experience

Explanation has been made of the endorsed plan of the Federal Council of the Churches of America and of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, as proposed and promoted by Sidney L. Gulick, "professor in Doshisha University and Lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan," and as now presented by him on behalf of the organizations named, to the American public and to the Congress of the United States; the organization of the two associations has been gone into and some hint given as to the probable interest which their chief promoters have in the subject of "constructive immigration" legislation, so formulated as to carry out the "new Oriental policy" of Dr. Gulick; the probability of making good American citizens out of Japanese, even if born here and educated in our public schools, has been considered; and, on the authority of Dr. Gulick, himself, that probability appears to be so remote that, unless the Japanese change their present characteristics and customs, "the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The White Race or the Yellow.
The admission of Japanese to this country under such conditions as

would permit their increase means the ultimate surrender of the country to them, as Hawaii has already been surrendered, and as California will be unless protective measures are at once adopted. It would then be only a question of time before the desirable sections of the United States, one after another, are peopled and controlled by the Japanese, and the land of the free and the home of the brave becomes a province of Japan.

Dr. Gulick insists that his plan will effectually limit the influx of Japanese and other nationals to a number which can be readily assimilated. I do not attempt to discuss the application of the measure to European nationals whom we may invite to come. But I insist that it would establish a policy which would eventually admit a swarm of Asiatics before which the white race would be driven to the least desirable portions of the country and ultimately reduced to practical servitude.

It must be remembered that the Japanese are the most prolific Nation on the face of the earth; that their births exceed their deaths annually by about 700,000, and that they are driven by necessity to find place for that excess population. No European Nation faces any such condition. The

Japanese naturally are looking for the most desirable location for their people. But do we wish to surrender this country to them? Or shall we insist that this country shall be preserved for the white race? The issue is squarely before us, and we can not afford to evade or compromise with it.

An Economic, Not a Racial Question.

In this connection it must be remembered that the opposition to Japanese immigration on the part of those who have studied it is no based on racial prejudice, out on unanswerable economic grounds. Because of different standards of living, different tastes and different discipline, the Japanese easily drive the whites out of any community in which the two civilizations meet in economic competition. It is for this reason that the Japanese is an undesirable immigrant, for it is assumed that the American Nation desires to retain this country for the white race.

The economic factor referred to is recognized by the Japanese in their own environment. They forbid by very stringent laws the immigration into Japan of Chinese and Korean labor. The reason which they assign for this policy is precisely that offered by the Pacific Coast, and by Canada and by Australia for excluding the Japanese. They say that the standards of living of Chinese and Koreans are very much lower than the Japanese, and they cannot, therefore, in fairness to their own people, permit this cheap labor to come into Japan in competition. And because of the greater differences in various ways the American Nation needs more protection against Japanese immigration than Japan needs against Chinese or Koreans.

In December, 1918, 200 Chinese coolies were imported into the Prefecture of Hiroshima, Japan, to work in a charcoal factory under contract for two years at one yen (50 cents) per day. Under instructions from the Government in Tokio the Japanese Provincial Governor refused to sanction their stay. Early in January, 1919, the coolies were shipped home from Shimonseki, and the entire expense of the enterprise (\$25,000) had to be paid by the Chugoku Iron Works of Hiroshima, which imported the coolies.

The Herald of Asia of Tokyo, in commenting on the facts, said, in its issue of December 28, 1918:

"This is the first importation of Chinese labor into Japan. We hope that it will be the last experiment ever to be made. If it is brought into this country in any large force the welfare of our laborers will be seriously affected."

Japan's demand before the Paris Conference for "racial equality" was simply for the purpose of establishing a principle under which she might force her excess population into the United States, Canada, Australia and elsewhere on the same terms as might be accorded other Nationals. That demand was made in charming disregard of her own stand against the Chinese and Koreans; but Japan has learned that it is not necessary for her to be consistent in her dealings with America. She has thus far been conceded what she demanded, regardless of its absurdity or impropriety.

Conditions Under Existing Laws.

Before consideration is given to the changes which will be made by the operation of the proposed legislation, it is worth while to examine conditions as maintained under existing laws and regulations, and consider the inevitable results therefrom if the present policy is continued. Afterwards it will be shown how this condition will be made worse and the end hastened by the so-called "constructive immigration" legislation.

Hawaii and California afford at present the most illuminating example of what Japan seeks for her

people under the Stars and Stripes, and what will be left for the white American if she succeeds. Remember, too, that the conditions to which attention will be called, have been and are being brought about under a so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," the theory of which, as carefully explained to the Pacific Coast at the time, was that Japan was to restrict under her own regulations Japanese immigration to this country as effectually as Chinese immigration was restricted by our prohibitive laws.

The Lesson of Hawaii.

We commence with Hawaii; and in this matter we shall make Dr. Gulick our principal witness. In March, 1915, he made certain investigations in the Hawaiian Islands, the results of which were embodied in the pamphlet herein before quoted. "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," published in Honolulu by the Star-Bulletin. Unless otherwise stated, quotations credited to Dr. Gulick are from that publication.

Therein (page 8) Dr. Gulick states that for the preceding seven years (1908-1915) under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" no fresh labor immigrants had come from Japan. In 1910, he says, out of a total population in the islands of 191,909, the Japanese numbered 79,674, of which 24,891 were females. In 1914 the total population was 227,000, of whom 89,715 were Japanese, 24,550 Hawaiian, 24,450 Caucasian, 23,299 Portuguese, 21,631 Chinese, 14,992 Filipinos, and 14,518 all other races. In that year the Japanese school enrollment in the territorial schools was 30 per cent of the total.

In 1918 (according to a statement of the Superintendent of Schools of Hawaii—S. F. Examiner, May 18, 1919), the Japanese population had increased to 103,000, "nearly one-half the total population," while Japanese school children comprised 40 per cent of the entire enrollment, and of the increase in school children in 1917 and 1918, more than one-half was Japanese.

