

2

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

253
1981

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Congress.

UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 2576

A BILL TO LIMIT THE IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS
INTO THE UNITED STATES, AND
FOR OTHER PURPOSES

MARCH 11, 12, 13, AND 15, 1924

Printed for the use of the Committee on Immigration



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1924

113

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

LEBARON B. COLT, Rhode Island. *Chairman*

THOMAS STERLING, South Dakota.

WILLIAM H. KING, Utah.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, California.

WILLIAM J. HARRIS, Georgia.

HENRY W. KEYES, New Hampshire.

PAT HARRISON, Mississippi.

FRANK B. WILLIS, Ohio.

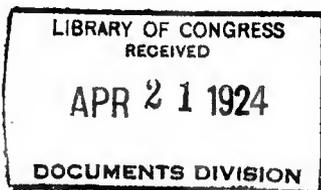
JOHN K. SHIELDS, Tennessee.

DAVID A. REED, Pennsylvania.

ROYAL S. COPELAND, New York.

H. M. BARRY. *Clerk.*

II

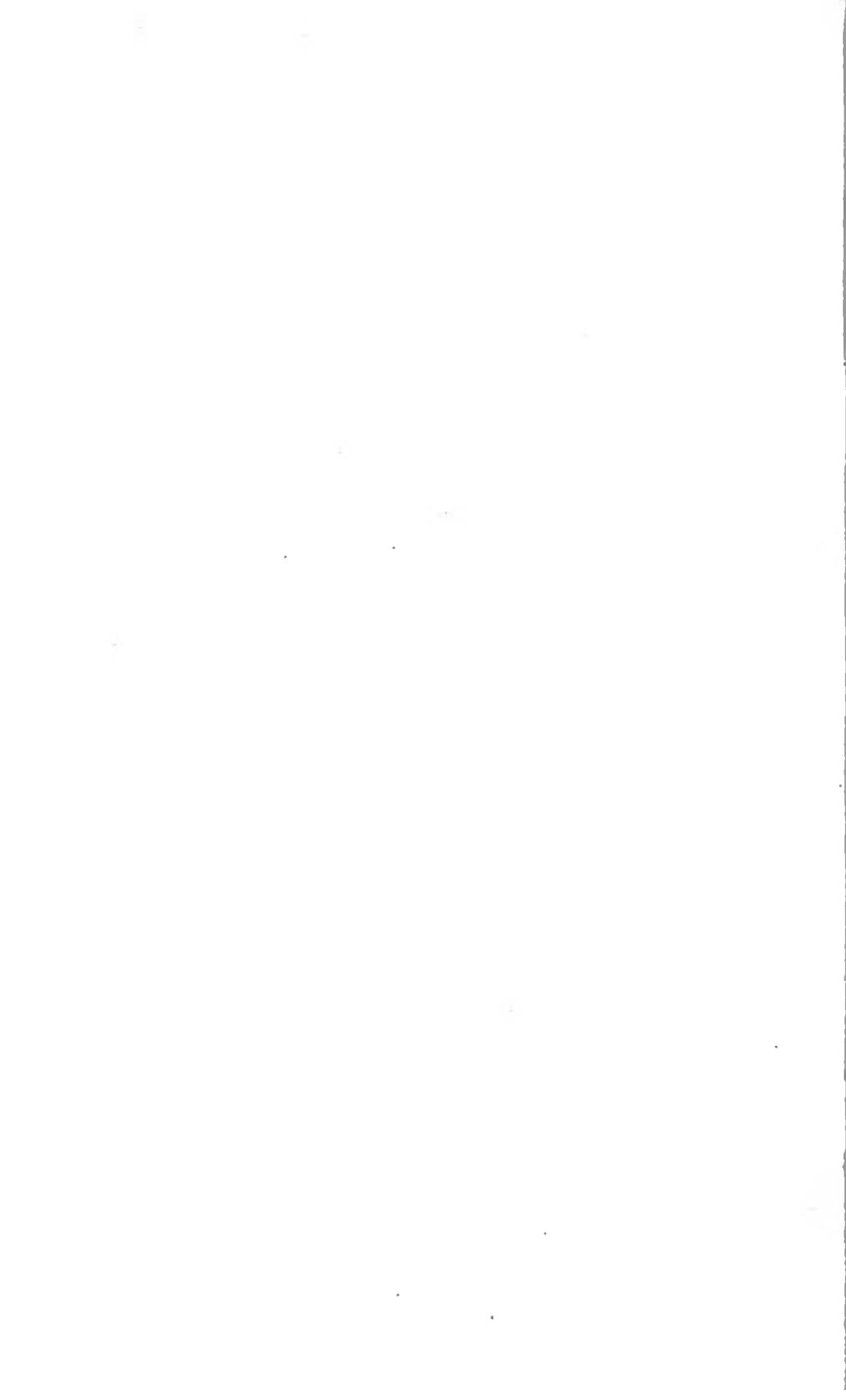


20. 2. 4/24/24

JVG
682
A.S.
1924

CONTENTS

	Page
Statement of—	
Bowles, Gilbert	86
Gnlick, Sidney L.....	54
MacFarland, Rev. Charles S.....	21
McClatchy, V. S.....	3, 21
McDonald, James G.....	100
Phelan, Hon. James D.....	103
Schneder, David B.....	80
Shortridge, Hon. Samuel M.....	1, 146
Taylor, Francis R.....	93
Turner, Fennell R.....	99
Webb, Hon. U. S.....	38



JAPANESE IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 1924

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee being in session pursuant to previous adjournment, proceeded to take up the Japanese immigration phase of the pending bill.

Present: Senators Colt (chairman), Keyes, Willis, Reed of Pennsylvania, King, Harris, Harrison, and Copeland.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Shortridge, we are ready to hear from you now. I might say, for the information of the committee, that I have a telegram from Senator Johnson, as follows:

BEACH, N. DAK.

HON. LEBARON COLT,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Please record my vote on that portion of the immigration bill concerning which the California delegation appears to-morrow in favor of the California position.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

