

Hopes to Convert Uncle Sam to New Oriental Policy

Rev. Dr. Gulick, an American Missionary, Has Solution of the Japanese Problem--Proposes to Amend the Immigration Laws

WHEN California's anti-Asiatic agitation began to take concrete form in the passage of alien land laws and other legislation that caused the Japanese to protest the daily press of Japan asked: "What will the American missionaries do about it? Will they go back to California and teach the Americans to be Christians?"

The Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, an American missionary who has studied the Japanese in their homes with an open mind for twenty-six years, accepted the suggestion and returned to this country determined to do missionary work for what he calls a new American Oriental policy, the fundamental principles of which, he says, should be the equality of treatment of all nations. Not only are his views on the yellow peril and the white peril interesting but his programme for the solution of the troublesome American-Japanese problem in a proposed new Federal policy which will limit all immigration to 5 per cent. annually of the peoples of all nationalities already naturalized is beginning to attract attention.

Dr. Gulick is probably as familiar with the influence of the recent anti-Japanese agitation along the Pacific slope on the feelings of the people of Japan toward America as any other white man. He is acquainted also with the thought of the 700 or more American missionaries in Japan whose work, he declares, has been seriously hindered by the rising suspicion and animosity between the two nations.

He joined with his brother missionaries at the time in seeking to inform Americans as to the American nation to the adoption of a truly Christian national policy.

Dr. Gulick spent three months in California studying the situation and is now giving the results of his observations in a series of addresses under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches before chambers of commerce, churches, universities, city clubs and similar organizations all over the country. Furthermore, he has written a book, "The American Japanese Problem," just published by Charles Scribner's Sons, which gives a clear account of the situation in regard to the Japanese in California, and in which he discusses the racial relations of the East and West and the possibilities of the Japanese in this country as immigrants and citizens.

Dr. Gulick was a missionary in the interior of Japan for fifteen years. For the past seven years he has occupied the chair of systematic theology in the Doshisha University at Kyoto. He is also lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto in the department of comparative religion. He took an active part in the Conference of the Three Religions in February, 1912, at which the Japanese Government gave a recognition to the heads of the Shinto, fifty-four Buddhist and seven Christian Bibles. He was one of the organizers of the Association Concordia, consisting of leaders in education, business and the Government. This association was formed for the promotion of better mutual knowledge by the East and the West of each other's moral and spiritual life.

Dr. Gulick was one of the founders of the Oriental Society of Kyoto, which later joined with the Peace Society of Tokyo to form the Peace Society of Japan. He has also served as vice-president of the American Peace Society of Japan since the formation of that organization. His devotion to the idea of worldwide peace is the reason why his new book bears this inscription:

Andrew Carnegie and the host of loyal workers for universal peace and the friendship of the East and the West this book is dedicated.

In a talk one night during the week to the members of the Manufacturers and Business Men's Association of New York at the Manufacturers Building, 125 Montague street, Brooklyn, Dr. Gulick said:

"I have noticed that the yellow peril which really exists to-day is the peril of the yellow press. It seems to be a difficult thing for news to pass from one country to another without being exaggerated, and these exaggerations alienate the good will of the peoples.

"In April you were informed that a mob of 20,000 was running through the streets of Tokyo demanding a war with America. I was there at the time, but the first I heard of the mob was when I arrived in this country. This statement of things exists on both sides of the water. Care ought to be taken that the news should be honest. News that is exaggerated is calculated to make the problems before us more difficult of solution.

"Dr. Gulick said that down to the time of the Russo-Japanese war the relations between the two countries were kind and could not be criticized. "I thoroughly believe," he said, "that the real trouble was started by the war correspondents. They were kept in the capital, as you remember. They were kind and fed, but were not allowed to go to the front. It will be remembered when they came back they expressed themselves, and that was the beginning of the turning of the tide of friendship between the two nations, for there is no doubt that the tide has turned.

"Dr. Gulick, asked later by a SUN man for further details as to the 'fake news' propaganda, said: "We believe that the manufacturers of raw materials have been anxious to see that news is exaggerated in order to develop a war scare.

