

The Economic Club of New York

Our Relations with Japan

March 31, 1921

Table of Contents

First Speaker

Henry W. Taft New York Bar	3
-------------------------------------	---

Second Speaker

Lothrop Stoddard Author, "The Rising Tide of Color"	13
--	----

Third Speaker

Professor Toyokichi Iyenaga	23
Director, East and West News Bureau	

Fourth Speaker

Earl S. Parker Secretary, American League of Justice of California	34
---	----

Fifth Speaker

The Honorable James D. Phelan Ex-Senator from California.....	46
--	----

Introduction

The Honorable Ogden L. Mills

Ladies, distinguished guests and members of the Economic Club. I appreciate, of course, that with the distinguished speakers that you are about to hear, it is singularly inappropriate for a chairman to say anything, but this chairman reposes to perform his duty as timekeeper faithfully, and not to burden you with many remarks of his own.

I suppose that one of the most significant facts in the history of the world in the last ten years, though it is one that is frequently overlooked, is the enormous increase in population of the world. The population of Europe, for instance, has increased from some 150,000,000 to over 400,000,000, and our population increased from 3,000,000 to 110,000,000, and this has gone on in an increasing ratio. Thus, the population of Japan, for instance, I am informed, has doubled in the last thirty years. The population of Germany increased 25,000,000 in forty years and the population of Russia some 50,000,000 in the same period of time, while even densely populated England shows an increase of 3,500,000 in little more than a decade.

Now the world was and has been able not only to support this constantly increasing population, but to maintain it at a higher and higher standard of living, because as stability increased throughout the world, and confidence prevailed, the countries of the world were knitted closer

and closer together by economic and industrial and commercial relations, which permitted the free exchange of products and of constantly increasing production.

An economic machine was built up of great delicacy, to be sure, but which unobstructed by political considerations, functioned continually and with comparative smoothness. The war destroyed it, smashed it completely, and whatever may have been our ideas on the subject a year ago, it must be evident today that if it is to be restored at all, the process must be slow, and if it is not restored the consequences to mankind may be appalling.

Now, there can be no restoration without world stability; there can be no world stability until there is a restoration of mutual confidences, mutual thought and harmonious relations between the peoples of the world, and that, implies not only political considerations and the conflict of national interests, but the adjustment of such economic differences as exist.

Insofar as our relations with Europe are concerned and the factors involved in our harmonies with that continent are concerned, I suppose we are reasonable well educated to know what the factors are, but insofar as this great Eastern power, the great friendly Eastern power is concerned, I am afraid that the knowledge of American citizens is only too limited, and that this lack of knowledge, this lack of the factors involved, this lack of understanding, as to this apparent friction which we hear about, may, unless it is explained away by a frank discussion of all the

factors involved, lead some day to more serious trouble and certainly today seriously impedes our progress to the restoration of harmonious relations and economic prosperity. (Applause)

It is from this point of view, gentlemen, that I think that we listeners may look forward tonight to a most interesting evening to this discussion of our relations with Japan, which I am assured will be discussed from so many different standpoints and with real frankness.

It affords me great pleasure to introduce to you the first speaker of the evening, Mr. Henry Taft. (Applause)

First Speaker

Henry W. Taft

New York Bar

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Economic Club: I am going to deal with the subject of tonight from the standpoint of the enlightened self-interests of the United States. I shall omit any discussion of the biological or the anthropological aspect of the matter. What may happen centuries hence from a mixture of alien races is an interesting study for the scientists, but the question whether white and yellow races are assimilable is not apt to affect the present trend of history or the development of our trade; the adjustment of our political relations with the oriental

countries and the growing influence of western institutions upon the social, economic and political life.

The sensational use of the so called yellow peril diverts the mind of the public from such matters as these, which are of present importance. Now, I don't want to start this discussion without announcing certain opinions which I hold and the first is that the exclusion policy of this country is the only policy for it to adopt, not on account of the biological aspects of it, the non-assimilability of the races, but upon sound economic grounds. If our policy of excluding the oriental races is not effective, and I believe it is effective, it ought to be made so.

Taking up, first, the subject of trade, and I am going to discuss these subjects from the standpoint, as I said before, of the interests of this country, we have a half billion of imports from Japan annually. They equal the imports from Great Britain and from Canada. We have exports of a half billion to Japan, and they exceed the exports to all the other countries, excepting France, Great Britain and Canada.

In respect of our political situation, we have a seafront of 2,000 miles that fronts the coast of Asia. It may be reached within a period which would be occupied at the foundation of this Government in travelling from Virginia to Massachusetts. We have a chain of outposts, extending completely across the Pacific Ocean, starting with Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines. We have concerned ourselves with all kinds of Oriental questions. The "Open Door" in China

has been a matter of the utmost interest to the United States. We have expressed, without any restraint, our interest in such questions as the Shantung Peninsula; the encroachment of Japan upon the Asiatic Continent, the encroachment of Japan in Korea, and in Southern Manchuria, in Mongolia and in a multitude of ways we have concerned ourselves with Oriental questions.

Politically speaking, politically speaking, it is too late for the United States to say that they are not a factor in Oriental questions. Indeed, the United States may be described as being a pacific power, almost an Oriental power. From the standpoint of national idealism, America is probably the most ideal nation in the world. Instances of an exhibition of our idealism come to the mind readily, and none more readily than that which induced her to restore to China/Boxer indemnity, which is now being used by China for the purpose of educating her young men in this country.

(Applause)

Now, the question, and as I take it, the important question here tonight, gentlemen, is: How can our position, our political position, our national interests, our trade position and our desire to extend to the Orient the influences of western civilization thus be conserved.

I am only going to deal with the question from that standpoint. Well, what have we in Asia? We have this great nation of Japan. In point of education, perhaps not advanced as we, but the percentage of literacy is higher in Japan than in this country. Their industries are to be compared

with the most advanced nation of the world, as is indicated by their ability to export, as they do, to this country, their chief customer.

I needn't speak of her military power, because she has given demonstration of her potentiality in that respect upon more than one recent occasion. So far as her national solidarity is concerned, probably there is no nation that has developed to such an intense degree a national patriotism as that which exists in Japan. It rises to the intensity of religious fervor, but it results in a homogeneity of purpose and national aspirations that gives to the nation much of the power which she has exhibited in emergencies. Now, of course, Japan is charged with imperialism and militarism and undoubtedly her powerful men have had aspirations and perhaps still have aspirations, but the feature of Japan's national life that I want to call your attention to is the growing spread of liberalism in Japan. She is gradually but surely becoming more and more a representative democracy.

When I was in Japan about a year ago, the then existing government was retained in power upon the issue of increasing the franchise by about a million votes. They have a property qualification and an age qualification, which makes the actual number of voters comparatively limited, but they did increase it by about a million votes, and the pressure for universal suffrage is continuous and persistent. I do not know how long it will take, but in any case, there is no question that the trend in Japan is towards a representative republic and the formation of what we cannot under the term of public opinion.

It is an autonomous, powerfully united and progressive nation. Well, the point of this is to compare the situation with other nations in the Orient. Starting down at the south with the Dutch Islands and India and China and Manchuria and Mongolia and Eastern Siberia, there is not a self-governing nation among them. They are all subject nations. Japan is the only nation in the East which typifies or at least approximates to a self-governing representative nation. Now, I don't mean to use such extreme language as to create the impression that it has got there, because it hasn't but I mean to say that that is the tendency and therefore it follows that if the United States is going to accomplish anything in the Orient, either in the direction of trade or in this establishment of self-governing communities, or in the extension of our ideals of Western Civilization into the Asiatic countries, according to the present indications it can be accomplished through Japan better than through any other agency in the East.

In its present conditions, Japan could probably bring under subjugation all of the other countries of the Orient, but they are wise enough to know that if they should attempt any such wholesale Imperialism as that, it would react to their enormous disadvantage if not ultimately to their destruction, and they do not aspire to any such hegemony as that over the Asiatic territory.

It isn't necessary for us to withhold criticism from Japan. She is subject to criticism in more than one respect, and I had no hesitation when I was in Japan in telling them that there were many ways in which they could mend their ways, and they know it; and they admit that they have

made many mistakes in the past, but the encouraging thing about the situation out there is that they are interested in seeking to conciliate the public opinion and the good opinion of the world. They are inviting suggestions and they do not take them ill.

They are aggressive, they are pushing, they are progressive, and in trade, no doubt, you gentlemen that are engaged in this export and import trade have got to be alive in order to get ahead of them. But you don't complain of that. In some political matters we have got to keep our eye on them and we have got to restrain them and we have got to ask them to account for some of their actions, but we will not meet, if we meet them frankly, we will not meet with hostility in seeking to accomplish that result.