STATEMENT OF HON. SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, A UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Senator SHORTRIDGE. Mr. Chairman, I shall detain you but for a moment. The provision of this bill in which we are directly and profoundly interested, and to which we wish to direct your attention, is that provision which would exclude aliens ineligible to citizenship. The provisions of the Johnson bill in reference to the admission or nonadmission of persons ineligible to citizenship are as follows:

No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien (1) is admissible as a nonquota immigrant under the provisions of subdivision (b), (d), or (g) of section 4, or (2) is the wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age, of an immigrant admissible under such subdivision (d), and is accompanying or following to join him, or (3) is not an immigrant as defined in section 3.

The subdivision referred to which clarify that subdivision are as follows:

(b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit abroad;

* * * * *

(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of,

carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denominations, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university;

* * * * *

(g) An immigrant who is a bona fide student over 18 years of age, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary.

I wish to add and to emphasize that those who are appearing before you, coming from California, are immediately concerned and very deeply concerned with these provisions in the proposed immigration bill. By your leave, Mr. Chairman, before we conclude, I would ask to file a brief statement of my own views. I now say that I fully, unreservedly, and unqualifiedly approve what shall be said by those who have journeyed all the way from California to be here to-day to present the mature, the deliberated, and the deliberate views of the vast majority of the people of my State, and I think, indeed I know, that they express the mature and deliberate views of the vast majority of people of what I may call the great Western States, the Pacific Coast States included, who have come into immediate contact with the problem before us, namely, that of contact with oriental immigration into our country.

