

REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
CHINESE IMMIGRATION

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**THE ASIAN EXPERIENCE
IN NORTH AMERICA**

Chinese and Japanese

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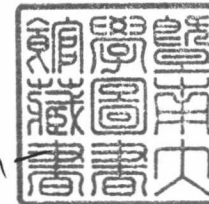
REPORT 华人中心

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REPORT
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REPORT AND EVIDENCE.

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OTTAWA :

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1885

PREFACE.

Owing to the limited time at the disposal of the Commission Mr. Justice Gray, believing that thereby the work would be expedited, decided to bring out and personally superintend the printing of his Report at the same time as that of the other Commissioner was being printed. As a consequence, each report is paged independently in Roman numerals. At the close of the first report, (page cxxxiv), the second report commences, and at the close of the second report, (page cii), the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices will be found, paged with Arabic numerals. In referring to the volume, therefore, it is only necessary to remember that the first one hundred and thirty-four pages are devoted to that portion of the Report signed by the Chairman, (Mr. Chapleau) ; that one hundred and two pages follow devoted to that portion signed by Mr. Commissioner Gray, and that the Evidence, Appendices and Index are paged with ordinary numerals.

At the end is an analytical Index to the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. A succinct narrative of facts, by it the reader may learn not only where testimony is given in respect of any subject, but also all that is said on any subject.

To the Report proper of the Commissioners there is no index.

It is usual to give at the end of a report a list of the witnesses. This course is not adopted because the names of all the Canadian witnesses are set out in Mr. Commissioner Gray's report p. li. The need of such a list disappears when the witness's name heads the page as in the present volume.

In the enquiry at San Francisco in 1876, evidence was taken respecting the Chinese immigrant in all parts of the world, from San Francisco

COMMISSION.

On the 4th of July, 1884, the following Commission was issued:—

CANADA.

LANSDOWNE.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., etc.

To all to whom these presents shall come or whom the same may in any wise concern:

GREETING:—Whereas, during the last session of the Parliament of Canada, a motion was made as follows: "That in the opinion of this House it is expedient to enact a law prohibiting the incoming of Chinese to that portion of Canada known as British Columbia," which motion was withdrawn on a promise made by the Right Honorable the Premier on behalf of the Government that a Commission should be issued to enquire into and report upon the whole subject of Chinese Immigration;

AND WHEREAS We deem it expedient in the interest of, and as connected with, the good government of Canada to cause such enquiry to be made;

NOW, KNOW YE that We, by and with the advice of our Privy Council for Canada, do by these presents nominate, constitute and appoint the Honorable Joseph Adolphe Chapleau, Doctor of Laws, one of our counsel learned in the law, and our Secretary of State of Canada; and the Honorable John Hamilton Gray, Doctor of Civil Law, a Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, Commissioners to make enquiry into and concerning all the facts and matters connected with the whole subject of Chinese Immigration, its trade relations, as well as the social and moral objections taken to the influx of the Chinese people into Canada.

AND WE DO hereby, under the authority of an Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the thirty-first year of our reign, chaptered thirty-eight and intituled "An Act Respecting Inquiries Concerning Public Matters," confer upon the said Commissioners the power of summoning before them any party or witnesses, and of requiring them to give evidence on oath, orally or in writing (or on solemn affirmation, if they be parties entitled to affirm in civil matters), and to produce such documents and things as such Commissioners deem requisite to the full investigation of the matters into which they are appointed to examine.

AND WE DO order and direct that the said Commissioners report to our Privy Council for Canada from time to time, or in one report, as they may think fit, the result of their enquiry.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed:

WITNESS, our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, the Most Honorable Sir Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquis of Lansdowne, in the County of Somerset, Earl of Wycombe, of Chipping Wycombe, in the County of Bucks, Viscount Calne and Calnstone, in the County of Wilts, and Lord Wycombe, Baron of Chipping Wycombe, in the County of Bucks, in the Peerage of Great Britain, Earl of Kerry and Earl of Shelburne, Viscount Clanmaurice and Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, Lixnaw and Dunkerron, in the Peerage of Ireland, Knight Grand Cross of our most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor-General of Canada and Vice-Admiral of the same.

At our Government House, in our city of Ottawa, this fourth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, and in the forty-eighth year of our reign.

By command,

G. POWELL,

Under Secretary of State.

REPORT
OF THE
CHINESE IMMIGRATION
ROYAL COMMISSION.