The trouble with us is that we do not know Japan nearly so well as they know us, not nearly so well as they know us. They are studying us; there are probably 2 or 3 thousand students in the institutions of learning in this country sent here for their education, and they are imbibing in their youthful days a knowledge of our institutions and our language, and they are using it when they go home for the liberalization of their own country, but we do not know them and we do not study them. But what we ought to do, what we ought to do is to approach these questions candidly, frankly, but with some sympathy for Japan's difficulties.

Her chief difficulty is one that Mr. Mills has mentioned -- her rapidly increasing population.

Upon her little island she has a population of nearly 60 millions of people and it is increasing at the rate of 700,000 a year.

It is impossible for her long to continue to accommodate that population. At present, it is estimated that she has only about a quarter of an acre of tillable land to each inhabitant. Her agriculture is more intensive than any other country in the world, except Belgium, perhaps. It is impossible for her to continue in her national course unless she finds raw materials and unless she gets more food for her people.

Now, we check Japan in her encroachment upon the Asiatic continent. Prejudice is created against her, because she exhibits imperialistic tendencies in studying her political power into China, and perhaps having ambitions to impair the sovereignty of China, and no doubt there is a good deal in what is said on that subject, but when we judge of Japan in fairness we ought to consider what her national necessities are, and I think if you will study the question you will find that her necessities are such that in order to preserve her people, in order to feed her people and to clothe her people and to support her people, she has got to go to the continent of Asia, and if we do not help her in it, she will go anyway, and we ought to approach the subject with some sympathy for her national necessities. (Applause)

Now, considering those questions, what ought to be the policy of the United States with reference to Japan, because I understand that that substantially is the question which is under consideration at this meeting, at least, this is the question which I have thought to deal with when I dealt with the question of what our relations between Japan and this country ought to be.

We ought not to be too zealously either pro-Chinese or pro-Japanese, but ought to avoid being anti-Japanese, for no immediate purpose, political or commercial, of this country in Asia, can be accomplished except with friendly co-operation with Japan. If we antagonize her, there is a multitude of ways in which she can defeat our lofty purposes. It would be particularly unreasonable for us to exclude the Japanese from this country, and yet extend our influence to counsel them to keep their people off the Asiatic continent where they must send them; furthermore, we cannot fail to recognize that her geographical propinquity to the continent of Asia, knowing her dominant political position which she occupies in the East, justifies Japan in claiming, as she did in the Lansing-Ishii agreement, which was assented to by us, that she bears a peculiar relation to all far-Eastern questions based upon a principal which is not very different from our Monroe Doctrine.

Now, recently, as I said before, she has been particularly receptive of advances from us. Her statesmen, her press and her people have welcomed our counsel and our friendship. It was in consideration for us, for the United States particularly, that led her ultimately to yield in the matter of the consortium for the benefit of China. One cannot visit Japan without perceiving the

solicitude of her leading statesmen to receive our suggestions if tendered as between equals, and with sympathetic consideration of her national situation and necessities of her people.

Japan is deeply grieved at the implication of racial inferiority, which is implied in our immigration laws, although they do not deny our right to exclude immigrants. They resent the manner in which the question is dealt with and the exaggeration and bitter denunciation which has characterized the arguments upon the subject.

Those matters loom large from the Japanese standpoint. They do not affect a very large element of the American people, although in my judgment they are of great importance to the vital interests of this country. They ought not to be permitted to defeat the larger purposes of America in the Far East or to impair the potential influence of the American people in bringing to the people of the Orient in the future, and perhaps not too far distant future, the influence of Western Civilization. (Applause)

Finally, the point of my entire argument is that the American people should give more attention to Oriental matters, should study vital conditions, should not be misled by extreme and exaggerated statements and should cultivate friendly relations with Japan.

First: I deprecate all talk of racial inferiority if the Japanese, (Applause) for the reason that it does not serve any useful purpose. Or policy of excluding the Oriental is fixed and permanent. It

is based on sound economic principles. It is effective, or if it is not, it ought to be made so, and Japan cannot complain of that. The principle of self-preservation (Applause) justifies any nation, any nation, in excluding aliens whose admission may unduly disturb the normal social, economic or industrial status of our people. (Applause)

Japan herself finds it necessary to exclude the Chinese. California's interest must be dealt with justly, but her enthusiasts also owe something to the broad interests of the nation. (Applause) California does not need the race argument to justify her in passing her recent land laws. Any State has the right to forbid an alien from owning land. Many States thus discriminate. Japan herself has a law having a similar purpose, and if aliens monopolize great tracts of land and maintain their national customs and lower the standard of living deemed proper for American citizens, such things may be inducing causes for discriminating land laws, but all these things do not justify a race agitation against the people of a powerful and friendly nation. Even if we admit that there is a theoretical danger of an overpowering flood of the yellow races and that the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon type is a scientific possibility, these things so remotely affect the present commercial and political international situations that they have no practical importance except to cause irritation among a proud and sensitive but friendly, industrious and extremely competent and progressive people. (Applause)

Lastly, I deplore the recurring talk of war between the two countries. (Applause) Personally, I believe war to be impossible, and yet we have even college professors writing entire books upon

the subject with sensational titles and bellicose predictions. But war will not come unless sensational and insensate attacks in this country based on racial prejudice create a situation in Japan which her statesmen cannot control. If we do our part in stopping such attacks and cultivating a friendly feeling, the danger from this source will not arise.

Japan is not in a financial condition to undertake a war with us, but even if her financial resources were limitless, it would be suicidal for her to fight us, even so before the World War, but since the demonstration of our military potentiality, even the most extreme Jingo of the militaristic party in Japan sees the futility of attacking us. (Applause) Finally, Japan is fast becoming a representative democracy, ruled by the will of the people, and they will not lightly permit their rulers to undertake such a hopeless war as one with the United States. And so, let us stop talking of race inferiority and war, and cultivate friendly relations with the Japanese people and use them as a friendly aid to accomplish our legitimate purposes in the East. I thank you, gentlemen. (Great Applause)

MR. MILLS: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to introduce Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, the author of “The Rising Tide of Color,” our next speaker. (Applause)

Second Speaker

Lothrop Stoddard

Author, “The Rising Tide of Color”

Ladies and gentlemen, there is no problem, I think, we are all agreed, of more importance to the American people than the relations of America and Japan, and the importance of that question becomes doubly apparent when we realize that Japanese-American relations are merely one phase of a vastly greater problem, a true world problem, the greatest world problem of our age; that is, the relations of the white and the non-white races of the globe.

The present situation of this momentous problem arises from the development of the last four centuries of world history, and it is to a brief review of the larger aspects of the case that I wish to direct your attention tonight, because unless we envisage this larger outlook, we cannot properly appreciate the particular phases of Japanese-American relations.

It was about four centuries ago, a trifle over four centuries ago, that the foundations of the present situation were laid. They were laid by the epoch making voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama, who opened to the European white world the previously unknown world of America and the Indies. These voyages, ladies and gentlemen, were in my opinion the greatest events in all world history. They permanently shifted the racial balance of the world and they determined the expansion of all its primary races for all time to come. At that time, the white people were confined virtually to the western part of the continent of Europe, an area not more than one-tenth of the area now occupied by the white races.

At that time, Europe was virtually a deadened country, surrounded by a limitless and unknown ocean, which filled our ancestors with terror and with horror. Suddenly, the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama turned this limitless sea wall into a highway and threw open the entire world to the energy of our people. The result was a prodigious expansion of world activity. Whole continents like the Americas and Australia, virtually empty land of incalculable potential wealth, were occupied and were settled by the white races, to the enrichment not merely of the colonies of whites who settled there, but also to the enrichment of the homeland of Europe, to an incalculable acceleration of activity and ultimately to that vast development known as the industrial revolution which completely changed the whole phase of things, which tapped sources of natural energy never previously known, from steam to electricity, and which tapped the wealth of Nature as it had never been tapped before.

Now, the result of this expansion, the result of this quickening of the white peoples was the building up of our modern civilization, a civilization characterized by high economic standards of living.

Now, concurrently with this development, let us turn to the non-white world, to the various non-white races. We find there something different. We find no such discoveries, no such vast expansion, no new lands, and no such quickening and enrichment of the homelands of the non-white lands by wealth produced from the newer lands discovered. We find, on the contrary,

maintenance of traditional standards of civilization, a low standard of living due to an immensely congested population.

Such was the widening economic gap between the white and the non-white world. This continued down to virtually our own days. As time passed the white races not merely penetrated empty continents like the Americas and Australia, but began to penetrate by trade and by colonial expansion, areas inhabited by non-white populations, both in Asia and in Africa. In other words, we penetrated all these areas with more or less stagnant civilization and low standards of living, and a vast and congested population, with white ideas and white methods. This was especially true after the development of cheap and rapid communication, which followed the invention of the steamship a little over a half century ago.

