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Japanese pamphlets

Valentine Stuart McClatchy

Japanese Immigration

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The California Point of View

AS PRESENTED FOR FRIENDLY
CONSIDERATION OF JAPAN

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In Conference and Correspondence with
VISCOUNT EI-ICHI SHIBUSAWA

Sacramento, California

January, 1922

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

V.S. McC

FOREWORD

Viscount Ei-ichi Shibusawa is, it is said, the most prominent and influential private citizen of Japan. Over eighty years of age, but still vigorous, he has devoted his activities for the past twenty years since retirement from official position to his country's welfare, and more particularly to betterment of her relations with the outside world.

To this end he has made four trips to Europe and the United States, his last visit to this country being during the Winter of 1921-22. Prior to coming he wrote to V. S. McClatchy, suggesting a meeting between the two for careful consideration of the so-called "California question," in the hope of better understanding between the two peoples in connection therewith.

Lengthy conferences between the two were had in Washington in December, 1921, and in San Francisco in January, 1922; and following the latter there was prepared, at Viscount Shibusawa's suggestion, a memorandum of the points involved in the California point of view.

The memorandum was sent in the form of a letter, dated January 3, 1922 (reproduced herewith), which the Viscount took with him to Japan when he left a few days later.

The brief to which frequent reference is made therein, is the brief prepared in 1921 by V. S. McClatchy for consideration of the State Department at Washington, in connection with the Morris-Shidehara conferences, looking to revision of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." The brief was presented to Secretary of State Hughes by the entire California Congressional delegation, acting for the State, as embodying the State's point of view already unambiguously endorsed by the California Legislature in its approval of the four principles of the Japanese Exclusion League of California.

California to Japan

The Message Carried Back by Viscount Shibusawa in January, 1922

January 3rd, 1922.

Viscount E. Shibusawa,
Fairmont Hotel,
San Francisco, Calif.

My Dear Sir:

In furtherance of the understanding had in our interview January 2nd, I submit a statement in logical sequence of existing conditions and proposed remedies in connection with the various phases of the problem created by Japanese immigration into the United States.

After consideration of the points herein made, you may desire to discuss the subject further. You may assume that I will make any appointment suitable to your convenience for such purpose. We are both striving so earnestly to reach an adjustment which will be fair to both nations and remove possible causes for misunderstanding that I am anxious to take advantage of your visit to find a common basis of principle and facts upon which such an adjustment can be predicated.

FRIENDLY DESIRE OF BOTH NATIONS

We can, perhaps, readily agree as to mutual disposition in the case to the following effect:

1. That there is earnest desire on both sides to avoid or remove sources of friction that will inevitably, or even probably, lead to racial conflict and international misunderstanding.

2. That there is mutual desire to avoid or remove such sources of friction without unnecessary hurt to the pride of either nation and without invasion of individual rights legally acquired.

3. That there is no disposition on the part of either nation to force its emigration on the other nation, or on states or provinces thereof, against the expressed objection of such nation, or its states or provinces.

HOW FRICTION MAY BE CREATED

Going a step further, perhaps you will agree

with me, as a number of leaders of Japanese thought have, that the racial conflict and international misunderstanding which we are striving to prevent may be easily caused by:

(a) The development in either country of an alien, unassimilable element with such advantages in economic competition as will enable it to displace domestic labor and secure control of certain industries. (See Dr. Iyenaga's statement, Section 110 of my brief prepared for the Department of State.)

(b) The rapid increase of such an element, either through immigration or through a birth rate many times greater than that of the home population.

THE CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Assuming agreement between us that the causes outlined in (a) and (b) above would produce results we desire to prevent, the question is, do any or all of these conditions apply to the Japanese in California and will those conditions be found in other states should Japanese immigration extend to them.

You will perhaps agree that the facts are conclusive as to existence of all those conditions in California, with the possible exception of the element introduced by Japanese immigration being unassimilable. Should you make issue on that point the difference between us will be found to be one of terms rather than of facts. Let us clear up that point first.

