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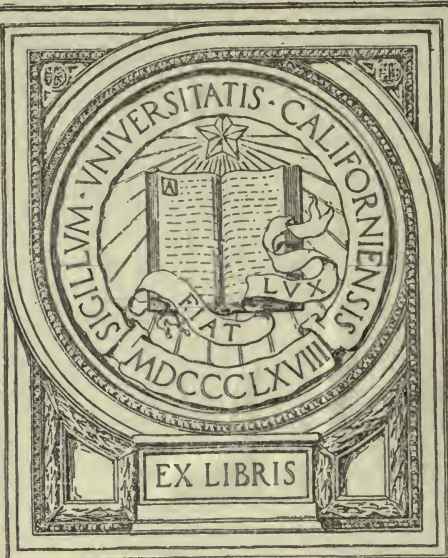
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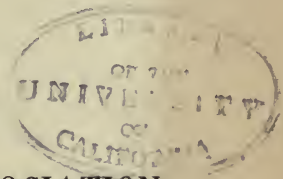


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THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE SCHOOL QUESTION

AN ADDRESS TO THE
HONOLULU SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION



NOVEMBER 8, 1920

By LORRIN A. THURSTON

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And Also

BILL PROPOSED BY CERTAIN JAPANESE RESIDENTS
AND RESOLUTION OF HONOLULU CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE APPROVING THEREOF



The Language School Question

For the past two years or so there has been discussion in Hawaii of the abolition or regulation of "language schools," meaning those conducted in languages other than English. An attempt to regulate them failed at the last legislative session.

The subject has now come to a renewed focus through the publication of a bill drafted by the Attorney General, to be submitted to the Legislature for enactment, which, in effect, abolishes all language schools.

Reasons for Protest Against Suppressing Schools

I approve of the proposition to "regulate" these schools; but as an American citizen, from an American standpoint, I protest against the enactment of this, or any other bill which directly or indirectly suppresses them.

The following are the reasons for this protest:

The avowed object of the Attorney General's bill is to crush the schools now being taught in the Japanese language. The object is not stated directly in the bill. It is accomplished by indirect means; but the Japanese are singled out to be discriminated against, as effectively as though named.

The Japanese did not come here of their own accord. We not only invited them to come, but actually recruited them, as agricultural laborers, paying the passages of thousands of them.

We made no stipulation that they should return home at the end of their term of service. On the contrary, we held out inducements to them to stay, and were glad when they did so.

Reasons for Increase of Children

Their children have increased beyond expectation. It is not their fault that this is so. We sought this very result by stipulating from the very beginning of the immigration, that 25 per cent of all immigrants should be women. They were a picked lot—young and vigorous and unversed in the philosophy of birth control; and nature has taken its course.

We did all this primarily for our advantage, not their benefit.

They fulfilled their agreements. We profited and they prospered. Hawaii has developed marvelously—far more than would have been possible without their help.

But for them, we would now be facing a disastrous labor shortage.

They knew, and now know, no language but their own.

We gave their children free education in English in the public

schools, which their parents gratefully and unanimously accepted. All Japanese children are now attending public or private schools taught in English.

The immigrants were, and are, proud of their children's advancement; but, not themselves knowing English, they naturally wanted their children to be able to speak, read and write their mother tongue. We can realize the reasonableness and naturalness of this desire by imagining ourselves residents of Japan under like conditions.

Americans Helped Establish Language Schools

We recognized the propriety of this desire, and in scores of places the sugar plantations and others have contributed land and buildings, and in some instances money, not only to language schools, but for both Christian and Buddhist churches and establishments as well, the pastors and priests of which were the chief promoters of such schools.

This friendly and even generous attitude is one of the factors largely responsible for the kindly relations which have existed between the races in Hawaii. So pleasant have these relations been that we have prided ourselves on being the living refutation of Kipling's dictum that "The East is East and the West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

Objection to Language Schools Only Recent

No public and, so far as I am aware, no private objection was made to the language schools, or to assistance given Buddhist churches, except by a few representatives of other creeds, until comparatively recently.

The world around Hawaii has become known as the place where different races "dwell together in unity," and where the Oriental is given full social, business and political recognition, depending only upon individual qualifications.

Now, however, although we have not arrived at the status of some American communities, where no meeting—political, philanthropic or patriotic—appears to be complete without the passage of an anti-Japanese resolution, there is a continuously reiterated intention to "smash the language schools" (meaning the Japanese schools) and discredit the Buddhist priests (meaning the Japanese Buddhists).

Cause of Changed Attitude

Why this change?

I have given this subject much thought, and as I size up the situation, it is not primarily an anti-Japanese or even an anti-oriental manifestation.

It appears to me to be an outgrowth of the war—an aftermath of just resentment against the propoganda and machinations of Ger-

many and the Germans against America and Americans, which was expressed in the sinking of ships, explosions, incendiary fires and conspiracies, to prevent Americans from exercising their lawful right to sell supplies to the Allies.

This course of conduct on the part of the Germans was largely conducted through or stimulated by the German language press and teachers of German nationality, more particularly in some of the colleges.

It took some time to convince the people of the United States that the Germans were capable of such atrocious conduct, and longer still, that a murderous campaign was being waged against them by the German government.

The Campaign Against German Treachery

When these facts were finally realized, however, a wave of resentment swept over the country which found expression in the eradication of everything savoring of Germany—ownership of property, conduct of business, social relations, language press and schools—even to the discontinuance in colleges of the study of the German language. These were war measures.

So deep, however, was the indignation excited by the course of the Germans referred to that it has resulted, since the war was over, in the advocacy, and in some cases the adoption, of drastic measures designed to prevent the recurrence of such conditions and conduct in the future.

With this object in view a determined effort has been made in some sections to root out and destroy the medium—the German language—through which the hostile campaign and propaganda was conducted. One mode of procedure has been to prohibit foreign language schools.

In this form the movement has appeared in Hawaii. The belief in its necessity has been intensified by the recent strike of the Japanese plantation laborers, which was accompanied by more of a national spirit of solidarity among the Japanese than had theretofore been manifested.

Increase of Japanese Children

A secondary reason for the proposal to abolish language schools is the great and rapid local increase of children of Japanese parentage, who are American citizens and, when of age, will be voters, eventually holding the balance of power, if not the control of the electorate.

Origin of Language Schools

Earlier in the history of the Japanese in Hawaii, this phase of the question received no consideration, for the reason that they did

not come to remain. They were transients—seeking to make some money and return home. The children were few, and most of them went with their parents to Japan when they returned there, which most of them did.