"In California I heard that much of the money support of the Asiatic Exclusion League comes from the same source. This is only hearsay, however, which I cannot be responsible. There is no doubt, nevertheless, that a definite danger exists to develop a war scare."

Dr. Gulick maintains that "righteousness, justice and good will in racial and international relations are the only possible grounds on which the human race can prosper." He has further than the old attitude of the United States toward the Orient "is not suited to the new times in which we live," and that "the true interests of America require the promotion of mutual friendship of Asia and America and the abandonment of differential race legislation."

With this idea in mind he has outlined his new American-Oriental policy with his proposed amendment to the present immigration law and has presented both to the Federal authorities. He appeared before the Senate Committee on Immigration and Naturalization at Washington several weeks ago, and at its request his views, as verbally expressed, were written out and placed in full on the record. Copies were also placed in the hands of President Wilson, Secretary of State Bryan and Viscount China, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, who asked for a copy for transmission to his Government at Tokio. Dr. Gulick also had a personal interview with the President on the subject.

The missionary's proposed amendment to the immigration law, which, he says, will solve the Asiatic problem and will satisfy Japan and other countries, all of whom will be treated alike, at the same time conserving the best future interests of the United States, is as follows:

"Provided that the number of aliens of any race (single mother tongue group) who may be admitted to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to 5 per cent. of the number of native born persons of the first generation together with the number of naturalized citizens of that race in the United States at the time of the national census next preceding, except that aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad, aliens coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandchild, grandnephew, grandniece or grandchild; aliens who are travellers of other countries or visitors and who are not engaged in any remunerative occupation or business in the United States, shall not be included within the 5 per cent. limit above provided.

"Provided further that all laws relative to the exclusion of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent are hereby repealed."

Dr. Gulick said to the committee: "Let me call your attention to the postulates which underlie this proposal.

"First, the basal postulate is that the United States shall treat all races on a basis of equality; that there shall be no invidious or humiliating treatment of any race. This does not mean, however, nor necessitate, a policy of wide open doors to all races—a policy of unrestricted immigration.

"Second, we can admit into our country for permanent residence here only so many aliens and of such peoples as we can assimilate. Any other policy is fraught with danger. We cannot consent to the permanent presence in our land of alien populations who will be as cancers in our body politic, in us but not of us.

"Third, the number whom we can confidently expect to assimilate yearly depend in some close way on the number of those already assimilated. Those born abroad who have, however, been here long enough to learn our language and our political life and to accept our ideals are the ones to exert wholesome influence on newcomers from their own native people. The larger the number of naturalized citizens from any particular foreign people the larger the number whom we can safely admit from that people. This then is a ratio—a matter of per cent. I suggest 5 per cent. I am not, however, particularly conversant with the 5 per cent. number, but only with the principle and with its equal application to every foreign people."

"The valid principle for such a law," Dr. Gulick says, "would be the fact that newcomers from any land enter and become assimilated to our life chiefly through the agency of those from that land already here. These know the language, customs and ideals of both nations. They are the ones who have already assimilated the larger number of those who can be wisely admitted each year."

He also urges a Federal bureau of registration, in which all aliens shall remain registered until they become citizens, with an annual registration fee, which he suggests should be \$10; a bureau of education to set standards, prepare text books and hold examinations free of charge, and a bureau of naturalization. He would have all new citizens swear to the allegiance to the flag on the Fourth of July. He insists that eligibility to American citizenship should be based on personal qualification.

Dr. Gulick holds that a new era in human life has been begun, one factor of which is the collapse of space, and another the awakened Asia, Japan being the pilot of the Far East to blaze the way out of the jungle of the past. Races and civilizations for ages self-sufficient and isolated are now face to face, he says, each so proud, ambitious and determined.

Japan shut herself up within herself for 250 years, he says, but forty-five years ago she adopted the Magna Charta of the new Japan "to learn what the white man has to teach us."

"Since the open door policy was started," he says, "the Japanese have literally taken the white man to task. They have sent their young men to other lands to become educated. Their young men received splendid treatment in America. We took them into our homes to keep them from temptations, and they took back to Japan the best we had. That is one of the great links binding the two countries.