For the first time in the history of the world, communication between the most distant regions became both cheap and easy, and that it was possible that vast and rapid movements both of goods and of men, which I say, changed the phase of economic and even of social life. In other words, the earth has grown so small and men from being widely scattered have come into close and immediate contact.

Now, the result of all of this was a quickening of the non-white world, especially the Orient, the Far East by white ideas and methods. You got everywhere an increased awakening of the Oriental people. You got an awakening of the Oriental peoples to the significance of the outer

world, of the white lands beyond the sea. You got an increasing intimate acquaintance with conditions there prevailing, especially economic conditions, and you got an attempt to benefit by these conditions, to benefit by education, by trade, by many things, but most significantly of all, by the immigration of individual Orientals to these lands, and it is this immigration, this attempted immigration by oriental peoples to the lands of the white world, which is far and away the most important and the most vital and the most pressing element in this problem, which, I say, is not merely of local, but of world significance. This significance is of a two-fold nature; it is both economic and racial in character.

I have spoken already of the increasing gap between the economic levels of the white and the non-white world; the white world with its great wealth, its elbow room and its high standards of living, the Orient with its lack of elbow room, its congested population, and its consequent low standard of living, this existence of population living only a hand's breath above famine, which the slightest crop failure would plunge into misery such as we see now devastate whole provinces of China and menacing the lives of millions of people. Naturally affected through the working of the survival of the fittest, has developed among these Oriental populations a most tremendous capacity for work, a most extraordinary capacity for living on the barest minimum of food, clothing, shelter, et cetera, in other words, when these Orientals came into the white environment, into the ampler, fuller, more open environment of the white world, particularly those recently settled and imperfectly exploited frontier regions, like our Pacific Coast, like Australia, like Canada, like New Zealand and South Africa, et cetera, the result was that it was

practically impossible for the white men, especially the white men of these regions accustomed to an ample and easy going life, to compete with them economically. In other words, you get a situation which Higgins, who certainly knew the Orient well, summed up in a trenchant phrase, “the East can under-live the West.”

Now a word as to the racial aspect of the situation: The previous speaker has very well said that it is not a discussion of superiority or inferiority, but it certainly is a matter of profound and radical difference. Within the past century the studies of biologists and anthropologists have thrown a flood of light, as has never before been known, upon the laws of life, upon the laws of heredity, by the numerous investigations, not merely in regard to the human species, but in plants and animals the basic laws being the same.

Now, everything teaches us that during the immense span of life upon this globe the various species and such species which have been gradually formed in isolation yet by selected breeding have produced types with the widest difference. AS regards the human species, the main branches of the human race have a correlation between the visible physical attributes such as stature, head formation and coloration, and certain intellectual and spiritual temperamental qualities. These correlatives, very closely throughout, you get a profound difference between the various branches of mankind, and there is nothing more dangerous than the mixing of those widely sundered species.

There results what is known as the law of cancellation. The law of cancellation means the cancelling out of the valuable specializations, of the mixing of varieties, and a reversion to generalized mediocrity. That has been proven time and time again. It has been proven so thoroughly by numerous plant breeders that today the breeders have almost ceased to try to get results from the mingling of the various sub-species, such as horses et cetera. When such experiments are begun, it is only because of one reason, occasionally a valuable product may be attained, but it is done because the numerous worthless products can be destroyed, that can be done, but the human species, with the human species, it cannot be done. We cannot afford to tamper with these things for the simple reason that no matter how fatal the experiment may be, no matter how degenerate or how bad the product, we must keep them to our lasting handicap and to possibly our undoing. As I have said, passing from this, from the general reflection, as I have said, you get everywhere, as the 19th Century towards its close, you got an increasing pressure of these immense dammed-up congested Oriental populations upon the thinly settled frontier of the wide world, as I have said, not merely against our Pacific coast, but against the Canadian coast, against Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and even Latin America. You get a process of action and another action that has rendered this problem increasingly more acute. It works like the swing of a pendulum. To begin with, you get an initial penetration of Oriental across the race frontier. Instantly, the white inhabitants of these frontiers take alarm, they see themselves in danger of being swamped by limitless numbers of Oriental immigrants, they are determined that those lands, which they have settled by their pioneering enterprise, shall be maintained for themselves and for their children, where their ideals and their civilization may

develop and raise up great commonwealths for the future. They raise legal barriers debarring the Oriental, but the Oriental learning more and more of the attractiveness of these lands, endeavors more and more to penetrate, increasing the alarm on the wide frontiers, fresh barriers on both sides, both sides invoke the argument of self preservation, both side menace from time to time the ultimate argument of force, and as I say, it is everywhere the same story. It is an absolute parallel wherever you turn.

Furthermore, there is another question involved. This great human reservoir of the Far East, constantly attempting, seeking inevitably to penetrate these barriers from which they are debarred more and more by a paper barrier of law, naturally tends to flow in to an area where the barrier is lower, where the laws are less stringent, and that is the reason why in countries where the laws are less stringent, lends itself open to the possibility of a concentration of immigration upon its frontiers, which otherwise would have flooded the other lands. For example, if our laws are more lax than those of Canada and Australia and New Zealand, we shall inevitable have a colonization of this potential Oriental immigration towards our shores.

Now, we of course are often told that the number of Orientals in this country is today very small and that the numbers which can come in from their present conditions will be small, insignificant in comparison to the present totals of our population, but, gentlemen, if there is one lesson that history teaches it is immense potential capacity for increase of any human stock. The history of this country is filled with such examples, when we realize that millions of New England stock

sprang from less than 40,000 immigrants landed in new England between the years 1630 and 1640; when we realize the millions of French Canadians which sprang from about twenty-five to thirty thousand people left in Canada by the French at the time of the English conquest in 1763; when we consider a case like the Island of Java in the Dutch Indies, which a century ago had less than four million people and which under the wise administration of the Dutch Government now numbers well over thirty millions, we see the potential expansion of any human stock, even a small one, and the fact that a 3% annual increase, an increase such as was maintained for generations by our Colonial ancestors, means a doubling in 25 years and in a 100 years an increase of 1800%.

Now, there are certain arguments advanced by people essentially well meaning, but who allow their hearts to run away with their heads. There are 2 fallacies in regard to these matters, the arguments so called of overcrowded Asia and the argument of sympathy for the suffering present minority. Now, in the first place, as regards to overcrowded Asia, we often hear that Asia should be allowed to pour this surplus into the empty regions of the globe. Well now, gentlemen, if there is one lesson which history teaches, it is that immigration renders no relief for a population which has a very high birthrate. It has been figured that the entire shipping capacity of the world would not suffice to carry the annual excess of births or for deaths of China and India - far from it. There is no remedy. It merely means there is no remedy there. It merely means that a certain number of individuals would go into an empty land, carrying with them their low standard of living and their high birthrate, and they would populate those lands very rapidly, but in the

meantime the gape would be filled more readily than ever from the very small increment of relief which was afforded by that departure, which would further stimulate the birth rate of those who remained behind.

The only remedy for conditions such as you have in the Far East is a remedy of the social standard of those peoples, a change in their standards, a raising of their standards of living, the process of industrialization and the practice of birth control. Those are the only remedies. There are no others.

With reference to the second proposition, the so called factor of sympathy, there are many persons who look who are overwhelmed with the presence that China exhibits today, of millions of human beings starving. To them it is intolerable to have such suffering, such privation, the existence of these vast populations living within a hand's breadth of starvation, living lives of narrowness, crampedness and penury is unendurable and penury is unendurable, and they are willing to risk almost anything to try to alleviate this distress. Well, I simply say to those who charge those of us, those of us who do not believe their way, who charge us with a narrowness of outlook, to simply say that to my mind they are victims of a narrow outlook, because after all they merely look at the sum total of the individuals today existing on this planet, a very large number, I will admit, 16 or 17 hundred millions; but to my mind these people should look a trifle further. They should look not merely at the individuals existing today, but towards the vista of generations, numerous, through the long vista of the years, the centuries, the millennium, the

hundred of millions, the billions, the trillions, all potential individuals. Of these, ladies and gentlemen, there are billions and billions, all potential whites, all potential children of our own race, our own descendants. If standards have any meaning, if civilization, as we understand it, has any meaning, if heredity and blood have any meaning, they have a right to their inheritance, in other words have a right, an inalienable right, a first charge to be both white in a white man's land. (Applause)

MR. MILLS: The Economic Club is fortunate in having as its guest this evening, Professor Iyenaga, Director of the East and West News Bureau, who will discuss this very interesting and important question from the standpoint of his country -- Professor Iyenaga. (Applause)

Third Speaker

Professor Toyokichi Iyenaga

Director, East and West News Bureau

Mr. Chairman, members of the Economic Club, ladies and gentlemen: Common interests are of supreme importance, which are involved in the relations between America and Japan are becoming more and more closely interwoven in the very structure of their national existence. Commercial transactions undertaken between the 2 countries alone are of no mean magnitude, the total aggregate of their annual trade reaching the 1 billion dollar mark. America is the chief customer of Japan's staple products, while Japan ranks 3rd or 4th among the purchasers of

America. Financially, Tokyo has already become an important factor in making New York the financial center of the world. Moreover, there are about 120,000 Japanese who are domiciled today in your country and participating in many of its activities.