I shall hereafter, I say, by your leave, express myself more fully. Immediately, however, I wish to ask you to hear Mr. V. S. McClatchy, of California, a gentleman who has devoted many years of earnest and intelligent study to this problem. I question whether there is another man in the United States more familiar with it. He comes here, as do these other gentlemen whom I shall name in a moment, representing not alone California, not alone what some might call a local question or local sentiment. They come representing not only that portion of our country to which I have alluded, but representing the declared attitude and the deliberate and fixed views of great national organizations.

The American Federation of Labor, which we all know is made up of membership from all the States, at its last convention held in Portland, Oreg., passed an appropriate resolution along the lines which I have indicated and in support of legislation contemplated by the provisions of the bill to which I am directing your attention.

The American Legion, made up of members from all the States of our Union, from each and every State of the Union and our Territories, at its national convention held in San Francisco adopted, I think unanimously, a like resolution.

The National Grange, as represented yonder in national convention, took the same position. And I scarcely need to add that the Native Sons of the Golden West, an organization of California, as also all our organized bodies in my State, have again and yet again, formally and knowingly, not in anger, not in hostility, but out of a great love for their State and our country, passed like resolutions.

Mr. McClatchy is here. Along with him is our attorney general, Mr. U. S. Webb, who has occupied the position of attorney general in our State for so long a time that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.

Along with this gentleman comes one whom you all know and highly respect, my predecessor, former Senator James D. Phelan, of California. There is no one more familiar with this problem, no

one who has given more thought to it, and no one more able to present the views of my State and, may I say, your and my country. For they and I and all of us believe that in seeking to check the oriental immigration, seeking to check the immigration of those peoples, which make up practically one-half of the human race, who are ineligible to citizenship, who under our laws never can become citizens, that in opposing such immigration we are advancing and seeking to enforce a policy for the benefit of the Nation as a Nation.

Mr. McClatchy will, by your consent, speak on the facts of the problem. The attorney general will present certain observations touching the law as it bears upon the problem. Senator Phelan will, in turn, express himself touching the policy of the legislation which we favor.

I have the honor to introduce Mr. McClatchy, gentlemen.

STATEMENT OF MR. V. S. McCLATCHY, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Mr. Chairman, I trust you will not feel alarmed by the appearance of these references. I am going to confine myself to a brief outline with reference to data, etc., so as to conserve your time so far as possible. We appreciate very much the favor you have accorded us in giving us this hearing, we having come 3,000 miles for the purpose, and out of regard for the other duties which we know you have, we will be as brief as we may.

First, let me say that aside from the general interests which the gentlemen who came from California to-day represent, we have been asked specifically to present the views and the urge of four great California organizations; the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, the Grange, and the Native Sons of the Golden West. I have here and will leave with you as exhibits their credentials, according us the right to speak for them with reference to the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship; also the answers made by them to the foreign minister of Japan, and to Secretary Hughes of our State Department in the same matter. (Exhibits 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.)

That policy has been indorsed by the national conventions of three of those great organizations, and I will leave with you as exhibits the resolutions passed at the last annual conventions of the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, and the National Grange—that has already been presented to you—urging upon Congress the immediate passage of a law which would exclude all aliens ineligible to citizenship. (Exhibits 6 and 7—the Grange resolution presented by Mr. Atkeson—also resolution California State Legislature. Exhibit 8—see statement of Senator S. M. Shortridge.)

Evidently then, this is not a political issue. You could not find in the United States or in the State of California any organizations which represent so many diverse points of view, which have so many different purposes, and so many different ideals. But on one thing they are American, thoroughly American; and they believe, beyond all, that if immigration is to be restricted in the interests of this country we should commence by excluding that element of immigration which, under our Federal laws, may never become American citizens, and is therefore hopelessly unassimilable.

We are going to confine ourselves in this hearing entirely and absolutely to this one phase of the question; that is to say, the question of the exclusion of ineligible aliens, and are not concerning ourselves or addressing you or stating anything with reference to any other feature of the bill or the subject before you.

