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## To the President

and

## Congress of the United States of America



#### **DOCUMENTS ON**

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL RELATIONS

Conveyed by a Committee Appointed by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

AND

The American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International
Friendship Through the Churches

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To the Honorable Woodrow Wilson,

President of the United States of America.

Mr. President: The undersigned Committee, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, has been instructed to convey to you certain resolutions dealing with American Oriental Relations.

Of these six resolutions two were passed by a Conference on American Oriental Problems, consisting of a score of the leading returned missionaries from China and Japan and a score of foreign mission board secretaries and Christian laymen interested in Christian work in the Orient, held September 26, 1916, under the joint auspices of the Federal Council of Churches and of the American Council of the World Alliance. The four remaining resolutions were passed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at its quadrennial session at St. Louis, Missouri, December 6-11, 1916.

Two of the resolutions call for Federal Legislation for the Adequate Protection of Aliens.

Two others suggest the importance of "Creating a Federal Commission for the study of the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China."

A fifth resolution embodies a declaration of the friendship and goodwill of America toward Japan and China, while a sixth resolution calls upon the press of the United States for a sympathetic and helpful treatment of the American Japanese question. These last two resolutions are conveyed to you for information.

Following the resolutions, given in full in the accompanying pages, certain considerations are offered as to the importance of the proposals here made, and attention is called to an earlier resolution of the Federal Council appealing to Congress and to the people of the United States for an adequate Oriental policy.

We earnestly hope that you will be able to give your approval to the legislation

needed for attaining the ends in view.

#### Respectfully submitted,

SIMEON E. BALDWIN
JAMES L. BARTON
F. S. BROCKMAN
WALLACE BUTTRICK
JOHN L. DEARING\*
SAMUEL T. DUTTON
SIDNEY L. GULICK
M. C. HARRIS
A. S. LLOYD

FREDERICK LYNCH
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
SHAILER MATHEWS
WILLIAM F. McDowell
FRANK MASON NORTH
WALLACE RADCLIFFE
L. H. ROOTS
J. E. WILLIAMS
MORNAY WILLIAMS

<sup>\*</sup>Deceased.

To the Members of

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and The House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### Honored Sirs:

The undersigned Committee, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, has been instructed to convey to you the accompanying resolutions dealing with American Oriental Relations.

Two of the resolutions call for Federal Legislation for the Adequate Protection of Aliens.

Two others suggest the importance of "Creating a Federal Commission for the study of the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China."

A fifth resolution embodies a declaration of the friendship and goodwill of America toward Japan and China, while a sixth resolution calls upon the press of the United States for a sympathetic and helpful treatment of the American Japanese question. These last two resolutions are conveyed to you for information.

We earnestly bespeak your careful consideration of these requests for legislation providing (1) for "The Adequate Protection of Aliens", and (2) for the early creation of a "Federal Commission on Oriental Problems."

The resolutions themselves and certain important considerations in their support are given in the following pages.

#### Respectfully submitted,

SIMEON E. BALDWIN
JAMES L. BARTON
F. S. BROCKMAN
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FRANK MASON NORTH
WALLACE RADCLIFFE
L. H. ROOTS
J. E. WILLIAMS
MORNAY WILLIAMS

<sup>\*</sup>Deceased.

January 24, 1917, Washington, D. C.

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN ORIENTAL PROBLEMS

#### I. CALLING FOR FEDERAL LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR THE ADE-QUATE PROTECTION OF ALIENS

Whereas, the American Bar Association has endorsed a bill (H.R. 21073) for an act of Congress, providing that "any act committed in any state or territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such state or territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in a like manner as in the courts of said state or territory, and within the period limited by the laws of such state or territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States."

Therefore Resolved, That this Conference of men interested in the observance by the United States of all its treaty obligations and responsibilities urges upon Congress and the President the enactment of the above law during the coming session of Congress.

## II. CALLING FOR A FEDERAL COMMISSION ON ORIENTAL RELATIONS

Resolved, That this Conference appoint a committee of five or more to wait upon the President of the United States, to present to him the important considerations bearing upon the need of reaching an early and honorable adjustment of American relations with Japan and with China.

Resolved, That this committee be instructed to ask the President to recommend to Congress the creation of a commission of not less than five members, whose duty it shall be to study the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China; and further to recommend to Congress that it invite the government of China and the government of Japan each to appoint a similar commission. And if such commissions should be appointed it is the opinion of this Conference that the American commission should meet the commissions of China and Japan in their respective countries.