To His Excellency the Governor-General in Council:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed by a Royal Commission dated the 5th July, 1884, to make enquiry into and concerning all the facts and matters connected with the whole subject of Chinese immigration, its trade relations as well as the social and moral objections taken to the influx of the Chinese people into Canada, and to report to the Privy Council for Canada, from time to time, or in one report, the result of our enquiry, have the honor to report as follows:—

Extent of the enquiry.

On the 9th of August we met at Victoria, B.C., when the Secretary submitted all papers received and evidence taken at San Francisco. Commissioner Gray approved of the proceedings at San Francisco, and it was agreed the same should form part of the work of the Commission.

First meeting in Victoria.

PRELIMINARY.

The first sitting for the reception of evidence was held on the 12th of August, after due notice had been given in the newspapers.

First sitting to hear evidence.

The public was then admitted to the place of hearing. Ample arrangements had been made for the accommodation of the press. Proceedings were commenced by the Secretary reading the Commission, after which the Chairman said:

“British Columbia has repeatedly by her Legislature, as well as by her representatives in Parliament, solicited the Executive and Parliament of Canada to enact a law prohibiting the incoming of Chinese to British Columbia. Nothing was done in that direction until last session of Parliament, when Sir John Macdonald, speaking in answer to a motion asking Parliament to enact a law in the above sense, pledged his Government to issue a Commission to look into the whole subject during the approaching session, and to consider exhaustively its trade relations, its social relations, and all those moral considerations which it is alleged make Chinese immigration undesirable, with the view, as he

The Chairman states the circumstances out of which Commission arose.

of putting the Government and Parliament in a better position to deal with the subject. It will also be a part of the duties of the Commission to examine the evidence submitted in Australia, California and Washington, and to condense and collate it and to submit it with its report to Parliament, so that the Parliament of Canada might have, in a convenient shape, together with the researches of the Commissioners, all the information which the legislative bodies of the United States and Australia had when they undertook the work of legislating on this question. This proposition of the Government met with the unanimous consent of Parliament. The Commission has been named in fulfilment of that pledge. The scope of its functions is the same as the pledge of the Premier. It has made researches in Washington, and is in possession of the evidence and papers submitted to Congress. I visited San Francisco and have carefully examined the different points submitted to the Commission by the light of what is to be seen there, and have taken the evidence of those who should be well informed. The Commission is now opened here for the purposes indicated in the Order in Council, which has been read, appointing it. The Commissioners wish for the fullest information on all matters submitted to them, viz :—

Points on which
information
asked.

"(1.) The advisability of passing a law to prohibit the incoming of Chinese into British Columbia or Canada.

"(2.) The advisability of restricting the numbers coming in or of regulating it, and the best manner of effectually carrying out such object.

"(3.) The social and trade relations between the people of British Columbia and Canada generally with the Chinese, both now and in view of the anticipated early completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as well as the effective completion of the other public works about to be undertaken.

"(4.) The moral considerations which arise out of the residence and contact of the white people with Chinese here and elsewhere.

"The Commissioners have already, by letters, invited the Executive Council of the Province and the Municipal Council of this city, and other representative officials, to give them whatever information is within their control on this important subject.

Government intends to legislate.

"I have only to add that it is the intention of the Government to bring in legislation next session; and I venture to express the hope that all classes of persons, those favorable to Chinese immigration, as well as those opposed to it, will place before the Commission any facts or observations which will throw light upon the subjects with which the Commission has to deal.

All classes invited to give evidence.

"We now invite all those who, by their representative character, have a right to speak in the name of the people of the Province or in the name of the Municipal Council, to aid in this investigation. We also invite those who are connected with boards of trade, or who are engaged in large manufacturing, mining, or other industrial enterprises, to put their views

and any facts within their knowledge before the Commission. We further invite those who are engaged in the pursuit of agriculture or stock-raising to give us such information as will enable us to judge of the question as it affects their interest; and finally any information upon the moral questions from all sources will be received and considered by the Commission. The Commissioners propose to visit as many of the leading sections of the province as the limited time at their disposal will permit, and will be happy to receive a visit from any persons wishing to speak with them on the subject.

"The Commissioners wish especially for facts, and invite all who feel disposed to put their views or give any statistical information on paper to hand it into the Secretary of the Commission." Facts specially desired.

Hon. Mr. Justice GRAY: "I have very little to add to the remarks made by my brother Commissioner, the Hon. Mr. Chapleau.

