



THE AMERICAN GULLIVER AND CHINESE LILLIPUTIANS—SHALL THE LAST SPIKE BE DRIVEN?

[From the Philadelphia North American.]

57TH CONGRESS, }
1st Session. }

SENATE.

} DOCUMENT
} No. 137.

SOME REASONS
FOR
CHINESE EXCLUSION.

—
MEAT vs. RICE.
—

AMERICAN MANHOOD against ASIATIC COOLIEISM.
—

WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?
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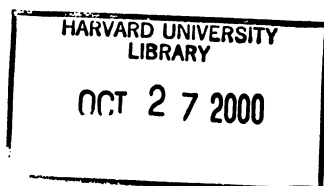
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
HEADQUARTERS, 423-425 G STREET NW., WASHINGTON, D. C.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President. FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1902.

10630.12.20



INTRODUCTION.

In view of the near expiration of the present law excluding Chinese laborers from coming to the United States and the recognized necessity of either reenacting the present or adopting a similar law, the American Federation of Labor has determined to present its reasons and solicit the cooperation of not only all of its affiliated organizations, but also of all citizens who may consider the preservation of American institutions and the welfare of a majority of our people of sufficient importance to assist in this work.

To those anxious or willing to familiarize themselves with the actual conditions and with the causes which prompt us at this time to present our case, a careful perusal of this little pamphlet is recommended.

We have been to some trouble in obtaining the data herein contained, but were extremely careful in presenting only such as is entirely reliable and obtained through official sources. We furthermore desire to assure our readers that in maintaining our position we are not inspired by a scintilla of prejudice of any kind, but with the best interests of our country and people uppermost in our mind simply request fair consideration.

HISTORICAL.

It is now more than fifty years ago since the first Chinese laborers entered the United States by way of California. From a book entitled "Chinese in California" we obtain the following figures: On the 1st of January, 1850, having been attracted by the gold, there were in California, of Chinese, 789 men and 2 women. In January, 1851, there were 4,018 men and 7 women. In May, 1852, 11,780 men and 7 women. At this time the State tried to stay the current of immigration by imposing a tax as a license to mine. In 1868, when the Burlingame treaty was ratified, there had arrived in California about 80,000 Chinese. How many have arrived since no person knows, for they come in so many and devious ways that a correct accounting is beyond human ken.

In the year preceding the enactment of the first restriction act the Chinese immigration at San Francisco exceeded the entire increase of the white population of the State of California for the same year, from births, interstate migration, and European immigration combined.

In the early settlement of that State, now unquestionably one of the grandest in the Union, when mining was the chief industry and labor, by reason of its scarcity, well paid, the presence of a few thousands of Chinese, who were willing to work in occupations then seriously in want of labor and at lower wages than the standard, caused no serious alarm or discomfort. The State of California at that time presented more or less a great mining camp, industrial or agricultural development not then being thought of. But this admission by no means warrants the assumption of pro-Chinese sentimentalists that without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done.

A well-known California physician replies to this assertion—

That an advancement with an incubus like the Chinese is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes of the malignity.

The tales of their prosperity soon reached China, and the Six Companies were formed for the purpose of providing means and transportation—but few having sufficient to come on their own account—binding their victims in exchange therefor by contracts which virtually enslaved them for a term of years. They became the absolute chattels of the tongs, or companies, and were held, and to this day are held just as ever, into strict compliance with the terms entered into, not by any moral obligation, but by fear of death. Each tong employs a number of men known as Highbinders or Hatchetmen, who are paid to enforce compliance, even if it must be by death of culprit. The police records

of San Francisco will bear ample evidence to the truth of this, as also will a report of the legislative committee of 1876. This committee concludes its report as follows:

These tribunals are formed by the several Chinese companies or guilds, and are recognized as legitimate authorities by the Chinese population. They levy taxes, command masses of men, intimidate interpreters and witnesses, enforce perjury, regulate trade, punish the refractory, remove witnesses beyond the reach of our courts, control liberty of action, and prevent the return of Chinese to their homes without their consent. In short, they exercise a despotic sway over one-seventh of the population of the State of California. They invoke the processes of law only to punish the independent actions of their subjects, and it is claimed that they exercise the death penalty upon those who refuse obedience to their decrees.

We are disposed to acquit these companies and secret tribunals of the charge of deliberate intent to supersede the authority of the State. The system is inherent and part of the fiber of the Chinese mind and exists because the Chinese are thoroughly and permanently alien to us in language and interests. It is nevertheless a fact that these companies or tribunals do nullify and supersede the State and national authorities. And the fact remains that they constitute a foreign government within the boundaries of the Republic.

These conclusions were arrived at after a thorough and careful investigation, during which a large number of competent witnesses testified. Among the many there appeared D. J. Murphy, district attorney of the city and county of San Francisco; Mr. Ellis, chief of police of the city and county of San Francisco; Charles T. Jones, district attorney of Sacramento County; Mat Karcher, chief of police of the city of Sacramento; Davis Louderback, judge of the police court of San Francisco, all of whom testified that it was their belief that the Chinese had a tribunal of their own and that it was impossible to convict a Chinese criminal upon Chinese evidence, unless the secret tribunal had determined to have him convicted. In a great many cases it was believed that they had convicted innocent people upon perjured evidence. District Attorney Jones, of Sacramento, testified as to the murder of Ah Quong, the court interpreter, who was murdered in broad daylight in the streets of Sacramento, because certain defendants were not convicted in an alleged abduction. The court records of California fairly teem with the evidences of every crime imaginable, while the coroner's office and police headquarters can furnish some data as to the perpetration of crimes still unpunished. Such cases are not by any means ancient history, as is proven by the fact that in a Washington daily, November 5, 1901, the following news item occurs:

ATTACKED BY HIGHBINDERS—WIFE OF A CHINESE MERCHANT STABBED IN SAN FRANCISCO.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *November 4.*—Highbinder vengeance has led to one death in Chinatown and the dangerous wounding of a rich merchant's wife. Last Friday night Chin Chew, lookout for a fan-tan game, was shot dead by unknown assassins as he sat back of his little wicket. The police have absolutely no clue to his murderer.

Last night Long Kee, the 18-year-old wife of a wealthy Chinese merchant, Ching Kee, was stabbed twice as she was entering her home after a visit to Madame Wu, the wife of the Chinese minister. Madame Wu is visiting her brother, Consul-General Ho Yow, and it was soon after leaving the Chinese consulate that the young wife was set upon by assassins. They stabbed her twice and left her for dead, but she will recover. Both crimes are due to a feud between the Chin and Wong families growing out of a quarrel over real estate.

Chin was the first victim and his clan soon followed with the striking down of the young woman, who belongs to the Wong faction.

These are by no means isolated cases; in San Francisco they hardly attract attention, they are so common.

From Mr. T. T. Williams, of the San Francisco Examiner, we learn that within the ten days from the 4th to the 14th of November, 1901, four Chinese were killed in San Francisco by Chinese, and that further warning was posted on the walls in Chinatown, San Francisco, that unless heavy restitution was made by a certain Chinese family to another five members of the former would be murdered within ten days.

These are hardly the little, mild, innocent, and inoffensive strangers Eastern pro-Chinese were wont to consider them, and we presume there are still some who so believe.