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

#### I. CALLING FOR FEDERAL LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR THE ADE-QUATE PROTECTION OF ALIENS

Whereas, The government of the United States in all its treaties solemnly promises to protect the lives and property of aliens, in response to which promises the nations with which we have treaties make reciprocal promises, which promises we require them to observe; and

Whereas, up to the present, Congress has never yet enacted the laws needful for the adequate execution of these obligations of honor and good neighborliness; and

Whereas, The most probable cause of conflict between America and other nations arises from the possible action of local race prejudice expressed either in law-

less violence or in the invasion of treaty rights and friendly relations by local legis-

lation; and

Whereas, The American Bar Association has endorsed a bill (H.R. 21073) designed to provide for this glaring defect in our federal laws of which the following section constitutes the central portion: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that any act committed in any state or territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such state or territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said state or territory, and within the period limited by the laws of such state or territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States," and

Whereas, A Conference on America's Oriental Problems held September 26, 1916, by a group of a score American missionaries from China and Japan with an equal number of secretaries of foreign missionary boards and laymen interested in Christian work in the Orient, passed a resolution calling upon the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to present this matter effectively to the President

and Congress of the United States; therefore.

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, being vitally interested in the observance by the United States of all its treaty obligations and responsibilities, urges upon Congress and the President of the United States the enactment of the above or some similar law during the coming session of Congress;

Resolved, Further that this Council directs its Commissions on International Justice and Goodwill and on Oriental Relations to take such steps as may be neces-

sary to present this matter effectively to the President and to Congress.

## II. CALLING FOR A FEDERAL COMMISSION ON ORIENTAL RELATIONS

Whereas, The problem of the relation of the United States with Japan is still unsolved, and should be settled in a way honorable and advantageous to both, and

Whereas, The rise of a new China requires of us a reconsideration of the entire problem of our relations with that people and the adoption of a policy free from invidious and humiliating treatment, and

Whereas, These matters cannot be adequately considered nor the problems solved

save by the action of the Federal Government, and

Whereas, A Conference on American Oriental Problems, held on September 26, 1916, by a score of American missionaries from Japan and China, with a similar number of secretaries of foreign missionary boards and laymen interested in Christian work in the Orient, took action, calling upon the President to appoint a "commission of not less than five members, whose duty it shall be to study the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China; and further to recommend to Congress that it invite the government of China and the government of Japan each to appoint a similar commission; and if such comissions should be appointed it is the opinion of this Conference that the American Commission should meet the commissions of China and Japan in their respective countries;" therefore

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America directs the Commission on Oriental Relations and the Comission on International Justice and Goodwill to co-operate with the committee appointed by the conference above referred to in securing the appointment by the President of

a Federal Commission on Oriental Relations.

## III. EMBODYING A DECLARATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL OF AMERICA TOWARD JAPAN

Whereas, There is more or less apprehension in Japan that the United States harbors imperialistic ambitions in the Orient inimical to her legitimate interests and welfare, and

Whereas, There is more or less apprehension in America that Japan has designs upon the territory of the United States, and

Whereas, The existence of such fears tends to chill the historic fritndship of these

two countries, and

Whereas, There is abundant reason for believing that neither country has any designs whatever upon the other and that the real welfare of each can best be attained by clearly avowed policies of mutual goodwill and co-operation, with definite effort to

overcome suspicions and banish fears; therefore

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America herewith declares on behalf of its constituency that the United States seeks no advantage or opportunity in the Orient harmful to those lands, nor will it be partner with any nation or any undertaking that seeks selfish advantage regardless of the rights and welfare of their peoples. The Federal Council will earnestly seek to make these principles widely accepted among our people and dominant among our legislators and executives, and

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America commend to all Americans and to the peoples of other lands as the ideal and fundamental principle guiding the United States in her international rela-

tions these noble words of President Wilson:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. We cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. We cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest."

# IV. CALLING UPON THE PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR A SYMPATHETIC AND HELPFUL TREATMENT OF THE AMERICAN JAPANESE OUESTION

Whereas, Certain newspapers of the United States have published cartoons, displays, advertisements, serial stories, and black-faced editorials highly insulting to Japan, and promoting among our people an attitude of suspicion, race prejudice and

animosity inimical to the maintenance of friendly relations; therefore

Resolved, That the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby expresses its condemnation of this misuse of the press, and urges upon all editors, reporters and publishers their incomparable opportunity in promoting good-will between ourselves and other nations, founded upon correct information, sympathetic understanding and universal human brotherhood.

## CONSIDERATIONS OFFERED IN SUPPORT OF THE FOREGOING RESOLUTIONS

#### I. Regarding the Treaty Rights of Aliens

Two resolutions deal with the treaty rights of aliens and the importance of prompt legislation by Congress providing for their adequate protection. In support of these resolutions we urge the following considerations:

The Government of the United States is bound by numerous treaties respecting the rights of aliens. For example, the treaty of 1871 with Italy contains the following reciprocal pledges:

"The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the states and territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to the natives on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the natives."

The personal and property rights of aliens have been repeatedly violated, and, as a result, the friendly relations existing between the United States and foreign countries have been jeopardized.