ASSIMILATION OR AMALGAMATION

Whatever may be claimed as to future possibilities in this regard, it will be conceded that at present there is no general assimilation, and no attempt or indication of assimilation of any kind save in individual cases. Whether the fault be charged to whites, or to the Japanese, or to nature, the fact remains.

This present condition is due to a difference in race, religion, ideals and customs so great that admittedly it will require a number of generations to assimilate the Japanese immigration if, indeed, it can ever be assimilated. California frankly declines to encourage an experiment so dangerous because failure would mean the end of the white race in California. Japan would not permit such an experiment in her own country.

All the known facts, however, point to the impracticability of assimilation of the Japanese by the whites in California. Perfect assimilation or amalgamation would depend on intermarriage, which is out of the question; apparently repugnant to both nations; unwise from the biological standpoint and inducing loss of

social standing for parents and children on both sides of the Pacific. (See Brief, Sections 126 to 134.)

Japanese may not, can not and will not be assimilated into good American citizens, save with rare exceptions, for reasons set forth in my Brief, Sections 119 to 122. The general subject of assimilation will be found discussed at length in my article, "Japanese in the Melting Pot," in "Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science," page 29, and in "Assimilation of Japanese" (copy herewith). Among Japanese authorities, Dr. Iyenaga and C. Kondo and J. Sacamori have pointed out practical difficulties in the way of assimilating Japanese. (See Sections 132, 133 and 228 of Brief.) Their pride of race and national consciousness forbid merging their identity in other races, which they are taught to regard as inferior.

On the other points involved in my paragraphs (a) and (b) above, there will not be question as to their applicability to the Japanese in California.

ECONOMIC COMPETITION

The Japanese have undoubted advantage in economic competition with the whites, and displace them in industries and in localities when opportunity offers. That has been demonstrated not only in California, but in other states of the Union and in Hawaii. (The facts in connection therewith are fully treated in the Brief, Sections 160 to 192.)

INCREASE BY IMMIGRATION

There has been, and is, a steady influx of Japanese immigration, authorized and surreptitious, as shown by the great increase of Japanese population in California and Continental United States, after making due allowance for births. In Continental United States there has been an increase of Japanese population from immigration since 1906 of 62,000. Of this number 47,000 are in California. (See Section 245 of Brief.) It should be borne in mind that the United States census figures of Japanese population are entirely wrong. (See Sections 68 to 83 of Brief.)

"PICTURE" AND "KANKODAN" BRIDES

Japan is still sending over large numbers of women immigrants. She discontinued the sending of "picture brides," but has inaugurated the plan of "Kankodan, or excursion brides, with the result that there came into Seattle and San Francisco during the year ending September 1, 1921, 2197 new Japanese wives who had never been in this country before. The Japanese government now allows Japanese visiting Japan to get wives 90 days' stay instead of 30, as called for by law, without performance of conscription duties.

JAPANESE BIRTH RATE

There is an alarming increase of Japanese population in California due to a birth rate thr times as great per thousand as that of the whites, and to the fact that practically all Japanese women are married and producing children, while many white women are not married, and those married have few or no children. Because of these conditions, the Japanese in California are increasing by reproduction ten times as fast as the whites. The Registrar of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health holds the opinion that "unless checked, the Japanese will, in time, equal the whites in number in California." (See Sections 141 to 159 of Brief.) This situation grows worse because Japan is now encouraging the shipment of Kan-kodan brides and new wives, as noted above. The intent is, from published statements in Japanese newspapers, to supply a wife as speedily as possible to each of the 45,000 or 50,000 wifeless Japanese in Continental United States, and, through their efforts, swell the Japanese population.

It is claimed that to refuse the unmarried Japanese now here to bring in wives from Japa" would be neither fair nor human. But if it be agreed that the rapid increase of Japanese population in California is likely to jeopardize the friendly relations between Japan and the United States, then it would be most unwise for us to do the one thing which would be most certain to produce that rapid increase. And the interest of the individual should be subordinated to the greater interests of the two nations.