"American missionaries were once excluded from Japan, the same as any other nationality. There was great suspicion at first against them. But they discovered that the white man is not an incarnation of the devil. The breaking down of that race prejudice is one of the miracles of the ages.

"Japan has come to think America an ideal country. We accomplished this by our diplomacy. The treaty between America and Japan became the model for treaties with other countries. And down to the present with Russia our relations with Japan were ideal.

Five or six years ago California began to believe that there was a danger in a flood of immigration and her alien legislation has been devised to hold back immigration.

"The fundamental postulate of California's anti-Asiatic policy is correct. We cannot tolerate a swamping immigration, overturning our democratic institutions, justice and good will in racial and international relations are the only possible grounds on which the human race can prosper."

He has further than the old attitude of the United States toward the Orient "is not suited to the new times in which we live," and that "the true interests of America require the promotion of mutual friendship of Asia and America and the abandonment of differential race legislation."



Prof. Sidney L. Gulick, M. A., D. D., of Japan, who is speaking on "The American Japanese Problem."

situations or bringing economic ruin to Chinese laborers. But in seeking to carry out her policy California has erred, for she seeks to settle an international matter in the light of local interests. Her anti-alien bill was needless, humiliating to Japan and shortsighted.

"Japan's future safety depends upon her friendship with the United States.

"With growing populations due to the adoption of Western science and ideals Japan and China find themselves largely excluded from vast territories where lie undeveloped natural resources. The white races have seized continents and hold them for exclusive white ownership and use.

"Moreover, developing national consciousness and ambitions, the peoples of Asia discovered that the West regards all Asians as inferiors, as undesirable, and treats them as such, not only in conflict with solemn treaties but out of harmony with their national dignity. This treatment causes indignation. It is evoking the solidarity of Asiatic consciousness against the white man.

"This growing race consciousness and antipathy, East and West, threatens tragic results; vast but needless military preparations on both sides, entirely for defensive purposes, of course. They prevent the normal development of trade and what is still more disastrous, they interfere with the mutual exchange of the best treasures of the East and West. How can we hope to raise Asia to our economic and moral level on a basis of mutual suspicion and hatred, with all their inevitable consequences."

"The widely advocated policy of complete Asiatic exclusion only perpetuates and even aggravates the evil, for it breeds in the Asiatic mind a mutual suspicion and hatred, with all their inevitable consequences."

Dr. Gulick says that Japan's demands are widely misunderstood.

"She asks," he says, "for courtesy of treatment and maintenance of the historic friendship which has meant so much to her and been so helpful. She earnestly conceals invidious and humiliating anti-Asiatic legislation, however self-righteous. She does not demand free immigration to America."

Dr. Gulick thinks too that China may begin to feel as intensely as Japan does now as soon as a reorganization of her national life, now under way, shall have been completed.

In his recent talk in Brooklyn Dr. Gulick said: "The American Government has not always enforced its treat-

Prof. Cattel Sees Evil in College Autocrat

College Rulers and Their Critics Stirred by Columbia Professor's Address in New Haven--Speaks of the 'Bureaucratic System'

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ident of the nation has extraordinary influence, but he can only maintain it so long as he reflects public sentiment.

"In Great Britain the Cabinet is directly responsible to the Parliament, and represents in its constitution the diverse elements of the majority, the Prime Minister not being necessarily the one most

of the main points underlined. Also a careful estimate of the cost of the research per student-hour.

"Newton—But there is one difficulty that has been puzzling me for fourteen years, and I am not sure that it will ever be solved. It is the question of the professor's salary. It is a question which has recently become public property. At Wesleyan University the professor of political science and sociology was compelled to resign after some remarks made on the observance of the Sabbath, and at Lafayette College the professor of philosophy and psychology was dismissed because his teaching was thought not to be in accord with stricter standards of the Presbyterian Church.

