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STREET 2, DEPT. OF STATE

ISTHMIAN CANAL AFFAIRS
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION
PANAMA CANAL ZONE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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201 Vermont St. Honore, Paris.
February 8th, 1907.

My dear Mr. Tappan:

As a matter of interest, in view of all the newspaper talk about the California School question, I beg to advise you of the following facts - If you think they will be of interest to any one there, officially, you are at liberty to communicate them.

I have known for the past three or four weeks that the Japanese Embassy here was having an unusual amount of cable correspondence with Tokio, and I find that it has been due, almost certainly, to the fact that Mr. de Martens, one of the most famous international jurists, a permanent member of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and who took part in the Portsmouth Treaty, is here in Paris and is being consulted for the Mikado's government relative to the School question.

It may be that some of the officials there will be glad to have this information.

Yours truly,
[Signature]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
TOKYO.

No. 164.

February 8, 1907.



Mr. Wright to Mr. Root.

SUBJECT: The San Francisco anti-Japanese agitation. Text of telegrams exchanged with the Department. Extracts from the local press.

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
TOKYO.

No. 164.

February 8, 1907.

To the Honorable Elihu Root,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith readings of cipher telegrams exchanged between the Department of State and this embassy relating to the San Francisco question, together with extracts from the local newspapers reflecting the public opinion here on the subject as expressed in my telegram of to-day.

I will report at length by cable after my interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-morrow.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

William E. Wright

Enclosures:

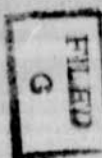
1. Readings of telegrams sent February 1, 4, 6 and 8.
" " " received " 2 and 6.
2. Extracts from the local press.

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O. G. S.



Treatment of Japanese in California.

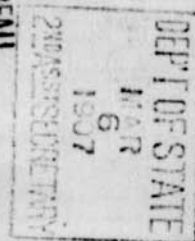
Anti-Japanese agitation.

Encls. 152-164.

Japan, Feb. 8, 1907.

Mr. Embassy, (Wright) 1964.
Encloses text of telegrams from
and to Department, reply of Minister
for Foreign Affairs to interpellations
in the Diet, and articles of
the Tokyo press.
(Rec'd March 4, 1907.)
P.B.D.

DIPLOMATIC BUREAU.



Rel. file. acc.

*Office
Mar. 7/07*

J. J. C.



free



(Reading of Telegram Sent February 1st, 1907.)

Encl. No. 1 with
No. 864 of Reg. 8.

Secstate, Washington.

February 1st, six P.M. On January 17th I had an interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs and gave him substance of your telegram received 16th January especially calling his attention to views expressed by you as to the underlying cause of friction being the continued emigration to the United States of Japanese coolly labor (comma) which (comma) notwithstanding the best efforts of both governments could be obviated only by a convention prohibiting reciprocally emigration of laborers and that I believe if a satisfactory understanding upon this point could be reached you could have objectionable order school board rescinded (period) He replied he had only received a telegram from Viscount Aoki saying that you had written him a note of the most friendly and gratifying character which he had forwarded by mail that he appreciated the difficulties of the situation and was anxious to make some satisfactory arrangement but he doubted whether his Government would be willing to make formal convention of the character suggested by you (period) At the same time he said that it was a matter of such importance that he would submit it to the Cabinet and we would then discuss the matter further (period) I made a full report of the above interview by mail on January twenty-third (period) Not having heard further from him (comma) on receipt of your telegram January twenty-ninth I had an interview with him again and he informed me he had conferred with the Cabinet and that they were all agreed in the opinion that when the San Francisco school board could be induced to withdraw its objectionable order a way might be found to prevent the emigration of Japanese coolly labor to the Pacific Coast by entering into some arrangement with the Government of the United States but they wanted time to consider further as to the manner in which

this result could be accomplished (period) He authorized me to say to you that with the rescinding of the order of the San Francisco school board his Government would be willing to agree to some arrangement with a view to preventing coolly laborers from Japan to the Pacific Coast (comma) emigration to Hawaii excepted (comma) provided the stipulations of the agreement should be of a nature such as to prevent the amour propre of the Japanese people from being wounded (period)

I again called his attention to the difficulty of making any arrangement which did not prevent Japanese coolly emigration from Hawaii to Pacific Coast (period) He stated that his Government would not object to legislation on our part preventing this if some means could be found whereby existing irritation could be allayed (period) He informed me no instructions had been given Viscount Aoki as to answer to your note as he was awaiting full copy of it (period) In the course of the interview he suggested it might be better to await event of pending suits to determine whether under the Treaty Japanese are entitled ^{to} enter schools and asked me whether cases would be heard soon (period) I replied that I supposed cases would have precedence and would soon be determined but that speaking frankly I feared result might not be favorable to our Government and even if it were the effect might be to increase rather than to allay irritation on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere as it involved the question of States Rights always troublesome with us He replied that he understood our form of Government and the difficulties involved I thereupon stated to him that this being so it seemed to me that the wise course was the one suggested by you in your note to Aoki to which he replied he would again take up the matter with his Cabinet (period) To prevent misunderstanding I wrote out the interview submitted it to him and had him verify it (period) I will see him again in a few days and review the subject and will endeavor to obtain more definite statement

Wright.