The 1918 report of Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane places the

Japanese population of Hawaii in 1917 at 106,000, while the United States Bureau of Commerce estimates the total population at 219,000.

The American Year Book for 1917 says, as of June 30th of that year: "The estimated population (Hawaii) was 250,627. The Japanese contributed more than half the increase."

Japanese newspapers in Honolulu to-day have a circulation many times as great as the American newspapers, and one prints an English section.

In 1915 in Honolulu out of a total of 107 prostitutes, eighty-two were Japanese (Gulick). In 1914 the official register of Hawaii shows that out of 3,149 marriages, 1,806 were Japanese. In 1915 a large majority of the Japanese men—perhaps two-thirds—were married, women having been permitted to come from Japan to marry them (Gulick). The proportion has doubtless been increased since.

So in eight years the Japanese population of Hawaii has increased 24,000, or about 30 per cent, and now the total annual increase in population in this territory is more than half Japanese; while in four years past the Japanese school children have increased 30 per cent, and they already comprise more than 50 per cent of the yearly increase of school enrollment.

In the absence of immigration from Japan, as claimed by Dr. Gulick, the increase in Japanese population of Hawaii can be accounted for only by the great birth rate, stimulated by the importation of "picture brides." In 1907, when the "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect, the Japanese in California were nearly all males; in Hawaii, while I have not the figures, there were probably nearly three males to one female. The "picture brides" have been coming from Japan in a steady stream since. The census of school children shows the result.

The "Picture Brides."

The "picture bride" plan was doubtless originated to get around the intent of the "Gentlemen's Agreement;" to increase as rapidly as possible the number of Japanese under our flag; and particularly to defeat the operation of the alien land laws passed by several States, including California.

Apparently the plan could have had no value in Japan itself, where the average density of population is 389 per square mile, the highest in the world for a similar stretch of territory, and where, if all the available women were staked out at equal distances throughout the Empire they would be only 300 feet apart in any direction.

This is the plan: A Japanese male who has secured admission to the United States sends his photograph back to Japan; and his friends, or the officials, secure for him a complaisant bride who weds the picture. I cannot say if any ceremony is required, but the Japanese Government recognizes the possession of the picture by the woman as a marriage, the United States is called upon to recognize it, and the woman and her picture are admitted under agreement obtained from our Government subsequent to adoption of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

That woman promptly fulfills her duty by hearing children, as many as one a year, and each child is carefully registered as an American citizen, entitled to all privileges as such, including the right of possessing land through a guardian.

Incidentally the woman swells the labor market, for she works continually in the shop or store, or field, with her child near her. She does the work of a man wherever she may be placed.

The accusation has been made that the "picture bride" does not always confine her usefulness to one husband, or even to one State, but is available where her services will have most value; and that is in the States which have passed anti-alien land laws. Last year (1918) 2,045 Japanese "picture brides" were admitted to the United States.

The official figures by fiscal years obtained at Washington show that the total number of picture brides sent from Japan to the United States and Hawaii in less than five years past (July 1, 1914 to April 30, 1919) is 20,323, of whom 6,864 landed in Hawaii.

Japan Controls Hawaii.

Dr. Gulick says (page 15): "Within a score of years the majority of

voters in the Territory of Hawaii will be of Japanese and Chinese ancestry." As a matter of fact, the Chinese cut very little figure, and the Japanese already outnumber the Caucasian, or any other race in the islands, in the proportion of at least four to one.

In the English section of the Honolulu Japanese newspaper, the Daily Nippu Jiji, May 26, 1919, appears the statement that "ten or fifteen years hence there will be a great hope for a dominating influence of the Japanese." That "hope" receives ample justification in these figures offered by the Nippu Jiji. The number of Japanese electors in Hawaii in 1910 was only 13; in 1912, 48; in 1914, 112; in 1916, 179. In 1919 there were 207 Japanese electors on the Island of Oahu alone (Honolulu is on this island), and many on the other islands. The Japanese children in the schools as they come of age will furnish in 1923, 897 male electors and 558 and 682 additional in the two years following. The total number of Japanese male electors in 1933 will be 7,934. If the vote be extended to women the number will be about doubled.

This situation induces the Japanese newspaper to proudly announce that in 1923 the Japanese vote in Hawaii will decide whether Republicans or Democrats shall win.

In Hawaii, therefore, it is only a question of a few years when, under existing laws and regulations, the Japanese born under the American flag will outvote any other race; and in a generation they will probably out-vote all other races combined.

The Gulick plan, which makes every resident Japanese eligible for citizenship, would give the Japanese at once almost as large a voting strength as all other races combined.

A Lost Territory.

The situation as outlined induces the belief on the part of many that Hawaii is already practically lost to Americans and to the United States, and that there is not any feasible plan by which she can be reclaimed.

Indeed the Nippu Jiji in the issue above quoted declares that the Japanese now, to-day, "are in the position to exert dominant influence in the po-

Political and social affairs of Hawaii."

That this is no idle boast on the part of the leading Japanese daily of Honolulu is sufficiently attested by the following news item:

"Honolulu, May 31, 1919.

"The foreign-language school bill, requiring teachers desiring certificates to show a knowledge of the English language, American history and American civics, has been tabled by the Upper House of the Territorial Legislature. The bill was strongly opposed by Japanese educators and editors on the ground that it would force Japanese schools to close."

Consider in connection with this item the facts which have been stated before, as to the control of her people exercised by Japan in this country, the manner in which children are forced to attend Japanese schools, and imbibe Japanese principles and ideals. If a territory of the United States may not refuse a teacher's certificate to one who cannot speak English, and who knows nothing of American government and American ideals; if a territorial Legislature is subject to Japan's views as to American principles before the resident Japanese have secured the necessary voting strength, what will be the result after they exercise the franchise in sufficient number?

Control of Industry.