In presenting this matter it is my duty to present the facts and the conditions to you, and I desire to follow in any way the wishes of the committee. I have prepared, for the purpose of conserving your time as much as possible in presenting the matter in some understandable way, a condensed statement. Possibly I am going to be too brief in some of my statements as to facts, most of which are entirely new to you, many of which will be new to others in Congress here, and if in those statements I am too brief I trust you will interrupt and question me, so that I may make the thing clear as I proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest that you summarize your facts as you think best, and then if you wish to supplement or enlarge them in a written statement you may do that, Mr. McClatchy.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You have already been kind enough to suggest that a brief could be filed, and I will do that. Our departure was so hurried that that brief was not prepared, but I will stay here and prepare it.

In 1790, over 130 years ago, the United States by Federal act made ineligible to citizenship all the yellow and brown races, in effect half the population of the globe, including the Hindus, the Malays, the Japanese, the Chinese, and even the Philipinos. That has been the law since that time, that particular feature not having been modified or changed. That law undoubtedly was enacted because of all races which come to this country or which may come to this country, the yellow and brown races of Asia are the least assimilable. They are those races which are most difficult to amalgamate into American citizenship. And I use the term "assimilation" throughout my talk in the sense of amalgamation. There is no real assimilation unless it is amalgamation.

The yellow and brown races do not intermarry with the white race, and their heredity, standards of living, ideas, psychology, all combine to make them unassimilable with the white race. If we are to restrict immigration, therefore, it is plainly proper that we should deny first entrance to that element which is hopelessly unassimilable because under our own laws it may never enjoy the privilege of American citizenship. So we have the logical reason for the provision which has been inserted in the House bill and now under consideration before your committee, to the effect that aliens ineligible for citizenship shall not be admitted into this country.

Senator COPELAND. Has there never been any change in that law?

Mr. McCLATCHY. I understand that so far as concerns the exclusion of yellow and brown races, Senator, it has never been changed. I think that is absolutely correct. It may have been modified in minor particulars.

The CHAIRMAN. We admit the black race to citizenship.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Yes; we admitted the black race on account of conditions which I shall not consider at this time.

Against this plan most determined opposition has been brought, and whether that opposition comes through the Department of State

or comes through church organizations or commercial interests or so-called immigration associations we find behind it all the hand of Japan. So in this measure, which is not discriminatory, we are forced to consider particularly the case of Japan, because Japan has insisted on making her protest against it on racial and national grounds. So that I want at the outset to avoid the charge or implication that we are taking in this matter any discriminatory action against Japan, and it is Japan's own action which has forced upon us making the prominent feature of this presentation the case of Japan.

We start with the assumption that immigration is a domestic question which it is our right to regulate by our own laws, in accordance with our own interests, regardless of the interests or protests or demands or threats of other peoples and other nations. And least of all should we be diverted from legislation which is manifestly in the interests of this country by the demand or protest of any or all races which under our own laws are made unassimilable because they are ineligible to our citizenship.

Of all the races ineligible to citizenship under our law, the Japanese are the least assimilable and the most dangerous to this country. Understand me, I make that statement in no offensive sense. I have a very high regard for the character and ability of the Japanese nation and the Japanese people, and I realize that it is in effect their strong racial characteristics which make them so dangerous a factor if admitted to this country as permanent residents. Let me say, therefore, that there is no prejudice on my part, no prejudice on the part of the people of California. We realize that the Japanese can be good and friendly neighbors, and we want to remain with them as good and friendly neighbors. But neighbors may be friendly and continue indefinitely as friends if they do not attempt to live in the same house.

Let me say, too, for the particular benefit of those who live in the Eastern States that the average easterner, coming into contact with the highly cultured Japanese, usually or often graduates of our American colleges, has no conception of the character of Japanese immigration which is coming into Hawaii and filling the fruitful valleys of California and Washington. Frequently, therefore, and naturally, he has the feeling that California has an unjust and unfair prejudice in this matter.