But we do not intend to enter into this question in detail, as it would take us away from others, just as if not of more importance, and we have called attention to it only because some of our sentimental friends have demonstrated a tendency to elevate the little brown man upon an unusually high moral and law-abiding pedestal. A more intimate knowledge of the Chinese in California would disabuse their minds so quickly that we fancy many would be ashamed to own that they ever harbored such convictions.

From the reports of the county assessors of the State of California in 1884 we learn that while the Chinese form one-sixth of the population of the State they pay less than one four-hundredth part of the taxes. During that year there were 198 Chinese prisoners in the State prison, at an expense to the State of not less than \$21,600 per year, or \$12,000 in excess of the taxes collected from all the Chinese throughout the whole State.

But to return to the historical part of the narrative: Beginning with the most menial avocations they gradually invaded one industry after another until they not merely took the places of our girls as domestics and cooks, the laundry from the poorer of our white women, but the places of the men and boys, as boot and shoemakers, cigar-makers, bagmakers, miners, farm laborers, brickmakers, tailors, slipper-makers, etc. In the ladies' furnishing line they have absolute control, displacing hundreds of our girls, who would otherwise find profitable employment. Whatever business or trade they enter is doomed for the white laborer, as competition is simply impossible. Not that the Chinese would not rather work for high wages than low, but in order to gain control he will work so cheaply as to bar all efforts of his competitor. But not only has the workingman gained this bitter experience, but the manufacturers and merchants have been equally the sufferers. The Chinese laborer will work cheaper for a Chinese employer than he will for a white man, as has been invariably proven, and, as a rule, he boards with his Chinese employer. The Chinese merchant or manufacturer will undersell his white confrere, and if uninterrupted will finally gain possession of the entire field. Such is the history of the race wherever they have come in contact with other peoples. None can withstand their silent and irresistible flow, and their millions already populate and command the labor and the trade of the islands and nations of the Pacific.

Baron Alexander von Hubner, former Austrian ambassador to France, when returning from his travels around the world in 1885, delivered a discourse at the Oriental Museum, in Vienna, the following extracts of which are hereby given:

The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of world-wide importance, not because of the military successes achieved—the most famous of which was the plunder and destruction of the Imperial summer palace at

Pekin—but because the allies cast down the walls through which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. With the intention of opening China to the Europeans the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese. Who travels nowadays through the interior of the Flowery Kingdom? No one with the exception of the missionaries, whose presence was already tolerated there, and in addition to these there are a few explorers. But the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every kind of handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom slowly, surely, and unremarked is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are brought together. I am speaking of them only as I have found them. In 1871 the entire English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,000,000, was transacted through English firms. The four great houses, of which one was American, were in Shanghai, while the smaller ones were distributed among the treaty ports. Added to these were the middlemen, as the sale of English imports in the interior of the Empire was effected through native merchants. In addition to this, the firm of Russell & Co. owned twenty steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between the treaty ports, extending to the Yangtse River. Nowadays, with the exception of some great influential English firms, all the same trade, together with the Russell steamers, has passed into the hands of Chinese merchants or Chinese corporations. In Macao, since nearly four hundred years in possession of the Portuguese, are to be seen magnificent palaces, some of which date from the sixteenth century. They are situated in the finest part of the city, where the Chinese were not in the habit of building; and yet the greater number of these palaces have passed by purchase into the hands of rich Chinese and are now inhabited by them.

On my first visit to Singapore in 1871 the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays, and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in the beginning of 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. I imagined that I was transported to Canton. The country lying to the south point of Indo-China, which a few years ago was almost uninhabited, is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last year an important increase in these numbers was expected.

I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer, and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. To a man who will do the same work for half price all doors are open. Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is already felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading every year. The North Americans, until now the rulers of that island under the native kings of Hawaii, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet as in vain they resist these inroads. All these things have I seen with my own eyes, excepting in Chile and Peru—countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that since 1860 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number considering the small European population in those countries.

(How does that statement compare with the assertion of Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese minister, and Consul-General Ho Yow, that the Chinese do not emigrate to any large degree?)

Europe with her 300,000,000, China with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions now arise. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now suffering from a plethora, after such a severe bleeding, will Europe remain in a full, healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? Who can tell? What fate is in store for the young, rising, aspiring powers of central Asia that are neither kingdoms nor republics, and what will be the reactionary effect on the mother country and on Europe? We do not know. What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? We can not tell. Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living,

fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? We can not know. These are the unsolved problems, the secrets of the future, hidden within the womb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the great drama of the coming times. The curtain is not rung up, as the plot is only to be worked out in the twentieth century.

In the light of events in China 1900-1901 how prophetic are the closing sentences of this statesman and philosopher. Would it not be well to heed?

Many years ago Rudyard Kipling, while traveling through China, was so profoundly impressed with the character of the people that he said:

There are three races who can work, but there is only one that can swarm. These people work and spread. They pack close and eat everything and can live on nothing. They will overwhelm the world.

Kipling saw Canton, and says of it:

A big blue sink of a city, full of tunnels, all dark, and inhabited by yellow devils; a city that Doré ought to have seen. I'm devotedly thankful that I am never going back there. The Mongol will begin to march in his own good time. I intend to wait till he marches up to me.

He has marched up to us and already has part possession of one of the fairest of our States. The check given to his advance by the exclusion law has saved us temporarily, and by reason of their gradual decrease somewhat modified the economic condition, which for more than a generation had made of the State of California an outcast among its sister States.

To those of our citizens still in middle age the struggle of the Pacific coast must yet be fresh in mind. A growing young giant, kept to the earth by a weight he found himself unable to rise with. His appeals, petitions, and prayers for succor from those able to help availed him naught. In spite of his herculean efforts he was not even able to shift this burden, and when his final collapse became merely a question of time help came sparingly—not the help he had a right to expect, but some little of the weight was taken off. The beginning being made, by persistent effort greater help was extended until, the burden being considerably lighter, the giant was able to rise. Is the burden to be again increased? Is the young giant of the West to be again crushed to the earth by an avalanche against which other and older nations have found all resistance futile?

Our recently acquired possessions may furnish us a finger mark it might be well to consider.

A BIT OF HISTORY.

A century and a half ago the Chinese began to immigrate to Manila in the same quiet, docile, "childlike," and bland manner that they first came to our coast. They were quiet, humble, submissive, and industrious, accepting at first menial positions and light jobs. After some years they had greatly increased in numbers, and usurped, as they have done here, many of the lighter lines of industries, and had in several of them gained a monopoly and crowded out the Spanish operatives. As they increased in numerical force they became defiant of the laws, and when still more numerous they became aggressive and committed deeds of violence and felonies of all kinds.

The Spanish citizens sent a petition to the home Government in Spain to have a law enacted to prevent them from coming to the island.

No notice was taken of it. After waiting a year they sent a committee of the leading citizens with a renewal of the petition to Spain. They were put off with fair promises as to what would be done, and returned home satisfied that they had accomplished the intent of their mission. But two years passed by and no relief came to them. A second commission was then sent with a strong appeal to the King to grant the relief asked for. He said it should be granted. They, too, went home, but when between three or four years had gone with no performance of the King's promise, and the Chinese in the meantime becoming more aggressive and insolent, an outbreak occurred, upon their killing a leading citizen, when the Spaniards arose in their might and strength and slew every Chinaman on the island—between 20,000 and 25,000—with the exception of five or six, who they sent back to China to tell what had been done to the others.