It is then but natural that out of such close relationship there will time and again raise difficult questions which demand the most considerate handling by the statesmen of the two countries.

The questions that loom big before the public eye at the present moment are the Yap question, the question of naval armament, and the Japanese-California problem.

Serious as the latter problem is, it is my firm belief that no insurmountable obstacle stand in the way of an amicable solution. (Applause)

Viewed from the high standpoint, these questions are none but the questions of passing moment, the by-product, if you please, of the ever increasing contact of the East and West. To find the proper solution these questions, America and Japan must most zealously address themselves, for they are engaged in the vastly important task of bring about the harmonious growth of the two branches of mankind and civilization which have for centuries past kept apart, but which through the progress of the age have lately been brought together as the most virile and resourceful representatives respectively of the Occident and Orient. It is the sacred mission of America and Japan to wisely guide the intercourse between the two worlds which in the course of thousands of years of independent development have come to possess strikingly different characteristics.

I cannot entertain for a moment the opinion that a clash between the Yellow and White races is inevitable, as some pessimists choose to entertain; that would amount to the recognition of complete bankruptcy of the American and Japanese statesmanship. (Applause) Thank god, the two nations on the opposite shores of the Pacific are not so sterile in producing genuine statesmen, deplore as we may the large crop of Jingoists and Yellow journalists. (Applause)

The trouble with the Yap question lies in the fact that America herself keeps aloof from the Council of the League of Nations. (Applause) Its reply to the American note concerning the Yap disposition is clothed as usual in eloquent diplomatic garb. Were I permitted to translate it into everyday language; I would do so in the following fashion:

“Dear Uncle Sam: The execution of the Versailles Treaty does not brook delay for a day. Acting under instructions of the Supreme Council of Allied and Associated Powers, we have given the mandate over the former German Islands in the Pacific lying north of the Equator to Japan. At that time, you, according to your own sweet will, kept away from our conference. It is rather hard for us to hear of your grumbling after the players’ parts have been fixed, while you yourself refrained from participating in the functioning of the world show. Won’t you, then, please come in and take your own part on the stage?” (Laughter and Applause_

As to the question of Naval Armament, it resolves itself into the question of proportion, of the ratio to be maintained between the different navies. I can see no reason why the naval experts of

Great Britain, the United States and Japan cannot succeed in involving a formula whereby millions of dollars expended for the construction of the engines of destruction could be converted to the building of ships which carry messages of good will and commerce between the nations, or to the establishment of schools and hospitals for the uplift of humanity. (Applause)

Coming to the Japanese-California question, the first important point to be borne in mind is that it is not the immigration question, but the question of the treatment of Japanese nationals already admitted. The first is, of course, a national question, and California along has no right to dictate to the nation what its immigration policy should be; furthermore, the Washington and Tokyo governments have no quarrel over that question. They have settled it by the gentlemen's agreement, whereby Japan, in deference to American wishes, pledges herself to restrict the immigration of laborers into this country, and this agreement has been most faithfully kept by Japan.

What is not generally well understood in this country is the reason that has induced Japan to acquiesce in this agreement and to what sacrifices is this self-denying arrangement subjecting her. Let me explain it for a moment. Consider for a moment Japan's population, her natural resources, her living conditions: Japan proper, I will say, has a land area of only 147,655 square miles, less than all the single State of California, and a population of about 58,000,000. The density of the population is therefore 380 per square mile. Far more significant than this great density of population is the fact that out of the total area of Japan only 16%, because of geological

formation, is fit for cultivation. That constitutes the arable land, while the rest is made up of mountains and forests. It follows, therefore, that 58,000,000 Japanese have to eke out their existence out of what is produced in the 44,000 square miles, or $1/4^{\text{th}}$ of an acre per capita, as Mr. Henry Taft has said. Moreover, the population is increasing at the rate of 700,000 per annum. Consequently, how to feed, clothe and shelter this ever-increasing population is a very pressing problem.

The scarcity of natural resources in Japan is not less striking than the shortage of arable land. Japan produces neither wool nor cotton and no large store of coal; in short, circumscribed within a narrow limited area, who with scanty resources and overcrowded with $2/3^{\text{rds}}$ as many of the entire population of the United States, Japan's problem of existence is not an easy one. As a consequence, the struggle for existence in Nippon is exceedingly hard. You will find men and women cramped in thought and vision, the government officials occupying important posts, venerable judges, learned university professors who receive salaries which an efficient bank clerk in New York would scorn as too low for his labor. Is it then surprising that of the number of them who want to seek new regions in the new world? There extends along the border line of the Pacific vast tracts of land yet sparsely peopled with immense resources left unexploited, their fertile soil untouched. On the Southern-Pacific there lies the Island continent of Australia, which is by 50,000 square miles larger than the area of the United States, but with a population hardly larger than the population of the single City of New York. There is also another British Colony whose land area is very large, but with a population only $1/10^{\text{th}}$ of the total population of the

Mikado's Empire, and here in the United States you have the vast land of opportunities, a refuge for the oppressed, the nursery of their genius to which come the rest of Europe, but alas, from which regions of the earth the Japanese find themselves barred.

Wherein is the justice, they ask, of shutting out an industrious, a peaceful and law-abiding people from an earth, which lie in barrenness, simple because of the lack of man's thought; where, too, is your convincing argument, we ask Americans, which forced open the doors of Japan 7 decades ago.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, neither the pressure at home, nor the consciousness of justice in asking for her nationals the bestowal of equal privileges granted to other nationals, has swerved Japan from faithfully and loyally keeping the gentlemen's agreement, and why?

The restrictive immigration measures adopted by American and by the British colonies have been acquiesced in without much ado by Japan from the higher considerations of international comity, and of her own national well being. She saw at the bottom of these measures there lies the delicate and difficult question of race difference, which requires a long period for proper adjustment. To ignore this fact and force the race issue, however just in principle, would be to court disaster; it might result in the loss of friendship of her best associates in international spheres and of the people of interest involved in that friendship.

Herein is the spring of the gentlemen's agreement, so far as Japan is concerned. Therefore, the immigration question no longer remains an issue. I venture to say that Japan is prepared to take even more drastic measures than those heretofore adopted to completely check the immigration of her subjects to your country. Knowing that, Japan has ever been ready to yield to America's wishes. I hold it but just that she be saved from the embarrassment arising out of their disorientation, meted out against her subjects. Proud and sensitive, Japan takes to heart the abuses or indignities which she deems seriously detrimental to her national honor.

Turning to the California question; it would be unfair and ungracious to place all the blame of the trouble upon the shoulder of California, for there are causes for anti-Japanese agitation there that it is well for my fellow countrymen to seriously ponder over and devise ways to remove the root of the trouble. First and all-embracing of these causes is the over-concentration of Japanese population in a single state. Out of 120,000 Japanese living in your country over 2/3^{rds} are now living in California, and it is in that State that they show a marked tendency to grow in numbers and economic importance. This fact arouses in the hearts of the Californians the fear of losing the control of the State and makes the cry, "California for the Californians" a strong rallying point.