Under these circumstances they were to be Japanese citizens and live in Japan. Their school curriculum was formulated accordingly. Their course of study was no local concern, and no local attention was given to it.

As time went on, however, a steadily increasing proportion of the Japanese immigrants, finding conditions congenial, remained permanently in Hawaii, and their children evolved from probable Japanese to actual American citizens and potential voters.

This changed status and outlook gradually developed the feeling that the course of study befitting a Japanese child, temporarily resident in a foreign country, was not suitable for an American citizen, eventually to become a voter.

Objection to Schools First Recognized by Japanese

The incongruity of a purely Japanese education for an American child was recognized by the local Japanese community even before the point was raised by the Americans. Formal announcement was made by the language school authorities of a change of school policy, the statement being made that whereas under former conditions the school course was designed to train the children to fit them as Japanese subjects, upon their return to Japan, now that the policy of returning to Japan had practically ceased, and the children would remain in Hawaii, the course would be amended to train them as American citizens, while still making the primary object the teaching of the Japanese language. In conformity with this announcement, a change was made, not only in the course of study, but in the school text-books as well—all this from within the Japanese community, before agitation of the subject by, or pressure from, Americans.

This was the state of affairs when the great war and the German campaign focussed attention upon the subject—as above set forth.

Root of Opposition to Schools Laudable

The root of the spirit actuating the move to abolish language schools is a laudable one. It evidences a determination to maintain the hard-won principles of freedom which the American form of government personifies—a resolve to protect those principles by measures of prevention as well as of cure, by training the children to a single allegiance, and that allegiance American.

With this object and intent there can be no quarrel. It is a hopeful sign that "government of the people shall not die."

But I am unable to agree that fidelity to and support of the prin-

ciple involved requires such an extreme measure as the abolishing outright of the Japanese schools.

Effect of Abolition Reverse of That Intended

On the contrary, I believe that such measure will have the exact opposite effect from that so patriotically and sincerely intended.

The reason given for, and I believe the sincere motive actuating the supporters of the prohibition measure, is the desire to secure the Americanization of the Hawaiian-born children of Japanese parentage, who are citizens, so that there may be no danger of "hyphenated allegiance" on their part, if ever their whole-hearted Americanism is put to the test.

Surely, this is a laudable motive, and a valid reason for enactment of the measure, if the facts warrant the conclusion that the measure is necessary to secure, and will secure, the desired result.

Prime Object Sought is Americanization

The prime object sought, however, is the Americanizing of these young citizens—and if the proposed measure will not accomplish this end, and especially if it bids fair to produce the opposite effect, then the good motive does not redeem it. We have recently had a painful illustration, on the national stage, of the fact that a high ideal, in and of itself, is insufficient to accomplish results, and is foredoomed to failure unless it can be combined with practical measures which receive the support of the parties in interest.

Before considering the probable effectiveness of the remedy proposed, let us analyze the present status and attitude of the parties to the issue:

As I understand the facts, the conservative Japanese in Hawaii recognize the propriety of the object in view, viz., that embryo American citizens should have an American education under American environment and influence. They admit that local school authorities should have regulative power over all schools; their hours, sessions, curriculum, teachers and administration.

All they ask is that reasonable opportunity be given their children to learn to intelligently speak, read and write the Japanese language.

Radical Change in Attitude of Japanese

This is a radical change from the attitude which the Japanese took two years ago.

Why the change? Is it a case of "Greeks bearing gifts"?

I have put this question to several of the most representative and conservative Japanese of the city, and their reply was that when the question was up before, it was comparatively new to most of

them; that the prevailing opinion was that it evidenced prejudice against them, and their natural impulse was to resist.

That during the interval they had given the matter careful consideration and had come to the conclusion that there was good ground for opposition to the language schools as now conducted; that they sincerely wished to cooperate with the Americans and put the schools upon a basis satisfactory to the latter, and as evidence of sincerity that their real object was economic and to give a knowledge of the language, and not political, were willing that complete regulative power be given the Board of Education, upon the sole understanding that the powers conferred were to be exercised in good faith as regulative, and not as a cover for practical prohibition under the form of regulation.

Good Faith on Both Sides Required

The suggested substitute measure calls for good faith upon both sides. Good faith on the part of the language school authorities that they will in fact cooperate to make the language schools simply a medium of teaching the Japanese language, and not of political propaganda. Good faith on the part of the Board of Education that they will not abuse the regulative powers conferred upon them.

We have confidence in our own good faith. Results and not controversy are what we want.

The Japanese have come a long way toward us in this proposition.

Is it not worth our while to take them at their word, and give their assurances of cooperation and good faith a trial?

Agreement as to Principle—Difference Only as to Method

There appears to be no difference between the parties concerning the main principles involved. The only difference appears to relate to the method of carrying the principle into effect.

On the one side it is claimed that the education of an embryo American voter should be along such lines as to instill in him the spirit of Americanism as well as the knowledge of American institutions, government and language.

On the other side, it is admitted that this claim is sound.

On the one side it is claimed that the text-books used should be such as will tend toward the object in view.

Again, the other side acquiesces in this view. It claims in return that the text-books now in use in the language schools are of this character, and were especially compiled to meet this very point.

It goes further and says: "If the Hawaiian school authorities think that other text-books better fitted to accomplish the purpose can be compiled, let us have them and we will use them instead—

translate outright the books used in American schools if you will, and we will use them."

Qualifications of Language School Teachers

On the one side it is claimed that the teachers should be schooled in Americanism, acquainted with American institutions and able to speak English.

Again this is admitted, in principle, by the other side; but it is pointed out that the number of persons competent to teach Japanese, who possess the other qualifications named, is so small that to immediately and rigidly enforce this point would, in effect, abolish the language schools.

They therefore ask for reasonable time in which to enable the language schools to comply with this requirement, and that the policy be administered with discretion and in a spirit of fairness and toleration, so as not to accomplish indirectly what is waived directly.

They go further and do not object to regulation of the time of day, or the number of hours a day, that the language schools shall be in session, nor to any other regulations which are reasonably regulative and not indirectly prohibitive.

Americanizing the Text Books

It may be suggested that the Americanizing of the text books has been inefficiently done, and that they still contain more Japan than United States. This is true; but it must be remembered that they are a first effort, made by the Japanese themselves, and that no amended version or constructive criticism or suggestion has been offered by Americans. Moreover a complete reply to the suggestion is that the present proposition is to let the Board of Education prescribe in toto what the text books shall contain.