The dominance of the Japanese in Hawaii has naturally given them exclusive control of various industries, such as shoe making, which in years gone by employed only white labor. The Japanese is very adaptable and he reaches out, as soon as possible, for position and control in the most favorable localities, and in such occupations as offer least toil, shortest hours and most compensation. While he came to Hawaii as a sugar plantation laborer, he gets away from that toil when he can. The young generation particularly seek town occupations and most of them wish to go to the mainland because of the greater opportunities there.

California, the Nation's Outpost.

What has happened already in Hawaii is simply an indication of what is now happening in California. The

Japanese does not waste his time on poor prospects when he can command good ones. California is to him the favored spot of the world, and in California he is carefully picking out the richest lands and choicest surroundings, and systematically driving the white race from them. His predilection for California is sufficiently attested by the fact that two-thirds, perhaps more, of all the Japanese in the United States are living in California. California therefore offers the best and really the only opportunity for studying the problem and correctly estimating the results likely to follow the continued and increased immigration of Japanese into this country.

California is the outpost of American civilization, fighting against the "peaceful penetration" of the Japanese, and thus far she has had only abuse therefrom from the States east of the Rockies, which she is defending. The present policy of the United States Government in permitting admissions under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," in opening the gates to "picture brides" and in discouraging—and preventing, when it can—the passage of State laws limiting the effects of the evil, has created a critical situation which makes remedial measures the more difficult.

Our Japanese Population.

It is very difficult to ascertain the number of Japanese now in the United States. There are no official Government figures since the census of 1910. The only figures available are those furnished by the six Japanese Consulates in Continental United States for their respective districts. According to these reports, the total Japanese population in Continental United States in 1916 was 94,370 of which only 2,381 were in the Chicago District, and 2,781 in the New York District. All the balance are credited to the four Pacific Coast Districts, and of these San Francisco and Los Angeles Districts have 74,556, Seattle District 9,232, and Portland District 5,403. San Francisco and Los Angeles Districts cover six States, but the greater portion of the population credited to those two districts is in California, to-wit—55,095.

In 1916, 1917 and 1918, the Japanese

population must have been largely increased. Dr. Gulick says that Japanese immigration in 1918 alone amounted to 10,213 and that for 1919 it will probably be 12,000. In California alone in the three years named there were 12,000 Japanese births. It is not unreasonable to say that, on the basis of these estimates, the Japanese population of the United States is not far short of 150,000.

Again, the United States census of 1910 gives the number of Japanese in the United States as 72,157, of which 41,356 were in California. The Japanese births in California alone from 1910 to 1918 have been over 23,000. The official reports of the United States as quoted by the New York Evening Post in its Japanese number, March 16, 1918, show that the number of Japanese entering the United States, 1910 to 1917, exceeded the number departing by 54,317. Allowing for births elsewhere than in California and for immigration in 1918 as estimated by Dr. Gulick, and for deaths, the present Japanese population would be well over 150,000.

California the Test Ground.

It is safe to say that not less than two-thirds of the total, or 100,000, live in California. In California, too, the Japanese have concentrated to a great extent in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys where rich lands and agricultural advantages attract them. For instance it is noted that of 4,108 Japanese births in the State in 1917 over 3,000 are credited to seven of the fifty-eight counties. This concentration is one of the phases of their "peaceful penetration," and it enables us the better to judge of results when their number will have become sufficiently large to take possession of all the favored locations in the State instead of the few that now hold. It furnishes sufficient answer, too, to the argument that 150,000 Japanese distributed among 100,000,000 Americans can work no harm. The 150,000 are not distributed so as to make the weak solution referred to. They throw their entire force into a few communities where they can make their numbers, with their economic advantages, tell, and they choose those communities, those industries

and those conditions which will yield them most return for least effort.

The Increase of Japanese.

As to the increase in Japanese population in this country which may be looked for under present conditions, and without any contributory legislation of the "constructive" character suggested by Dr. Gulick, these facts are significant:

The United States Census showed that in 1900 there were in the United States 24,326 Japanese, of which 985 were females—a proportion of about 25 to 1. In 1910 the Japanese population had trebled, the figures showing 72,157, of which 9,087 were females—a proportion of 7 to 1. The estimates already made above indicate that since 1910 the Japanese population has more than doubled, and it is known the proportion of females to males has very largely increased.

Increase of Japanese in California.

In 1910, three years after the "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect, there were in this State about six Japanese males to one female. With the introduction of the "picture bride" plan, the proportion of females has very rapidly increased. While the statistics do not furnish the necessary details, the result is sufficiently attested by the fact that Japanese births in California in 1917 numbered twenty times as many as in 1907, though the Japanese official reports claim that the total Japanese population of the State had increased in that time only about 40 per cent.

The biennial report of the California State Board of Health, July, 1916, to July, 1918, shows the following as the registered number of Japanese births for the respective years, from 1906 to 1918, inclusive: 134, 331, 455, 682, 719, 995, 1,467, 2,215, 2,874, 3,342, 3,721, 4,108 and 4,365. Total for thirteen years, 25,298.

Due to the increase in Japanese births above indicated, the percentage of white births to the total in the State has steadily decreased from 98.4 in 1906 to 90.6 in 1917.

In Sacramento City Japanese authorities claim to-day a Japanese population of 2,580. The United States Census for 1910 showed 1,437

Japanese in the city. The total white population of the city now is about 75,000. The report of the State Board of Health for the year 1918 shows within the city 177 Japanese births and 1,073 white births.

That is to say, the Japanese birth rate per 1,000 in Sacramento City is already five times as great as the white birth rate. As the influx of "picture brides" raises the proportion of females in the Japanese colony, the birth rate will steadily increase without a doubt. The average Japanese births per month in Sacramento City have doubled since 1914—that is from 10 to 20.

The report of the State Board of Health above quoted shows that in the rural portion of Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, in 1918 there were 236 Japanese births and only 221 white births, although the white population is many times as great as the Japanese. There are no population statistics available for this year, but in 1910 the census shows 2,437 Japanese and 19,335 whites in the county outside the city.