To be sure, only 70,000 Japanese would not have aroused the people had they been dispersed over a wide area or placed in such a big cosmopolitan city as New York, but their settlement within the thinly peopled regions of California tends not only to germinate unnecessary racial

and economic conflict, but to magnify the nature of the problem in the eyes of the native population. Moreover, the Japanese residents are prone to retain their traditions, customs and language, which combined with their habit of grouping together result in the appearance of small Japanese towns and communities. Suppose, for instance, an American colony of 3,000 strong with the churches and schools, their dance and music halls, their Barnum & Bailey, and other paraphernalia of their civilization was established in the vicinity of Tokyo, it is not difficult to imagine the nature of the reception they would receive at the hands of the native community. Unless this psychology is thoroughly grasped by Japanese residents in California, I fear the turmoil there will not be downed. Much of the agitation in California, I have no doubt, is engineered by local politicians, who have their own axe to grind, I have, however, no motive -- no heart to pry into their motives. Many of the charges against the Japanese rest upon false premises. Let us see. I am speaking of the conditions of living in California, not of Japan. First that they work for low wages. This is also exploited. As a matter of fact, Japanese farm laborers receive higher in certain instances, for instance, in picking berries, than American laborers. In the second place, the standards of living prevailing among the Japanese is much lower than that maintained among Americans. The diet of the Japanese farmer may be different in kind from that of the American farmer, but I will attest, ladies and gentlemen, that the Japanese dinner by no means costs less than the American dinner. They as a rule dress and feed well. There is no more liberal spender than a Japanese youth; in fact, he has too much fondness, he wants to ride in a Cadillac or Pierce-Arrow, instead of being contented with the creation of Henry Ford. (Applause and Laughter)

Japanese are buying the best land of California -- is not true. In fact, most of the land they have secured was at first unfit for cultivation, and only by dint of patient labor have they been converted into productive soil. Many thrilling stories are told of the enterprise and perseverance of the Japanese farmers who, after failure and failure, have at last succeeded in their enterprise. Henry Stephens says, in his writing, that California has a land area, an arable land area of about 28,000,000 acres, of which the Japanese own about 74,000 odd acres, and lease 384,000 odd acres. That is to say, that Japanese own 1 acre for every 373 acres of arable land, and lease 1 to every 72 acres of California's arable land; but the government admits that out of 28,000,000, there are still over 16,000,000 acres which are left uncultivated. Still, is it becoming for them, the enterprising Californians to grumble about the utilization of this small portion of the waste land by the Japanese for productive purposes?

Then the government says that the agricultural production of California was valued in 1919 at about \$507,000,000, to which the Japanese contributed about \$67,000,000, which means 13% of the total; but here is one important point, indeed, that there is a clear line of demarcation of the farming of the Japanese and the California farmers. While the Japanese produce from 82 to 94% of berries, the American farmers monopolize the total production of grain, hay and produce from 80 to 94% of cotton, potatoes, grapes, fruit and nuts. Now, the product in which the Japanese are strong cannot be advantageously produced by American farmers. Why, because their cultivating

and gathering require a squatting position, to which position they are well accustomed. I do not believe you could stand the torture for 5 minutes.

Well now, ladies and gentlemen, I have to come down to the point I have to say. I have fully discussed in conjunction with my friend, Sato, in the forthcoming book, or rather, the book just out, "Japan and the California Problem," published by Putnam & Sons, (Laughter and Applause), perhaps that is a good way of advertising -- in concluding, then, I beg to say that the most unjust and unreasonable thing are those who advocate to pile more humiliation upon the head of the Japanese nation by the enactment of an exclusion law and who wants to deprive the American citizens of Japanese descent the right of citizenship which has been granted by the American Constitution. I consider this is reactionary and a suicidal policy. Its advocacy rests upon the thesis that the Japanese are inassimilable. I consider it as a dogmatic assertion which can neither be sustained by history nor warranted by Japanese psychology. Let me elucidate it. The one fact that stands in bold letters in Japan's history is her susceptibility to foreign ways and that her people were always ready to accept and adopt everything that an alien country had to offer. Centuries ago the Japanese people adopted the Hindu religion and civilization. Well, in the middle of the 19th Century Japan discovered that the Occident was incomparably the greater teacher than Oriental neighbors. She was soon learning everything that America, England, France or Germany had to teach. How successfully has been the studentship, how complete the transformation, is well known to everyone. Within 2 generations you have seen a despotic monarchy replaced by a constitutional regime and the people not only attempting to share in the

government, but today profoundly stirred by the spirit of democracy; an extensive system of education inaugurated, with public schools opened for every child, universities turning out students capable of original research in the sciences, a wise system of jurisprudence instituted, the country intersected with a network of telephone wires and railroads, as well as a postal system, justice administered impartially by a trained and educated judiciary, the nation with a suitable army and navy, and represented at foreign courts and capitals by a trained corps of diplomats, the people supplied amply with periodicals and newspapers and books, a merchant marine to carry on their overseas trade, with mills and factories dotting the land, with modern movies and social entertainment, and their mode of living immeasurably bettered -- this wonderful transformation that Japan underwent is to me the conclusive evidence of her assimilability to American ways and thoughts, to the Japanese who have civilization. The impossibility of assimilability to American ways and thoughts is too ridiculous to contemplate.

DR. ELY: I AM SORRY, THE TIME IS UP.

PROFESSOR IYENAGA: All right, Goodbye. (Great Applause)

MR. MILLS: it gives me great pleasure to introduce Mr. Earl S. Parker, Secretary of the American League of Justice of California, whose organization has and is opposing the anti-Japanese measures of that State. Mr. Parker. (Applause)

Fourth Speaker

Earl S. Parker

Secretary, American League of Justice of California

Mr. Chairman, members of the Economic Club, ladies and gentlemen: I have a double pleasure this evening in being allowed to address you gentlemen and ladies and in being allowed to meet the distinguished visitor from my own State, Mr. Phelan. Last Fall, during the campaign, at which time the Oriental Land Law, the Alien Land Law, was quite a burning issue, the Senator was busy running for office and his friends said, "I was busy saving California for the Japanese." In order to bring the discussion of this question fairly before the people, I issued a challenge by telegraph to the Senator to debate this question with me in Los Angeles. He didn't take notice of it and a day or two later a number of the prominent citizens of Southern California, including ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Cage, James A. Blaisdell, President of Pomona College, and others, sent a telegram to the Senator's campaign manager, suggesting that it would be a good way to bring the question before the people. The manager replied, but it seems that senatorial dignity prevented the Senator from debating the question with me at that time, I being just an ordinary school teacher. Well, the people of California on the 2nd of November last arranged to relieve the Senator of that particular kind of dignity on March 4th, and I had the pleasure of contributing to the joy of the occasion, for both of us here tonight ready to tell you what we think about the Japanese question in California.

Now, I anticipate that the Senator and I will disagree on certain things in a discussion of this question. Both of us, however, will agree as to the merit of California climate. (Laughter)

There will be entirely too little time for us to discuss this great question as fully as it should be discussed, but I would be very glad to go 50-50 on the expenses with anybody who wants to discuss this question, in any hall in the City of New York and at any time that they care to discuss the matter, when we can have plenty of time.

First of all, I want to say to you that this is not a question of the advisability of allowing further immigration of the Japanese, of the laboring classes. The people of California are a unit on that one particular thing. The Japanese that live in California agree with the rest of us, and the Japanese nation agrees with all of us on that particular thing. We may differ as to the reason for the advisability, but all of us recognize that it would be most unwise at this time to have further immigration of the laboring classes.

Now, California has always been very strong in her likes and dislikes. If she likes you she likes you, and if she don't like you she don't like you.

A number of years ago, when a religious fanaticism swept over this country, when the A. P. A. were very prominent, when every Catholic Church was looked upon as a crowning citadel, and every Catholic school was supposed to harbor soldiers read to take over this country and turn it

over to some foreign power, the city of San Francisco was plastered from one end of the town to the other with placards, "Down with the Irish." Well, they got over that. Then a little later came the Chinese question. Now, the Chinese came into California, - I am just mentioning these things in order that we get the background, - as a result of the need for laborers, and they found employment first on the trans-continental railroads which were building along in the early 60s, when this country was engaged in war and labor was scarce. No one found any fault with the Chinese, as long as they performed that kind of labor, but with the close of the war and the readjustment period and the necessity of cutting prices a great many men found themselves out of work, but the Chinese, who in many cases had been frugal and saved some money, began to take up land, began to go into business and to do some of the things that the white people had previously controlled. Now, there were a great many men who had been used to the free and easy living and the free spending of the mining camps who found themselves destitute. There was more or less dissatisfaction, and just as always, there was a class of fellows who were ready to pick on the fellow who couldn't help himself and they said to these men, "Why, the Chinese are responsible for all of your lack of prosperity. If we throw them out everything will be alright," and to California's everlasting disgrace, mobs were formed, Chinese that were here under as solemn an treaty as ever was penned, were attacked by these mobs, thousands of them were driven from their property and from their homes and literally hundreds of them were killed in cold blood without the least reason or excuse in all the world, and such pressure was brought to bear on the United States Government that the Exclusion Law was passed, which stands today as the darkest and dirtiest page in the history of our dealings with another nation.

Now, California threatens that if the United States Government does not handle the Japanese question exactly as she wants it handled that she will settle it in her own way. I suppose she means the same way that she settled the Chinese question. I want to know whether the other people of this country are willing to bear their part of the disgrace that must attach if California is allowed to go ahead and deal with this question in a way that will reflect on the good name of the United States of America.