Some thirty-five or forty years subsequent to this massacre of the Chinese, when most of the participants in it had died off and the event was only a matter of tradition—much the same as the events of our war now are with the rising generation—the Chinese again began to venture to the island, and, after a series of years, the same scenes of appealing to the home Government in Spain, and the same absence of attention, the same subterfuges as to affording relief to the prayer of the petitioners resulted. Then another massacre took place in which a larger number of the Celestials were slaughtered, and the race was annihilated on the island.

About forty years after this last onslaught they again began to immigrate to the island, but having learned caution from the experience of their predecessors, they avoided all irritating actions and quietly absorbed the coffee and spice plantations, and then gradually engrossed the various lines of business. Now the Spanish residents who were in business there have all been crowded out, and the shipping, banking, insurance, and mercantile business, and all the leading industries, have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

It may not be out of place here to quote some of the official opinions of men in whom the American people should have implicit confidence, most especially since, by reason of their position, they may be considered as properly qualified and thoroughly reliable.

GENERAL M'ARTHUR'S REPORT.

General MacArthur, formerly military governor of the Philippines, in his last report to the War Department made the following statements in regard to the difficulties of enforcing the Chinese immigration laws in the Philippines:

The enforcement of the immigration laws is at present in charge of the customs service, which in the last year was charged with the application of these in the case of more than 25,000 Chinese entering and leaving the islands, in addition to a large number of other immigrants of different nationalities. The present facilities are inadequate to the needs of this branch, the required inspection frequently having to be made on board ship.

The system is unsatisfactory, and an immigration station is needed, where immigrants can be landed and a systematic examination had of them and their belongings. By a moderate outlay Government property at the mouth of the Pasig River could be adapted for this purpose.

General MacArthur was, like General Otis, vigorously opposed to

unrestricted Chinese immigration into the Philippines. In his report, above quoted, he says of the Chinese:

Such a people, largely endowed as they are with inexhaustible fortitude and determination, if admitted to the archipelago in any considerable numbers during the formative period which is now in process of evolution would soon have direct or indirect control of pretty nearly every productive interest, to the absolute exclusion alike of Filipinos and Americans.

This view is stated with considerable emphasis, as unmistakable indications are apparent of organized and systematized efforts to break down all barriers, with a view to unrestricted Chinese immigration for the purpose of quick and effective exploitation of the islands; a policy which would not only be ruinous to the Filipino people, but would in the end surely defeat the expansion of American trade to its natural dimensions in what is obviously one of its most important channels. In this connection it may not be improper to state that one of the greatest difficulties attending military efforts to tranquilize the people of the archipelago arises from their dread of sudden and excessive exploitation, which they fear would defraud them of their natural patrimony and at the same time relegate them to a status of social and political inferiority.

Reiterated assertions to the effect that native labor in the Philippines is unreliable must be accepted as coming almost exclusively from Europeans, who primarily are exploiters, pure and simple, and, as such, have absolutely no interest in the islands beyond the immediate realization of enormous profits. Under the old system the wages of labor were too small to establish anything like a sense of self-interest on the part of employees, and, as a consequence, solicitude for the interests of employers did not exist, and workmen, as a rule, were indifferent as to their own constant employment, and had little concern about the future, as their own wishes or interests were never consulted.

American experience, so far as public employees are concerned, has not confirmed the declaration of the Europeans. On the contrary it has been found that when properly paid the Filipino is precisely like any other man and holds on to a good place by reason of fidelity and faithful service.

In view of the foregoing premises, the military administration has rigidly enforced regulations excluding Chinese immigration from the islands; not in a spirit of hostility, but in pursuance of instincts of self-preservation. Individually, a Chinaman represents a unit of excellence that must always command respect and win admiration, but in their organized capacity in the Philippines the Chinese represent an economical army without allegiance or attachment to the country, and which to a great extent is beyond the reach of insular authority.

They are bent upon commercial conquest, and as those in the islands already represent an innumerable host at home, even restricted immigration would represent a serious menace.

The ultimate interests of America in the East depend so much on a correct solution of this problem that the attitude of the military government in respect thereof is respectfully submitted, with request for very careful consideration of the same; and further action is recommended in the premises looking to gradual decrease of the Chinese now in the islands, which might be partially accomplished by prohibiting the return of all individuals who have been absent for six months, or hereafter may absent themselves from the islands and remain so absent for the same time.

If a further indorsement of these facts be necessary, we find it in the very recent expressions of Gen. James F. Smith, now judge of the court of appeals of the Philippine Islands, who, after an experience of two years and a half in the archipelago, was interviewed by Lilian Ferguson, of the San Francisco Examiner, in the course of which he was asked:

"What of the Filipino as a laborer?"

"Much has been said against him, but he has been judged under unfair conditions. What could be expected of a man of any color sweltering under a tropical sun in a harvest field for a peseta and his choe per day? Ten cents and his board, with a family to support! Those who have paid him a fair daily wage—a Mexican dollar—have little complaint to make. I think the Filipino laborer, as a rule, is faithful and efficient when paid a wage commensurate to the labor performed."

"Should labor be imported to the Philippines from the Orient?"

At this question General Smith straightened in his easy chair as I fancy he must

have straightened in his saddle at sight of the enemy—he was on the defensive at once.

“A Filipino,” he answered, “can’t live like a Chinaman. For this reason, if I had on other, I am opposed to the importation to the Philippines of Chinese or Japanese labor. We have seen how disastrously immigration from the Orient resulted right here in California. Surely if the American laborer, with his superior intelligence and industry, has been unable to compete with the Asiatic, what can be expected of the poor Filipino? He would very quickly fall by the wayside. The systematic importation of labor not white would be detrimental. Chinese labor would do all that is claimed for it, but the advantages would be more than counterbalanced by the driving out of the labor market and business field the native element, whose protection and advancement is our first duty.”

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The people of the Pacific coast, who by reason of their long enforced contact and bitter experience ought to be credited with some knowledge on the subject, almost unanimously declare that it does.

It is a most serious mistake for the citizens of the Eastern States to believe that the anti-Chinese sentiment is limited to any particular class or faction, creed or nationality.

The sentiment is general; there is practically no division of opinion on that subject. At an election held in 1879 the question of Chinese immigration was submitted to the voters of the State of California as a test of sentiment, and resulted in 154,638 votes being cast against immigration and only 883 votes in favor. In other words, the people of California in proportion of 175 to 1 voted for protection of the Federal Government from Chinese immigration. Surely it can not be held that this almost unanimous vote of the electors of an entire State was cast without good and sufficient cause, and not as a result of demagogic or irresponsible agitation.

There is no good reason to believe that this sentiment has undergone the slightest change. On the contrary, there is a great cause for stricter exclusion. Our recently acquired possessions of the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands have added hundreds of thousands of Asiatic coolies to our population, the correct disposal of which already causes serious apprehension to our American statesmen.

But since it is always considered good policy to speak of people as we find them, it may be well to give the result of several official investigations carried on by the State and municipal authorities of California and San Francisco, respectively.

CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA.

John S. Enos, commissioner of the bureau of labor statistics of the State of California from 1883 to 1886, inclusive, made a number of investigations both of a general and individual character.

The boot and shoe and the cigar industry being the most seriously affected, were made special subjects of investigation, the cigar industry in particular revealing a condition of affairs almost too horrible for publication.