(Text of Telegram Received February 2d, 1907, at 2.30 P.M.)

Wright, Amembassy, Tokyo:

Confidential for your own information Yours first situation growing worse on Pacific Coast no practical chance settling school question independently and in advance of immigration question (period) President called into conference entire California Delegation in Congress They have induced California Legislature to suspend proceedings towards further adverse legislation (period) With their concurrence I have suggested to Aoki a new treaty providing for exclusion of laborers and for most favored nation treatment in schools (period) He seemed very favorable to the suggestion and has telegraphed it to his Government (period) We think it desirable that this should be proposed by Japanese Government rather than by ourselves but are willing to propose it if they prefer (period) Without some such arrangement we can see no escape from increased excitement and conditions growing worse rather than better (comma) to an extent making position of all Japanese on Pacific Coast quite intolerable in ways that no Government can control directly (period)

One result of these conditions would undoubtedly be a statute excluding Japanese laborers (period) This action is permissible under the treaty of 1894 (comma) but it would be most unfortunate if there is to be exclusion (comma) not to have it by mutual consent (period) Important that prompt action be taken (comma) both because conditions growing worse on Pacific Coast and because this Congress ends fourth of March

ROOT.

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(Reading of Telegram Sent February 4th, 1907.)

Secstate, Washington;

February fourth, eight P.M. Your second I have just had interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He called my attention to telegrams published in Japanese newspapers announcing negotiations between the two governments and the settlement of San Francisco difficulty on the basis mutual exclusion of laborers and also to attack made on him for entering upon such negotiations by the Hochi newspaper opposition organ and seemed disturbed at reports of this character emanating from Washington. He informed me also that he had received a telegram from Aoki covering your proposition but that he deprecated the idea of giving exclusion of laborers in return for school privileges as his people believed they had that right already under existing treaty (Period) I called his attention to a probability of growing irritation and the importance of speedy settlement and to the fact that the Congress would soon adjourn He said that he had given the matter much thought and believed that if obnoxious school order were repealed his Government would enter into treaty excluding laborers reciprocally provided those Japanese not within the excluded class entering the United States should be entitled to naturalization as other aliens (Period) I suggested that he see as soon as possible his Cabinet and give me authoritative proposition which he promised to do (Period) Interview ended (Period) I can see no objection to giving better class Japanese right of naturalization Indeed it seems to me by no means certain that they are not entitled to naturalization now under the provisions of the act of June twenty-ninth nineteen six Will continue reporting by cable Wright

(Reading of Telegram Received February 6, 1907.)

Wright, Tokyo.

All newspaper reports here unauthorized on the part of this Government Japanese have a right to educational advantages in California of most favored nation children (comma) it is exceedingly doubtful whether that right is violated by giving them such advantages in a separate school (period) It is at least even chance courts decide present arrangement violates no treaty rights (period) We are willing to settle that question of doubt in Japan's favor by new treaty provided she makes it possible for us by joining in labor exclusion which under treaty of 1894 we have an express right already to accomplish by statute (period) Such a treaty would give the United States nothing whatever it has not now, but it would be in accordance with Japanese policy regarding her laborers and would make it possible for us to put an end to school question in accordance with Japan's wishes and to put an end to the whole cause of disagreeable conditions on the Pacific coast. We have the power to put a stop to labor competition on the coast by statute and unless some such treaty arrangement is made Congress will undoubtedly exercise that power We are however exceedingly unwilling that this should be done except avowedly in accordance with the wishes of Japan and in such way as to dispose of school question at the same time (period) It is wholly useless to discuss the subject of naturalization at the present time (period) If right exists under the act of June twenty-ninth nineteen hundred six discussion is unnecessary (period) If not it is clear that no statute could be passed or treaty ratified now extending Japanese rights beyond the limits of their contention regarding the schools.

ROOT.

(Reading of Telegram sent February 6th, 1907.)

Secstate, Washington:

Yours sixth Have just received the following from the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (quote) Tokyo February sixth nineteen seven In reference to our conversation of Monday last I hasten to inform you that I have referred the matter to the Cabinet meeting held yesterday and that I am now able to state that this Government sharing the desire of your Government to remove the feeling of irritation arising from the immigration of Japanese coolly labor in the Pacific coasts will be prepared to enter into some arrangement on the subject (Period) Such an arrangement however can only be concluded after the San Francisco school question has been satisfactorily solved and it is proposed that the restriction of Japanese coolly laborers (parenthesis) as distinguished from the settled agriculturist (parenthesis) should be made conditional upon the most favored nation treatment to be accorded to Japanese subjects in the United States in the matter of naturalization (Period) (end quote) I have thought it best to communicate the above note for your information before seeing him again (Period) Am satisfied Cabinet anxious to settle the matter to meet out wishes but fear outcry here against a one-sided treaty and hence desire rights of most favored nation in the matter of naturalization I do not think they regard the right of naturalization as intrinsically important (comma) for few Japanese could or would avail themselves of it (comma) but they desire it as a sop to public opinion (Period) Unless otherwise directed I shall proceed on lines indicated in yours of sixth Wright.