In the adjoining county of Placer the total white births for 1918 were 218, and the Japanese births 99, but in the rural districts of that county, outside of incorporated towns, the Japanese births are said to exceed the white about two to one, notwithstanding the disparity in total white and Japanese population.

The increase in Japanese population will receive additional impetus from the fact that all Japanese born in Hawaii will be free to come to the mainland, and that most of them will wish to do so because of the attractions it offers to them. See Dr. Gulick's statement in his Hawaiian pamphlet before referred to.

The Chinese Problem.

The Chinese and the Japanese have been mentioned in the same category by the proponents of the "constructive immigration" legislation in such a way as to give the impression that the conditions affecting both and the Nation's problem as to both are the same. That is an entirely erroneous impression. The Chinese, under the operation of the Exclusion Act have

steadily decreased in number. The Japanese, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which was supposed to secure the same result without hurting Japan's pride, have steadily and rapidly increased.

In Hawaii in 1900 the Chinese numbered 15,301; in 1910 there were 21,674, but there has apparently been no increase since then. Dr. Gulick's figures for 1914 being 21,631.

In the United States there were in 1900 89,863 Chinese; in 1910 the number was 71,531. There are no available figures since then.

In California the Chinese numbered in 1890, 72,472; in 1900 45,753; in 1910 36,248—a decrease of 50 per cent in twenty years, and there has been a steady decrease since.

Sacramento County shows the same decrease—1890, 4,371; 1900, 3,254; 1910, 2,143. These are all U. S. Census figures.

The Chinese births at present are only about one-tenth the number of the Japanese births. In the entire State the total births for 1917 were: Japanese 4,107, Chinese 419.

The Chinese, in addition to having no increase from immigration, are steadily decreasing from departures to China and from a death rate which is now about twice the birth rate. The State totals for 1917 were: deaths 818, births 419; and for the twelve years, 1906-1917—deaths 8,547, births 3,683.

In contrast therewith not only do the Japanese receive large accessions from immigration, but their birth rate is now between four and five times as great as their death rate, while in 1906 their death rate was several times their birth rate. The steady increase of birth percentages has been due, of course, to the importation of "picture brides." In 1917 the births were 1,108, deaths 910; in 1906, births 134, deaths 384; and for the twelve years, 1906-1917, births 20,933, deaths 6775.

The Chinese therefore do not present a National problem because of probable increase under existing conditions and laws, while the Japanese do present a very serious problem.

Wiping Out American Communities.

Now for another phase of the problem: The destruction of home and

family life and the wiping out of American communities under stress of Japanese competition and methods.

The town of Florin in Sacramento County, eight miles southeast of Sacramento City, in the heart of the strawberry district, has a Japanese population of 1,050, supplemented in picking season by about 500 more. The Japanese proudly point to it as a monument to their methods and enterprise. It is all that they claim for it. It is more. It is a gravestone to the hopes of the former American population of Florin, almost entirely wiped out by contact with Far Eastern civilization. It is a warning finger post to California and to the American Nation as to the inevitable end in all favored spots in this country if the "peaceful penetration" of the Japanese is not arrested.

The Japanese did not create Florin or the strawberry business. The Japanese do not create. They imitate, improve, appropriate. In the memory of young people of to-day, Florin was an exclusively American settlement of five, ten, twenty-acre farms, devoted largely to strawberry and grape culture, on each farm a happy home, the Sacramento daily newspaper delivered at each doorstep. The town was the center of the district and from it were shipped berries and grapes in carload lots as far east as the Missouri River.

The Japanese saw and coveted. They secured a few farms in the center of the district and gradually added more, and they improved the culture. The economic and social pressure gradually drove the white families away, and in time even the town and its business passed into the hands of the Japanese. To-day there is no American newspaper distributed in that district, and it is in effect a part of Japan transplanted into the heart of California. The school for the entire district has a total attendance of 147 and 101 are Japanese. In one class there are forty-one Japanese and six white children.

Walnut Grove, on the Sacramento River in Sacramento County, is now a Japanese settlement. Most of the rich river ranches in the delta of the Sacramento River are now managed by

Japanese under lease, where they could not secure ownership under law, and the white resident and his family have melted away.

The Economic Pressure.

On the American River, about twelve miles east of Sacramento City, is the little station of Mayhew, the shipping point for the productive orchards and vineyards for miles around. In years past white labor was employed in these orchards, and many families resided in the district, the women and children assisting in the work of picking and packing the crop, while the little red school house did its work in constructive American citizenship.

To-day, while the orchards are still owned by the whites, they are leased to Japanese, the help is all Japanese, and most of the white families have disappeared. There is only one owner who still manages his own property, and with white help; but to do it he must send out during the busy season for transient labor, working short hours at high wages. And he is in competition with the surrounding Japanese-managed orchards, operated under the co-operative system, with ambitious, interested labor, working sometimes fifteen and eighteen hours a day. And he must send his young children by stage to Sacramento City every day for schooling. For the district school is attended by Japanese, interested in learning English for business purposes, and no American mother will permit her little girl to remain in school with grown Japanese youths. When it is said that this orchardist could make more money from his holding by leasing to Japanese than by operating himself, with white labor, or even with Japanese labor, the great economic pressure will be better comprehended.

There are similar instances in the adjoining County of Placer, where, it is said, 80 per cent of the orchards are leased to Japanese, and some schools show as many as five Japanese children to one white. Through the San Joaquin Valley will be found similar settlements of Japanese, and similar results as to displacement of whites.

Japanese authorities claim—and it is probably true—that the Japanese produce in California 90 per cent of the strawberry and cantaloupe crop; 50 per cent of onions, asparagus, tomatoes, celery, lettuce and cut flowers; 55 per cent of cabbage and seeds; 40 per cent of potatoes; 20 per cent of beans, and 10 per cent of the grapes, fruit and rice.

This estimate was made early in 1918, probably based on 1917 statistics. In the items of rice and fruit it is certain that the percentage is now much greater than quoted.