It does seem, under these circumstances, that the advocates of the two sides of this question are not far apart, and that if there is mutual good faith and sincerity of purpose, a working basis should be arrived at.

Claim Japanese Will Not Make Good Citizens

The advocates of abolition take the stand, at this point, that the foregoing program of regulation "reads well", and may be theoretically sufficient; but that no regulations will be effective unless the language school teachers act in good faith and that they will not so act; that the present alleged Americanized text books are nothing of the sort; that half-way measures will be ineffective; that the only way to secure a satisfactory result will be to "go the limit" and have it over with. They further claim that the Japanese are so inherently Oriental that they will not and cannot make loyal

American citizens; that we might as well recognize this fact and act accordingly instead of cozening them.

In other words, they argue that the time for discussion has passed and that the time for strong action has arrived.

Coming back to the original proposition that the prime object of the measure is to "Americanize" the citizen child of foreign parentage. That is to say, the ultimate object is not to give the child an English education but thru the medium of an education in that language to obliterate the line of race cleavage and prejudice, saturate him with American principles and make him one with us.

It is urged that the best way to accomplish this worthy purpose is to prohibit the child from attending a school where Japanese is taught.

How Prohibition Will Be Enforced

Let us consider a moment, what this proposition involves.

As a law without a penalty for its infraction has no force, there must be punishment provided for violation—a fine for example; and if the fine is not paid, it naturally follows that there must be imprisonment until it is paid or worked out at the statute rate of \$1 per day. Whether the penalty will be exacted from the parents, the teacher or the child, or all three, will rest in the discretion of the legislature enacting the law.

Is there any living man who has read history or studied human nature, who for one moment believes that the enforcement of such a statute will have the desired effect?—That of "Americanizing" the Japanese children? That of drawing them to us? That of propagating in them a love for our institutions and obliterating prejudice?

Three Propositions Submitted

In connection with this phase of the subject, I submit three propositions, viz:

One. That nothing in the history of our relations with Japan or the Japanese justifies the claim that coercive measures are necessary to secure proper observance of their just obligations.

Two. That nothing in the history of Japan or of our relations with the Japanese, justifies the claim that they are so inherently Oriental that they will not and cannot make loyal American citizens.

Three. That instead of proscribing the language schools tending to draw the Hawaiian-born Japanese to us; wean them from allegiance to their mother language and country and make loyal Americans of them, no more effective scheme can be devised to ac-

compish the exact opposite result, than to attempt to ban the Japanese language and force the English language upon them.

Coercive Measures Against Japan Unnecessary.

Let us first consider the above proposition Number One, viz: that history does not justify the claim that coercive measures are necessary to secure observance by the Japanese of their just obligations.

Neither in her dealings with our national government, nor with Hawaii, has Japan given evidence of double dealing, or intent or desire to evade an agreement or a responsibility.

On the contrary, decisions once arrived at, even though unpalatable, have been loyally lived up to, with no evidence of sullessness, mental reservation or disposition to avoid compliance in letter or spirit.

Historic Examples of Japan's Good Faith

For example: When the two countries first came into contact, Japan's age-long policy was exclusion of the foreigner—a policy which California seems bent on reviving and putting into effect on her own account.

This policy did not suit the United States government, which sent a fleet; shot up a port and the Japanese people who were within reach, demanded admission of Americans to Japan, and the right to trade, tendering reciprocal rights to the Japanese.

Under duress and at the cannon's mouth, Japan submitted to these American demands.

Japan might well have nursed a sore spot as a result of this experience, and submitted grudgingly, only so far as necessary to avoid disagreeable consequences.

Under similar conditions Germany has sought and is still seeking by pretext and delay to avoid the pledges under which she secured peace.

Not so Japan! She not only submitted to force with good grace; but did so so whole heartedly and effectively that she is today America's chief competitor in the Pacific transportation business and a rival in the mercantile field.

Not only was the agreement executed in good faith, but the acceptance was in such good spirit that ever since Japan has been proclaiming America her best friend, because of the very fact that the latter by force compelled her to abandon the policy of seclusion and exclusion.

There certainly is no evidence of double dealing or attempted evasion of responsibilities shown here!

The "Gentlemen's Agreement"

Again, under the Roosevelt administration, California darkened the air with her anguish at the presence of a score or so of Japanese children in the San Francisco public schools, and the possession of a few thousand acres out of California's 99 million acres of land.

The American government, upon California's initiative, demanded exclusion from the United States of Japanese laborers.

Although this demand was rank discrimination against Japanese and inconsistent with her treaty rights, the latter pledged her word, under the "gentlemen's agreement" that no more laborers would come to America.

Regardless of what may be insinuated to the contrary by those having ulterior motives, we of Hawaii know that this pledge has been religiously lived up to by Japan, so far as emigration to Hawaii is concerned, in the face of tremendous pressure at home.

Japan Kept Her Trust In Guarding the Pacific

Again, during the latter years of the great war, the Allies with their backs to the wall, were fighting for their lives and the United States was straining every energy to get men and material to the front before it was too late. German marauders appeared in the Pacific threatening to paralyze trade and transportation. Japan was thereupon appealed to to guard the Pacific—more particularly the port of Honolulu and the trade routes leading thereto. She cheerfully complied with the request. The naval forces of the Allies and of the United States were practically all withdrawn from the Pacific, for approximately a year, during which time Japan fulfilled her trust to the letter.

At her own expense she kept one of her large cruisers at and about Honolulu, so long that in a farewell speech at the close of the war, her commander referred to Honolulu as his "home port". That cruiser was a great source of relief and comfort to the Americans of Hawaii, in the days not so far gone, and there were no scare head lines in the papers when she took necessary fuel oil aboard. So highly was Japan's attitude appreciated at that time in Hawaii, that the cordial feeling between the two peoples arising out of mutual danger and support, was probably keener than at any other time before or since. Mutual confidence existed then. I believe it can be again brought about, if both parties want it and will in mutual good faith strive for it.

Japanese Will Make Good Citizens

Let us consider next the above proposition Number Two, viz: That history does not justify the claim that the Japanese will not and cannot make loyal American citizens.

We have the assurance of high authority that figs do not grow

upon thistles and that bitter waters and sweet do not flow from the same well.