The general investigation was completed with the assistance of the various county assessors of the State of California, from the result of which the following table was compiled.

(There is some reason to believe that these returns do not furnish the actual rate paid, as it is an established fact that Chinese laborers

work at much lower wages for Chinese employers than they do for white.)

Class of labor.	Average wages.	With or without board.
Domestic servants	\$21.50 per month	With.
Cooks	20.00 per month	With.
Laundrymen	10.00 per month	With.
Farmers	22.50 per month	With.
Brickmakers	30.00 per month	Without.
Slipper makers	4.50 per week	Without.
Bag makers	5.25 per week	Without.
Miners	1.75 per day	Without.
Canneries	1.00 per day	Without.
Boot and shoe workers	1.25 per day	Without.
Cigarmakers doing piece work who earn from \$4 to \$7 per week		Without.

Cost of living.

Rent per month	\$2 to \$4
Food per month	5
Clothing per year	10 to 12
Food used, home product	per cent.. 25
Food imported from China	do... 75
Clothing, American manufacture	do... 20
Clothing, imported from China	do... 80
Yearly earnings sent to China	do... 75

Thus it will be observed that, counting ten months in the year and twenty-six working days per month, wages averaging \$1 per day, the wages would be \$260 per year per head, or a total of \$27,040,000 paid the Chinese in California in the year 1884. The cost of living per head does not exceed \$100 per year, including rent. Seventy-five per cent of his food and clothing is imported from China, so that out of the \$260 per year earned by the Chinaman less than \$20, exclusive of rent, goes to increase the wealth of this nation. As to his mode of living, we shall refer to it later on.

Since this investigation has been held the Chinese have successfully invaded other fields of industry. The ladies' furnishing and undergarment trade is almost entirely under the control of the Chinese. Their stores are scattered everywhere throughout San Francisco, and the American manufacturers have been gradually driven out. One or two who may still remain employ girls at most scanty wages.

The cigar, boot and shoe, broom making, and pork industries were for many years entirely in the hands of Chinese, depriving many thousands of Americans of their means of livelihood. As their power grew they became more independent, and in the pork industry they had secured so strong a hold that no white butcher dared kill a hog for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Chinese. This state of affairs became so obnoxious and unbearable that the retail butchers could no longer submit, and with the assistance of the wholesale butchers and the citizens generally finally succeeded in wresting the monopoly from the hands of their Chinese oppressors.

In factories owned by white employers the Chinese employees refused to work together with white men, and upon one occasion at least positively struck against them, refusing to work unless the white help was discharged. This instance so aroused the State of California that an anti-Chinese convention was called and held at the city of Sacramento, March 10, 1886, in which the most representative citizens of California took part. The convention appointed a committee of five to address a suitable memorial to Congress applying for relief. The committee

consisted of Hon. John F. Swift, ex-minister to Japan; United States Senator A. A. Sargent, Hon. H. V. Morehouse, Hon. E. A. Davis, and Hon. Elihu Anthony.

There certainly can be no question as to the conservatism of these gentlemen, all of whom had been prominently identified with the growth and development of the State of California.

We desire to quote but a few extracts of this document, which was addressed and transmitted to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives:

That there is more mere money profit in dollars in a homogeneous population than in one of the mixed races, while the moral and political objections are unanswerable.

That while the Chinaman works industriously enough, he consumes very little, either of his own production or of ours.

That he imports from China much that he eats and much that he wears, while a vast catalogue of articles consumed by our own people, the production and sale of which makes our commerce and our life what it is, the Chinaman does not use at all.

That he underbids all white labor and ruthlessly takes its place and will go on doing so until the white laborer comes down to the scanty food and half-civilized habits of the Chinaman, while the net results of his earnings are sent regularly out of the country and lost to the community where it was created.

And while this depleting process is going on the laboring white man, to whom the nation must in the long run look for the reproduction of the race and the bringing up and educating of citizens to take the place of the present generation as it passes away, and, above all, to defend the country in time of war, is injured in his comfort, reduced in his scale and standard of life, necessarily carrying down with it his moral and physical stamina.

But what is even more immediately damaging to the State is the fact that he is kept in a perpetual state of anger, exasperation, and discontent, always bordering on sedition, thus jeopardizing the general peace and creating a state of chronic uneasiness, distrust, and apprehension throughout the entire community.

If there were no other and higher reasons for getting rid of the Chinese, these facts alone would be sufficient to convince the practical statesman of the necessity of doing so as speedily as possible, to do it lawfully. But there are other and higher considerations involved in the Chinese question than that of mere industrial progress or material development, and to these we invite the attention of the American citizen who places his country and its permanent good above immediate money profit. We assure our fellow-countrymen East that the dominance, if not the existence, of the European race in this part of the world is in jeopardy.

Now and while this territory is still practically unoccupied and within the lifetime of the present generation the type of human species that is to occupy this side of the American continent is to be determined for all time.

That in the life and death struggles now going on for the possession of the western shores of the American continent, the Chinese have advantages that must secure to them, if not a complete victory, at least a drawn battle in a division of occupancy with us.

To begin with, they have a hive of 450,000,000 to draw from, with only one ocean to cross, and behind them an impulsive force of hunger unknown to any European people.

Our common ancestors came to the American continent to found a State. The greatness of a nation does not lie in its money, but in its men and women; and not in their number, but in their quality, in their virtue, honor, integrity, truth, and, above all things, in their courage and manhood.

The recent history of China and that of our own country bears evidence sufficient of the truth of these statements made sixteen years ago.

What need of more figures? The reports of the bureau of labor statistics of California of the years 1883-4, 1886, 1890, and 1900 furnish ample proof of the utter impossibility for our race to compete with the Mongolian. Their ability to subsist and thrive under conditions which would mean starvation and suicide to the cheapest laborer of Europe secures to them an advantage which baffles the statesman and economist to overcome, how much less the chances of the laborers pitted in competition against them.

CHINESE LABOR DEGRADES LABOR JUST AS SLAVE LABOR DID.

For many years it was impossible to get white persons to do the menial labor usually performed by Chinese. It was Chinamen's labor, and not fit for white. In the agricultural districts a species of tramp has been created, known as the blanket man. White agricultural laborers seldom find permanent employment; the Chinese are preferred. During harvest time the white man is forced to wander from ranch to ranch and find employment here and there for short periods of time, with the privilege of sleeping in the barns or haystacks. He is looked upon as a vagabond, unfit to associate with his employer or to eat from the same table with him. The negro slave of the South was housed and fed, but the white trash of California is placed beneath the Chinese.

The white domestic servant was expected to live in the room originally built for John, generally situated in the cellar and void of all comforts, frequently unpainted or unpapered, containing a bedstead and a chair. Anything was good enough for John, and the white girl had to be satisfied as well. Is it any wonder that self-respecting girls refused to take service under those conditions? And what is true of agricultural laborers and domestics equally applies to the trades in which Chinese were largely employed. Absolute servility was expected from those who took the place of the Chinaman, and it will take years to obliterate these traces of inferiority and reestablish the proper relations of employer and employee.

From the report of the special committee on Chinese immigration to the California State senate, 1878, we quote the following in this connection:

A serious objection to slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, was that it tended to degrade white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor in this State.