"I think it is very important in British Columbia, deeply interested as we are in this question, that the people should remember that many members of the Dominion Parliament have had no information on the subject; and that it is essential they should be informed in a shape and way that would justify them in passing a prohibitive or restrictive Act. They will have also to be put in possession of proof that would justify them before their constituents, in the event of their supporting a restrictive measure against the Chinese. Necessity of the enquiry.

"The object of the Commission is to obtain proof that the principle of restricting Chinese immigration is proper and in the interests of the Province and the Dominion. Evidence on both sides is required to arrive at a just decision; this is what the Dominion Government seeks in the present case, and it ought not to be thought unreasonable in British Columbia that a Commission should be appointed to collect such information as would lead to a right conclusion. Object of the Commission.

"Sitting as a Commissioner I have to hear the evidence on both sides, and fairly report it to Ottawa, feeling assured that the people of the Province will give the Commission every opportunity to obtain evidence bearing on the subject."

We then proceeded to call witnesses in British Columbia.

"During the investigation in British Columbia, San Francisco and elsewhere, thirty-one witnesses were examined *viva voce*, and thirty-nine by sending out printed questions, which are set out in the Minutes of Evidence. Many to whom these were sent did not reply, but among those who did will be found persons of all classes. Witnesses.

Statements in writing were received from those who preferred thus to record their testimony. Statements in writing.

An elaborate enquiry was made by a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in 1876. An effort was made to procure copies of this mine of information on the subject, for the use of Parliament, but as will be seen by Appendix [O] without The great enquiry of 1876.

success. The evidence as printed extended over some twelve hundred pages. This has been condensed. Counsel or managers appeared before the Joint Committee and the witnesses were examined and cross-examined. To have noted the transitions from direct examination to cross-examination would have greatly lengthened without adding to the value of the condensation, in making which the aim has been to give, as much as practicable, in the words of the witnesses, and in a comparatively few pages the result of long examinations.

Guiding aim in making the condensation.

Documentary.

All the literature on the question read.

In addition to the evidence we have described we have availed ourselves of much that is documentary. Any documents which we deemed of sufficient importance will be found either set out in the report or in the Appendix. We have further read all the literature bearing on Chinese immigration, and the issues raised in connection therewith, which the Library of Parliament and the most diligent search elsewhere placed within our reach.

As the California Reports are not found in the Library for recent years we print in the Appendix a judgment of the Honorable Judge Hoffman, bearing on the interpretation of the Act of 1882, and for a similar reason we produce the Act of 1884, amending that of 1882.

Commissioners investigate for themselves.

Preparedness of mind with which Commissioners came to consideration of this question.

Visits to Chinese quarters.

In British Columbia, in San Francisco and in Portland, the Commissioners investigated for themselves the Chinese question as presented in each locality; discussed the problem with leading men of all classes, some of whom, while expressing themselves freely in conversation, did not wish to put their opinions on record; others, for different reasons, could not be examined; and the Commissioners came to the consideration of this question, not only furnished with the information derived from the evidence given, but with the advantage of having discussed it with judges, merchants, statesmen, mechanics and laborers, amongst the whites, and with Chinese officials. In British Columbia we visited Victoria, Nanaimo, New Westminster and Yale.

A brief account of what was seen among the Chinese in San Francisco, Victoria and Portland will be found in the Appendix [D, E and P]. His Excellency the Consul General of China paid a visit to the Commission at the Palace Hotel. After courtesies were interchanged, he enquired particularly respecting the Commission, and the veto powers of the Dominion and Imperial Parliaments. The Consul General expressed a hope that the enquiry would be impartial, and he was assured it would be.

Marginal notes.

In taking evidence on large questions and printing it as given, the same subjects will again and again recur, but as seen by different minds. The mastery of the whole is greatly facilitated by marginal notes, and accordingly marginal notes have been made.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION ELSEWHERE THAN IN CANADA.

We were directed by our Commission to enquire into all facts and matters connected with the whole subject of Chinese immigration. We have accordingly made ourselves—as far as possible through books—acquainted with it as it has existed in various countries.

Happily there was an opportunity of studying it on the spot in that State where it has appeared on the largest scale and under circumstances analogous to those existing in British Columbia. And not only so. In the State in question there had been as a consequence of agitation a great inquest on the subject nearly eight years ago. That had been followed by still more violent agitation. The Federal Legislature had passed two successive Acts dealing with it. One of these Acts came into operation in 1882. The other was passed at the last session of Congress. In California for some time there had been railway communication with the Eastern States, and one of the great difficulties in the way of procuring white labor had been removed. Here was an opportunity of studying the question in British Columbia in the light of the present, the past and the future—for the present of California may prove the likeness of the future of British Columbia; of studying it, as we have said, on the spot; of testing the depositions of 1876 by the experience of eight years; of talking with and examining leading men who had, on one side or the other, taken part in the agitation; of enquiring into the effects and effectiveness of the several Acts, and of seeing, so far as the opinion of the deliberate and passionate advocacy of others were concerned, what had been the influence of those tests of truth—sober second thought and time.