(Telegram sent February 8th, 1907.)

Secstate, Washington: (February 8, 2 P.M.)

Leading independent and opposition newspapers strongly criticize reported settlement on the basis of reciprocal exclusion of laborers as onesided and (comma) inas- much as the Government of the United States has acknowledged injustice of school discrimination (comma) a reflection on Japanese compared with European laborers. I have an ap- pointment with Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs for February ninth (period) In view of my telegram of sixth have you further instructions to add to your telegram received sixth.

Wright.

Enclosure No. 2

Despatch No. 164.

From the Official Gazette of January 30, 1907

REPLY OF VISCOUNT HAYASHI TO MR. MOCHISUKI'S INTER-
PELLATIONS RELATING TO THE SAN FRANCISCO QUESTION
DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON JANUARY
29, 1907

(Translation.)

Gentlemen:-

I find that the points in Mr. Mochisuki's inter-
pellation just now so eloquently presented by him are
almost identical to the questions asked the other day
at a meeting of the Budget Committee. Though it may
be rather tedious to have me repeat here in detail my
reply made at that meeting, yet I desire to give as full
an explanation as the circumstances permit, in view of
the fact that Mr. Mochisuki's are formal interpellations.

In the first place Mr. Mochisuki wishes to have
me report on the particulars of the San Francisco
affair. Mr. Mochisuki himself has so clearly explain-
ed the nature of the affair that scarcely anything
remains to be added. But I desire to tell you how
it first arose, how it has developed, and what
measures have been thus far taken in that connection.
The affair in question first arose on October 12 of
last year; it was on October 12 that the resolution
for expelling the Japanese school children was ad-
opted and carried out. Consul Uyeno at once lodged
a protest, and reported to the Foreign Office the
nature of the affair and the gist of his protest. I
do not remember the exact date when the report was re-
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ceived, but I think it was the 15th or the 16th of the
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structed Consul Uyeno as to the measures to be taken later, and at the same time I also instructed Ambassador Aoki to lodge a protest at Washington. On the other hand I made a similar representation to the American Ambassador at Tokyo. It appears that the sentiment of the American Government coincided with that of the Japanese Government. Before our protest had scarcely reached Washington, the Secretary of State, that is, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the American Government, sent an instruction to the American Ambassador at Tokyo. The Secretary of State had the American Ambassador here convey his profound regret in regard to the expulsion of the Japanese school children. The American Government was intending to do its best to settle the affair, and the American Ambassador was instructed to reassure the Japanese Government that the American nation as a whole did not justify the affair, and that the sympathy of the nation was decidedly with Japan. It should be remembered that this assurance was not an answer to our protest; in fact, the one crossed the other on the way. Later on I instructed Ambassador Aoki again to convey to the American Government the further explanation of Japan's position. These proceedings have been published in various newspapers, and I believe you are all acquainted with them. The American Government especially appointed Mr. Metcalf, Secretary of Commerce and Labor at that time, to proceed to San Francisco, and to institute investigations on the spot. At the same time the President of the United States of America sent his Message to Congress, at the opening of its session on December 4. Its contents showed that the American Government was sincerely endeavoring to arrive at an amicable settlement of the question. The later

reports still more clearly demonstrate the fact that the American nation as a whole, except a certain city in the Western part of the United States, is sympathetic towards the Japanese. It may be remarked that the secret of diplomatic success is to bring the Government one has to deal with to its own way of thinking on any question that arises. If both governments agree in their views in regard to the question at issue, there will be no diplomatic differences. Since in the present affair the American Government has evidenced its sympathy with the Japanese Government, and since both Governments agree with each other with regard to the nature of the affair, the only attitude we can take is that of watching for the time being the development of the situation. I may add, as I replied to Mr. Oishi the other day, that we do not intend to wait forever. I mean to say that this Government will wait so long as it is proper to wait. But in the meantime we must constantly watch the progress of the affair. I can assure you that our Embassy and Consulate are doing so. On the part of the American Government, Mr. Metcalf on his return to Washington reported as to his mission to San Francisco. The American Government seems to have concluded from Mr. Metcalf's report that the first step to the settlement of the present affair would be to bring a suit at law, thus resorting to the decision of the Courts. Acting on this principle, the American Government despatched the Assistant Attorney-General to San Francisco, and has caused him to bring an action concerning the question at issue. I understand that the case is to be heard before long. This being the case, we are at present doing nothing but watch the progress of the affair. However, ^{should} the judicial decision

prove unfavorable to Japan, it must then be considered, ^{that} the position of the United States is in opposition to that of Japan. Then, and not until then, the present affair will become a diplomatic question. But the public sentiment of the American nation, including the American Government, is such that, as I have just said, I am inclined to believe that the present affair will be settled without developing into a diplomatic question.