"We are not here concerned with questions of academic freedom or of permanence of tenure, but only with the methods of determining what the professor may and how he shall be dismissed. As a matter of fact, in these two cases the alleged infractions of orthodoxy were slight. Several clergymen have told me that they would not have been dismissed had they been in the shoes of the professor, and the Lafayette professor remains a Presbyterian clergyman in good standing.

"At Wesleyan the president asked for an explanation of the remarks, and the professor, demanded his resignation, and accepted it, the three letters being written on the same day without the possibility of official consultation with the faculty or trustees. The fact that the case of the alleged ground for the dismissal was not the real ground does not improve the situation.

"At Lafayette, in like manner, the president wrote to the professor demanding his resignation, in view of the supposed contents of a course. In this instance the professor had a hearing before the trustees, but the president was naturally upheld.

"A distinguished army officer has recently stated that he would not accept the Commission of Public Safety for New York if a public man might be dismissed without the right of appeal to the courts. It is supposed to be a part of the moral etiquette of the New York police to commit neither in defense of one's life, nor in any other way, to a court of law. It may or may not be that arbitrary power would for a time be desirable.

"But an army officer has no such control over his subordinates, who can be court-martialed only after definite charges and trial.

"One result of the difference between the police system and the academic situation is that the professor is not a public man. It is better to be like a policeman or to run to cover like a saint than to be a public man. It would be difficult to defend a public man in the face of the public. It is not the necessary alternative.

"Professors in the better institutions are not often dismissed because their views are not in favor with the administrative authorities. They are more frequently than it becomes known, for the professor is naturally disinclined to drag the 'puppet of his head' across the continent and have his name put on the evidence of his life. It is this publicity which is his safeguard, and we have here exercised by the body of professors and the general public a real democratic control, to which the president and trustees are subject.

"Stanford University has not recovered in thirteen years, and will not recover in another generation from the loss of prestige due to the dismissal of Prof. Ross and the student.

"Departments of economics and sociology in leading universities would not recommend a successor to Prof. Fisher at Wesleyan and public spirited men would not accept the position.

"At Lafayette the resignation of the president has followed promptly the publication of the report of the American Association of Professors on the resignation of the president of the University of Illinois.

"On the other hand, Harvard maintained its high position by promptly offering lectureships to Prof. Ross and Prof. Fisher.

"But while professors are not often dismissed because the president does not like their teaching or their personality, the possibility is present every day with resulting demoralization and easy to estimate. Even more serious is the fact that the president may be responsible for the appointment and promotion of instructors and professors and for increases in salary, and this is a power which, if increased, however remote this contingency may seem to most of us.

"Semi-secret increases in salary by favor of the president must be regarded as an intolerable condition. It is a condition which, if it is to be maintained, will lead to the disintegration of the faculty. It is a condition which, if it is to be maintained, will lead to the disintegration of the faculty. It is a condition which, if it is to be maintained, will lead to the disintegration of the faculty.

"We have tried it with tolerable success in the commission form of government adopted by a number of cities. It is also at the present time being used in several colleges and universities, but not much can be expected here so long as it is a temporary expedient to last only until a president can be found.

"It may indeed be seriously questioned whether the superior initiative and efficiency which one man power is supposed to have is not more than counterbalanced in a university by those traits in his subordinates. A superior man requires as his correlative many inferior men. It is almost impossible to supervise the teaching and research of professors. Such an attempt is charmingly portrayed by President MacLaurin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in connection with a report on academic efficiency of the Carnegie Foundation.

"The superintendent of buildings and grounds or other competent authority calls upon Mr. Newton:

"Superintendent—Your theory of gravitation is having the usual success. It is not to be expected that it will be more than on the half-salary basis, except in so far as more professors benefit.

"The plan deserves adoption in other

institutions, and may properly be mentioned in a paper connected with democracy in the university. It is, however, in part referred to as an introduction to a frivolous remark—namely, that it would be an advantage if the statute of a university provided for leave of absence of the president on double salary so often as he liked.

"We do not know whether the progress of civilization has in the main been due to great leaders who have directed it or whether these are essentially by-products and epiphenomena of social and economic forces. It is therefore no wonder if we cannot decide categorically whether or not it is well to have in the university one leader whom the rest of us will follow. But it is probably undesirable, as it is certainly undemocratic, to have a boss who drives us.