The basis of the claim that Japanese cannot make good American citizens is that they are so intensely loyal to the Japanese Empire and Emperor that it is inground into their very fibre; that if they profess loyalty to America, it will be mere lip service; that underneath, allegiance to Japan will remain, and that as between Japan and the United States they cannot be trusted.

I submit that "loyalty" is primarily an integral part of a man's character—a habit of mind. It is synonymous in principle with constancy, faithfulness, trustworthiness, worthy of confidence.

A man who is possessed of these qualities in a high degree, is not likely to easily change into a disloyal, faithless, untrustworthy man!

He may be slow to change his allegiance; but having done so, he is far more likely to abide by his act than he would be if of an inconstant, faithless character.

Personal loyalty is harder to change than loyalty to an abstract idea, and it is urged that the conflict would be between personal allegiance to the Japanese Emperor and fealty to the principles of Republicanism, in which the personal relation would be the stronger.

Japanese Clannishness An Objection

Moreover, it is argued that Japanese are clannish, and if an issue arose between Japan and the United States, blood is thicker than water, and the call of the clan would prevail.

It must be admitted that the Japanese are clannish—they would not be human if they were not. So are Americans. So are British. So to a greater or less degree are the men of all nationalities.

It is an inborn trait of human nature—a survival from the period when every stranger was a probable enemy. It is illustrated by the traditional story of the man who passed two laborers in rural England. Said one laborer to the other:

"'Oo's the man?"

"'E's a stranger," was the reply.

"'Eave 'arf a brick at 'im," was the response.

There is nothing against a Japanese on the plea of clannishness that does not apply with equal force to all nationalities.

Something To "Clan Objection"

That there is something to this objection cannot be denied. Its truth was borne home to us by the recent adherence of many of the German clan to the cause of the mother country; but that the urge of the clan was not so strong as to be a serious danger was demon-

strated by the hundreds of thousands of men of German birth and descent who loyally served the American cause—even to the death. And so it was with representatives of almost every nation and people on earth.

Is there just cause to believe that the Japanese so differ from the rest of mankind that they cannot be judged by the same rules that have been found applicable to other men?

Some Japanese History

While not claiming to be a student of Japanese history, I know that within the past century there was a long, bitter and bloody struggle in Japan between differing principles of government, which terminated only within my memory. This was a contest which divided the country, families and friends, even as the civil war in the United States divided that country; and history does not record that the division was on the lines of personal fealty to hereditary chiefs.

At the risk of prolixity, I will relate a story of those times which I recently saw quoted from a Japanese paper which appears to illustrate well the trait under discussion.

It is related that a warrior who had been brought up at the court of one daimio in Japan changed his residence and allegiance to another daimio. Later, war broke out between the two chieftains, and the warrior was undecided as to whether it was his duty to fight for his present master or to return and fight for the master who had brought him up and done so much for him.

He finally decided that he could most honor and prove his loyalty to his former master by demonstrating that his teachings of loyalty had been effective, by now loyally fighting for his new master; which he thereupon did with a clean conscience.

Japanese and Americans Both Hero Worshipers

As to personal loyalty to the Emperor being a danger spot, I question whether it is any more intense than that which has been given to monarchs throughout the history of England and the continent, and to leaders, both military and civil, in the United States.

As a matter of fact, both Japanese and Americans are hero worshipers, and they do not make any the less good citizens of either country by reason thereof.

I may state, incidentally, than upon recently visiting the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas, where less than 100 Americans died to the last man while defending it against 4000 Mexicans, the only monument I saw on the premises was a marble slab, contributed by a Japanese and dedicated to the "Heroes of the Alamo", with a statement of the donor's admiration for their bravery.

Illustration of the Keynote of the Issue

At the risk, again, of prolixity, I think that this feature of the issue, which I consider its keynote, can perhaps be better illustrated by a few local incidents than by abstract argument.

For example: Under the recent draft law all men between certain ages, whether citizens or not, had to appear for registration. If aliens they could secure exemption from the draft by claiming it.

I am informed that scarce a Japanese claimed exemption from this cause, and that on the first call over 800 of them waived the exemption and served in the American Army until it was disbanded.

Moreover, when Congress enacted a law permitting aliens who had served in the American Army to become naturalized without previous declaration, and waiving the prohibition against Orientals, practically every one of the 800 tried to become a naturalized American citizen, and approximately 400 of them qualified and were naturalized.

"Ready To Stick a Bayonet Into a Hun"

Another incident: I was a member of a board of draft examiners. Among others who came before me was an unusually bright, attractive appearing young man. The examination revealed that he was born in Hawaii, the son of a Japanese laborer; that he was now a student at the College of Hawaii and a member of the R. O. T. C.

To the formal question "are you willing to fight for the United States?" he replied "I am!" in such an emphatic and decisive tone, that it interested me and I asked a further question which was not included among the prescribed ones.

"Are you willing enough to be willing to go to France and stick a bayonet into a Hun?"

"**You bet I am!**" was the response, with all the fervor and enthusiasm of any Yankee boy!

Some months later a young man greeted me on the street. I did not know him and said so.

"Oh I'm the fellow who was willing to go to France and stick a bayonet into a Hun!" was the response.

I cannot doubt but that he would have done it, too; and would have been a faithful and loyal American soldier, and I have no reason to doubt that he is now a loyal American citizen; along with hundreds of others who gave the supreme test of sincerity and devotion, by volunteering to don the American uniform and fight side by side with our own boys. A man who is good enough to fight for us is good enough to vote with us, and no questions asked as to sincerity in either case.

Loyalty Not Confined To White Skins

While a decision in favor of the adopted country against the mother country would wrench the heart strings, even as would be the case with other nationals, the conviction has come to me that loyalty—even loyalty to ideals—is not confined to that portion of mankind which possess a white skin.

In my belief the chief danger to loyalty to the United States by citizens of Japanese descent will be by reason of unjust suspicion directed against their loyalty. Confidence in a man's loyalty is a strong incentive to keep him loyal, while an assumption that he is disloyal will have a tendency to make him so.

The incidental undermining of the loyalty of our young fellow citizens, by engendering the belief among them that we do not trust them, is, to my mind, one of the most pernicious consequences of the present uncompromising demand for abolition of the language schools.