Extent of enquiry.

An opportunity of studying the question in the light of the past, the present and the future.

Accordingly in July one of your Commissioners and the Secretary proceeded to San Francisco.

THE ENQUIRY AT SAN FRANCISCO.

On arriving at San Francisco we at once put ourselves in communication with leading men and persons who had in a sense made a special study of the question. A few who could speak with peculiar authority were asked to give their evidence. They readily complied and, save in two cases, a short-hand writer took down *verbatim* what they deposed. One of these exceptions was Mr. Babcock, a leading merchant, a man of great wealth, and an employer of Chinese labor. Mr. Babcock could not fail to impress anyone with whom he might be brought in contact as being a man of great independence of character and scrupulous honor. His evidence was summarized, the summary submitted to him, See M. E., p. 13.

San Francisco witnesses described.

and he endorsed it. The President of the Immigration Association of California, a man who had taken part in the agitation, and who was at the moment actively engaged in bringing in white immigrants, was a most valuable witness. On the subject of the relative criminality of Chinese, the Chief of Police, a detective, and a Police Magistrate were examined. In regard to charges of personation a late collector of customs was seen. The Chinese side of the question was given by His Excellency the Consul General for China at the port of San Francisco, and by Colonel Bee, the Consul, while on the general question, Mr. Walcott Brooks, an Asiatic scholar and traveller, of high repute in San Francisco, was heard.

Progress of the Chinese question in California.

See p. 339, Ap. A

A glance at what may be called the progress of the Chinese question in California will be useful. At first the Chinamen were welcomed. In 1852, said a witness before the Joint Committee, they marched in our fourth of July processions; in 1862, they dared not show themselves; in 1872, had they dared to appear on the scene, they would have been stoned. The Joint Committee mentioned above met at San Francisco to report to Congress on the character, extent, and effect of Chinese immigration. They met at the Palace Hotel in October, 1876, and a very full enquiry took place.

Vague ideas on questions capable of being settled with certainty.

Chinese population.

Two independent sources of information.

Chinese population in the U.S. in 1876

One feature of the early stage of the enquiry is worth noting. On a point which was capable of being settled to a demonstration, the vaguest ideas, even in the case of eminent men, prevailed. We allude to the number of the Chinese population in California. One put it down at 116,000; another at 150,000, and another at 250,000. Not dissimilar were the estimates formed of the number of Chinese in British Columbia. One contractor told us there were 3,000 in Victoria.

Now, there were two independent sources of information which yet, when compared, tallied and thus tested each other. The census showed that in 1870 the Chinese population of the whole of the United States was 63,199. Of course, there may have been an enormous increase in six years. That increase was, however, known. From the records of the Custom House, a tabular statement had been made of the arrivals and departures of Chinese from 1860 to 1876. According to that statement the excess of arrivals over departures, from 1870 to 1876, was 54,595. This, provided none had died, would give 117,794. If we estimate the annual death rate at two per cent. on an average population of 90,000, this would give 12,600 for seven years, and 12,600 subtracted from 117,794 leave the result of 105,194. The tabular statement between 1870 and 1876 is capable of being tested. If that statement for the years from 1860 to 1869 inclusive is compared with the census for the period, we find a substantial agreement. If the tabular statement was right for these years, it was likely to be right for the years from 1870 to 1876. No one, indeed, disputed the correctness of the figures for these years.

This 105,194 has to be spread over the United States. The bulk of the Chinese population is on the Pacific Coast; but not nearly all. In 1870, according to the census, California had 49,277; Nevada, 3,152;

Oregon, 3,330; Idaho, 4,274; Montana, 1,949; the fraction remaining being distributed among the other States. Did the same proportion hold in 1876, the number in California might be about 80,000. How accurate is this reasoning will be seen by the number of Chinese in the whole of the United States in 1880, according to the census of that year, viz.: 105,465; in California, 75,132.

Yet language of panic was held respecting the immense number of these people. This language was heard in the halls of the enquiry. The moral of this as it strikes us is that this question can be discussed with calmness and dignity, and certainly without that excitement which is born of the fears of a rising deluge.