The recent troubles in San Francisco are attributable to a class commonly known as "hoodlums," young men who have grown up in idleness, without occupation of any kind and who in various ways prey upon society. This class is peculiar to San Francisco. Many of our thinkers argue that it owes its existence to the presence of a large Chinese population. For several years after the settlement of this State by Americans the population was an adult population. There were no boys. As boys grew up they found the places filled by Chinese, and very naturally looked upon any labor they performed as servile and degrading. Their pride, whether true or false is immaterial, kept them from entering the lists by the side of an abhorred race. If this view of the subject is correct, a fearful responsibility rests at the door of the advocates of Chinese labor.

The employment of Chinese as agricultural laborers is most generally in droves, held in some sort of dependence by a head man or agent of the Chinese companies. The workmen live in sheds or in straw stacks, do their own cooking, have no homes, and are without interest in their work or the country. The white laborer who would compete with them must not only pursue the same kind of life, but must, like them, abdicate his individuality. The consequence would be lamentable, even if the white laborer should succeed by such means in driving the Asiatic from the field. We would in that event have a laboring class without homes, without families, and without any of the restraining influences of society.

The slave owner at the South had an interest in his laborers, and even if the voice of humanity was silenced, yet that interest made him care for them. He gave them houses to live in, took care of them in sickness, and supported them when old age rendered them incapable. The owner of the Chinese laborers in this State has no such interest. His interest is coextensive with and limited by the ability of his slave to earn money. In sickness he turns him over to the charity of the public. When disabled by age he leaves him to fate. It takes no prophet to foretell that if white labor is brought down to the level of Asiatic labor the white laborer will meet like treatment.

The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Chinese, as a race, are cruel and treacherous. In this by contrast all the advantage was with Southern slavery.

On the whole, it is our judgment that unrestricted Chinese immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor and to the subversion of our institutions than did slavery at the South. It has all the disadvantages of the African slavery and none of its compensations.

SOCIAL HABITS.

Of their social habits, none can form a proper conception unless personally familiar therewith.

From the report of the special committee of the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco, appointed to investigate and report upon Chinatown July, 1885.

✓ Appendix Municipal Reports, 1884-85, page 174:

In a sanitary point of view Chinatown presents a singular anomaly. With the habits, manners, customs, and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cesspools, exhalations from water-closets, sinks, urinals, and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, living literally the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many hours of each day or night are passed in the delirious stupefaction of its influence, it is not to be denied that, as a whole, the general health of this locality compares more than favorably with other sections of the city which are surrounded by far more favorable conditions.

Page 164:

The frequent custom with these people is to have the brick and mortar bench where cooking is carried on, the sink, always more or less filthy, and an open, filthy, bad-smelling water-closet, all adjoining each other in the same room, or under the same cover. Frequently a space at the end of this cooking range—if we may call it so—is used as a urinal, the only outlet from which is the absorption of and seepage through some earth placed there for that purpose, while the intermingling odors of cooking, sink, water-closet, and urinal, added to the fumes of opium and tobacco smoke, and indescribable, unknowable, all-pervading atmosphere of the Chinese quarter, make up a perfume which can neither be imagined nor described. This is no exaggeration, nor is it a fancy sketch. It is one of the common features of life in Chinatown.

Page 178:

It is not too sweeping a declaration to make to say that there is scarcely a habitation in Chinatown in which the so-called "Cubic-air ordinance" is not constantly violated. This constant and habitual violation of the municipal regulation illustrates in the most forcible manner the truth of the assertion which we have already made, that the habits and mode of life among the Chinese here are not much above "those of the rats of the water front."

It is not the desire or intention of your committee to present any extreme case selected from any particular locality to illustrate any feature of the peculiarities of Mongolian life in Chinatown, but rather to convey to the board and to the public, as far as it is possible to do so, a fair idea of the condition of things in that locality, and a general comprehension of the mode of life of this class of our population.

Herewith we present some instances illustrating the ordinary habits of the Chinese laboring classes in the matter of sleeping and living accommodations. They are given as furnishing a fair average example, so far as we have been able to ascertain, of the disregard in which the so-called "Cubic-air ordinance" is held by the Chinese, and as possibly illustrating the hopelessness of attempting to enforce it—a point which will be discussed later:

Location.	Number of occupants allowed under the cubic-air law.	Number of actual occupants.
814½ Dupont:		
Subbasement	9	32
Basement	21	70
First floor	7	46
Second floor	26	60
Third floor	34	68
817 Sacramento, basement	6	24
Bartlett alley, basement	16	68
Oneida place, 10 rooms, first floor	31	94
Brooklyn place, first floor	4	24
624 Jackson, basement	3	5
628 Jackson, basement	3	14
632 Jackson:		
Basement	2	6
First floor	3	16
620 Jackson, basement	3	14
622 Jackson:		
Basement	4	20
First story	6	30
First story	3	6
615 Jackson, basement	3	16
737 Washington, second story	3	8
735 Washington, basement	10	34
733 Washington, second story	4	12
9 Brenham place:		
Second story	8	24
Third story	8	18
Fourth story	6	22
767 Clay, second story	7	22
804 Clay, second story	4	12
809 Clay, second story	2	8
809 Clay, basement	3	20
812 Clay, second story	5	16

This may be taken as a fair type of the common manner of life in Chinatown among the ordinary laboring classes. There are places much more densely crowded, and some not as densely crowded. But this represents the prevailing rule, and the other extreme (about equally divided) the exception.

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Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman's candle along the dark and narrow passageway, black and grimy with a quarter of a century's accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. Now, follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of five of the human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part of all of which are occupied by two persons, some in a state of stupefaction from opium, some rapidly smoking themselves into that condition, and all in dirt and filth. Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic-acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions.

It is from such pest holes as these that the Chinese cooks and servants who are employed in our houses come. Cleanly though they may be in appearance while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds other testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is in their interest to do so. But the instinct

of the race remains unchanged, and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings—vice, filth, and an atmosphere of horror.

We omit the detailed account of places visited because of the unspeakable conditions found. It can be seen in the report from which we quote. That these statements are absolutely correct and trustworthy can be readily proven by anyone who has gone through Chinatown, San Francisco. If, with their improved financial condition and comparatively high wages earned in this country, they are satisfied to live such a life and practice such habits, what must their actual condition be where they are less favored?

CHINESE MORAL STANDARD.

As to their morality, they have no standard by which a Caucasian might judge them. Quoting from the same report, the conditions were found as follows:

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It is a less difficult problem to ascertain the number of Chinese women and children in Chinatown than it is to give with accuracy the male population. First, because they are at present comparatively few in numbers; and second, because they can nearly always be found in the localities which they inhabit. This investigation has shown, however, that whatever may be the domestic family relations of the Chinese Empire, here the relations of the sexes are chiefly so ordered as to provide for the gratification of the animal proclivities alone, with whatever result may chance to follow in the outcome of procreation.