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From the "Hochi Shimbun" of February 2, 1907.

The Progress of the Japanese-American Question.

The Japanese Government to Yield.

Telegrams from Washington to San Francisco inform us that Japan and the United States are likely to conclude a reciprocal treaty for restricting coolie immigration, thereby to settle the school question now pending at San Francisco. We think it unlikely that the Japanese Government would conclude such a treaty, but we regret that we have found it impossible to deny the fact that the views of the Governments of Japan and the United States with reference to such a proposal are now being exchanged.

Let us briefly review the progress of the present affair. It should be remembered that the exclusion of the Japanese children from the public schools of San Francisco is a means to an end. In other words, the question at issue is not a mere school question, but it has another important bearing. Now whom do the citizens of San Francisco really mean to exclude? Needless to say, they are anxious to exclude the Japanese laborers.

Of course, it is not only the Japanese laborers that the laboring classes of the United States are trying to exclude. The number of laborers who found their way to the United States from different countries of Europe during last year is over 1,300,000, the result being severe competition. Many laborers have lost their employment on account of the competition, and the laboring classes of the United States have been having hard times. The labor unions of various States have therefore petitioned the Government and Congress to take measures for checking the influx of alien laborers.

When the disastrous earthquake almost annihilated the city of San Francisco, the laborers of all nationalities

rushed in from other localities in anticipation of a great demand for laborers in the work of rebuilding the burnt city. This state of things was far from being advantageous to the San Francisco laborers, and they have been trying hard to exclude all outside laborers. The exclusion of the Japanese school children has a bearing upon this phase of the labor problem.

The American Government therefore holds that, in order to settle the school question at San Francisco, it must, first of all, get at the real cause and check the influx of laborers. Though the American Government has not yet made any formal proposal, it has communicated to our Government the desire to conclude a reciprocal treaty for restricting coolie immigration. It is also probable that the two Governments have been exchanging their views on this subject.

Should such a treaty be entered into between the two nations, our emigrants to the United States would in future not be permitted to go there without the request of the United States. The natural consequence would be to put an end to the unrestricted emigration hitherto allowed. Though of course the same provision applies to the American laborers coming to Japan in a similar way, yet it should be remembered that scarcely any American laborers come to this country. The treaty would, therefore, be reciprocal in name only, and would in reality be an absolute surrender on the part of the Japanese Government.

The American Government seems to hope to conclude such a treaty not only with the Japanese Government, but also with various European countries. But we venture to ask if the European countries will consent to such a proposal. At any rate, it will call forth warm discussion.

Hochi, February 3, 1907.

A Fresh Development of the Japanese-
American Controversy.

Japan's Strange Diplomacy.

I.

Nearly all cablegrams from abroad received within the past two or three days are at one in hoping that the school question will be settled satisfactorily. Taken in connection with Viscount Hayashi's statement made in the House of Representatives that an adequate settlement of the question would be reached in the near future, these telegraphic despatches made the nation exceedingly glad over the situation. An adequate settlement means to distinguish what is right from what is wrong. Since Japan's demand was right, we were confident that the outrages of the obdurate San Franciscans would be suppressed unconditionally.

It is needless to dwell at length upon the cause of the school question and the measures taken by the Board of Education of California. There is no just ground whatever for expelling the Japanese children from the ordinary public schools and for putting them in the segregation school. From the standpoint of the treaty, it has been clear from the beginning that that act is an infringement of our treaty right. If our authorities appeal to the sense of justice in dealing with the American authorities, the question will be settled without any complication. According to the information obtained by us from a reliable source and published in yesterday's issue of our paper, the Japanese Government is in communication with the American Government with regard to the latter's proposal to restrict coolie immigration as a means of settling the school question at San Francisco. This is con-

trary to our expectation, and at this point we are compelled to enter a protest against the diplomatic policy of our Government.

Is the communication referred to of an informal character not calling for a formal acceptance? If there has been an informal communication on the subject, we take the liberty of urging our authorities to reject such a proposal before it reaches the stage of formal agreement. We are informed that, instead of unrestricted immigration as heretofore, the Japanese laborers will hereafter be allowed to land only when there is a contract for engaging them in America. We fail to see why our diplomatic authorities have expressed their willingness to consent to such an unreasonable, almost farcical, proposal. It should be remembered that the United States consists solely of foreign immigrants. If she had before rejected foreign immigrants, her prosperity of the present day would have been impossible. Even today an enormous number of foreigners emigrate to the United States, and the number of our own emigrants is quite insignificant. Now why is it that the American Government restricts the influx of Japanese laborers only? Are they rejected on the ground that they deprive the American laborers of employment? But only about 80,000 Japanese laborers have gone to the United States during the past twelve or thirteen years, while statistics show that during 1906 alone Europe sent 1,300,000 emigrants to the United States. Numerically speaking, the European immigrants are the American laborer's great competitors. It will therefore be seen that competition is not the ground for restricting Japanese immigration. Are then our laborers rejected on the ground that they are inferior

in morals and disturb the order of society in America? We admit that not all of our emigrants are gentlemen, but can any person prove to us that no European laborer is inferior to ours with reference to morals? From the standpoint of national traits, the world's fairminded people have recently begun to recognize that the Japanese people are nobler than many European peoples. Therefore this can not be the ground for rejecting our laborers. Then the only reason for rejection will be the fact that the Japanese are a colored race. If so, it is an argument quite unbecoming the Government of the United States that boasts of her advanced civilization. What a self-humiliating attitude on the part of our Government to be inclined to accept this argument!

