

# JAPAN'S "PEACEFUL PENETRATION" OF THE PACIFIC COAST STATES

## What It Has Done in Hawaii; What It Is Doing In California, and What It May Do In the Nation.

SEVENTH INSTALLMENT

Conditions, Now Bad, Would Become Worse.

To one who has studied the situation, it is evident that our immigration and naturalization laws should be amended at once so as to minimize as far as possible the evils existing and the greater ones which threaten in the future from the maintenance in our midst of an alien, unassimilable and rapidly increasing Asiatic population. It would be suicidal to inaugurate a policy which will inevitably increase that evil and lead in time to the conquest of the white race by economic elimination.

It is the purpose of this article to show how the passage of the proposed "constructive immigration" legislation, formulated by Dr. Sidney Gulick and endorsed by the league he has organized, or the adoption of the policy therein outlined, would increase the evil rather than alleviate it.

An outline of the bill which Congress is to be asked to pass was presented in the first of these articles. It proposes to make effective Dr. Gulick's "new Oriental policy" of opening our gates to all Orientals on the same basis as accorded to the most favored Nations. Incidentally it limits immigration in any year from any race to a fixed percentage—three to ten—of the members of that race citizens of the United States, either by birth, as per the census of 1920, or by naturalization in any year, and has several minor provisions. The outline of the bill as used in these articles was secured from the printed matter used by the New York headquarters of the League of Constructive Immigration Legislation.

### Criticism of Bill's General Principles.

First there are offered for consideration a few suggestions as to the general principles embodied in the bill.

1. Why establish at this time a principle under which we shall obligate ourselves in a measure to accept any percentage at all of the nations of the earth as immigrants and citizens?

Even if such policy is wise now it may not be a few years hence, and the precedent established may cause awkward complications.

2. Why include all nations in the category? The mere fact that one race has been permitted to secure citizenship for some of its nationals in the past is not proof that the action admitting them was wise, or that others of the same race may be accepted as immigrants and citizens with advantage.

3. Why place all nations on an assumed basis of equality when it is clear that some nations will generally furnish much more desirable citizens and immigrants than others? And is it not possible that certain nationalities may be regarded favorably as immigrants and citizens now and unfavorably some years hence?

4. Why base the number of admission from each race in the future on the number of those already here? If we have made mistakes in the past are we not to be permitted to correct them? In the past, with the exception of Orientals, those came to our shores who desired to come, not those whom we selected. Under such circumstances are we to bind ourselves to exclude desirable immigrants and citizens because undesirable ones have more racial brothers already here?

### Proportions Imposed by Bill

Let us see to what the bill of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation would commit us in the way of selective immigration. Consulting the tables of the Census Abstract for 1910, so far as they can assist in the matter, to ascertain the number of citizens naturalized and born, of the different races, which must serve as the basis of our ad-

missions annually, we get the following astonishing result:

For every single immigrant that we are willing to accept under the Gulick plan from France, Holland, Wales or Mexico, after the first thousand to which any Nation is entitled, we are committed to accept the following number from each of the respective countries named: Germany 60, Ireland 30, England 15, Canada 15, Russia 10, Austria 8, Sweden 7, Italy 7, Norway 6, Scotland 4, Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland each 2. From Belgium, Portugal and Spain we could not admit a single immigrant unless we admitted from 100 to 600 Germans, and a corresponding number of other nationalities as enumerated. As between Chinese and Japanese we would be called on in a short time to admit ten of the latter to one of the former.

Slightly different results in estimates of this character will be obtained according to the sources of basic information as to citizens, born and naturalized, and according to incidental assumptions indulged in. Dr. Gulick furnishes an estimate according to which we would have to admit only thirty Germans for every Frenchman, Hollander, or Mexican.

Estimates of this character, no matter by whom prepared, if based on any reliable statistics will furnish results demonstrating the utter absurdity, from an American point of view, of the percentage plan of restriction.

If we are to amend our immigration laws so as to maintain or raise the standard of American citizenship and insure the perpetuity of the American Nation, we should not commit ourselves to admit the peoples of the earth in any such proportions as called for by this plan.