Now, why do I say that the Japanese are less assimilable and more dangerous as residents in this country than any other of the peoples ineligible to citizenship under our laws?

First, with great pride of race, they have no idea of assimilating in the sense of amalgamation. They do not come to this country with any desire or any intent to lose their racial or national identity. They come here specifically and professedly for the purpose of colonizing and establishing here permanently the proud Yamato race. They never cease to be Japanese. They have as little desire to intermarry as have the whites, and there can be no proper amalgamation, you will agree, without intermarriage. In Hawaii, where there is every incentive for intermarriage, the Japanese have preserved practical racial purity, and I commend to your attention in proof of that the National Department of Education Bulletin No. 16, 1920, and other references which will appear in my remarks.

In pursuit of their intent to colonize this country with that race they seek to secure land and to found large families, and they are constantly being urged by their leaders and by their vernacular newspapers to beget children and to get land, in order that they may permanently maintain in this country that great race.

They have greater energy, greater determination, and greater ambition than the other yellow and brown races ineligible to citizenship, and with the same low standards of living, hours of labor, use of women and child labor, they naturally make more dangerous competitors in an economic way.

They do not distribute themselves as individuals throughout a great country or a great district. Some eastern gentlemen have said to me, "Why, the position of California is absurd. On your own statement you have only got 100,000 Japanese in a population of 4,000,000, and you have only got 150,000 Japanese in a national population of 110,000,000."

That is not a weak solution though; it is a concentrated solution in small districts. For instance, of the 100,000 Japanese in California 75 per cent are confined to 7 of our 58 counties, and in those 7 counties they concentrate in a few districts. And so they do elsewhere. They select the better and richer districts, and they concentrate there, secure possession and control of communities and industries, and make their presence felt, so that in those communities they succeed in time in becoming the paramount influence.

They are a unified nation, with national pride and intent on maintaining a position as a world power. That is quite a different position from that occupied by any other of the races ineligible for citizenship. They are insistent on securing recognition and social rights, quite proud and sensitive, and therefore all the more occasion and probability of friction and trouble when in large communities they are settled in this country.

They never cease to be citizens of Japan. They are not permitted to expatriate after 17 years of age. The children born in this country and carefully registered to secure all the rights of American citizenship are only a little less unassimilable than their immigrant parents.

In support of these contentions I am quoting various references, but I shall not take up your time by reading them. However, if on any point that I make you have grave doubt I wish you would ask me to explain further, or give me an opportunity to make an explanation in personal conference.

Japan claims and insists on every individual Japanese (whether he be born in Japan and an immigrant here or born in the United States and accorded all the rights of American citizenship) discharging all the duties and obligations of Japanese citizenship, and vicariously punishes his relatives in Japan if he fails to do it. I will just read one extract in support of that last statement. The Honolulu Advertiser of January 16, 1923, contained a very striking item in regard to the case of Henry K. Fukuda, member of the Society of American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, born in Hawaii, a citizen of the United States, claiming and exercising all the rights and duties of American citizenship.

It seems that Fukuda, as all other Japanese born in this country and claiming American citizenship, was cited to show himself in

Japan and perform his military duty, and he failed to do so. He had certain relatives over there, and those relatives were punished because Mr. Fukuda, an American citizen, declined to go back to Japan and perform his conscription duties. He has a receipt showing that H. Nakahara, who was his relative, had paid \$5 to the district attorney of the Iwakuni district for alleged violation of the military conscription law by H. Fukuda.

Senator KING They insist upon dual citizenship, the same as Germany did for a while?