Now Laying Foundations For Years To Come

Whether we like it or not, these people are here and are going to stay here. They have the same rights that we have, and we cannot under the law take—or in common decency attempt to take their rights away, either by direct legislation or by indirect legislation which may appear to apply to all but which in fact practically applies to them alone. How they will hereafter exercise their rights—whether in co-operation with or in antagonism to us—depends vastly more upon us than it does upon them. It behooves us to be most careful in our handling of this subject, for we are now laying the foundation for the relations which will exist between them and us, and our children and their children, for years to come.

Abolition Will Tend To Alienate Japanese

Considering next the third proposition above advanced, viz: that proscription of the Japanese language instead of tending to wean the young Japanese from their mother language and country and Americanize them, will have the opposite tendency.

History is replete with illustrations of the fact that attempts to crush a language by prohibition and force are failures.

I submit that the underlying reason for this is the same as for the equally demonstrated fact that a persecuted religion thrives.

Both attacks are upon a sentiment—a filament of a man's soul!

You can confiscate a man's property and he can acquire more.

You can imprison him and the memory of the indignity will fade in the joy of liberty after he is released.

But an attack upon a sentiment is a continuing offense, rank-

ling in the mind of the man with the rising and the setting of every sun; festering in his soul as he lies awake at night and aggravating him whenever he thinks of it by day—and thought is continuous.

Abolition of Language Schools Un-American and Tyrannical

I cannot conceive of any measure which appears to me to be more un-American; more devoid of the spirit of Freedom, of fair-play, of live and let live; more inexcusably tyrannical than to make it a penal offense for a man to teach his own child his own language, without a knowledge of which the child cannot communicate with its own father and mother.

That is just what the proposed law will do, for it is in principle the same, whether a man teaches his child himself or employs some one else to do so.

I submit that an Americanism which has to resort to measures so inconsistent with the principles upon which our government of freemen is founded is introducing into the fabric of our laws an element of weakness which may return to plague us in connections which we do not now think of. Arbitrary exercise of power is a trait which grows by exercise.

Reasons For and Against Language Schools

Am I in favor of language schools may be asked?

My answer is "Yes" and "No."

"Yes" to the extent that it would be an unjust and arbitrary exercise of brute force if they are abolished by law!

"Yes" to the extent that no one—much more no American citizen in the land of his birth—should be denied the right to acquire any branch of useful knowledge which he wishes to acquire, especially knowledge which constitutes the sole medium of communication with his own parents, subject only to such regulations and restrictions as are necessary for the public welfare.

"Yes", to the extent that with a population consisting so largely of Japanese, it will be distinctly an advantage to any one engaged in business in Hawaii to have a working knowledge of the Japanese language.

"Yes", to the extent that the advantage of such knowledge should not be denied to any one who wishes to acquire it, provided it can be acquired without injury to the public interest.

Coming Years Ones of Tension

"Yes", to the extent that it is manifest that the coming years will be ones of tension and adjustment of interests between the two countries, and it will be of the utmost value to peace and mutual understanding that there be a large number of persons educated and able to think and speak fluently in both languages.

It is notoriously the fact that scarcely any Americans read, write or speak the Japanese language; and that while many Japanese read, write and understand English, but few speak it idiomatically or clearly or distinctly enough so that they are easily or thoroughly understood by Americans.

This very fact erects a barrier between the two races that is not easy to overcome. My belief is that this fact is a present prolific cause of suspicion, prejudice and misunderstanding between the two peoples.

Bi-linguists Urgently Needed

A larger proportion of bi-linguists is devoutly to be hoped for, in the interest of harmony, good fellowship and mutual emphasis of the fact that there are many more things upon which we agree than there are upon which we disagree.

On the other hand, in reply to the question of whether I favor the language school, my answer is "No", to the extent that, although not prohibiting the language school, I would do all within reason to discourage it to any extent which will materially interfere with the students acquiring the English language.

This end I would seek to accomplish partly by regulation and in part by argument and persuasion.

Certain Suggested Regulations

I do not attempt to formulate any comprehensive regulations in this connection, but certain points would appear to be reasonably effective and to have common assent; such, for example, as:

(1) Restrict the hours within which language schools should be conducted—say to the afternoon, after closing of the public schools, thereby reserving the morning hours, when pupils are freshest and the mind most acquisitive, for the study of English.

(2) Restrict the time to be devoted to the language school by minors (there should be no restriction on adults).

(3) Combine some English with the course—say exercises in translation and interpretation.

(4) Require, ultimately, a knowledge of English and of American history, principles and ideals on the part of the teachers.

(5) Give control to the Board of Education over text books and course of study, with general supervision over administration.

Language School Question Will Clarify Itself

If a fair and just measure of regulation is adopted, I most earnestly believe that the present tense situation will in a comparatively brief time clarify and remedy itself.

The present generation of children do not attend the Japanese

school because they want to. They have no patriotic fervor urging them thereto—and will have none, unless we furnish the animus by forbidding it, thereby making the study of Japanese a fetish which every child will hug to its bosom and cultivate as a matter of sentiment and sacred duty, to vindicate its right to freedom.

Japanese children are now attending language schools because their parents insist upon it. The reason for this insistence is partly sentimental and partly because they can communicate with their children through no other medium.

It must be remembered that these parents are Japanese subjects, with the same pride of nationality which Americans feel—especially when away from home. Their memories reach back to the joys and beauties of the homeland. The glamor of reminiscence blots out the disagreeable, even as to the American the memory of the old swimming hole of boyhood days with its mud banks and dubious water was superior in its joy producing qualities, to the tiled tank and filtered fluid of the present day.

The child, however, is subject to no such impelling influences reaching out from the past.

Children Will Voluntarily Drop Japanese Schools

Learning to speak, read and write Japanese is a hard and wearisome task—much harder than to learn English. The Japanese small boy is no fonder of hard work than his white companion.

Remove the parental pressure and most of the Japanese children would drop out of the language school forthwith.

When the present generation of Japanese children take the stage and become the parents of the next generation of scholars, (and this process has already begun,) there will be no such reasons as now exist, why the parents will want their children to attend a language school!

These parents will all have attended the English public school and have enough knowledge of English so that there will be no necessity for resorting to Japanese as a medium of communication with their children!

Under these circumstances, in the great majority of instances, by common consent of both parents and children, the strenuous language school course will be dropped. There will remain as exceptions a few who study it for sentimental reasons; for the commercial benefits which a knowledge of the two languages will confer and a few from a desire for broader scholarship—even as a vanishing minority of Americans study Greek, Hebrew and Sanscrit.