Now, following the driving out of Chinese there was a great dearth of labor to till the soil. 520,000 acres of land that had been cultivated became unproductive because of lack of anybody to till it, and went back to the desert. About that time we made a treaty with Japan and her laborers came in here and took the place of the Chinese. They got along very nicely and came in increasing numbers, and there was little trouble until about 1906, when you remember we had a fire out in San Francisco.

Now, I live out in Lost Angeles, and we sometimes say they had an earthquake, but we always got in trouble with the San Francisco people if we mention anything about earthquake, - but there was great suffering out there and there was need for relief, and for funds, and the Japanese government sent \$260,000 in gold to that stricken city, and Mr. Phelan had the honor of being on the Relief Committee and helped disburse that money, and within 60 or 90 days after that or within a short time after, Mr. Phelan, also in his zeal for California, and what he probably

conceived to be the right thing, I will concede that much to him, raised a fuss over the matter of Japanese children in the schools of California and insisted that they be kicked out of the schools.

Now, a very careful investigation revealed the enormity of the menace of Japanese children in the schools of San Francisco. Somewhere between 40 or 50 thousand children were enrolled and there was less than a 100 Japanese school children in the whole bunch. One of the members of the Board of Education said that the Japanese did nothing else but study and win all the prizes. I think that is an example that American children might emulate. I have had something to do with students in school and we never had very much complaint about them studying too much. Well, thank God, for one great big double-fisted American, -- Theodore Roosevelt (Applause) who was in the Presidential chair and who laid a very heavy hand on California and said he would back his demand with the whole United States Army, if necessary, in order to see that the Japanese children had proper treatment and that our treaty with Japan was kept, and if we had had that kind of a man in the President chair the last few years we wouldn't have any Japanese-California question and things would be going along swimmingly.

Following this stir over the question of the school children a Gentlemen's Agreement was made with Japan and I want to say, emphasizing what the speaker before me has said, that the agreement has been most faithfully kept, and I will refer it to everyone of our Secretaries of State of the past several years, who will testify to Japan's good faith. In order that you may know something more about that argument, I am going to mention briefly the terms of that agreement.

Japan agreed not to issue passports to Japanese of the laboring classes. Japan did not agree that she would not issue passports to members of the families of people already here and to Japanese who had been in the United States and gone back to Japan, and there is not record to show that Japan has not kept that agreement. I will take up later some of the ridiculous stories about the tens of thousands of Japanese in this country without passports, and the attempt backed by the Japanese Government to colonize California.

Well, I might just mention one thing right now. The Los Angeles Times, of January 31st, 1920, had this to say: “A report made to the Senate, signed by John W. Abercrombie says during the 12 months ending June 30, 1919, the agents of the Federal Government apprehended 9,768 Japanese who were in California illegally and secured their deportation --9,768.”

Well, I have something of a hand for figures and I wanted to learn if that was true. I never believe much that is published in the Los Angeles Times and nothing in the Los Angeles Examiner, so I went right to headquarters to find out about the report. You know, Hearst has papers in California the same as he has here, and if I know anything about it, we think as much of him in California as you fellows do here, (Applause) so we sent down to Washington for Mr. Abercrombie's report and learned that in the 11 years ending June 30th, 1919, 4,000 of all classes of all nations had been found illegally in the United States and deported. Now, that was the difference.

Now, this newspaper report was used by a member of the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, my own County, as a basis for an attack on the Japanese. His voice was vibrant with emotion, and he went on to tell of how the Japanese were coming and he said they were coming armed and we must arm against them or they would drive us from our homes. A correction was sent to the Los Angeles times, but they didn't bother to correct their false statement.

Now, thing went along until 1913, and California determined to pass drastic legislation regarding the ownership of land. Secretary of State Bryan, I believe it was, went out to confer with the legislature but he didn't get a very warm reception, for California gave him to understand that she intended to go ahead and do just as she pleased. She passed a law which prohibited the Japanese from owning land in the State or from leasing land for a period of more than 3 years. It had the effect of taking the Japanese who were more or less scattered over the State and concentrating them around the large centers of population, one of the very worst things that could be done. I want to say to you that there is no man living, if you say to him, "You cannot live on a piece of land for more than three years," who is going out into the desert and spend 2 ½ years trying to get a piece of land in shape for cultivation and to produce a crop. He is going to get close to town and he is going to cultivate it for all it is worth. The Californians complained that they took all the wealth out of the soil and left it in an impoverished condition. In some cases that was so.

Now came the Great War and Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies. Most of you know something of the part she played. The Japanese in California went down in their pockets to the extent of \$2,646,000 for Uncle Sam's Liberty Bonds, almost \$400 per capita, although their per capita wealth lacks much of being as great as that of the average Californian. One of the officials of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce spoke very highly of Japan's entrance into the Great War and stated that it raised the Japanese in popular esteem on the Pacific coast. Then came the Japanese agitation at the close of the war. Who was responsible for this? Governor Stephens said in a letter to State Senator Inman under date of January 1st, 1920, - I want you to remember that date now, - last year, January 1st, 1920, - Mr. Inman wrote to him and asked for an interview in order to arrange for a special session of the legislature to consider the Japanese question, and this is an extract from his reply: "In my opinion the present agitation in California is inspired by candidacy for office. For 5 years one member of the State Congressional delegation at Washington (Senator Phelan), has occupied a seat in the United States Senate, with exception opportunities because of his affiliation with the national democratic administration, but he has accomplished nothing in all that time toward keeping Japanese undesirables away from our shores. Now that he is a candidate for re-election he raises an outcry about the Japanese question; and his political emissaries proclaiming everywhere his present valuable activities, fail to mention his previous legislative inactivity."

This is not mine; this is Governor Stephens, and he goes on to state: “Manifestly the grave concern the Senator now expresses awakened only when he found it necessary to create an agitation on which he might ride back into office.”

Further proof that the present agitation was largely a candidate’s agitation is furnished by the fact that still another Senatorial aspirant (Mr. Kent), has lately joined in the hue and cry, and is accused by the friends of the incumbent Senator of trying to “steal the thunder” of their candidate. Other candidates are also joining in this agitation in the hope of winning political favor.” So says Governor Stephens and at the behest of politicians only a few months later, the same Governor Stephens turned completely about and wrote a letter -- I do not think he really wrote the letter, for it does not have his style; I think somebody else wrote it for him, - but he sent that letter to Secretary of State Colby, imploring the State Department to help rid California of this great menace.

Now then there is another element, and I am sorry to mention this to you people here in New York, that has aided in this agitation. Excellent as is the American Legion, there is a certain element in the American Legion that is actuated by selfish motives and is attempting to use that great organization for political and selfish purposes, and those people have joined in this hue and cry and some are getting their political reward. Mr. Will Trager who has been the head of the Asiatic Exclusion League, got his reward a few days ago when the Board of supervisors rewarded him with an appointment to the office of Sheriff, and Anita Baldwin, who had been

quite active in supporting the anti-Asiatic Exclusion League, stepped into Mr. Trager's place, and it is dollars to doughnuts that next fall we will have a lade candidate by the name of Baldwin for the office of Member of the House of Representatives, from California. The Examiner announced a short time ago that the Japanese had attempted to kill her by putting bamboo splinters in her food - a nice, humane way of killing off a perfectly respectable lady, and the Examiner went on to quote the doctor who had attend her. We called the doctor mentioned but he had never heard of the case. The alleged motive for the attempt on her life was what the lady had refused to lease her land to the Japanese. The truth of the matter is that some Chinamen came along and offered her a higher price and she asked the Japanese to move off and the Chinamen moved on, so she still had the Oriental problem to contend with.

Now, governor Stephens ordered a report by the State Board of Control and I am going to give you some figures in regard to it. That report stated that California had 99,000,000 acres of farm land, of which practically 28,000,000 was under cultivation and the Japanese owned or leased 458,000 acres or $4/10^{\text{th}}$ of 1%, or 1 and $6/10^{\text{ths}}$ % of the farm land of the State.

I heard a good story of the League of Nations and I think I will have to tell it to you. An old fellow was asking about the League of Nations and another one was trying to explain it to him, and he said that the League of Nations meant that everybody has to give back whatever they took from anybody else. He said, "German gives back Alsace-Lorraine to France, Turkey gives back Jerusalem to the Jews, England give back Ireland to the Irish and the Jews give back New York

to New York, and he said they were going to make the Japanese give back California to the United States, but when they discovered that they owned less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1%, it was found it didn't violate the Prohibition Act, so decided to let them keep it.