Mr. McCLATCHY. They do, Senator, but they carry it to a very much greater extent. Germany does not in this country maintain associations under which every American citizen of German parentage is influenced and controlled; those associations subject to major associations, and those in turn subject to the control and direction of the local German consul. That is the fact with regard to Japan and the Japanese, and here I have in my exhibits the proof of it. For instance, from Yoshi Kuno, a professor of the University of California, a Japanese, a son of one of the great generals of Japan, in this country many years, but not a citizen of the United States—he has published a statement, in the interest of permanent friendship between the United States and Japan, showing the way in which Japan has been determinedly and persistently doing these things, and warning that a continuance of that policy must inevitably result in the breach of those friendly relations between this country and his own country of Japan. I will leave that with you, Senator, and be very glad to call your attention to any specific point in it.

There have been in the neighborhood of 90,000 Japanese born under the American flag in continental United States and in Hawaii. Three years ago I had an official report from, I think it was, the department of justice in Tokyo, and there were exactly 64 of that entire number who had been permitted to expatriate under the laws of Japan. They were claiming and exercising the rights of American citizenship, and all but 64 of those 90,000 were tied up to Japan and compelled to do her will in peace and in war.

Senator KING. Have you evidence that they assented to this claim of Japan and recognized their allegiance to the Japanese Government? Or was it a mere assertion of a claim by Japan which the American citizens resisted?

Mr. McCLATCHY. For instance, every Japanese born in this country has to register with the Japanese consul, and he does register, as a citizen of Japan. He is subject to the control and direction of his local Japanese association. He can get none of the necessary privileges or rights in the way of communication with Japan, passports, and so on, unless he has fulfilled the duties required of him.

Why, over in Honolulu during the time when we were at war and under arms a number of Japanese had enlisted with the colors. Many of them, I suppose really all of them, were American-born citizens, and claiming rights as such. One of those American-born citizens, in American khaki, coming in from the camp came to the Japanese consul in Honolulu, and, under his right as a Japanese citizen, got credentials from that consul recognizing him as such so that he could bring over from Japan a picture bride.

Senator KING. You will recall that the War of 1812 was largely the result of the assertion by Great Britain of her right over English-

men who had expatriated themselves and taken out American citizenship papers and had gone upon our ships, and they were seized upon the high seas.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Senator, that was a hundred years ago.

Senator KING. I know. I am merely stating it as a fact. And yet England, perhaps improperly, certainly from our concepts of international law, asserted jurisdiction over those persons. Nevertheless, they did not assent to that. I am not expressing any opinion.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Do not misunderstand me. I am not denying the right of Japan to do these things. I am calling attention to the fact and suggesting that the fact is one of the strong indications that it would be absurd, criminal, and suicidal on the part of this country to admit as permanent residents people of a proud race who will be obliged to do these things.

Senator SHORTRIDGE. Senator, before we depart from that, with the permission of the chairman, I undertake to maintain that practically 100 per cent of the native-born Japanese in the United States and 100 per cent of those who have come here from Japan do submit and do yield obedience to the demands of Japan.

Mr. McCLATCHY. I might supplement that, if I am not taking too much time, by referring the committee to the testimony of the Hawaiian commission before the House committee in either 1921 or 1922.

The big sugar strike in Honolulu developed this astounding fact: Hawaii had been priding herself on Americanizing the American born—the Hawaiian-born Japanese. The legion was particularly proud of the fact that it was educating those American citizens of Japanese ancestry. And yet they found in the course of that strike that with a few individual exceptions, there was not a single Japanese in the Territory of Hawaii, immigrant or Hawaiian born, who was not, under duress or voluntarily, conforming to the orders of the Japanese family leaders in Japan, and, directly or indirectly, actively or in other ways, upholding the strike as a racial matter.

Senator SHORTRIDGE. And guided by the consul.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. I do not know whether the question has been brought up, but I see by the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration that in the last fiscal year there were admitted a total of 11,571 Japanese and there departed 11,172 Japanese, so that the net gain by immigration in the last fiscal year was 399 persons. Do you regard that as a menace?

Mr. McCLATCHY. Senator, permit me to say—I will go into that now if you desire, but I am dealing with the matter of the actual result of the agreement later.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. Very well.