President Roosevelt has said that it is wrong to seek peace at the cost of one's conscience. Is not our Government about to sacrifice the national conscience when its diplomacy yields to such humiliation for the sake of temporary peace? We are of course grateful to the United States for her friendship of half a century's standing. But when she acts contrary to the dictates of righteousness, it is our duty to make her realize that she is wrong even by appealing to arms. Is not this indeed one way of repaying her goodwill to us? Our nation is getting tired of sluggish diplomacy.

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Hochi Shimbun,

February 4, 1907.

On the Japanese-American Controversy.

II.

In yesterday's issue of our paper we pointed out the tendency towards a fresh development of the Japanese-American controversy. We also warned our diplomatic authorities against their inclination to voluntary humiliation, and expressed our sincere hope that the reports referred to might turn out to be false. We have, however, obtained information and reports from various sources, and have sifted them carefully. The result is that the reports are authentic, while they reveal the utter servility of our diplomatic authorities. There is therefore urgent need of goading them to action.

The school question centers in the argument whether or not the expulsion of Japanese children is an infringement of our treaty rights. According to the explanation of Viscount Hayashi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the views of the Japanese Government coincide with those of the United States Federal Government and there is as yet no necessity of resorting to diplomatic negotiations. In other words, Viscount Hayashi means to say that as the school question is a legal controversy pure and simple, and has no significance as a diplomatic question, the best way is to let it take its own course. The question has, however, taken a new turn and has become a diplomatic complication. This is a result of having failed to take decisive measures and of not regarding the question as a diplomatic one. As we have from time to time pointed out, the future of the pending difficulty is far from

being bright. Though the school question is no doubt a legal controversy, yet the deep significance attached to the question by our nation lies in the protest against the Californians' treatment of the Japanese people as inferior to Europeans, and against their attempt to humiliate our people, which is a disgrace to our national prestige and position. We have endeavored to exercise our treaty rights in order to remove this oppression. It should be remembered that the fundamental idea of our protest is to give a crushing blow to the feelings of contempt with which the Californians regard our people. Our diplomatic authorities ought therefore to get at the real fact and understand what the question really means. How does the informal communication relating to the proposed restrictions upon Japanese immigration bear upon this fundamental significance of the question? It is to be regretted that our diplomacy always fails to distinguish essentials from the non-essentials. Though the school question is different in form from the question relating to restrictions upon Japanese immigration, yet they are one insofar as they are based upon race prejudices. If we compare the one with the other in order to see which is the more humiliating and disadvantageous to Japan, no one would hesitate to say that the question relating to the restrictions upon Japanese immigration is far more significant. The one should not be accepted in exchange for the other. Setting aside the question of exchange, the whole thing should be rejected by our diplomatic authorities who are bound to look after the position of Japan abroad. Should however the one question be proposed in exchange for the other, the proper way for our Government would be to attack the tricky attitude of President Roosevelt and take decisive measures for ourselves. At any rate, Viscount Hayashi's irresponsible attitude, indiscreetly stating that the question was not worth referring to diplomatic negotiations is responsible for the present serious

situation. The whole nation sincerely hopes that our authorities will wake up at this time, so that they may realize their responsibilities and improve the situation. Should the attitude of the Federal Government be such as we have just interpreted, our resistance in the name of justice might possibly bring about some deplorable consequences. But the sorrow of such consequences is far more glorious than the sorrow of yielding to outrage. This is the reason why we take the liberty of urging our diplomatic authorities to be more on the alert.

Enclosure No.

Despatch No.

Editorial from the "Tokyo Asahi" of February 6, 1907

(Translation.)

**AN AMICABLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE
UNITED STATES.**

Cablegram after cablegram informs us that the hearing of the San Francisco question in the courts has been postponed, but that an amicable agreement concerning the question at issue which will satisfy all parties concerned is likely to be reached between Japan and the United States. The special telegram from the London Times published in yesterday's issue of our paper is to the same effect. According to all these reports, there seems to be some understanding between the two countries, which it is hoped will be sufficient to settle the pending question satisfactorily. According to another report, a preliminary agreement for a reciprocal convention excluding the labor immigration from both countries has been concluded between Japan and the United States. Should Japan promise not to send any laborers to the United States, California would certainly be willing to repeal the order for expelling the Japanese children from the public schools. The Japanese Government would, however, not consent to such a proposal, because it would be reciprocal only in name, with provisions applicable to the Japanese alone. Nothing would be more foolish than to sacrifice a right already acquired in order to maintain another right to which one is reasonably entitled. In the present case especially the relative importance of the two is too