Some 75,000 Chinese in a State, not then counting a million inhabitants, may have been a danger, may have menaced the interests of trade and labor, and in city and county may have had a degrading and demoralizing influence. But if so, the proper way is to lay the finger on the sore place, and not rave about imaginary facts nor assail with wild assertions and irrational vituperation, a whole class which like other classes contains good and bad.

Perhaps, however, a deep insight may discover a kind of justification for a sentiment which had the complexion of terror. Looking at the history of countries where two races have existed side by side in any ratio of proportion as to numbers, are there possibilities in Chinese immigration to explain this panic-like state of mind, by a reference to an instinctive appreciation of a real and momentous issue unconsciously veiled under violent accusation and trivial controversies? The people sometimes, as it were, scent danger in men or measures or movements, without being able to analyse the source of their alarm. They conceive violent aversions or apprehensions, or both, and their causal faculty leads them to cast about for reasons for their sensations to satisfy themselves and others, and these reasons generally partake more of the character of invective than of logical deduction. This is a question which will naturally come up hereafter.

It is a serious step to take, to exclude any law-abiding workers from your country as a field to win a living in or even to hamper their ingress save on sanitary grounds; it may be quite right, however, to adopt one or other course; there may be good reasons for doing so. But in the interest of what is expedient as well as just, these are the reasons to be found out and produced, and not rest what should be a grave act of statesmanship, and what might prove a wise and far seeing course, on indiscriminate abuse.

It is not improper to say that the Chinese have no votes, that they do not speak the English tongue, that they do not belong to a nation which, when her subjects are insulted or damnified, can hold high language, and the commonest sentiments of manliness, not to speak of chivalry, suggest the reserve of expression which the weak may claim from the strong.

Unreasonable excitement consequent on a false idea of the numbers of Chinese.

The proper way to discuss a public question; get at facts.

A great question.

A serious step to exclude law-abiding workers.

But there may be good reasons and these should be stated.

A plea for fair play.

Mistaken violence.

The very violence with which the Chinese are assailed creates in many minds a prejudice in their favor and in any case is unworthy of civilized men. To say of men the bulk of whom are marvels of frugality, industry, and—save for the use of opium—temperance, that they are all thieves and scoundrels defeats itself.

Chinese judged by an unfair standard.

The truth is the Chinese are judged by an ideal standard. They do not get the benefit of the doctrine of averages. They are not measured by that charitable rule which justice no less than humanity leads us to apply to all other men. If one Chinaman steals, it is concluded that all are thieves. If a man of this temper were to read the tragedy of Tchao Chi Con Ell he would at once cry out: "What a depraved people these Chinese are! Here is one of their most popular plays founded on treason and murder by a great minister, who puts his master to death, kills all the royal family except the daughter of the King, and afterwards determines on the death of her child, born subsequently to the massacre in which her husband perished." He would work himself up into a state of great indignation, and give vent to sweeping ethnological propositions, forgetting the plot of Hamlet, of Macbeth, of Richard III, and oblivious of the daily revelations of the newspapers. Not merely are they judged by an

Sweeping generalizations.

Things innocent in themselves regarded as serious objections if not crimes.

unfair standard and painted blacker than they are, things innocent in themselves, because different from what we are used to, are in the true spirit of barbarism, treated as badges of degradation. A Chinaman shaves the front part of his head and wears a queue. He cuts his clothes somewhat differently from western peoples. His boots are made on a different plan from ours. To that tyrannical and narrow judgment ever found confident and aggressive where ignorance is supreme, the pig-tail, the shaving the front part of the head, the blowse and shoes, are all so many marks of inferiority. Yet the laborers of one of the most civilized of nations wear the blowse; and as to shaving the front part of the head, shaving the chin might, from an absolute stand-point, appear as ridiculous, while amongst ourselves, in these days of overstrained nervous energy, nature frequently imposes a denuded front, and goes even farther still, without the aid of a scissors; nor is it so long ago since queues were seen in the drawing rooms of St. James and Versailles.

There may be a strong case for government interference.

But though a man's logic is weak what he advocates may be sound, and when you have covered some or all of his arguments with ridicule and discomfiture it does not follow his cause lies prostrate with himself. That the Chinese immigration is a bachelor immigration; that the Chinaman can live in a space and on food wholly inadequate for a white laborer; that they are independent of and indifferent to all the comforts of life as they are understood in white communities; these, which are admitted facts, may be serious not merely for the laborer but for the nation, and it is our duty to probe the facts to the bottom. Senator Jones, of Nevada, tells of a miner who put it this way to him:

A Nevada miner's view of the case.