There are apparently in Chinatown but few families living as such, with legitimate children. In most instances the wives are kept in a state of seclusion, carefully guarded and watched, as though "eternal vigilance" on the part of their husband "is the price of their virtue." Wherever there are families belonging to the better class of the Chinese, the women are guarded and secluded in the most careful manner. Wherever the sex has been found in the pursuance of this investigation under other conditions, with some few exceptions the rule seems to be that they are here in a state of concubinage merely to minister to the animal passions of the other sex, with such perpetuation of the race as may be a resultant consequence, or else to follow the admitted calling of the prostitute, generally of the lowest possible grade, with all the wretchedness of life and consequence which the name implies. That this is not mere idle assertion, the following statement of the number of women and children found in Chinatown in the course of this investigation, and which includes probably nearly everyone living in that locality, will, we trust, sufficiently demonstrate:

Living as families:	
Women	57
Children	59
Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations and no family classification, so far as could be ascertained:	
Women	761
Children	578
Professional prostitutes and children living together:	
Prostitutes	567
Children	87

This examination has led to the foregoing result in regard to the relation of the sexes. No well-defined family relations have been discovered other than as shown, while the next classification seems to be a middle stratum between family life and prostitution, partaking in some measure of each, if such a condition of things can be possible.

The most revolting feature of all, however, is found in the fact that there are so large a number of children growing up as the associates, and perhaps protégés, of the professional prostitutes. In one house alone, in Sullivan's alley, your committee found the inmates to be 19 prostitutes and 16 children. In the localities habited largely by prostitutes, women and children who apparently occupy this interme-

diate family relationship already alluded to, live in adjoining apartments and inter-mingle freely, leading to the conclusion that prostitution is a recognized and not immoral calling with the race, and that it is impossible to tell by a survey of their domestic customs where the family relationship leaves off and prostitution begins.

It is well, perhaps, for your committee at this point to lay before you and before the public all that they propose to say in this report upon the subject of Chinese prostitution here and its effects upon the boys growing up in this community, and then to dismiss this disgusting branch of the subject. Fortunately, after presenting a statement of the number of professional prostitutes, their mode of life, and the district which they inhabit, as shown upon the accompanying map, all the other points are covered by the evidence elicited by the legislative committee appointed to investigate the Chinese immigration question in 1877, from which we quote as follows:

The Rev. Otis Gibson testified before this committee that he had resided in China ten years, and had seen and learned a great deal about Chinese immigration. He said:

"The women as a general thing are slaves. They are bought or stolen in China and brought here. They have a sort of agreement to cover up the slavery business, but it is all a sham. The paper makes the girl say she owes you \$400 or so, passage money and outfit from China, and has nothing to pay. I, being the girl, the man comes up and offers to lend me the money to pay you if I will agree to serve him, to prostitute my body at his pleasure, wherever he shall put me, for four, five, or six years. For that promise of mine made on the paper he hands me the \$400, and I pay the debt I owe you according to contract. It is also put in the contract that if I am sick fifteen days no account shall be taken of that, but if I am sick more than that I shall make up double. If I am found to be pregnant within a month you shall return the money and take me again."

Alfred Clarke, esq., chief clerk of the police department, confirmed the testimony of Mr. Gibson as to the manner in which these Chinese women are obtained and brought here. He submitted a paper written in Chinese characters which, translated, reads as follows:

"AN AGREEMENT TO ASSIST THE WOMAN AH HO.

"Because, coming from China to San Francisco, she became indebted to her mistress for passage, Ah Ho herself asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her \$630, for which Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee for service of prostitution for a term of four years. There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years Ah Ho shall be her own master. Mr. Yee Kwan shall not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before the time is out, her mistress shall find her and return her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her Ah Ho shall pay. On this day of agreement, Ah Ho, with her own hands, has received from Mr. Yee Kwan \$630. If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten days, she shall make up by an extra month of service for every ten days' sickness. Now this agreement has proof; this paper received by Ah Ho is witness.

"TUNG CHEE.

"Twelfth year, ninth month, and fourteenth day." (About the middle of October, 1873.

And, again, Mr. Clarke produced a second similar paper, which, translated, reads as follows:

"AN AGREEMENT TO ASSIST A YOUNG GIRL NAMED LOI YAU.

"Because she became indebted to her mistress for passage, food, etc., and has nothing to pay, she makes her body over to the woman Sep Sam, to serve as a prostitute to make out the sum of \$503. The money shall draw no interest, and Loi Yau shall serve four and one-half years. On this day of agreement Loi Yau receives the sum of \$503 in her own hands. When the time is out Loi Yau may be her own master, and no man shall trouble her. If she runs away before the time is out and any expense is incurred catching her, then Loi Yau must pay the expense. If she is sick fifteen days or more, she shall make up one month for every fifteen days. If Sep Sam shall go back to China, then Loi Yau shall serve another party until the time is out; if in such service she should be sick one hundred days or more, and can not be cured, she may return to Sep Sam's place. For a proof of this agreement this paper.

"LOI YAU.

"Dated second, sixth month, of the present year."

For further details we most respectfully refer to the report of the special committee, page 162 of the appendix, of the municipal report of San Francisco, 1884-85.

But as a proof that these conditions as to the Chinese slave trade still exist, we herewith annex some testimony taken from the report of the grand jury of the city and county of San Francisco during the first three months of the year 1901:

A MISSION WOMAN'S POSITIVE TESTIMONY.

Miss Margaret Lake, of the mission, 916 Washington street, testified:

I feel positive that slavery does exist, from the evidence of the girls who have escaped and from the condition of the houses themselves, the iron-barred windows and doors, and the fact that these keepers not only guard the girls themselves, but pay Chinese women to watch them and white men to watch them, and if we enter these alleys they give the signal we are coming, so the girls can be put out of the way; and from the story of the girls themselves, how they have been bought and sold into this trade; it is heartrending. A little girl told how, after her mother's death, she was put up for sale. The Chinese came and examined her as though she were an animal, and at last one paid a deposit down on her of \$300, and with the aid of friends she escaped and is now at our house. There are girls actually sold into this life, and they live in it against their will, and beg of the keepers to allow them to go free. They refuse to lead the life, and are cruelly treated and made to lead the life.

These girls are so intimidated they will not, as a rule, make a move to come to us if the slave dealer is in the room. The minute we put our hands on them they will cry and scream, and after they get into our home they will put their hands on me and say, "Teacher, I am so sorry to have acted that way, but I know what it means to get back into the slave keeper's hands."

This exists in Chinatown. It is not only among these girls, but also domestic girls sold for family use, who, after they reach the age of 14, or 13 sometimes, are sold into lives of shame.

We have never had the police come and tell us anything. We have never heard of policemen rescuing the girls and bringing them to the mission unless we have first asked them to do so. I do not see how the police can help knowing that slavery exists and that children are bought and sold. I have seen children going in and out of those houses. I took a child just before Christmas that had been in those houses for months. I passed along there and saw the child at the window, and Mr. Kane came along, and I said: "There is a child that I want to take out of there," and he said: "Go right now." And I picked the child up and carried her out. That was on Washington street, where police are patrolling up and down.

We had one girl who received a letter, and the keeper asked her to come out, and he said: "If you ever leave the mission and you have wings to fly, we will follow you and kill you."

HIGHBINDERS SHOT HUSBAND OF RESCUED SLAVE GIRL.

Testimony of a slave girl:

At present I live near the rescue home with a relative. I have always lived there, with the exception of a little over a year, when I was kept in a house of ill fame. I was kept there against my will. I am 22 years old. A friend of mine got me away from that place.

_____ put me in there. He was the one that controlled me first. _____ controlled me afterwards. All my earnings he kept. They prevented me from going out of the house. They kept me there against my will.