obvious to discuss. We can not believe it is possible that our Government should enter into any such preliminary agreement. Nor is it possible that the American Government should attempt to deceive us with such a proposal, the position of that Government on the question being such as we know it to be. The facts remain unchanged that the American Government does not justify the measures taken by the San Francisco authorities and that it endorses the representation made by the Japanese Government. Though we are well aware that, on account of the obdurateness of the San Francisco authorities, the Federal Government is perplexed and embarrassed, yet an attempt on the part of the American Government to cut the Gordian knot by playing a trick upon Japan would certainly not be a gentlemanly way of dealing with others. Our confidence in President Roosevelt's personality is such that we find it inconceivable that he should deliberately resort to such a measure. The general public, however, can not help believing that there must be some sort of foundation for the reports coming from Washington. Is there any way of reaching an amicable agreement besides the reciprocal exclusion of coolie laborers? Should there be a way of satisfying all parties concerned as various reports inform us, nothing further could be desired. Unfortunately we do not know of any such way.

It should, however, be remembered that the San Francisco question is an affair of deep significance. The anti-Japanese agitation of California will not subside simultaneously with the settlement of the school question at San Francisco. Though the friendship between Japan and the United States is at present most cordial, yet we can not feel easy about the future so long as the

anti- Japanese agitation in California remains as it is. For this reason, Japan can not remain silent concerning the mean movemnet for excluding the Japanese in California, while at the same time our Government ought not to neglect to pay serious attention to the conditions among the Japanese in California that may reasonably excite the agitators. In connection with the news of the exclusion of the Japanese school children, we have had occasion to express our hope with respect to our own countrymen in the United States. We are of the opinion that the going of our Hawaiian emigrants to the mainland of the United States is one of those things for which there should be a restrictive agreement between Japan and the United States. Like idiots, lunatics, polygamists, anarchists, prostitutes, etc., contract laborers are refused landing according to the Statutes of the United States. Our laborers in Hawaii, however, keep going over to the mainland on account of higher wages there. But Hawaii is a territory of the United States, and there is no law prohibiting migration from one part of the United States to another. The American Government therefore is unable to do anything with the migration of the Japanese laborers from Hawaii to California. In fact some laborers first go to Hawaii with the intention of migrating to California, as it is difficult to go to the United States direct from Japan. This way of getting around the provisions of the Statutes of the United States is one of the causes intensifying the anti-Japanese feeling in California. The other day immigrants of this nature were refused a landing by the Immigration Inspector stationed at San Francisco. But the fact that they were later allowed to land shows how embarrassing the situation is to the United States. Japan

should therefore not hesitate to restrict the migration of her laborers from Hawaii to the mainland of the United States. We do not mean to make this suggestion as a reciprocal measure, but we are anxious to keep the friendship between the two countries undisturbed. In this respect, we hope that our Government will not fail to take prompt measures.

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The Japan Daily Mail.

YOKOHAMA, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1907.

THE QUESTION BETWEEN AMERICA
AND JAPAN.

There is evidently some uneasiness in Japan lest the rumours recently circulated should prove to be true. Telegram has succeeded telegram saying virtually that a compromise has been effected of the San Francisco question, Japan agreeing to conclude a convention empowering the United States to restrict the incoming of Japanese labours, and the United States agreeing to a similar exercise of discrimination by Japan. A representative of the *Mainichi Dempo* has waited upon the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and sought information on the subject, with the result that Viscount Hayashi is said to have denied any such intention on the part of the Japanese Government and to have repeated his prediction that the San Francisco problem would be settled in a manner satisfactory to Japan without any compromises. Nevertheless the *Hochi* and the *Mainichi* both write in a strain of much apprehension, and both are evidently more than suspicious that a compromise on the above lines is in the air. They point out, what is evident to every one, that there could be no practical mutuality in a labourer-excluding convention between Japan and America for no American labourers come to Japan, being deterred by the converse of the very conditions which attract Japanese labourers to America. Besides we (*Japan Mail*) may add that it is virtually impossible for Japan, or for any Eastern country, to distinguish between Occidental nationals. A Japanese can always be distinguished from a European or an American, but the two latter are not distinguishable from each other, and any attempt to exclude labourers coming from one special Western country while admitting those from all others—supposing that in any circumstances now unforeseeable Western labourers did find their account in flocking to Japan—must involve serious complications. At all events there would be nothing resembling an exchange, conditions being what they are. It appears to us useless to discuss the matter as a necessary corollary of the San Francisco problem. But we do feel convinced that this labour question will have to be faced sooner or later. How can it be left outside the pale of legislation when it plainly threatens to set law and order at defiance and to create perpetual international complications? Thoughtful men may well ask whether this exclusion policy is not an evidence of factors making for the overthrow of Occidental supremacy: whether the necessity of artificially protecting labour against free competition is not a sure sign of the decadence of all States resorting to such an unnatural policy. But that is a very distant issue. It may be that the clamour of the uneducated classes on the Pacific slope is the first note of the bell that will ring at the funeral of the industrial and commercial hegemony of the West, but in the meanwhile what statesmen have to deal with are the conditions now actually making for grave international complications.