"It is immaterial to you, as far as your own position is concerned, who the workmen may be that are under your control; but to us it makes a

vast difference. I work a thousand feet under ground. I go every morning and take my lantern a thousand feet from the cheery light of day, and work hard all day for four dollars. On that hill-side there is a little cottage in which my wife and four children live. The forces of our civilization have, in the struggle for an adequate remuneration to labor, given me enough to support that wife and those children in the decency and comfort in which you see them now. I have separate rooms in which the children may sleep; my wife must be clothed so that she does not feel ashamed in mixing with her neighbors; the children must be clothed as befits decency and order and the grade of civilization in which we live, and we must have a variety of food to which we have been accustomed and a taste for which we have inherited from our ancestors.

"While my work is very arduous I go to it with a light heart and perform it cheerfully, because it enables me to support my wife and my children. I am in hopes to bring up my daughters to be good wives and faithful mothers, and to offer my sons better opportunities in life than I had myself. I cheerfully contribute to the support of schools, churches, charitable institutions, and other objects that enter into our daily life; but after I have maintained my family and performed these duties not much is left of my wages when the week is ended.

"How is it with the Chinaman? The Chinaman can do as much work underground as I can. He has no wife and family. He performs none of these duties. Forty or fifty of his kind can live in a house no larger than mine. He craves no variety of food. He has inherited no taste for comfort or for social enjoyment. Conditions that satisfy him and make him contented would make my life not worth living. * * *

"You have got some thousands of workmen here in exactly the same position I am. When these are driven out, what will be the situation? You have a society now that is governed by patriotic instincts; a society that maintains civil government; maintains schools and churches, and all the institutions of civilization; all around you are the houses of American workmen whom you know, whose language you understand, whose traditions, hopes and fears are common to our race, whose gods are your gods, and whose affections are your affections. What will you have in their place? Instead of them you will have Chinese hovels, Chinese huts everywhere; and, instead of an American civilization, you will have got a Chinese civilization, with all its degrading accessories, precisely as you might find it in China. Around you would be a population of Chinese, with Chinese tastes, Chinese language, and Chinese customs.

"By the genius of our people, and by the aid of the machinery which we have invented, it has been made possible for the American workman to have a certain share of the products of industry which is much larger than in any other country. Without contributing anything toward this the Chinaman comes in, taking advantage of our skill and of our toil and of our struggles, and drives us from the fields of industry which we have created and which our race alone could create."

This language is clearly not the language actually used by any miner. But it none the less expresses the miner's sentiments. We have heard such sentiments, and Senator Jones here condenses many a harangue from his white workmen.

Nor is it, from their point of view, an unfair way of putting the case, while if there is danger anywhere of such a change in the character of population, small or large, who would say it is a thing of which a statesman is not bound to take note?

No wife, no family.

The Christian village must give way to Chinese hovels.

Chinaman comes in and takes advantage of conditions created by others.

A searching and complete examination.

Although the time it was possible to remain in San Francisco was short, a very searching and it is hoped a complete examination of this question was made. The enquiry of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, already alluded to, had been carefully studied, as had been much other literature. Eight years had elapsed since that enquiry had taken place. It was important to know whether the gentlemen who then testified still adhered to their testimony. Meanwhile, as will be more particularly referred to later on, the Treaty relations between the United States and China had been modified. The date of the new Treaty, is November 17th, 1880; of its ratification, July 18th, 1881. An Act roughly described in the newspapers as "the Exclusion Act," but which might more accurately be described as the Chinese Laborers Exclusion Act, was passed May 6th, 1882. More than three years and a half, therefore, had gone by since the first decided step towards exclusion was taken, and more than two years since a most stringent exclusion Act, so far as laborers were concerned, was placed on the statute book. An amendment Act—which is reproduced in the Appendix (F)—was just coming into operation.

Here it should seem were conditions more than usually favorable for judging, in the light of experience, the whole question, as it presents itself in Canada.

There was still a good deal of feeling on the subject of Chinese immigration.

We were in a new country, a State as large as France, a State which had no existence thirty years ago, a country, moreover, of peculiar climate and peculiar geographical features, and we first directed our enquiry to the influence of Chinese immigration on

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

California, like British Columbia, without a railway must have, so far as direct communication was concerned, remained isolated from the life and commerce of the greater portion of the continent. Between her and all that is meant by "western civilization," rose two immense chains of mountains. More than this there are vast tracts of but partially settled land between the mountains and the Missouri.