Senator KING. As I understand it, under the bill which we are discussing now, if it should be enacted into law, the number which would be admitted would not greatly exceed 300.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Oh, I beg your pardon, Senator. You are taking the 1910 census, as I understand it—you have already agreed to do that. The 1910 census would admit 3,000 Japanese a year.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. That would mean that there were 150,000 Japanese-born residents in the country in 1910?

Mr. McCLATCHY. In 1910.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. Is that in the continental United States?

Mr. McCLATCHY. No; continental United States and Hawaii.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. The bill we are considering refers only to the number in the continental United States.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Then it would be about 72,000—1,400 persons a year.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. I have this thought, that under the gentleman's agreement there is a distinct restriction on Japanese immigration. This quota system which we will now add to that supplies an additional restriction. It does not in any sense liberalize the present law; it supplies an additional bar. I understand that that is not satisfactory, that you want absolute exclusion?

Mr. McCLATCHY. Yes, Senator; and if you will permit me, I will go into that now if you prefer.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. No; I did not want to disturb the order of your remarks at all, just so long as you do not pass over the subject entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McClatchy, I would be very glad to have you, when you come to it, discuss the effect of including the Japanese in the quota law.

Mr. McCLATCHY. I am prepared to do that, Mr. Chairman. That is one of my topics.

I was speaking of the Japanese children born here and the difficulty of making American citizens of them. They are educated in separate Japanese schools in California and Hawaii, where they are taught to be loyal and ideal Japanese citizens. Again, I only refer to that as a fact and as indicating that that class of people is dangerous for us. It is perfectly proper for Japan to educate her citizens in Japanese loyalty. A great many of those children are sent back to Japan between the ages of 6 and 8 years, and they remain there until they are 17 or 19, and when they come back they are not American citizens, they are Japanese citizens, loyal, and they never become American citizens in intent or ideal after that.

Why, two years ago—and I suppose the conditions are about the same now—there were, according to the admission of the Japanese, 15,000, and according to the estimate of the health board in the territory, 20,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese children in Japan, receiving their education in Japanese schools and destined to come back when they were 17 or 19 years of age as full fledged loyal Japanese citizens entitled to all the rights and privileges of American citizens but drilled to do the will of Japan in peace and in war. From California it is estimated that there are 15,000 California-born Japanese children in Japan receiving a Japanese education. I can not quote the exact figures, but there were 6,600 of those children sent out from the port of San Francisco in three years, to receive that Japanese education and come back.

Senator HARRISON. What is your estimate of the Japanese in Mexico?

Mr. McCLATCHY. I do not like to talk about things on which I am not informed, Senator, and I do not know. I may say this only, that so far as I know and believe, Mexico is used largely as a

temporary abiding place for those who intend ultimately to get into the United States. The same is true of South American ports.

Now, the Japanese maintain in this country a government within a government. That is to say, as I have indicated they are subject individually, whether born here or immigrants, to the orders of the local associations, which in turn are subject to the central associations in the five consular ports of the Pacific coast, and those in turn are under the direct orders of the local Japanese consuls. That is not my statement; that is the statement of a Japanese, Professor Yoshi Kuno, and I have it here in one of my exhibits.

Senator KING. Mr. McClatchy, when I was in California and when I was in Hawaii I talked with a good many Japanese; some of them voluntarily sought me and in other cases I sought them for the purpose of getting information, with a purely open mind. I discussed with them very frankly some of the matters to which you are referring, and some of the young men who were contemplating going to Japan to complete their education stated to me that they did it with a great deal of reluctance. They said that there was a sort of bar sinister placed upon them by the Americans: that there in Hawaii the Americans, the Anglo-Saxon race, always looked upon them as Japanese, and American newspapers were always denouncing them and denouncing the country of the birth of their fathers, holding it up as the awful example, that it was the yellow peril, that it was the menace of Anglo-Saxon institutions, and of our country. And they conceded that the attitude of the American mind was that they were to be outcasts even if they were American citizens under the American flag; that we erected social barriers against them and political barriers against them, and that there were economic barriers against them; and that whereas they might be born here and be American citizens by reason of birth, our attitude forbade any possible amalgamation, assimilation or association, political, or otherwise.