In June, 1919, the consumers and dealers in San Francisco were forced to protect themselves by boycotting strawberries, because the Japanese growers in combination were forcing dealers to pay as high as \$17 per chest, while the canneries were given a price of \$9.10.

California's Efforts at Protection.

California passed in 1913, notwithstanding the earnest protests of the Federal Administration, an Alien Land Law bill similar to that already passed in certain other States. In those other States the same measure had met no opposition from the Administration, the reason being that the Japanese are more solicitous as to securing privileges in California, where for the present they are centralizing their efforts, and had made no protests as to such legislation in the other States.

The California act forbids the selling or leasing for more than three years of land to any person not eligible for American citizenship. Some good resulted, but recently the Japanese have evaded the provisions of the act by placing title to land in the names of Japanese babies born in California, and by organizing corporations with dummy directors and purchasing land in the name of the corporations. The Secretary of State reports seventy-two such corporations formed between January 1, 1918 and March 1, 1919. One such corporation took over a 171-acre Fresno county orchard last month at a price of \$171,000. In Tulare County it is declared that the Japanese bought last year over 5,000 acres of bearing orchards.

The session of the California Legislature in March, 1919, attempted to remedy the matter through a bill amending the act by forbidding leasing entirely, and by preventing the use of incorporations for the purpose named. The bill was killed at the request of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a bill was introduced limiting the age of admission to the lower grades of the public schools, the association of little girls with grown Japanese youths having been found objectionable. The bill was killed at the request of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a measure was introduced looking to stopping the further admission of "picture brides" into the State. The measure was killed at the instance of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a bill was introduced to segregate the Japanese and other Asiatics into separate schools. Killed at the request of the Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

In Collier's for June 7, 1913, will be found an article by Peter Clark MacFarlane, describing conditions of Japanese settlement in California as he found them. He was sent out by Collier's to investigate the matter because of the general opinion in Eastern States that California was unduly prejudiced.

At the Border and In Washington.

The rich Imperial Valley lies astride our National border, partly in California and principally in Mexico. It is already peopled largely by Japanese, who find it an easy matter to evade custom officials and enter the United States here. The Japanese are displacing whites in the valley, not only in agricultural pursuits, but also in business, by cleverly concerted economic pressure. The matter has become so serious that a local paper, the *Zanjero*, published at El Centro, is making a crusade, and suggests a State law under which there shall not be allowed in any community

more than 5 per cent of aliens of any one race who have failed to signify their intention to become American citizens.

It is in this valley that is located a large tract of land, nearly 1,000,000 acres, owned by Americans of Los Angeles and elsewhere, which a Japanese syndicate some time since endeavored to purchase. Public attention was called to the matter through the press at the time, and the plan frustrated.

In Seattle, in the State of Washington, the Japanese have com-

menced to displace the whites in general lines of business to an extent thus far not seen in any other large city. This condition is undoubtedly due to the encouragement offered by the people of Seattle in the belief that the city's trade with Japan would be thereby materially increased. It is now a question with the Seattle people, as expressed in published interviews, whether they are not already paying dearly for their whistle and whether the price to be paid in the future will not be alarming.

It is important to study these and similar phases of the problem, for they demonstrate with a certainty what will happen in every desirable agricultural section of California as soon as there are here enough Japanese to accomplish the result.

The figures already given prove conclusively that, even without more favorable immigration legislation, the Japanese only needs time to take possession of what he finds desirable in California.

And what he will do in California he will do later in other States that offer attractive advantages.

ARTICLE III.

Points and Effects of Constructive Immigration Bill—Admits Sixty Germans to One Frenchman or Hollander—Riders Which Indicate Bad Faith—Apparently an Experiment in Evangelization—Safeguards Which Should Be Adopted

In the two articles preceding an outline has been presented of our present Asiatic immigration problem, more particularly with regard to the Japanese. Following is a brief of the points thus far made:

The Chinese.

So far as the Chinese are concerned, there is at present no problem. The statistics show that under the operations of the Exclusion Act, and because of the scarcity of women and great excess of deaths over births, the Chinese population is very rapidly decreasing. In twenty years it decreased 50 per cent. In Hawaii there are now about one-fifth as many Chinese as Japanese; in Continental United States perhaps about one-third.

Again, the Chinese is more valuable and less undesirable as immigrant and born citizen than the Japanese. That is the general opinion on the Pacific Coast, where there is the best opportunity for judging. The Chinaman is reliable and honest—no other countryman, not excepting the American, has so high a standard of commercial honesty. He is less aggressive than the Japanese, less inclined to take offense, and with a higher sense of humor. He is more inclined

to remain in fixed occupation and less dangerous to American labor and to American institutions. The American-born Chinaman makes a better citizen because China has not the hold on him that Japan has on the Japanese.

The Japanese as a people—as their statesmen and high-class merchants regretfully admit—are at present neither honest nor reliable.

The Japanese Problem.

The Japanese problem, on the other hand, is a very serious one. While the introduction to these articles assumed as a postulate that the Japanese is an undesirable immigrant and an undesirable citizen, that assumption was later reasonably well established by the record of his accomplishments in Hawaii and California, and by the published testimony of his present champion, Dr. Sidney Gulick.

The declared purpose and promised effect of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" when it was adopted in 1907, in deference to Japan's representations, was that it would accomplish through Japan's action a restriction on Japanese immigration similar to that secured by our Exclusion Act on Chinese immigration.

The agreement has been grossly violated in letter and in spirit. At present 10,000 to 12,000 Japanese are being sent through our continental ports each year openly, and unnumbered others are secretly crossing the Mexican border. United States Senator Phelan charges that this border immigration is promoted with the knowledge, if not assistance, of Japanese authorities, including Consular officials, and any one conversant with the manner in which the Japanese Government retains authority and control over Japanese in this country even over those born here, knows that this secret immigration could not continue without knowledge thereof in Consular offices.