Language Schools Disadvantageous From Japanese Standpoint

Meanwhile, I would present to the Japanese community in the strongest possible way, in a friendly, persuasive spirit, that with exceptions, it is even now against the interest of the Japanese children themselves, to devote much time to the study of the Japanese language.

It is hard enough at best for them to learn English without imposing upon them the burden of simultaneously learning a still more difficult language.

Japanese Will Want To Be Leaders

The Japanese are ambitious. As the children come to maturity they will naturally want to take a share in the public life of the community, commensurate with their growing numbers, and they will want representation among the leaders; but it is certain that in order to take such part it is absolutely necessary that they be well grounded in the English language; know the history and methods of procedure in connection with American government and legislation, and be in touch with the spirit and ideals of the community.

They cannot be so grounded and informed if they continue to devote a large a portion of their time and energy to studying Japanese.

In other words, the time will have arrived by natural evolution, when memories of the past will cease to be a dominant influence and present day needs will control.

If this policy—which may be called one of peaceful propaganda—is pursued, I submit that many varying and potent influences will, in natural course, accentuate the greater importance and value to the Japanese child of an English over a Japanese education, and result in the ultimate subordination of the latter to the former without direct irritating legislation and without friction.

Why the Republic of Hawaii Did Not Design a New Flag

By way of illustrating this trait in human nature: After the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, and at the time of the creation of the Republic of Hawaii, it was proposed to design a new flag as the ensign of the Republic in place of the one which had been that of the Monarchy.

Nearly every one of the supporters of the Republic would have personally preferred a new flag; especially one which did not contain the "English Jack". As an aside reference to those days of now ancient history, it was, with exceptions, the English who bitterly opposed the American element in Hawaii and the Germans who fraternized with us and rendered vital aid in putting Hawaii

under the Stars and Stripes. This may serve to remind us that the devil is not always as black as he is painted and that time—even a short time—may work great and unexpected changes. But this is “another story”.

Against this flag proposition it was argued that if the old emblem of royalty was abolished, it would immediately become a sentimental rallying point for the royalists and be a potent factor in fostering and maintaining devotion to that cause, which, was then losing its hold.

If the old flag had been legislated out of existence or forbidden, as an emblem of royalty and an incentive to revolution, every opponent of the new government would have forthwith secretly possessed himself of one; and it would have formed a binding tie between many who had no other, and might have become a material factor in attempts to return to the old regime.

The opposition to the change prevailed and, as a result, instead of the flag becoming an element of discord, it remained the common emblem of all parties, a factor in drawing them together and when the American flag ultimately came, it did not displace the Hawaiian ensign which still flies, honored and loved by all, as the emblem of the Territory and a united people.

Analogy To Japanese Schools

Reasoning by analogy—it is my most earnest belief that if the Japanese language school is now attacked in a hostile spirit and its suppression attempted, education in that language will receive an impetus that nothing else will give it. The schools will form a rallying point around which many will gather, who, but for the attempted smothering of the schools, will gradually lose interest in them until the great majority of the schools will ultimately fade and die a natural death.

If Regulation Fails, Abolition Can Be Invoked

If I am right, how much better a solution of the problem it will be than to add to the already strained and complicated situation, another factor, which I verily believe will involve more feeling and give more offense even, than the proposal to deprive the Japanese of the privilege of owning or leasing land in California.

If I am wrong, and the regulation of the language schools does not achieve the desired result, the fact will be known at an early date and further action can be taken, if then deemed desirable.

I submit, however, that if we now adopt the regulative instead of the prohibitive course, it will not be construed as a surrender, but will be accepted as an earnest of our intention to give the Japanese fair play and a square deal, while still taking steps to pro-

mote Americanism among our young fellow citizens of Japanese parentage.

Relations are already tense enough to put a premium on conservatism.

Admitting the soundness of the ultimate object of the proposed legislation, that the intent is honorable and the motive patriotic and above reproach, I submit that it is not wise policy to adopt a course which is at least of doubtful efficacy to secure the desired result, while certain to arouse bitter resentment among the present generation, and probably alienate the next—the very ones whom we are trying to make one with us.

Do Not Try To Americanize With a Club

Having protested against what appears to me to be a course both un-American and futile, I now appeal to my fellow countrymen to join in seeking a modification of the proposed abolition measure, so that instead of first attempting to Americanize our young fellow citizens with a club, with fine and imprisonment in the background, we accept as being made in good faith, the assurance of our Japanese friends, that they will cooperate with us in the enactment and enforcement of a strong regulation act, and first give the "regulation method" a fair trial.

A SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT

Since the address to the Social Science Association, another objection to regulating instead of abolishing the language schools has been presented, which appears to me to warrant a supplementary reply.

Regulation a Sign of Weakness

It is suggested that withdrawal of the proposition to abolish the schools and substitution of one regulating them instead, will be construed as a sign of weakness, and lead to bad results.

The reply to this is that moderation, justly administered, is not a sign of weakness, but of strength.

It may at first be mistaken for weakness; but if rigid but just regulation is firmly but fairly put into operation, it will ultimately be understood as indicating a desire to be fair and as a recognition of the spirit of conciliation and cooperation now shown by the Japanese in place of the spirit of stonewall opposition manifested two years ago.

After the suggestion of regulation on such broad lines as has been made by the Japanese themselves, to persist in baldly abolishing the language schools will be such a proclamation of our distrust of them as to be a wanton affront to a large number of responsible men and an insinuation against the loyalty of many of our young fellow citizens of Japanese parentage, by branding them in advance with suspicion of their disloyalty.

Less Danger in Confidence Than in Distrust

There is less danger in our showing overconfidence and having our trust abused to some extent, than there is in rebuffing them by a wholesale attitude of distrust, which will certainly drive them, as a whole, into at least an unresponsive and unsympathetic, if not an antagonistic position.

In other words, confidence begets confidence and draws men together, as surely as suspicion begets suspicion and drives them apart.

A policy of suspicion will surely fail to Americanize the rising generation and make them one with us, if there is anything to be learned from history and precedent, while the contrary result is more than likely to be achieved by a policy of confidence accompanied by fair treatment.

Two well-known historical examples will illustrate the point I am seeking to make.

New England and Pennsylvania's Indian Policy Contrasted

The first illustration is the difference in pioneer policy toward the Indians adopted by the early settlers in New England and Pennsylvania. Both colonies were settled by men of equal probity and efficiency. The New Englanders early adopted a policy which gave slight consideration to the rights and feelings of the Indians and assumed that they were neither to be regarded nor trusted. The Indians were friendly and helpful to the whites at first, but speedily responded to the policy of suspicion, and ignoring of rights and feelings, which soon gravitated into open hostilities, each side taking bloody reprisal from the other for a hundred years or so. It was the policy of repression—of taking no chances—of “doing the other feller and doing him fust.”