"This is the fundamental difficulty in our present university organization. The president is responsible to the trustees, who in the private corporation are responsible to the stockholders. The deans and heads of departments are responsible to the president, who names them, and their subordinates are responsible to them.

"This department of the university is the correct or at all events the democratic direction of responsibility. The department or group should name its head and those to be added to it. The teachers and professors should name their dean and president, who should be responsible to them.

"The trustees should be trustees, not regents or directors. Their relations should be with representatives of the faculties, not exclusively with a president whom they appoint and who in practice is likely to select them.

"It may be that the high tide of presidential authority in our universities is now ebbing. At any rate we are discussing the problem more freely than in the past. I have obtained and published the opinions of the trustees, the deans and professors, who have done scientific work of distinction. These exhibit a very widespread dissatisfaction with the existing system.

"There is naturally much difference of opinion as to the remedies, but four-fifths of them favor reforms in the direction of greater faculty control and less presidential authority. The trustees are mostly executive officers or men in institutions where the faculties have more than average influence. Thus the great university now entering the twentieth century has maintained the better traditions.

"It has been said that if the faculties name the professors there will be increasing and deterioration. To this I may be added that Yale is represented in the National Academy of Sciences by eleven members, Cornell and Pennsylvania, with twice as many students, each by one member.

"Harvard, like Yale, has maintained a measure of faculty and alumni control. President Eliot, whose masterful personality has been influential in exalting the prestige of the corporation on the one side and the faculty on the other than lesser presidents.

"The plan adopted at Harvard of promotion after a fixed term of service with uniform increments of salary and performance of tenure for the full professor removes him from the most humiliating relation to the president.

"At Cornell the faculties have the right to elect their deans, and President Schurman advances faculty representation on the board of trustees.

"At Princeton the departments have been authorized to recommend appointments and promotions, and a joint committee elected by the faculties meets with the committee of the trustees. The latter plan being in my opinion the most feasible method of improving the academic situation.

"While reforms at various institutions in the direction of greater faculty control might be cited, the most striking and recent being the referendum vote of confidence obtained from the faculties by the president of the University of Illinois.

"Whoever or whatever may be the occasion of reforms in academic control, the real cause must be the sentiment of the professors and this can only be developed and expressed by proper organization. I am proud to belong to an association that at two consecutive meetings has taken action exhibiting a group consciousness of its kind.

"A year ago the American Psychological Association unanimously passed a resolution, which I proposed, to the effect that it is the duty of the trustees to accept work in summer schools or extension courses in which the pro rata payment is less than their regular salaries.

"Last Christmas at New Haven the association took the action to which reference has been made on the dismissal of the professor of philosophy and psychology from Lafayette College.

"The trustees of the University of Illinois have been formed by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

"It may be that the time has now come when an association of American university professors might be organized, similar to the medical and bar associations, which would be an influential force in improving the conditions under which our work is done. It should not be forgotten that the maintenance of high standards in the university is as important for the community as for the professor, and the latter's chief duty is to the public.

"The future of the American university does not depend upon its machinery, but upon its men. The danger of a 'bureaucratic system' is not only that it will utilize the spirit and souls of the men working under it, and may be from it or drive from it the kind of men who are needed. It is that we can make that university a democracy of scholars serving the larger democracy of which it is a part.

"When a speaker has only twenty minutes in which to set the crooked straight he cannot be expected to devote much time to explaining that it is not so very crooked and is made of sound timber, but perhaps a just suggestion to close up quickly from a more formal address that I made earlier in the year.

"While it is proper to protest against the undemocratic methods in the university and the undemocratic methods in the services which they have rendered and now perform should not be forgotten from the foundation of the universities of Salem, Brookline, and Oxford to the establishment of the Johns Hopkins, Stanford and Chicago, the university has been one of the principal factors in the advancement of science and in the progress of civilization.