In order to increase the resident Japanese population as rapidly as possible over 20,000 "picture brides" have been admitted, and they have performed their allotted task of bearing Japanese children as rapidly as possible—frequently, if not usually, at the rate of one per year. In California the Japanese birth rate per thousand is already five times as great as the white birth rate, and increasing.

Under the understanding, the Japanese population of the United States should have decreased since 1900, as has the Chinese. Instead it has multiplied six fold. There are already 150,000 Japanese in this country, about two-thirds of them in California, and three-quarters of that allotment have settled in seven of the State's fifty-eight counties, where

they are concentrated generally in a few communities.

The manner in which the Japanese displace white labor in industries and entire communities has been explained and concrete examples furnished. It is evident therefrom that Japanese to the number of a small fraction of the whites in any State can take absolute economic control of the most favored sections of that State if they once secure entrance.

Hawaii's situation under existing conditions is hopeless. The Japanese already comprisc almost half the entire population and four times as many as the Caucasian or any other race. More than half the yearly increase in births and school enrollment is now Japanese. In a few years the native-born Japanese vote will hold the balance of power, and in a generation can defy a combination of all other races in the Territory. The proposed "Constructive immigration" legislation would bring about that result immediately by making Japanese eligible to citizenship; and the power thus obtained will be used by them as Japanese, not as Americans. Nothing could be more conclusive on this point than the testimony of Dr. Sidney Gulick himself.

Dr. Gulick explains how the Japanese, even when born under the American flag and taught in our public schools, is drilled in loyalty to Japan and her ideals by compulsory attendance in Japanese schools and by association with his own race. He says that if the Japanese in Hawaii maintain their traditional conception of themselves, their neighbors and their duties "the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of America Democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The leading Japanese newspaper of Honolulu has been quoted in its boast—well founded—that the Japanese soon will control the territory of Hawaii by their votes. It adds that they are even now in position to exert dominant influence in the political and social affairs of the territory; and that statement was fully confirmed when the Territorial Legislature in May, 1919, on the demand of the Japanese, killed a bill which provided

that the territory should not issue teacher's certificates to those who did not have some knowledge of the English language, and of American history and civics.

What has happened in Hawaii is happening in localities in California and will be extended if protective measures are not adopted over this Coast, and ultimately throughout the Nation.

Conditions, Now Bad, Would Become Worse.

To one who has studied the situation, it is evident that our immigration and naturalization laws should be amended at once so as to minimize as far as possible the evils existing and the greater ones which threaten in the future from the maintenance in our midst of an alien, unassimilable and rapidly increasing Asiatic population. It would be suicidal to inaugurate a policy which will inevitably increase that evil and lead in time to the conquest of the white race by economic elimination.

It is the purpose of this article to show how the passage of the proposed "constructive immigration" legislation, formulated by Dr. Sidney Gulick and endorsed by the league he has organized, or the adoption of the policy therein outlined, would be immediately disastrous to certain sections of the United States, and ultimately fatal to American institutions.

An outline of the bill which Congress is to be asked to pass was presented in the first of these articles. It proposes to make effective Dr. Gulick's "new Oriental policy" of opening our gates to all orientals on the same basis as accorded to the most favored Nations. Incidentally it limits immigration in an year from any race to a fixed percentage—three to ten—of the members of that race then citizens of the United States, either by birth or naturalization, and has several minor provisions. The outline of the bill as used in these articles was secured from the printed matter issued by the New York headquarters of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation.

Criticism of Bill's General Principles.

First there are offered, for consideration a few suggestions as to the

general principles embodied in the bill.

1. Why establish at this time a principle under which we shall obligate ourselves in a measure to accept any percentage at all of the nations of the earth as immigrants and citizens?

Even if such policy is wise now it may not be a few years hence, and the precedent established may cause awkward complications.

2. Why include all nations in the category? The mere fact that one race has been permitted to secure citizenship for some of its nationals in the past is not proof that the action admitting them was wise, or that others of the same race may be accepted as immigrants and citizens with advantage.

3. Why place all nations on an assumed basis of equality when it is clear that some nations will generally furnish much more desirable citizens and immigrants than others? And is it not possible that certain nationalities may be regarded favorably as immigrants and citizens now and unfavorably some years hence?

4. Why base the number of admission from each race in the future on the number of those already here? If we have made mistakes in the past are we not to be permitted to correct them? In the past, with the exception of Orientals, those came to our shores who desired to come, not those whom we selected. Under such circumstances are we to bind ourselves to exclude desirable immigrants and citizens because undesirable ones have more racial brothers already here?

Proportions Imposed by Bill.

Let us see to what the bill of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation would commit us in the way of selective immigration. Consulting the tables of the Census Abstract for 1910, so far as they can assist in the matter, to ascertain the number of citizens naturalized and born, of the different races, which must serve as the basis of our admissions annually, we get the following astonishing result:

For every single immigrant that we are willing to accept under the Gulick

plan from France, Holland, Wales or Mexico, after the first thousand to which any Nation is entitled, we are committed to accept the following number from each of the respective countries named: Germany 60, Ireland 30, England 15, Canada 15, Russia 10, Austria 8, Sweden 7, Italy 7, Norway 6, Scotland 4, Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland each 2. From Belgium, Portugal and Spain we could not admit a single immigrant unless we admitted from 100 to 600 Germans, and a corresponding number of other nationalities as enumerated. As between Chinese and Japanese we would be called on in a short time to admit ten of the latter to one of the former.

Slightly different results in estimates of this character will be obtained according to the sources of basic information as to citizens, horn and naturalized, and according to incidental assumptions indulged in. Dr. Gulick furnishes an estimate according to which we would have to admit only thirty Germans for every Frenchman, Hollander, or Mexican.

Estimates of this character, no matter by whom prepared, if based on any reliable statistics will furnish results demonstrating the utter absurdity, from an American point of view, of the percentage plan of restriction.

If we are to amend our immigration laws so as to maintain or raise the standard of American citizenship and insure the perpetuity of the American Nation, we should not commit ourselves to admit the peoples of the earth in any such proportions as called for by this plan.