The total population of California is 3,486,000. The Japanese population, according to the United States census, is 70,000. Now, if the Senator or anybody else says 80,000 or 90,000 or 100,000, I will concede it for the sake of argument. I am quoting you the Japanese population of California according to the United States census figures which shows that is 2 and $\frac{2}{10}$ ths% of the white population, and they occupy 1 and $\frac{6}{10}$ ths% of the farmland of the State of California, and not all of them are engaged in farming. I want you to understand that a good many of them live in the cities and do other things. This 1 and $\frac{6}{10}$ ths% of them raises 13% of the agricultural products of the State and the opponents of the Japanese will have you believe that this is due to the fact that they work longer hours than Americans. Now, you figure it us and allow the American to work 8 hours a day for 6 days a week. You will find that the Japanese in order to produce that much from that area will have to work about $68\frac{1}{2}$ hours every day unless he is more productive.

They use all kinds of misleading and distorted statistics in order to make out a case against the Japanese. They take the irrigated land, the smallest unit they can find and try to prove that the Japanese own about 21% of all the worthwhile land. Well, not all the land that is owned or leased by the Japanese is irrigated, and the Japanese have done their full part in improving this land.

Now, the Japanese in California have increased, to be sure, and so have the rest of the people. In 1900 the Japanese numbered 7/10ths of 1% of the population; in 1910, 1 and 7/10ths, and in 1920, 2 and 2/10ths%, and immigration has practically stopped, and we must figure that these fellows will die some time and instead, as our opponents maintain that California will be in the control of the Japanese in 50 years, I want to tell you that in 50 years there won't be any Japanese in California, because those that are born in this country are American citizens, growing up under the influence of American schools and American churches. The association with which I am connected sent out thousands of questionnaires and 1800 of those questionnaires which have been returned shows 45% of the young Japanese are Christians, only 21% of them are Buddhists, almost 90% of them expressed a preference for English and a desire for Americanization and only 2% of them say that they care to go back to Japan to live. I want to say to you that the influence the American school and association with the Americans for 21 years will be sufficient to thoroughly Americanize them in every essential sense, whether they intermarry or whether they do not. I am going to say now that marriage is largely a matter of personal choice, but somebody is going to jump up and say, "How would you like to have your daughter marry a Jap?" Well, I will tell you right now that I have seen Japs that I would rather have my daughter marry than Americans that I happen to know.

As my time is up, I want to say a word about the international aspects of this question and the necessity of us working in such a way as to allow us to retain our own self respect and the good

opinion of the other nations of whom we should be the great moral leader. Japan, I am sure, is ready and the Japanese people are ready to cooperate with us in every way that they possible can in order to settle this question, and leave it so, so we can help Japan in the orient to do for those people the things they need to do. Thank you very much for your attention. (Applause)

MR. MILLS: I do not know whether we should be grateful or not to Mr. Parker for his interesting sidelights on politics in California. I do not know that we take them as serious here in the East, because certainly as far as we are concerned, we close our political differences as a rule after Election Day.

I hope, therefore, that the Senator, who is about to address us, and whom we welcome as our guest this evening, will not feel under any obligation to answer such reference as may be of a political character, but may feel free to devote his whole time to the question of the evening. (Applause)

Fifth Speaker

The Honorable James D. Phelan

Ex-Senator from California

Mr. Chairman, members of the Economic Club: I have enjoyed the evening very much.

(Laughter) I came in at the 11th hour at the call of the Committee, and I feel that I am in here in

the capacity of a doctor, one, at any rate, who is familiar with the question as it developed in this country during the last ten years, and one who feels that no matter what would betide, he is loyal to his state and to his country. (Applause)

There is a very extensive propaganda going on in the East. We were not unaware of it in California, but we had our axe to grind and now we are ready to apply the axe. We knew very well that there was an East and West Bureau and that it had a speaker who is very eloquent and trained, a man of marvelous imitative ability, to go here and there and everywhere to enlighten the benighted people who live on the eastern seaboard, who have no facilities for knowing questions of the kind at first hand, and who necessarily, and fortunately located as they are, have to accept what was give to them.

I am very glad to be here tonight because I have now for the first time first had evidenced how this propaganda is conducted. I supposed propaganda is entirely legitimate but we must examine very carefully statements that are made, because upon the foundations of public opinion this government stands or falls. It rests upon the intelligence of the voters and they are charged with the knowledge of the things upon which they are called to pass, and I cannot conceive a more disastrous day for the Republic when only one side of the argument is present, whether it is in the East or in the West.

We of the Pacific coast, who know the danger, are very glad and we will seek in the future more frequent opportunities to tell you the true story.

There is no feeling in the matter. Of course, I know the opinion of my state perfectly well. The gentlemen who have spoken know it undoubtedly, whenever they had an opportunity to vote upon any question affecting the Japanese in California. Their sentiment was overwhelming against the Japanese, and it was sought to make it appear to you gentlemen here that because I went down to defeat in an election in California, it was because the people desired to express their disapproval of my anti-Japanese views. Why, at the same election, by 3 to 1, they passed the most drastic anti-alien law, directed at the Japanese, something which I advocated on every platform from Gasquet to San Diego in my native State. I pleaded for that, and out of a fair sense of modesty I did not plead for myself. I wanted that measure to pass because it would have been disastrous if California had failed in the referendum to express its real views. That is the sentiment of California, and the other day, when it was intimated that Mr. Shidehara and Mr. Morris, were negotiating a treaty secretly in Washington for the purpose of invalidating that land law which was passed in the last November Election, the California legislature in both houses, by a unanimous vote memorialized Congress that it would consider a great injury done to the State of California should the Federal government attempt to set aside the deliberate judgment of the people, acting within their jurisdiction because as you know, all legislation affecting land and the succession to land, is within the sovereign power of the state.

But we will concede that if the Federal Government for one reason or another desires to set aside the law of a sovereign state, inasmuch as a treaty is the supreme law of the land, under the Constitution, it may apparently do so, but I do not think it will do so. The answer that the Pacific coast has made to the secret negotiations of Morris and Shidehara has been that the State of Washington and the State of Arizona and the State of Texas have passed within the last month the law just as it was written by California, and Louisiana and Nebraska and Oregon have passed laws in one or other of their bodies, the assembly or Senate, so there is no question in the West where the problem is known, as to the need and necessity, I will say, of restricting the acquisition of our lands by the Japanese or by the Chinese or by the Hindus, or any other race that is barred by the language of the statutes, that is in any way ineligible to citizenship under our naturalization laws passed by Congress, shall own our soil. If Congress has put upon them the disability, then why should Washington complain? Why, Washington, through the House and Senate, may be amending the naturalization laws invalidate the western statute, and give citizenship to others, and those free white persons in the language of the law and persons of African nativity or descent. Those are the only 2 classes that may enjoy citizenship under the flag, free white persons or persons of African nativity or descent. Well, why doesn't Congress enlarge that and include Asiatics" California does not fear that Congress will do that, because we are trying to preserve the character and energy of our people. There is a great movement for Americanization, to make Americans and better Americans, the men of Italy and of France and of Ireland and of England and of Scotland and of the Scandinavian countries. We are trying to make better citizens. We are not seeking to dilute the body of our citizenship by persons who are

incapable of assimilation, so we have no fear of congress and we have no fear from those of the East.

Now, Kipling says:

“There is no East and there is no West.

Nor border, nor breed, nor birth,

When two strong men meet face to face

Though they come from the ends of the earth.”

That has been quoted in justification of the free immigration of Japanese -- “There is no East and there is no West when 2 strong men meet face to face.” Kipling told a story, you will remember, where the son of an English General was taken by an Asiatic in a Guerilla warfare, and the boy acted so bravely that the Asiatic chieftain brought him back to his father, a chivalry and generosity which did not pass unappreciated, and here Kipling said, “When 2 strong men meet face to face, there is no East and there is no West,” and we will all subscribe to that.

I suppose in every nationality there are great, strong, generous souls. You may not like as a race a certain class of people, but you will discover individuals in that race people to whom you can tie to with hooks of steel, but we are now talking of the great, fast moving immigration of Asia, indicated to you by Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, who wrote “The Rising Tide of Color,” so convincingly that you cannot read it but that you will see the larger aspects of this problem.

We may avoid the question of race, but it is a race problem. If we could assimilate the Asiatics, that would end it. In 1 or 2 generations the people would be blended, but Herbert Spencer, that great authority, was asked by a Japanese in 1892, when Japan was forming its foreign policy, whether it should admit Europeans, and he said, “No, by no means, grant them the barest commercial privileges,” and the reason is because biologically it is impossible to blend where races are so divergent.

You get nothing but half-casts and it has been said in the darkest countries of the world, benighted countries, suffering from the blight of the mixture of races, that the negro may be a good man and the white man may be a good man, and the Indian may be a good man, but God makes the white man and god makes the negro and God makes the Indian, but the devil makes a half-casts, and it would be a pretty how do you do if this country, the character and quality of whose citizenship we are trying to build up, should attempt assimilation with a race against which we are warned. It is not the fault of ourselves, it is not the fault of that race, but we are warned by the highest authorities.