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FEBRUARY 4, 1907.
JAPAN DAILY MAIL.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

The Washington press, according to a long telegram from the *Mainichi Dempo's* correspondent, is publishing what purports to be the gist of the interview which recently took place between President Roosevelt and representatives of the California State Legislature. The President is reported to have spoken as though the San-Francisco question were one of peace or war, and to have described Japan as a country which, while always ready to exhaust the resources of diplomacy in the cause of tranquility and good relations, would strike with rapidity and force so soon as diplomacy had failed. It has been denied by other reporters and by Mr. Root that the President made any allusion, overt or covert, to the probability of war, and inasmuch as he is in the last degree unlikely to have used the words attributed to him in this particular, the credibility of the whole account becomes doubtful. Meanwhile some publicists in Japan continue to be much exercised by the rumour that this San-Francisco question is to be settled by a concession on Japan's part with regard to labour immigration. Such a mode of settlement is denied in official quarters, but the denial does not command full credence. The fact that this phase of Japan's relations with the United States should have received prominence at the present juncture is unfortunate. For while no thoughtful person can doubt that some legislation clashing with the labour question is inevitable, equally certain is it that the Japanese nation would be profoundly offended did such legislation form a condition of the settlement of the San-Francisco problem. It is therefore much to be regretted that the two things should have been associated. But an unhappy feature of American diplomacy is that too often its proceedings take place upon the house-top. Nothing is more likely than that the labour problem has constituted a topic of informal conversation between Japanese and American statesmen in connexion with the San-Francisco trouble, seeing that the latter trouble has the former problem for its main if not its sole basis. But beyond such conversations we can not imagine that labour legislation has been seriously discussed. The omniverous reporter, however, has to manufacture his hasty pudding out of all materials without discrimination, and his grouping of incidents often produces interactions of the most mischievous nature. The *Hochi Shimbun*, for example, misled by this juxtaposition, attacks the Minister of Foreign Affairs in unmeasured terms; attacks him in such a manner that we are led to wonder what kind of world it would be if the leaders of public thought were of the *Hochi Shimbun's* type. This journal is a Progressist organ and so is the *Yomiuri*, which in a much less extravagant strain, however, expounds similar sentiments. International politics ought to be kept on an elevation far above the arena of party jealousies, but unfortunately that has not yet become the case in Japan.

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The Japan Times.

TOKYO, TUESDAY, FEB. 5, 1907.

CURIOUS WAR SCARE IN AMERICA.

SOME press advices from the West make the Japanese the most puzzled people in the world for the moment. We refer to those giving fragments of the revival of war rumours in the United States. On the flush of the San Francisco school affair, we could conceive the possibility of some Californians being so worked up as to talk wildly or being so unscrupulous as to get up concocted stories. But the calm and perfectly reasonable attitude this country has displayed throughout had had, we had hoped, the effect of making those vociferating on the bogey of a thing that does not exist see the ludicrousness of their performances. It is annoying to find that we have completely miscalculated on this score. At the very heels of the intelligence that the school question is approaching a satisfactory settlement, Reuter sends us a report that "several American newspapers are printing the wildest articles on the prospects of war with Japan, it being alleged that Japan has practically presented an ultimatum." Some of our city contemporaries have also received intimation of more or less similar import from independent sources, and there can be no doubt that, however incredibly ridiculous it may appear to us, the matter is attracting much attention in America. The most curious or rather the most astounding part of the report is the allegation that Japan through her Ambassador has presented an ultimatum. It is probable that in America the papers publishing those "wildest articles" are enlightening their readers as to the point at issue which is so grave as to call forth an "ultimatum"; but here we cannot even think of what the point can be! Nor shall we ever be able to discover that point;

for there is none, absolutely nothing in the relations between the two countries, of so serious a character as to force us to the extremity of resorting to the last diplomatic step. Hence arises the fact of our being the most puzzled people for the time being.

Puzzled, we grope for explanations, but questions only, not answers, offer themselves. We are as firm as ever in our conviction that the real Americans, or at least a vast majority of them are quite unchanged in their friendly disposition towards us and to them the war talk is but an idle scare. There can be no question in that regard; but there are others. Have those "several American newspapers" been approached and "bought up" by the emissaries (secretly authorised or self-appointed—it makes but little difference which) of some Power who is anxious to cause a break between the United States and this country, which would eventually lead to an Anglo-American estrangement? Or have they allowed themselves to be made tools of by those Americans who are eager to push through the naval increment scheme and find an excellent pretext in outlandish allegations at the expense of this country? Or is it that their mistaken sympathy with the Californians has so far carried them astray as to cause them to grossly abuse the journalistic freedom to the detriment of this country? A host of other queries may be proposed; but it will be useless to state them. For they will be on the basis of taking it for granted that Japan is maturing some aggressive foreign policy,—which is most unqualifiedly false. Besides, we refuse to believe that there are any sane journalists in America who conscientiously think that Japan is really harbouring hostile intentions toward their country. And we cannot help imagining that the solution of the puzzle is to be found in the answer to one or all of the questions we have stated. We will not venture to say which; but in any case a close study of them all will be helpful, indeed indispensable for guiding us in our foreign relations.