Such enterprising spirits as the Forty-Niners could not but early conceive the idea of overcoming what might well have seemed the impassable barriers of the Sierra Nevada. In the absence of a railway the State could not grow, could not be developed, could receive no immigration, except in units. The practised eye discerned at a glance the wealth of her soil, her mineral wealth—but what were these if there were no laborers? She must have a transcontinental line and, again like British Columbia in this, her development could not be secured by a transcontinental line alone. She must have local railways. Transportation from one part of the State to the other could only be made easy for

United States legislation against Chinese laborers.

California, which had no existence thirty years ago, a State as large as France.

Development of country.

The forty-niners.

A railway a necessity.

The Chinaman comes forward as a laborer.

commerce and travel by these. As it were to illustrate the apothegm that the time produces the man—the Chinaman who had come to California as to "the land of gold," presents himself as a laborer. As we have seen, he was welcomed. Friend and foe bear witness to his faithfulness and his patient industry.

Mr. Low, a former Governor of the State and minister to China, whose evidence is summarized in this volume, said that "up to the present Chinese labor had been of great advantage to the State, looking at it in dollars and cents. By reason of our isolation, the laboring classes of the Eastern States and of Europe could not get here." He goes on to testify that "on the Central Pacific Railroad four-fifths of the labor for the grading was performed by the Chinese." He adds, that in the work of reclaiming swamp lands—the tule-lands as they are called—much the larger portion was done by Chinese, "for two reasons: first, the labor is cheaper; and, secondly, it is an unhealthy sort of work, because it is in malarious districts, and the Chinese seem to be constituted something like the negro; they are not affected by malaria as Anglo-Saxons are." The witness then makes a statement to the effect, that he was one of the Commissioners when the Pacific Railway was in course of construction on the western side of the Sierra. He was on the road when they introduced Chinese labor. "They first started with white and they came to a stand-still. They could not get enough to prosecute the work." They were then offering \$45 a month and board for white labor. Things came to a stand-still. The foreman unwillingly consented to take enough Chinamen to fill the dump-carts and hold the drills, while white men held the horses and struck the drills. In less than six months they had Chinese doing everything, and the foreman said that, taken together, the Chinese did eighty per cent. as much as the whites, while the wages of the former were \$31 a month and they boarded themselves. To the white laborers they gave \$45 a month and board.

Mr. Crocker, one of the five proprietors of the Central Pacific Railroad, said, they went on for a year and a half with white labor. They advertised thoroughly but could not get more than 800 men. They got Chinese and found them good all round; "and to-day if I had a big job of work that I wanted to get through quickly, and had a limited time to do it in, I should take Chinese labor to do it with, because of its great reliability, steadiness and aptitude and capacity for hard labor." He goes on to say that their powers of endurance are equal to those of the best white men, and that they proved themselves equal to the best Cornish miners in using the drill. His evidence is so striking we give an extract from the original report:

"Q. How long have you been in the State?—A. I have been here twenty-six years.

"Q. What has been your business?—A. For the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been building railroads.

"Q. Did you commence the construction of the Central Pacific with white or Chinese labor?—A. We commenced with white labor.

Chinese labor had been of great advantage.

See p. 183, Ap. A.

On Central Pacific 4/5 of labor performed by Chinese.

First started with white labor and they came to a stand-still.

In less than six months they had Chinese doing everything.

Advertised but could not get more than 800 white men.

See p. 313, Ap. A.

"Q. How long did you continue it?—A. We never discontinued it; we have always employed white labor.

Builders of Central Pacific road at first prejudiced against Chinese.

"Q. I mean how long did you continue with that kind of labor extensively?—A. We continued about a year and a half, when we found we could not get sufficient labor to progress with the road as fast as was necessary, and felt driven to the experiment of trying Chinese labor. I believe that all our people were prejudiced against Chinese labor, and that there was a disposition not to employ them.

Never could get more than 800 white men.