The learned speaker representing Japan here tonight intimated in closing his remarks that such assimilation is possible. I quote Agassiz, I quote Herbert Spencer, and I have that famous letter of Herbert Spencer here, and I will read you this, because I like to cite authorities rather than voice my own opinion in dealing with a question which I hold so dearly to my heart and my own

state: he said: "I have, for the reason indicated, entirely approved of the regulations which have been adopted in America for restraining the Chinese immigration, and had I the power I would restrict it to the smallest possible amount; my reason being that 1 of 2 things must happen" -- this was before the Japanese question became an issue -- "if the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remained unmixed, form a subject race, standing in the position not of slaves, yet a class approaching slaves, or if they mix, they must form a lower specie. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise and eventually social disorganization.

The same thing will happen if there should be any considerable mixture of European or American races with the Japanese."

This was written as disinterested advice by Herbert Spencer to a Japanese statesman in August, 1892, and he asked that it be not published until after his death, and it was not published until after his death, but here he says in that letter, if you should read it in toto, that economically, politically, racial assimilation is impossible, and if it were adopted, it would result in mongrelization and encourage social mischief.

Now, this is our basic position. We would take this people in as brothers, into the family of American citizens, if we could ultimately blend them, but we can't. They are foreign, separate and apart. Their movements in California are in colonies and wherever they go they drive out the

white settler. The land is the real wealth of the state and the soil is everything. It is the source, not only of wealth, but it is the source of family life, of race, of descent, of prosperity. It is our reliance in war, it is our defense in peace, because there the young men rise who spring to the defense of the flag, but you go to a Japanese colony in California where the white race has been superseded and you make your appeal for support of the flag in any crisis of our country, what response will you get? None at all. They do not understand. They have different ideals and they owe their allegiance to the Emperor, because their religion involves a worship of the emperor, from whom all power flows, and they are citizens of Japan while they produce from the soil of California the vast wealth which has been described to you.

Do you know how much they produced last year? The learned gentlemen slurred it over - \$67,000,000 were taken out of the soil by Japanese last year. You are businessmen; you must consider that a very considerable drain upon a state, a drain, because contrary to economic laws, to which your club is devoted, the money does not circulate among the communities; it does not go from one to the other, adding a little to the store of everyone and bringing conditions that attend prosperity, but out of a total production of five hundred million of agricultural products, you see an alien people taking \$67,000,000 as a starter. They are just fastening their fingers upon the fair land of California.

What do you think of it as an economic problem? They patronize their own compatriots who have the little places dealing in everything necessary for life or comfort or luxury, and what they

do not spend with their own compatriots, they send to Japan, where it is invested in great Steamship companies, in great industrial enterprises, which compete with our merchants in the markets of the world; that is to say, the wealth derived is used in nourishing enterprises, which compete under economic conditions which are impossible as to wages and hours of work, compete with our manufacturers in the markets of the world. Isn't that leading to industrial and social derangement in one state of the union and spreading to others?

The total area of California has been described, but I will tell you this: In the report of the Board of Control to the governor of the Stat of California, who has altered his views on this question, actuated by what motive I do not know, but I will not impute wrong motives to him -- at any rate, in this report it is stated that there are 3,600,000 acres of land in California, that is, our best land, that yield the maximum production and where agricultural wealth is produced in a large measure. Of the 3,600,000 the Japs have 458,000 acres, or 1 in 8. Whereas, thee are about a 100,000 Japanese in California and a total population all told of 3,400,000, this little band of a 100,000 have corralled 1/8th of the wealth, and that is wealth that comes out of the state. They own 77,000 acres of the best land and control the other by lease, and that is what we are trying to correct. We cannot take away from them the land that they own, but we can prevent them from renewing those leases, and that was the object of the land legislation.

You may be under the false impression that the Japanese are a tractable people, who like to work for wages, but the Japanese won't work for wages except under conditions of great stress. They

want to lease and they want the ownership and under these conditions they are untiring in their labor, because they work irrespective of hours and standards, day and night, and their women work in the field with the babies strapped on the back. You cannot compete with them when they are working for themselves. Now that we have denied them the ownership or leasing of the soil, I am waiting to see whether they will work for wages. It is not a matter of low wages; it is a matter of wages. They get as much as any other man; there is perfect equality in that respect and no discrimination. The thing is to get them to work loyally for their employer.

I can tell you the story of the Hawaiian Island, which is a deep political question, foreboding great trouble for Hawaii, where there are 120,000 Japanese now, and where the native population, born to citizenship under the constitution will in 7 years control the legislature of that state and fill your offices by that control, and what is Uncle Sam going to do with Japanese ruling the legislature and the flag flying at the masthead impotent, unless we send down there an enormous garrison and hold the Island by a show of authority and strength. I venture to predict that in a year the people of that island will be asking Congress for a commission form of government to tear down the American structure and send us down some mission to rule us, because the alternative is Japanese domination, and these Japanese owe their allegiance to the Emperor of Japan, and there you have it.

This question has so many ramifications that I cannot possibly go into it. Mr. Stoddard said the only way to meet the growing population is to check their birthrate, and that we cannot do by

law, or that they go in for industrial enterprises and employ their people. There isn't enough acreage in New England to support the population, and they put them all in mills. Let them do it over there.

They want to spread out into Siberia and Manchuria. They have taken Korea. The Japanese are a very masterful people. They are going to dominate Asia inevitable. They have extended their line 2,000 miles nearer to the United States, by taking the mandate for the Carolinas and for the Marshall and for the Marietta Islands, denying our merchants trade which they enjoyed for 16 years during German control, and it is rumored now that they are fortifying these island -- that I do not know anything about -- but I know that they have spread their line 2,000 miles nearer to the united States, and if there is ever a conflict it is an important advantage.

The Island of Yap was an island on which the United States was given by Germany certain cable rights before the war, and they mock at our failure to participate in the League of Nations. That was not the fault of the President; it was the fault of the Senate, and by our absence from the league of Nations those other gentlemen, understanding the situation as well as you and I do, when our back is turned, when we were impotent, when our hands were tied by the peculiar character of our government, took Palestine and Syria and took the islands of the Pacific and took away the little privilege we had at Yap, for which the president stipulated, and it is a question of veracity between the Japanese and the President of the United States, whether they have not agreed to give that poor privilege to Uncle Sam, in consideration of his faithful services

in sending his boys over there to win the war for the Allied nations and now this nation across the water scornfully laughs at the United States for not participating in the League and rather delights in the fact that in the absence of the United States in the League they had filched these islands of the Pacific.

Now, you may talk about gentlemen's agreements, but it is more important to talk about the conduct of gentlemen. The gentlemen's agreement has been violated time out of mind by the Japanese government. Let me tell you what the gentlemen's agreement is: It is simply this, that Japan agrees to keep certain of her people at home, her laborers, and the great Mr. Taft corrected the Treaty in order to accommodate them, and no country in the world has been give that privilege. AS a fact, we have all the time been subservient to Japan, kowtowing to her super-sensitiveness. With no country have we a gentlemen's agreement. We have treaties by which we can regulate immigration from this side, at Ellis Island, if you please, we can say who shall come in, but not so with the Japanese. We yield and the more we yield the worse we are off. They laugh at us for having failed to call a halt after we have yielded to them on every important matter, during my recollection in public office from Roosevelt to Wilson. We must reserve that right to regulate immigration from this side and say here who shall come in and who shall not come in. We do that with all the other nations.

I am not a schoolmaster, (Laughter) but I know what I am talking about. (Laughter) A little boy was approached at an examination by a Sunday school teacher, who said, "Little boy, do you

believe in the Biblical story of Daniel in the lion's den, how he escaped from the lions?" he said, "No, I don't believe in that; the whale could not digest Jonah." And the teacher said, "Then you are dismissed from the class," and as he went out of the door he turned back and he said, "I don't think much of your Daniel story, either."

Now, I don't think much of the Daniel story either. We must keep the lion away. He must be barred, and I don't believe we in this country can attempt to digest such an alien race, according to the authorities of Agassiz and Herbert Spencer, without suffering an acute attack of indigestion, and I don't believe in the Daniel story and I don't believe in the Jonah story and I don't care who knows it. Why, it is preposterous that we can assimilate these alien people. We cannot do it and because we cannot do it we do not want them. Why not be perfectly plain and without being diplomatic, say, "We don't want you, and if you are so prejudiced, why do you force yourself into a gentleman's house who has shown every manifestation of a disposition to consider you, when absent, a welcome guest? Shakespeare said, "Unbidden guests are often welcomest when they are gone."

Thank you. (Applause)