As far as I know, I was born here and went back to China, and was induced to come over here under false pretenses. I was 17 then. My owners were keepers of houses of prostitution. Because I was not willing to stay where I was I sent word out by an acquaintance, my friend, that I wanted to be rescued, and this friend went to the mission people and they rescued me.

I know how much was paid for me. It was \$2,750. I saw the money paid. _____ paid that money over to the mistress of _____. That was about one year ago and one month prior to my rescue. I did not get any of that money.

I have been married since my rescue. Ever since my rescue, and ever since they suspected my husband of taking part in my rescue, they have been making threats against him. They have said, "You are the man that deprived us of our money, and we will have you yet, and perhaps will kill your wife, too." They tried to kill him, and shot him the other day. The bullet pierced right through him. There were seven girls in the house. Some were only boarding there.

SAW THE MONEY PAID FOR HER BODY.

Testimony of a slave girl:

I live in the Presbyterian Home. I am 15 years old. I was born in San Francisco, and have been back to China. I have been in the rescue home going on four years. I was in a family house in Chinatown. Another girl and myself were to be made domestic slaves in this city. We were to be taught how to be slaves. My father died when I was very young, and they prevailed upon my mother to sell me because of her poverty. She got between \$300 and \$400. My mother never spoke about the kind of life into which she was selling me. She is living in Hongkong.

When I overheard a conversation indicating that both of us would be sold into a life of shame, I put the other girl up to going to the home first, and when she got to the home she could tell the matron about me. The other girl was _____, about 14. We are both in the home now.

I saw the money paid for me, and also saw the bill receipted by my mother.

ESCAPED BEFORE BEING SOLD AGAIN.

Testimony of a slave girl:

I live in the home. I am 18 years old. I came from China six years ago. I was brought here by a Chinese woman. She bought me and paid for me in China. She paid \$350. I was about to be sold here, when _____ taught me how to get out of the house, and I got away before I was sold again. I was kept as a domestic slave. My mother sold me to the woman. The promise was made to me that I would be treated as a daughter in the family and would be adopted.

Miss Donaldine Cameron, of the mission, 920 Sacramento street, testified:

My work has been the rescuing of Chinese slave girls and girls held as slaves under prostitution, and I have frequently called upon the police for assistance when going into Chinatown to rescue these girls.

I have known of children under age being confined in houses of ill fame.

I know the watchmen do everything in their power to circumvent us and prevent us making these rescues. They always interfere and give the alarm.

I might be able to produce reliable Chinese testimony concerning the slave traffic. It is very difficult, because the Chinese are threatened if they come out and testify. When we have rescued a girl and the case comes up in court, it is almost impossible for the Chinese to come up and testify. They all give us information in a quiet way, but they do not dare to come out. A Chinaman was shot the other day outside the mission for helping me rescue a girl a little over a year ago. He is in the City and County Hospital now. It is really a dangerous experiment to make, so far as their safety is concerned, because they have been menaced. They have reason to be very much afraid.

PURSUING A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

I have a Chinese circular relating to a young girl who escaped and came into the mission several months ago, and she remained with us for a while, and she was very anxious to return to her relatives in China, and we sent her to a friend in China, and the Chinese did not know she had gone. They thought she was in the mission. It was evidently rumored through Chinatown that she was to be married, and this circular was printed, warning whoever was going to marry the girl that unless they paid the sum of \$900 to some party, giving the name of the place on Baker alley, this party would not be responsible for the consequences, which was meant as a threat.

The foregoing represents but a minor and by far the most innocent part of the testimony taken before the grand jury but eight months ago, proving beyond controversion that in spite of their residence in

the United States for a half century there has been no improvement in their social or moral conduct.

As for the testimony of several physicians of high standing presented before the special committee of the board of supervisors, 1885, as to the gruesome results to thousands of boys, ranging from 8 to 15 years of age, from their intercourse with Chinese females, its publication, if permissible, could serve no good purpose, but it is so unspeakably vile, so horribly disgusting in its details, and so utterly degrading, that its publication could only be excused in official reports.

THE OPIUM HABIT.

There are many other phases to this question, some of which are entirely unknown, except to the close observer. The stranger in San Francisco is often struck with a type of humanity never seen elsewhere. Passing through the upper end of Kearney street, in the vicinity of Chinatown, after nightfall one may see a number of what were once men and women, but are now but mental and physical wrecks of humanity. Gaunt and emaciated, with a death-like skin hanging loosely over their frame, eyes deep sunk in their cavities furtively glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant, and disordered attire, they slink along the streets like hunted animals. They are seldom seen in open day, always waiting for the protection of the darkness of night. Who and what are these beings, and why are they seen only in San Francisco, one of nature's most favored cities? To the street gamin they are objects of derision and ridicule, to those who are parents of children they are most sad objects of dread and pity. Some time in the past these poor, miserable, and degraded wrecks were the beloved children of fond parents, who perhaps builded upon their bright prospects, but are now hopelessly lost to them forever. They have become what is known in the parlance of the street as "dope heads"—opium fiends in the ordinary language. In some manner, by some wily method they have been induced by the Chinese to use the drug. Time was when little girls no older than 12 years were found in Chinese laundries under the influence of opium. What other crimes were committed in those dark and fetid places when these little innocent victims of the Chinamen's wiles were under the influence of the drug are almost too horrible to imagine. The police have largely broken up these laundry opium joints, but there are hundreds, aye thousands, of our American boys and girls who have acquired this deathly habit and are doomed, hopelessly doomed, beyond a shadow of redemption. Better death a hundred times than to have become a victim of this worst of all oriental opium habit.

It may be argued that this is more or less a matter of police regulation, but is it right or just to knowingly expose our children or the children of our neighbors to such dangerous contamination, even though it be not direct? Knowing these conditions, it seems beyond human reason to remain indifferent to an evil so entirely destructive to our domestic ideals.

Are the coolies so absolutely sacred to us that we should willingly sacrifice everything near and dear to us to gain their special favor?

CHINESE TRADE.

Considering that the main objection against Chinese exclusion emanates from the commercial interests of the United States, it may be well to remember that the balance of the trade has thus far been always in favor of China. They buy but very little, their entire trade amounting to but 77 cents per head at present against a trade by mere contrast of about \$103 per head of our Australian neighbors, more than 131 times greater than the Chinese.

Our exports to China, 1899-1900, amounted to \$15,213,285, against imports of \$26,896,926, or a balance in their favor of \$11,683,641.

From 1880 to 1901, both inclusive, or a period of twenty-two years, our entire trade with China amounted to \$578,165,159, of which \$429,081,555 were imports, and but \$149,083,604 exports, a balance in favor of China of \$279,997,951. If we then add the amount of money sent by the Chinese in the United States to China, which may be safely estimated during the same period at not less than \$12,000,000 per annum, or \$264,000,000 for the twenty-two years, we have a gross loss to this country during such period of about \$544,000,000 in round figures. To those unfamiliar with rules of trade and commerce, this might appear as if the United States had a little the worst of it, but no doubt the commercial interests of the country will explain that this loss is really a profit, and that intercourse so beneficent as this should and must be encouraged.

There might be some comfort derived from the duties paid upon the imports from China, but even here, unfortunately, it blows rather cold.

Out of imports amounting to \$239,649,912, or for the twelve years from 1889 to 1900, inclusive, \$172,503,223 worth of merchandise came in free of duty, while but \$67,146,689 was dutiable.