How Japanese Immigration Would Increase.

In estimates of this kind, too, this fact must be horn in mind. Under the proposed plan the percentage of the total immigration allotted to any particular race would change from year to year, as the American citizens of that race, horn and naturalized, increased, or decreased. Taking into account now the astonishing fecundity of the Japanese race, the fact that in those portions of California where they have concentrated their birth rate per thousand is already

five times that of the white population and steadily increasing, it must be evident that the proportion of Japanese admitted from year to year under the Gulick plan will steadily and rapidly increase; that they will gradually but surely pass, one after another the European Nations in number of immigrants; and that ultimately they will surpass all other Nations combined.

That result would be inevitable apparently under the Gulick plan and the plan was deliberately conceived with that intention. To entertain any other supposition is to deny to its promoters the intelligence and farsightedness of which in many ways they have furnished incontestible proof.

Evangelizlug Japanese for Citizenship.

The proposed measure makes all Asiatics here or to come eligible to citizenship, and encourages their coming inasmuch as it fixes a proportion within which they may be admitted, while under existing understanding they are classed as undesirable.

Dr. Gulick says in his pamphlet published in 1915, "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," as quoted in the first article:

"If as Asiatics they (the Japanese) maintain their traditional conception of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the State and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible." The Japanese horn and educated in Japan, with very rare exceptions, certainly do retain these conceptions even while living in the United States.

Dr. Gulick again says that the Japanese horn here and taught in our public schools, are not thereby prepared for American citizenship since they are called before and after public school hours at home and by Japanese teachers, most of whom do not speak English and "many of whom have little acquaintance, and no sympathy with American institutions and a Christian civilization."

Why then is Dr. Gulick so solici-

tous to have the United States establish a principle by which the Japanese will be formally recognized as desirable immigrants and citizens and encourage conditions which will greatly increase the number of native born Japanese? The answer appears in the same pamphlet, and is quoted below:

Gulick's Experimental Plan.

"Is it not axiomatic that the successful welding together of the many races now in Hawaii in such wise as to make possible the maintenance of genuine democracy, with progressive victory over graft, lust, venereal disease, and alcohol, depends upon the substantial Christianization of the rising generation of Asiatics?" * * *

"American and Asiatic civilizations rest on postulates fundamentally different and antagonistic. The two civilizations cannot be assimilated, but this does not prevent an Asiatic under proper social conditions from giving up his inherited civilization and adopting the American. Exactly because Hawaii is the meeting place of so many diverse races is the propaganda and practice of vital Christianity the more pressing."

Evidently Dr. Gulick is satisfied, notwithstanding all the difficulties, he points out, that a Japanese may be turned into a valuable American citizen simply by inducing him to embrace Christianity.

It would appear, therefore, that Dr. Gulick in promoting his "New Oriental Policy" and urging the adoption of his proposed "Constructive Immigration" legislation is willing to risk a grave menace to American citizenship and the safety of the American Republic in order to promote a doubtful experiment in evangelization.

But should we permit Dr. Gulick's optimistic enthusiasm in evangelization to lead the Nation into serious difficulties? And will the Japanese Government encourage or permit the Christianizing of its people in return for our endorsement of Dr. Gulick's "New Oriental Policy?" And if the Japanese are unamicously or generally evangelized under this arrangement, may we safely assume that they will at once lose all those character-

istics which have made them, in Dr. Gulick's opinion, poor material for American citizenship?

I do not wish to be considered a pessimist, but it would be untruthful to say that I do not entertain grave doubts in the matter.

A Question of Policy.

Dr. Gulick insists, too, that the United States will benefit by the proposed law, as the number of Japanese immigrants admitted will be less than under existing conditions. He declares that in 1918-19, 213 Japanese were admitted, and that in 1919 the number will be 12,000; and that the number admitted under his plan, even on a 10 per cent basis, will be much less. As shown later, it is by no means certain that it will be less, but concede for the moment that it will be.

Dr. Gulick frankly allows that the adult Japanese, when he arrives here, is an undesirable American citizen, and that even the American-born Japanese, under existing conditions, is not likely to make a good citizen. His figures prove that the Japanese Government is steadily violating the spirit of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," under which the Japanese were to be kept out; and yet he recommends urgently that we formally recognize the Japanese as eligible to citizenship and encourage them to come in by establishing an annual Japanese immigration quota.

Dr. Gulick claims American citizenship, but I am at a loss to understand his reasoning. It would seem to me, under such circumstances, since the Japanese make poor citizens and the Japanese Government is deliberately violating the intent of the agreement, a staunch American citizen would urge our Government to cancel at once the "Gentlemen's Agreement," to stop the importation of "picture brides," to bar further Japanese immigration and to encourage the individual States to pass alien land laws.

In other words, the first care of

an American citizen would naturally be for the protection of American institutions and the American franchise, rather than solicitude to meet the demands, inconsistent and probably harmful to us, of a foreign Nation, however friendly we might be with that Nation.

Dr. Gulick's Figures Are Modest.

I have already suggested that the bad faith of Japan in sending over every year 10,000 or 12,000 or more Japanese in violation of the spirit of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is not a good reason for our formal recognition of the value of the Japanese as immigrant and citizen, even if thereby we receive temporarily a smaller yearly influx. But too much reliance must not be placed on Dr. Gulick's assurance as to the results of his proposed legislation. In various publications he has stated that the number of Japanese coming into this country under his plan the first year would be 220 (on 5 per cent basis), again 1220 (on 5 per cent basis), again 2481 (10 per cent basis) and again 5800 (10 per cent basis). These estimates make no allowance for wives and dependent relatives which, under the provisions of his bill last received from the League headquarters, could be sent for at pleasure; nor does it make allowance for "students" and religious persecutees, who are to be admitted without restrictions. It is evident, therefore, that if his basic figure, 5800, represents 10 per cent of the American born Japanese, the admissions under his proposed bill, the first year would be several times that number.