"It is under the aegis of privilege and patronage that we have passed into the dawn of democracy. Our State universities are now assuming leadership, and should be counted in the public school, which they are, the head of our greatest contribution to educational progress and social welfare.

"The State university, directly responsible to the utilitarian democracy of which it depends, open to men and women on equal terms, selecting from all the people of the State those most fit for higher education and preparing them directly for their work in life, devoted to equal measure to teaching, research and public service, holds high the standard under which we move forward to the newer world."

less with China. Chinamen have been mobbed and murdered and the Government hasn't always attempted to find the murderers, which it was pledged to do. When this is fully realized do you suppose that China will remain friendly to us?"

In his new book Dr. Gulick discusses at length the racial relation of the East and the West and takes up in detail California's experience with the Japanese, together with the question of Japanese assimilability.

"Whites in America," the first chapter begins, "number approximately 90,000,000, Asiatics less than 150,000; yet we face an ominous racial situation.

"California, fearing an overwhelming Asiatic invasion, demands complete exclusion of Japanese as of Chinese and desires vast military preparations. Japan, on the other hand, for sixty years guided by America's friendship, conscious of faithful administration of the gentlemen's agreement and deeply wounded by California's recent anti-alien legislation, claims of us equal

rights for her citizens with those of other lands and demands courteous international treatment.

"Misunderstanding, foreboding fear, humiliating treatment on the side of America, disappointment, indignation, resentment on the side of Japan; such are the mutterings of a threatening international storm. This statement, however, presents but a superficial view. The real problem is deeper and has many phases. It arises out of the enormous differences between American and Asiatic civilization."

In a chapter on "Are Japanese Assimilable?" Dr. Gulick does not advocate free intermarriage of the races, but rather he earnestly deprecates it. He says that assimilation has two aspects, biological and social, to be sharply distinguished. In the one through race intermarriage inherited race nature is combined and amalgamation takes place; in social assimilation inherited race culture is transmitted consciously and unconsciously, not only from parent to offspring but from every influence that moulds thought, feeling and conduct.

Civilization, mental habits, moral and religious ideas and ideals are matters of social and not of biological heredity. He believes that the social assimilation of the races can go on without racial intermarriage, and points out the case of the Jews; those born and bred in America are, sociologically, Americans, although biologically speaking they are Hebrews. Young Japanese and Chinese, he says, show as great a capacity to learn our language and absorb American ideas as do Russians or Italians, and if accorded the same welcome would be just as assimilable.

Concerning his studies of the Japanese in California he says the degree to which they have already become Americanized in that State is amazing to those who know them in Japan, and adds that the complete social assimilability of the Japanese is beyond question for any one who will investigate the facts scientifically.

"Can Americans assimilate the Japanese?" he asks in his book. "That is the question. I am no prophet, but I believe we can. Each American citizen by his conduct, speech and spirit contributes his part, greater or less, to the answer. In proportion as we do our part, treating all aliens courteously, justly and kindly, giving them fair play in all the relations of life, we win them to our best treasures just so far as they show themselves ready, shall we succeed. Under such conditions, steadily maintained year in and year

out, there is not a particle of doubt as to the result."

In his conclusion he says: "Peace through readiness in war is fallacious, demanding ever increasing armaments. Peace through disarmament is impossible until international suspicion ceases. The only road to universal peace is the practice of international self-sacrifice.

By means of his proposed immigration amendment suggesting that the maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any single country shall be 5 per cent. of those from that land already naturalized, including their American born children, Dr. Gulick says full immigration would follow from north Europe and the immigration from south Europe would be considerably reduced.

His figures show that only 229 Japanese and 783 Chinese would be admitted. The immigration from Italy would fall from 157,134 in 1912 to 54,850, while the Russian immigration would be cut down from 162,295 in 1912 to a possible maximum of 94,000. On the other hand 363,500 might enter from Great Britain, as against the entrance of only 82,979 in 1912, and a total of 405,000 German immigrants could come in based on a total of 8,112,000 German citizens and children in this country, whereas only 27,758 entered the country in 1912.

According to his figures there are 55,000 foreign born Chinese and 97,000