It seems to me there is a good deal in that. Have we dealt properly and fairly with the young Japanese boy and girl born in America? Have we dealt fairly with the Jew, with the Italian, with the Greek, with the Hungarian, with the Pole, with these young boys, and girls who were born here and with those who have come here? Have we held out a welcoming hand with a view to assimilating them, or haven't we too often pushed them out, ostracized them, put them into the ghetto and forced them to assume a feeling of affection and loyalty to their fatherland that they did not want to assume?

That is worthy of consideration, though I express no opinion.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Senator, that suggestion is an entirely fair one, and what you say is well grounded. That is quite true. But remember just this distinction. You in the East here, who come in contact with the cultured and desirable Japanese, have no idea, no conception, of the class of immigration which comes into California. I have, I am proud to say, among the Japanese many friends. I have been able to discuss these questions with them in perfect frankness and amity, with Vicount Shibusawa, the most prominent private citizen of Japan now, and others. And there has always been that trouble, that even where they have individually the desire to become thorough Americans there is, as you say, this bar.

But that is hopeless, Senator. That is the result of the absolute unassimilability of the two races. Whether it is our fault or theirs,

it exists. It is mutual. And since it is so, it is our duty, as I see it, to protect our race and our people and our Nation, with all its faults, rather than to sacrifice it by letting in an unassimilable alien people at their request or demand.

We do not differ very much, Senator, when all the facts are before us, on that point at least.

Senator KING. I did not express an opinion. I was just citing some of the suggestions which have been made to me.

Mr. McCLATCHY. I agree with you, Senator, on that point, but I say that these are conditions which we face.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McClatchy, when you come to the end of your statement of facts I want to ask you to discuss the numbers that come in under the gentleman's agreement.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I have that. Do you want me to take it up now?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I do not wish to interrupt the order of your argument.

Mr. McCLATCHY. Now, I want to show you why, in the judgment of California, aliens ineligible to citizenship are so hopelessly unassimilable, and why, in our judgment, of all those races the Japanese, notwithstanding our friendly feeling toward them, are the most unassimilable and the most dangerous.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say that the reason why I asked that question is this: Suppose there were only 100 coming in, a very minimum number, then you would come to the international question of disturbing our international relations with Japan? I want to know whether, in point of numbers, it is reduced to a minimum so that it is a negligible quantity, or whether in practical operations, under present conditions, it is a menace.

Mr. McCLATCHY. I will come to that, Mr. Chairman. But I will say briefly that California will not be satisfied with any quota, no matter how small, for reasons which I think will commend themselves when I present them to your judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McClatchy, in that aspect of it, how many come in now under the present law, and, secondly, how many would come in under the quota?

Mr. McCLATCHY. Under your quota?

The CHAIRMAN. Under the 2 per cent quota. You need not answer it now, but when you come to discuss the numbers, I wish you would.

Senator REED of Pennsylvania. I can put the figures in the record, Mr. Chairman. About 1,400 would come in if the quota were 2 per cent, based on the census of 1910. If the quota were based on my amendment, it would be about 300 persons per year.

(At this point the hearing was suspended for about 10 minutes to permit members of the committee to attend upon a vote in the Senate.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Continue your statement, please, Mr. McClatchy.

Mr. McCLATCHY. I have shown the reasons why California believes that it is impossible to assimilate the Japanese into American citizenship, not because of their fault—it is ours, if you like—but the two races are unassimilable, and, therefore, it is a danger to the peace and friendliness and good will of the two nations to have that condition continue in this country.