Again, the number would steadily increase each year. The Japanese births in California this year will be between 4,500 and 5,000. In Hawaii the Japanese furnish more than half of the total births in the territory. Then there are over 250,000 Japanese in continental United States and Hawaii. The Gulick bill makes them all eligible to citizenship. If only one-fifth, 50,000, qualify—and certainly many more will—they at once provide entrance each year for 5,000 additional immigrants and their wives and dependent relatives!

All Asiatics Eligible.

The bill makes all Asiatics on admission to the United States eligible for citizenship. The effect of this in the territory of Hawaii would be to create at once a citizenry of Japanese almost equal in number to the voters of all other races combined and four times as numerous as those of the Caucasian or any other race.

These Japanese would manage Hawaii—not as a territory of the United States but as a province of Japan. The testimony offered on this score in these articles is convincing.

Another effect of this provision would be to permit the newly made citizens in Hawaii to come to the mainland and swell the number of their race in California. They would come, as they are eager to settle in California because of its superior advantages in many ways. They could come many thousands strong and still leave enough of their race in Hawaii to control it. They are not supposed to come to the mainland now under the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

There are many Asiatics who are less desirable as citizens and immigrants than the Japanese. Our objections to the Japanese are based on grounds which are in a measure creditable to them; but certain other Asiatics, while not offering the danger in economic competition which we find in the Japanese, are objectionable on other grounds—sanitary, physical and mental.

The Admission of Relatives.

The measure contains a provision which, aside from the percentage allowance, would permit admission without question of certain relatives of the aliens already here, or who might later secure admission.

The original form of that provision, as published in 1917, included "those coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson or granddaughter."

The later form I note changes the provision to read that "one already here may send for his father, or grandfather, over 65 years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or

his unmarried or widowed daughter."

The first form, if correctly printed, would permit the admission in time of the greater portion of Japan. Each grandmother or grandfather could send for all the sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, and it would be a poor sort of Japanese grandfather who could not secure admission for from ten to thirty of his descendants.

Import a few thousand grandfathers each year—their sons could send for them—and it would not take long to people the country with Japanese.

The change of the provision, probably made under criticism, still leaves open the question of the original intent behind the plan.

Even the present form will multiply the percentage admissions by two or three—and each wife, or daughter, or sometimes mother, is an able-bodied laborer.

The Student Provision.

In the measure as now offered to Congress and the public, there is at least one provision which throws the gates wide open. Any number of aliens may come in as "students," and no provision is made for their return. Under this provision many thousands of Japanese could come into the United States, attend school for a few months and then distribute themselves through the country as laborers. This is so patent that it seems strange it would have escaped the attention of the framers of the bill.

An Asylum for the Persecuted.

Again, it is proposed that any alien claiming religious persecution in his own country, either in overt act or through law or regulation, shall be admitted into this country on application and become at once eligible for citizenship.

This country cannot longer afford to serve as an asylum for every one claiming persecution elsewhere, however unfitted he may be for American citizenship, if we are to maintain a standard of citizenship which will insure the perpetuity of the Nation.

Under the provision named we would have to admit without question every Russian Jew, every Armenian and every Christian Asiatic

who might be persecuted in his own country. There would be in all of these classes individuals who would make desirable citizens, but it would be unwise to pledge ourselves to admit every one who applied.

A Masked Battery.

And in addition to all the concrete objections which have been, or may be, offered to the bill of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, the fact that it was prepared and is promoted by Dr. Sidney Gulick and has constituted apparently the objective of his five-year mission in the United States, should be enough to create grave suspicion in the mind of every loyal American, and in particular of those who have been induced to endorse the measure, and to whom these facts are now presented. We fear the Greeks bearing gifts.

Dr. Gulick's work in this country, on his own admission, has been not to guard American immigration, but to secure endorsement of his new Oriental policy, which would let down the bars to Asiatics as immigrants and citizens. And while he talked for Asiatics, he admitted that his interest was in the Japanese.

It is, therefore, not unfair to assume that his "constructive immigration" legislation is simply a vehicle for carrying through our Congressional halls the enactments which would secure admission for the Japanese. It is quite natural, under such circumstances that he would think less of safeguarding Americans than of insuring acceptance of the Japanese.

It is plain, too, that in the framing of the bill and in the published statements as to the manner in which it would restrict Japanese immigration the promoters have been guilty of bad faith. The early forms of the bill contained riders and loopholes which would have admitted Japanese in hordes, entirely aside from the percentage admissions.

There was the provision under which a grandfather might send for all his descendants, afterwards changed so that a man might send for his wife and dependant relatives;

there was the provision as to admission of "students" without limit, without restriction, which would prevent them going to work within a week as laborers, and without any suggestion as to their return; there was the provision as to admitting anyone who claimed to be the object of religious persecution.

The three provisions last named were in the edition of the bill received from the League headquarters shortly before these articles were written; they will perhaps be changed in the light of this criticism—the first doubtless was changed because of criticism. But the effect of all four was certainly as evident to the framers of the bill who have given years to consideration of the subject as to one with less knowledge who takes it up for the first time. They indicate the intent of the original promoters to secure certain objects which were publicly disclaimed and which would only appear on close scrutiny of the bill by one generally familiar with conditions. They offer sufficient reason to fear that there may be still in the bill, undetected, provisions which will make serious trouble for this country.

All this is written in the belief that nearly all—possibly all—of the published list of National Committeemen who endorse the League and have subscribed for its work are innocent of knowledge of Dr. Gulick's real mission and of what his bill was intended to accomplish.

Indeed the complete file of letters and circulars by means of which Dr. Gulick secured acceptance of the 1,000 National Committeemen shows that they did not understand, in all probability, his purpose to admit Asiatics, even if they realized the perils of such a policy—and saw only a plan to restrict immigration in protection of American citizenship.

Suggested Safeguards.

Consideration of the facts presented in these articles naturally suggests the following as points worthy at least of careful thought on the part of Uncle Sam, in connection with the immigration problem:

Why commit the United States