We are not necessarily alarmed over the strange phenomenon in America, but we cannot be indifferent to the danger there is of some Americans of limited information being misled by those unjust and irresponsible anti-Japanese vituperations. To such of them we wish to submit the following. It has before now been suggested in America and elsewhere that this country is nurturing a desire to annex the Philippines. With all the force and weight that a plain and simple English could carry, we would say we have no such desire. Some persons possess, however, the wonderful power of reading in other peoples' minds thoughts that are not there, and such as they may be able to prove to their own satisfaction that we do entertain the desire. We admit our powerlessness to convince and silence this class of men. But it should be seen that there are circumstances which make it to our own interest not to cast envious eyes on the Philippines. For if we are to annex the Philippines we must first of all have a good pretext for the action. Now it would be dangerous for us, a new rising Power, to be thought by others to be looking for such a pretext. But even if we found one, to act upon it would be to bring on our heads the wrath of the whole West. We do not want to be crushed out of existence by a combination of the white Powers!

Coming to the Hawaiian Islands, a similar insinuation has also been brought at our doors. We again deny the charge. It is known by the world that our population is increasing at a very rapid rate and how to deal with our surplus is a serious problem with us. In the circumstance it is perfectly natural that our people should seek a living abroad, and emigrate to where they are welcomed. In Hawaii they are welcomed and they go there in great numbers. Nothing can be more natural, and if natural why should the presence of our emigrants in Hawaii be a menace to the American regime there. Has America become Italianised? Has Cincinnati become a German city? No, indeed not. The Germans in Germany are said to be complaining that their nationals in America are becoming Americanised and ceasing to read German papers and forgetting the German traditions. Why should the Japanese in Hawaii be a danger to the American rule there? Some argue that the Japanese are clannish and would not assimilate with the American or rather "Hawaiian civilization." They forget to what a vast extent Japan herself has become Westernized in the course of the last 20 or 25 years, in her ideas and practices, in her civilization, material and moral. It is only blind prejudice which fears that the Japanese will Japanize Hawaii. Then as to the possibility of Japan quarrelling with the United States over the Sandwich islands, the same deterrent reason holds here as in the case of the Philippines. The loss of American friendship would be a terrific blow to us, just as that of the civilized world's sympathy would be our death. We have not yet become so infatuated with our own greatness as to think of having the white half of mankind for our enemy. Oh, that mysterious "ultimatum."!

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The Japan Daily Mail.

YOKOHAMA. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1907.

THE SAN FRANCISCO QUESTION.

It would seem from collating all the published information that no proposal has been formulated by the Washington Government, still less has any proposal been accepted by Japan, in the sense of generally vetoing the immigration of Japanese labourers into the United States. There exists in the west-coast provinces of America a keen demand for such labour, and to attempt to interdict it altogether would be not only intolerable to the Japanese nation but also injurious to American interests. There are however, two classes of Japanese immigrants. In the first place there are immigrants who receive permits through the medium of the Foreign Office in Tokyo. These are selected individuals; selected with much care and not open to any valid objection. To the ingress of such labourers the American Government offers no objection, and is even prepared to pledge itself to welcome them. The other class of immigrants consists of men who, failing to satisfy the tests which constitute essential preliminaries to the grant of a permit by the Foreign Office, and being nevertheless driven by circumstances to seek employment abroad, proceed to Hawaii in the first place, and having thus gained a footing on one part of American territory, become empowered by law to transfer themselves freely to any other part, which they do by going to the Pacific Slope. In the case of emigrants to Hawaii the Japanese Foreign Office does not exercise the same care as in the case of emigrants direct to America, and thus, by the above manoeuvre, an undesirable class of men are enabled to enter the States in practically unlimited numbers. That is not conducive to the interests of either country, and it seems probable that Japan, in reply to representations from Washington, has intimated her willingness to impose some restrictions in the matter of *via*-Hawaii emigrants. That could easily be done by extending to these emigrants also the same system of strict preliminary inquiry that is practised by the Japanese Foreign Office in the case of direct emigrants to the American continent. By that arrangement all Japanese labourers and others would arrive in the States duly furnished with credentials from their own Authorities, and while America's objection to an indiscriminate irruption of labourers would be met, Japan's dignity would not suffer in any respect, since the power of selection would rest with her. Such, we gather, is in reality the solution proposed, and certainly no Japanese could reasonably object. Indeed it is an arrangement that the Japanese Government must be desirous of making, as it would solve a problem which, if left unsolved, could not fail to ultimately impair the relations between the two countries.