It may be a consolation to know that whatever duty is paid upon Chinese imports, but little is paid upon those directly consumed by Chinese, so as far as they are concerned, they are not large contributors to the revenues of our Government.

But there is not the slightest danger of any trade interruption. Our trade with China has constantly increased, in spite of our restriction policy. A decrease in our Chinese population will reduce the imports of foodstuffs and clothing used by the Chinese (which would be a benefit), but will have no effect whatever on the imports of silk and teas (which is not an unmixed blessing). The Chinese are proverbially acute merchants, and will certainly buy wherever they can buy cheapest, and if they find trading with us a source of profit to them they will continue to do so, irrespective of restriction and exclusion.

But assuming that they would; is the retention of these trade relations so important that we can afford to sacrifice our own flesh and blood on its altar. Are the hundreds of thousands of our citizens to be deprived of employment to make room for this Asiatic coolie, and the standard of living of our entire laboring class to be so reduced as to meet his murderous competition? Is our civilization, our code of morals, social status to be exposed to their contaminating influence heretofore mentioned, in order to sell a few more barrels of flour, or other cereals? For surely China will never be a large consumer of our manufactures; for just as soon as demand for them will be manifested they will be manufactured at home, at a less cost than they can be purchased elsewhere.

It is hardly to be credited that any American statesman will be found, who, in the face of these indisputable facts, will be willing to jeopardize the welfare, not merely of our citizens, but of our very institutions for a mess of pottage. So much for our commercial interests.

Though much more can be said on each phase of this important question, we have tried to touch upon them all sufficiently to enable the readers to get reliable information on a subject not generally understood in the States east of the Rocky Mountains. It must be clear to every thinking man and woman that while there is hardly a single reason for the admission of Chinese, there are hundreds of good and strong reasons for their exclusion.

We ask, nay, we expect the undivided support of Americans and those of American sentiment in this great effort to save our nation from a similar fate that befell the islands of the Pacific, now overrun by Chinese.

We can not, perhaps, close this document in any more fitting manner than by concluding with the remarks made by one of the greatest statesmen of this country, Hon. James G. Blaine, on the 14th day of February, 1879, when the bill restraining Chinese immigration was before the United States Senate. Mr. Blaine said:

Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to-day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast.

The immigrants that come to us from the British Isles, and from all portions of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic can not go on with our population and make a homogeneous element.

I am opposed to the Chinese coming here. I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish, or German, or French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our country, or any part of it.

Treat them like Christians, say those who favor their immigration; yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; and that the demoralization of the white race is much more rapid by reason of the contact than is the salvation of the Chinese race. You can not work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard.

Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South; and this Chinese, which is worse than slave labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union on the Pacific coast.

We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius.

NOTE.—For further information write to the American Federation of Labor, 423-425 G street northwest, Washington, D. C.

THE FEDERATION ON CHINESE EXCLUSION.

1881.

As an evidence that the American Federation of Labor is by no means a latter-day convert to Chinese exclusion, we herewith present the following preamble and resolution, adopted at the convention of the Federation in 1881:

Whereas the experience of the last thirty years in California and on the Pacific coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese and their competition with free white labor is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the Union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our Representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States.

1900.

The position then taken by the American Federation of Labor has been constantly maintained, and at the convention at Louisville, Ky., December, 1900, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas recent events have increased the danger threatening the American workers from Mongolian labor; and

Whereas the Chinese-exclusion law expires in 1902; and

Whereas the Pacific coast and intermountain States are suffering severely from Chinese and Japanese cheap coolie labor: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Congress strengthen and reenact the Chinese exclusion law, including in its provisions all Mongolian labor.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the President and Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to call officially issued by the city of San Francisco, there assembled at the city of San Francisco, on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California, a convention composed of representatives of county supervisors, city councils, and trade, commercial, and civic organizations, to the number of more than 1,000, and without dissent it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

WHEN CHINESE FLOCKED IN.

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868 large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested, because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle remedial legislation was passed in 1882, and was renewed in 1892, and

by treaty with China in 1894 Chinese exclusion became, with the consent of China, apparently the settled policy of this country. These laws were to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5 next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its reenactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to reaffirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the reenactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

EFFECTS OF THE GEARY ACT.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese residents of California in 1880 have been reduced, according to the last census, to 45,000; and whereas the settlement of California by Caucasians had been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced, and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry, would be imperiled, if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actually coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a nonassimilative race, and by every standard of American thought, undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics, and have not, socially or otherwise, assimilated with our people.

CHINESE ARE NOT ASSIMILATIVE.

To quote the imperial Chinese consul-general of San Francisco: They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies, and not after the American fashion.

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian does not possess the virtues of either, but develops the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status among us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes; they support no institutions, neither school, church, nor theater; they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently

foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, for enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of these people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they can not, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be molded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

DETER DESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population, and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immigration. The Chinese Six Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services, and returned them, and if they should die, their bones, pursuant to a superstitious belief, to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world; and the implied condition of their admission to this country is their allegiance to its Government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the imperial Chinese consul-general admits.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not, and can not take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine, and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled workingman. The Chinese are skilled, and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, match making, woolen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not concerned, even in a coldly economic sense, with the production of wealth. The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a nonassimilative and nonconsuming race, there is grave danger of overproduction and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese, living on the most meager food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, can not in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate nor are they reinvested, contrary to those economic laws which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice, first by their employer and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade? Our oppo-

nents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production; but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

EXCLUSION AN AID TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced everyone that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in the production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence, and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them. These requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress, then, to an approved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were 1,000,000 idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again, if not, indeed, make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent per decade, it will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in one hundred years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth so as to hold our own in the markets of the world, are we not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institutions? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace and with a desirable population, which stands not only for industry, but for citizenship.

ANSWER TO OPPONENTS OF EXCLUSION.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists the opponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry. But shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be compelled to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor?

Shall the easy methods of contract employment be fostered? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where they became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

EXPERIENCE WITH SLAVE LABOR.

The experience of the South with slave labor warned us against an unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted freely to enter this country, would create race antagonisms which would ultimately result in great public disturbance. The Caucasians will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country would not, without resistance suffer itself to be destroyed.

If we were to return to the antebellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work well, they are docile, and they would not be concerned about their political condition; but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the Government being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor would supersede, namely, the free and independent workingmen of America. The political power invested in men by this Government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and nonassimilative races.

OUR CIVILIZATION IS INVOLVED.

But this is not alone a race, labor, and political question. It is one which involves our civilization and interests the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers, and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science, and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders, it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic front from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened central Europe when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks, who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe under our generous laws would be in possession

of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians, against whom civilization in Europe has been frequently defended, fortunately for us. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

WELFARE OF CHINESE NOT OVERLOOKED.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinese himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience, because the Chinese has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let their merchants, travelers, and students, then, come here, as before, to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service reports that "The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese." The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country.

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our policy of exclusion. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessity of the situation, being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States recently displayed in saving, possibly, the Empire itself from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

NATION'S SAFETY NEEDS EXCLUSION.

Therefore every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization, and the perpetuity of our institutions, impel your memorialists to ask for the reenactment of the exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which were they relaxed would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

The above memorial was adopted by the Chinese exclusion convention at San Francisco, Cal., November 22, 1901.

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