Hon. William H. Taft has given a list\* of seventy-three aliens of different nationalities lynched or murdered in other ways between 1885 and 1910, in addition to those who were wounded. Thousands have been driven from their homes and their property

destroyed by lawless mobs.

In all these cases the Federal Government has acknowledged its responsibility by paying indemnities, but it has not been able either to give protection in case of threatened danger or of prosecution of those who committed the crimes, owing to lack of legislation authorizing the Federal authorities to take the needful actions. In support of this statement the words of four recent presidents are offered:

President Harrison, just after the Mafia case at New Orleans in 1891, said:

"It would, I believe, be entirely competent for Congress to make offences against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States cognizable in the federal courts. This has not, however, been done, and the federal officers and courts have no power in such cases to intervene either for the protection of a foreign citizen or for the punishment of his slayers."

President McKinley, in his annual message of December 5, 1899, used these words:

"For the fourth time in the present decade the question has arisen with the Government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects. The latest of these deplorable events occurred at Tallulah, Louisiana, whereby five unfortunates of Italian origin were taken from jail and hanged. . . . The recurrence of these distressing manifestations of blind mob fury, directed at dependents or natives of a foreign country, suggests that the contingency has arisen for action by Congress in the direction of conferring upon the federal courts jurisdiction in this class of international cases where the ultimate responsibility of the Federal Government may be involved."

President Roosevelt, in his annual message of December, 1906, said:

"One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficiently ample power, through

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;The United States and Peace"

United States courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. There should be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to prevention of the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their wrongdoing."

President Taft, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1909, said:

"By proper legislation we may, and ought to, place in the hands of the federal executive the means of enforcing the treaty rights of such aliens in the courts of the Federal Government. It puts our government in a pusillanimous position to make definite engagements to protect aliens and then to excuse the failure to perform those engagements by an explanation that the duty to keep them is in states or cities not within our control. If we would promise we must put ourselves in a position to perform our promise. We cannot permit the possible failure of justice, due to local prejudice in any state or municipal government, to expose us to the risk of a war, which might be avoided if federal jurisdiction was asserted by suitable legislation by Congress and carried out by proper proceedings instituted by the executive in the courts of the national government."

Hon. Richard Bartholdt introduced on January 20, 1915, a bill enabling the Federal Government to execute its treaty obligations with respect to the protection of aliens resident in the United States. This bill received the endorsement of the American Bar Association at its annual meeting, held in Salt Lake City in 1915.

In view of these considerations we urge the reintroduction of the above bill and, with suitable amendments, its speedy enactment, diminishing thus the danger of "law-less violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war."

#### II. Regarding a Federal Commission on Oriental Problems

Two resolutions call for a Federal Commission on Oriental Problems. These resolutions support the principle contained in a bill introduced by Senator La Follette. The importance of knowing exactly ourselves what the facts and the problems are, and the importance also of solving them in ways honorable and advantageous to ourselves, to China and to Japan, are too obvious to need argument.

With regard to the general proposition, however, we offer the following suggestions: In view of the character of the problems to be considered it would seem to be important that our commission should visit both Japan and China and confer in those countries with the commissions which the resolutions suggest should be appointed by those countries. Adequate understanding of the problems can hardly be secured by our commission if it remains in America and invites the Chinese and Japanese commissions to come here for conference.

In view, also, of the relations existing between Japan and China it should be made clear from the outset that the scope of the work of the commission is limited to the relations between American and Japan and America and China, respectively, and does

not touch the question of the mutual relations of Japan and China.

Moreover, in view of the same situation, it will doubtless be wise for the American commissions to consist of two sections, one section to visit China, devoting itself to American Chinese problems, and the other to visit Japan, devoting its attention to the American Japanese problems. The final deliberations of the two sections should be held jointly, say in the Hawaiian Islands or in California. The actual situation in both of these parts of our land where Asiatics have congregated should be thoroughly considered by our commission.

## III. An Appeal to Congress and the People of the United States for an Adequate Oriental Policy

The following statements and resolution were passed in December, 1914, by the Federal Council Commission on Relations with Japan:

"The awakening of Asia and her rapid acquisition of important elements of Occidental civilization inaugurates a new era in world-history, in which Asia is to play a new and increasingly important role. Whether that role shall be one of peace, goodwill and mutual co-operation, or one controlled by increasing suspicion and fear between the East and the West, will depend largely on the attitude of the western nations themselves.

"It has seemed to many of our citizens who have become familiar with the question raised by this more intimate and ever-increasing contact with the Orient that the United States might well adopt a more adequate Oriental policy. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Commission on Relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, urge upon Congress and upon the people of the United States the importance of adopting an Oriental policy, based upon a just and equitable regard for the interests of all the nations concerned, and to this end suggests that the entire immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of immigration, and the registration, distribution, employment, education and naturalization of immigrants) in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations."

Copies of this document may be secured from Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

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