In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, a policy of good will and confidence was adopted. The rights of the Indians were scrupulously recognized; their feelings considered; dealings with them were fair and from a friendly standpoint.

The results of the two policies were that every early New England farmhouse became a loopholed fortress and the settler farmed with a gun across his plow and carried it to church with him—and frequently had to use it; while the maxim was adopted—and lived up to—that “the only good Indian was a dead Indian.”

In Pennsylvania, with exactly the same types of natives to deal with, there was no hostility between the races, and they dwelt together in peace and mutual helpfulness until the remaining Indians became peaceably absorbed into the rest of the community.

Verily, suspicion begets animosity, while confidence generates friendliness and cooperation.

England's Irish and Boer Policy Contrasted

Another illustration is England's contrasted treatment of the Irish and the Boers.

The Irish are a sympathetic race, responsive to friendly as well as to hostile treatment; quick to resent an affront—real or imaginary; but equally quick to bury differences and be fast friends again with those whom they believe are in good faith trying to befriend them. It is proverbial that the Irish are good friends and bad enemies.

The Boers are of different temperament—phlegmatic; slow to act; stubborn after decision; but appreciating and responding to just treatment.

The Irish were the people who of all races would have most readily responded to an early policy of confidence and bona fide proffer of friendly cooperation. The present conditions are too complicated to even suggest what should be done; but England's past policy of

repression and aloofness, an unwillingness to trust the Irish, has bred its predestined issue—a response in kind, developing into such bitter hatred that it made Ireland a menace during the war, and has since degenerated into a systematic campaign of assassination and destruction.

English Policy Toward the Boers

For some unexplained reason, the very men in England who perpetuated the policy of distrust toward Ireland, adopted exactly the opposite policy toward the Boers in South Africa.

A war had been fought resulting in the total defeat of the Boers; the devastation of their country, the death of thousands of their citizens and the loss of their political independence. They were a conquered but a sullen and defiant people.

If ever the foundation was laid for long continued discord and trouble it existed at the close of the Boer War, with a people permeated by an outraged sense of injustice and oppression, for the English had provoked and begun the war.

If England had, even in modified degree, extended her Irish policy to South Africa, she would have had to hold down a conquered people, thirsting for revenge, biding their time for an opportunity to escape from British control.

Results of the Policy of Confidence

Instead of doing so, England adopted a policy the most unique in history. Instead of treating the Boers as conquered enemies, a plan of government was adopted, which retained British sovereignty and safeguarded British institutions and ideals of liberty, but accorded the Boers' terms and individual powers which at the first regular election put them again in control, not only of their own country, but of the adjacent British colonies as well, with which they were joined under the reorganization scheme.

This unprecedented experiment in free government granted to a conquered enemy, even resulted in the leading Boer general, almost with the smoke of battle still clinging in his hair, becoming the head of the government of South Africa, in control of all British interests and even the British residents who but recently had been at deadly war with him.

There were dire forebodings of disaster among those who had no confidence in the new diplomacy of trust and confidence.

Shortly afterward the great war broke out. Germany had sympathized with and befriended the Boers.

England had the fight of her life on at home.

Now was the time, if ever, for the Boers to strike for their independence.

Did they do it?

They did not!

A few joined the Germans, but the great majority were true to the confidence shown in them, stayed with the English, and, under the leadership of the very Boer general who had lately led the Boer armies against England, and who now controlled the South African government, drove the Germans out of South Africa and added some millions of square miles to the British dominions.

At the Parting of the Ways

The Americans of Hawaii are now at the parting of the ways in the formulation of a policy concerning our relations with the American citizens of Oriental parentage resident in the Territory.

Shall it be the uncompromising policy of New England toward the Indian and of Old England toward Ireland, or shall it be that of Pennsylvania, and of Britain toward the conquered Boers?

I do not intimate that abolition of the language school will lead to physical hostilities; but the principle involved in the settlement of our language school problem is the same as it was in the illustrations above set forth.

The choice involved is whether we are to proceed with the strong hand, imposing an obnoxious law accompanied by a feeling and showing of distrust of the sincerity and good faith of the Japanese; or whether we are to accept a proffer of friendly cooperation, the success of which must depend upon good faith upon both sides.

Japanese Will Respond in Kind to Either Policy

I have faith to believe that both the Japanese residents now living here and the generation of young citizens of Japanese parentage will respond in kind to whichever policy we adopt.

If we adopt the arm's-length attitude of suspicion and distrust, we will begin the writing of a chapter of history the end of which no man can predict; but with one certainty—that it will be replete with vain regrets.

If we adopt the other policy—that of confidence and cooperation—we will have many problems to solve; but Hawaii has solved problems before, many of them more complicated than this one; and has waxed prosperous while doing so, and at the same time achieved a reputation for clearheadedness and fair dealing and exceptional ability to understand and work with the people of other nationalities.

Appeal to Americans to Show Not Afraid to be Just

I again appeal to my fellow Americans, in the interests of peace and prosperity, which depend upon cooperation, to give a demonstration that we Americans of Hawaii are not afraid to be just, even though some among us think that we are taking chances in so doing.

Communication from Representative Japanese Residents of Honolulu to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, Submitting a Draft of Proposed Law Regulating Foreign Language Schools.

[Reprinted from The Pacific Commercial Advertiser of November 16, 1920.]

To the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu.

Gentlemen:—The undersigned, residents of Honolulu, hereby tender for your consideration the draft of a bill regulating foreign language schools and teachers.

The undersigned admit that, as all children born in Hawaii are, under American law, American citizens and will ultimately become voters in this Territory, they should be trained to a knowledge of American institutions and in the ideals of democracy, and should not receive instruction inconsistent therewith.

But the undersigned beg leave to present for your consideration the fact that most of the parents of the children of Japanese descent now in this Territory are familiar only with the Japanese language and that unless their children are permitted to learn to read, write and speak the Japanese language they will be unable to adequately communicate with their parents, or the parents with their children. Also, that it will be of business advantage to many of the said children to be educated in both English and Japanese. Also, that it will tend to bring the Japanese and American residents of this Territory together and remove friction and misunderstandings between them if there are a considerable number of persons familiar with both languages.