HAWAII AS OBJECT LESSON

In Hawaii nearly half the total population is now Japanese and rapidly increasing, while "picture brides" (not forbidden for Hawaii) and new wives continue to flow in in great number.

It is natural for California and other sections of the United States to view this situation with alarm. Japan would not permit similar conditions to exist in her empire, whereby any of her provinces would be overrun by an alien population, no matter how friendly she might be with the nation from which they came.

FAILURE OF GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

Having thus glanced at existing conditions and the serious results which must flow therefrom, we look into the cause for these conditions. It is to be found in the operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement which was made for

the definite, expressed purpose of "keeping Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, out of Continental United States," and with the tacit understanding that it would serve, through Japan's voluntary act, in preventing the increase in this country of an alien Japanese population, as the Exclusion Act prevents similar results with regard to Chinese. (Sec. 236-242 of Brief.)

The Gentlemen's Agreement has failed signally to accomplish its declared purpose. It has flooded California with Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, and it has multiplied the Japanese population of that state and of the United States instead of preventing increase of that population. (Sections 244 to 253 of Brief.)

OBVIOUS REMEDIES

The suggested remedies for the serious situation outlined, as formally approved by the California Legislature by unanimous vote in April, 1921 (see Brief, page 99) are in effect as follows:

1. Cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is not necessary to accuse Japan of violating the agreement or even of so carelessly performing her obligations under it that her nationals have been able to evade not only its intent but its plain provisions. It is sufficient to say that the agreement in operation has done, or permitted, the very things which it was supposed to prevent. That being so, Japan should have no hesitation in agreeing to its cancellation, since it does not carry out her declared intent and since it offers a steady, growing menace to friendly relations between the two countries.

RIGHT TO REGULATE IMMIGRATION

2. Substitution in place of the Gentlemen's Agreement of treaty or laws based on the right of every nation to regulate its immigration as a domestic question without demand or suggestion from any other nation.

The United States has committed the extraordinary blunder of giving temporarily to Japan the privilege of determining the number and character of immigration coming into this country from Japan. That is a privilege granted by us to no other nation. It is a privilege not granted by any other nation, including Japan, to a foreign nation. (Sections 237, 241, 242, 243 of Brief.)

This country has a pride no less than Japan and the present situation is a source of humiliation to any American who understands it. Japan should bear that point in mind when speaking of her own pride.

RECIPROCAL EXCLUSION

3. Such treaty or laws should provide for absolute exclusion hereafter of all Japanese, male and female, who desire to enter this country as permanent residents. Provision should be made for temporary residence by diplomats, tourists, commercial men, etc. And that there may be no suggestion of discrimination, similar laws or treaty provisions should exclude Americans from Japan. This is in accord with the principle enunciated by Theodore Roosevelt. (See Brief, page 104.)

PROTECTION FOR ACQUIRED RIGHTS

4. The personal and property rights of Japanese who have acquired residence legally in California should be carefully safeguarded, as declared in the Fourth Section of the Declaration of Principles approved by the California Legislature. The State of California and her people have given every proof of good faith in fair treatment of Japanese now in the State. (See Brief, Sections 14 to 21.)

When your time permits, I hope you will carefully consider the points herein made, and make such frank criticism thereof as suggests itself to you, pointing out any mistake I may have made as to facts or any lack of logical reasoning in drawing deductions therefrom.

Permit me to express my great admiration for your ability and for the work you have undertaken in bringing your country into closer and more friendly relations with the outside world. I feel that you credit me with an earnestness equal to your own and that, therefore, you will approve rather than condemn the frankness with which I present the California point of view to your attention. It has been an honor to discuss these questions with you, and it will be a greater honor if, through interchange of thought, I can, even in a small way, assist in bringing about a permanent friendly relation between our two countries.

Sincerely,

(Signed) V. S. McCLATCHY.

VS/L
Enc.