### How Japanese Immigration Would Increase.

In estimates of this kind it must be borne in mind that the basic factor of native born under the Gulick plan will be taken from the 1920 census, which will be first available in 1922. There is an incentive for a large birth record prior to that date. It may, or may not, have any significance that during the five years of Dr. Gulick's activity in the interests of this matter, 1914 to 1919, Japan sent over 20,232 picture brides who have faithfully performed their allotted task of increasing the Japanese birth record.

If there be any undesirable element in our immigration, which will not intermarry or assimilate, it may not therefore be so much the actual number admitted as their future increase which should give us most pause. It should be remembered that in California the official records show that in certain localities where they have concentrated the Japanese have a birth rate five times as great as the whites! Under such conditions it would be only a question of time when the Japanese in this country would exceed in numbers another race which at this time might be twenty times as numerous here. Even the advantage which the other race might have at the start in allotment because of its number of naturalized citizens would not prevent it being overtaken in time.

### Evangelizing Japanese for Citizenship

The proposed measure makes all Asiatics here or to come eligible to citizenship and encourages their coming inasmuch as it fixes a proportion within which they may be admitted while under existing understanding they are classed as undesirable.

Dr. Gulick says in his pamphlet published in 1915, "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," as quoted in the first article:

"If as Asiatics they (the Japanese)

maintain their traditional conception of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the State and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible." The Japanese born and educated in Japan, with very rare exceptions, certainly do retain these conceptions even while living in the United States.

Dr. Gulick again says that the Japanese born here and taught in our public schools are not thereby prepared for American citizenship since they are drilled before and after public school hours at home and by Japanese teachers, most of whom do not speak English and "many of whom have little acquaintance, and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization."

Why then is Dr. Gulick so solicitous to have the United States establish a principle by which the Japanese will be formally recognized as desirable immigrants and citizens and encourage conditions which will greatly increase the number of native born Japanese? The answer appears in the same pamphlet, and is quoted below:

"Is it not axiomatic that the successful welding together of the many races now in Hawaii in such wise as to make possible the maintenance of genuine democracy, with progressive victory over graft, lust, venereal disease, and alcohol, depends upon the substantial Christianization of the rising generation of Asiatics?"

"American and Asiatic civilizations rest on postulates fundamentally different and antagonistic. The two civilizations cannot be assimilated, but this does not prevent an Asiatic under proper social conditions from giving up his inherited civilization and adopting the American. Exactly because Hawaii is the meeting place of so many diverse races is the propaganda and practice of vital Christianity the more pressing."

Evidently Dr. Gulick is satisfied, notwithstanding all the difficulties he points out, that a Japanese may be turned into a valuable American citizen by acceptance of Christianity, assisted doubtless by other minor agencies.

It would appear, therefore, that Dr. Gulick in promoting his "New Oriental Policy" and urging the adoption of his proposed "Constructive Immigration" legislation is willing to risk a grave menace to American citizenship and the safety of the American Republic in order to promote a doubtful experiment in evangelization.

But should we permit Dr. Gulick's optimistic enthusiasm in evangelization to lead the Nation into serious difficulties? And will the Japanese Government encourage or permit the Christianization of its people in return for our endorsement of Dr. Gulick's "New Oriental Policy"? And if the Japanese are unanimously or generally evangelized under this arrangement, may we safely assume that they will at once lose all those characteristics which have made them in Dr. Gulick's opinion poor material for American citizenship?

I do not wish to be considered a pessimist, but it would be untruthful to say that I do not entertain grave doubts in the matter.

Dr. Gulick insists, too, that the United States will be benefited by the proposed law, as the number of Japanese immigrants admitted will be less than under existing conditions. He declares that in 1915 10,213 Japanese were admitted, and that in 1919 the number will be 12,000; and that the number admitted under his plan, even on a 10 per cent basis, will be much less. As shown later, he is clearly mistaken on this point, but concede for the moment that he is right.

Dr. Gulick frankly allows that the adult Japanese, when he arrives here, is an undesirable American citizen, and that even the American-born Japanese, under existing conditions, is not likely to make a good citizen. His figures prove that the Japanese Government is steadily violating the spirit of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," under which the Japanese were to be kept out; and yet he recommends urgently that we formally recognize the Japanese as eligible to citizenship and encourage them to come in by establishing an annual Japanese immigration quota.

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