Under these circumstances, the undersigned ask that no law be enacted by the Legislature prohibiting or abolishing foreign language schools, directly or indirectly, but that legislation may be enacted which will fully safeguard Americanizing all children attending schools in this Territory; instructing them in the knowledge of the history and institutions of the United States and ideals of democracy, and at the same time permitting schools to be conducted in foreign languages, which schools shall be under strict regulation and the control of the Department of Public Instruction, along the lines set forth in the draft of bill submitted therewith.

K. KAWAHARA,

President Japanese Chamber of Commerce;

S. OZAKI,

Vice-President Japanese Chamber of Commerce;

T. ONODERA,

Assistant Secretary Japanese Chamber of Commerce;

- T. ISOBE,
 Manager Yokohama Specie Bank;
- G. NAKAMURA,
 Manager Sumitomo Bank;
- U. OKUMURA,
 Makiki Church;
- Y. IMAMURA,
 Hongwanji Mission;
- S. TACHIKAWA,
 Jodo Mission;
- K. ASANO,
 S. MASUDA,
 R. MASHIMO,
 Language school teachers;
- T. KATSUNUMA,
 Veterinary Surgeon;
- H. I. KURISAKI,
 Dentist;
- J. UCHIDA,
 Physician;
- IGA MORI,
 Physician;
- Y. SOGA,
 Editor Nippu Jiji;
- L. SAGAWA,
 Editor Hawaii Shinpo;
- T. MATSUMURA,
 Editor Hawaii Choho.

Honolulu, November 15, 1920.

Proposed Act to Regulate Foreign Language Schools, Submitted by Japanese Residents to Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, November 15, 1920.

AN ACT RELATING TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS
AND TEACHERS THEREOF.

Section 1. Definitions. The term "foreign language school," as used in this act shall be construed to mean any school which is conducted in any language other than the English language, except Sabbath schools. The word "department" shall mean the department of public instruction of the Territory of Hawaii.

Section 2. Schools Must Secure Permit. No person shall conduct a foreign language school in the Territory of Hawaii unless and until he shall have first applied to and obtained a permit so to do from the department of public instruction of the Territory.

Section 3. Teachers Must Secure Permit. No person shall teach in a foreign language school unless and until he shall first have applied to and obtained a permit so to do from the department.

Section 4. Qualifications of Teachers. No permit to teach in a foreign language school shall be granted unless and until the department is satisfied that the applicant for the same is possessed of a reasonable knowledge of the ideals of democracy; knowledge of American history and institutions, and knows how to read, write and speak the English language.

Liberal Construction Directed. Provided, however, that the provisions concerning knowledge of the English language shall be liberally construed during the two years after this act goes into effect; it being understood that it would be difficult within that time to secure teachers fully qualified under this section and at the same time qualified to teach a foreign language.

Object of This Act. And provided further, and it is hereby declared that the object of this act is not either directly or indirectly to prohibit the conducting of foreign language schools and the teaching of foreign languages; but to regulate the same so that the Americanism of the pupils may be promoted, and the department is hereby directed to carry this act into effect in accordance with the spirit of this declaration.

Section 5. Pledge by Applicants. Before issuing a permit to conduct a foreign language school or to teach in such a school the department shall require the applicant for such permit to sign a pledge that the applicant will, if granted a permit to conduct or teach in such a school, abide by and observe the terms of this law and the

regulations and orders of the department and will, to the best of his ability, so direct the minds and studies of pupils in said school as will tend to make them good and loyal American citizens, and will not instruct or permit said pupils to receive instruction in said school in any way inconsistent therewith.

Section 6. Hours of Sessions. No foreign language school shall be conducted in the morning before the school hours of the public schools or during the hours while the public schools are in session. Nor shall any foreign language school be in session excepting one hour each day, nor exceeding six hours in any one week.

Provided, however, that the department may, in its discretion, modify the terms of this section if it deems that it can do so consistently with the declared object of this act.

Section 7. Text Books and Courses of Study. The department shall have full power from time to time to prescribe the course and courses of study and the text books to be used in any foreign language school, and no other course of instruction or text books shall be used in such schools, except the ones prescribed by the said department. No books used in any foreign language school shall be furnished at the expense of the department.

Section 8. Cancellation of Permits. If the department shall at any time become satisfied that any holder of a permit to conduct a foreign language school or to teach therein does not possess the qualifications herein required, or shall have violated or failed to observe any of the provisions of this act, or of the regulations or orders of the department, the department may then and thereupon revoke the permit theretofore granted, and the same shall thereupon be and become null and void.

Provided, however, that before so doing the department shall first notify the holder of said permit to show cause why such action should not be taken and shall give such holder full opportunity to be heard in defense.

Section 9. Penalty for Violation. Any person who shall conduct a foreign language school, or who shall teach in a foreign language school, contrary to the provisions of this act, or who shall violate any of the terms hereof, or of the regulations or orders of the department, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof punished by fine not to exceed \$25.

Section 10. Date Effective. This act shall take effect on the first day of July, 1922.

**Resolution Approving Act Relating to Foreign Language Schools,
Submitted by Japanese Residents, Adopted by Honolulu Cham-
ber of Commerce, November 15, 1920.**

Whereas, it is of vital importance that the school children of Hawaii, representing as they do, many nationalities, should follow such courses of study as will enable them to acquire English as a common language and also to acquire a knowledge of American history and institutions and the ideals of democracy, with a view to fitting them for the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship; and

Whereas, some of the foreign language schools conducted in the Territory, as heretofore administered, and the courses of study and text books used therein, tend to interfere with such education of said children; be it

Resolved, by the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, that in the opinion of this Chamber it is against public interest that said schools should continue to be conducted in the manner heretofore prevailing;

That, under the conditions now existing in Hawaii, it is not necessary or advisable, in order to accomplish the purposes above set forth, to abolish, either directly or indirectly, the teaching of foreign language schools in the Territory; but that for the purpose of Americanizing the children and future voters of the Territory, we are of the opinion that all foreign language schools, their proprietors, teachers, courses of study, text books and administration, should be under the supervision and control of the Department of Public Instruction of the Territory;

That it is the opinion of this Chamber that a law granting such supervision and control, along the lines of the draft hereto attached (being that submitted by certain Japanese residents), will adequately meet the present situation and accomplish the desired object;

That a copy of these resolutions, together with a copy of said draft, be sent to the Governor and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Territory.

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