"Q. You mean that the railroad people were prejudiced?—A. Yes, sir; especially Mr. Strobridge and myself, who had charge of the construction, more particularly. I had charge of the construction, and Mr. Strobridge was under me as superintendent. He thought that the Chinese would not answer, considering what they eat, and other things, and from what he had seen of them; he did not think they were fit laborers; he did not think they would build a railroad. We advertised very thoroughly, and sent circulars to every post office in the State, inviting white labor, and offering large prices for that class of labor, but we failed to get over 800 men. Our force never went much above 800 white laborers, with the shovel and pick, and after pay day it would run down to 600 or 700; then before the next pay day it would get up to 800 men again, but we could not increase beyond that amount. Then we were compelled to try Chinese labor, and we tried them on the light work, thinking they would not do for heavy work. Gradually we found that they worked well there, and as our forces spread out and we began to occupy more ground, and felt more in a hurry, we put them into the softer cuts and finally into the rock cuts. Wherever we put them we found them good, and they worked themselves into our favor to such an extent that if we found we were in a hurry for a job of work it was better to put on Chinese at once. Previous to that we had always put on white men; and to-day, if I had a big job of work that I wanted to get through quickly, and had a limited time to do it in, I should take Chinese labor to do it with, because of its greater reliability and steadiness, and their aptitude and capacity for hard work.

Efficiency of Chinese labor.

This is surprising enough; but what follows is even more astonishing. Yet that the small-boned and unmuscular Chinamen held their own against the best miners in the world, if they did not beat them, is established by two or three unimpeachable witnesses.

Chinese power of endurance equal to that of the best Cornish miners.

"Q. What are their powers of endurance?—A. They are equal to the best white men. We tested that in the summit tunnel, which is in the very hardest granite. We had a shaft down in the centre. We were cutting both ways from the bottom of that shaft. The company were in a very great hurry for that tunnel, as it was the key to the position across the mountains, and they urged me to get the very best Cornish miners and put them into the tunnel so as to hurry it, and we did so. We went to Virginia City and got some Cornish miners out of those mines, and paid them extra wages. We put them into one side of the shaft, the heading leading from one side, and we had Chinamen on the other side. We measured the work every Sunday morning, and the Chinamen, without fail, always outmeasured the Cornish miners; that is to say they would cut more rock in a week than the Cornish miners, and it was hard work, steady pounding on the rock, bone-labor. The Chinese were skilled in using the hammer and drill, and they proved themselves equal to the very best Cornish miners in that work. They are very trusty, they are very intelligent, and they live up to their contracts."

Mr. Strobridge, the superintendent, who is described by Mr. Low as a "smart pushing Irishman," and who utterly refused at first to boss Chinese, gave testimony similar to Mr. Crocker's. The road he says was built virtually by Chinese labor. His evidence is not less remarkable than that of the previous witness, and we extract a few of his answers:

Central Pacific built by Chinese.

"Q. You had charge of the work, had you not, pretty much, of the whole of Central Pacific Railroad?—A. I was superintendent of construction.

"Q. That gave you the supervision of all the labor on the road?—A. Yes, sir.

"How did you commence that road?—A. We commenced it with white labor.

"Q. Did you change to any other?—A. Yes, we changed to Chinamen. I advertised extensively for men, wanted several thousand, and was never able to get over 700 or 800 men at one time. We increased finally to 10,000. A large number of men would go on the work under the advertisements, but they were unsteady men, unreliable; some of them would stay a few days, and some would not go to work at all. Some would stay until pay day, get a little money, get drunk and clear out. Finally we resorted to Chinamen. I was very much prejudiced against Chinese labor. I did not believe we could make a success of it. I believe Chinese labor in this country on that kind of work, never had been a success until we put them on there; but we did make a success of them. We worked a great many of them, and built the road virtually with Chinamen, though the white labor increased very much after introducing Chinese labor. We made foremen of the most intelligent of the white men, teamsters and hostlers. We increased, I suppose, to 2,000 or 2,500 white men. At that time we were working fully 10,000 Chinamen.

Unreliability of white labor.

At one time working 2,500 white and 10,000 Chinese laborers.

"Q. Then you changed your views as to the Chinese as laborers?—A. Very much.

Mr. Strobridge, as will be seen in reply to further questions, confirms what Mr. Crocker says as to the Chinaman's capacity for heavy work:

"Q. How did you find them to compare in that heavy work on the Sierra Nevada tunnels, deep cuts and rock-works, with the white labor you had?—A. They were equal to the white men.

"Q. They were equal to them?—A. Yes.

"Q. You had tests occasionally made there, as I read at the time in the newspapers, between white labor and Chinese?—A. Yes.

White and Chinese labor tested.

"Q. Who generally came out ahead?—A. When they were working on a drift, as they sometimes did, if there was any difference it was with the white men; but the key of the situation was the summit tunnel, which was very hard rock, and we undertook to stock that with the best of white men. We considered them to be at that time superior to Chinamen, but we were unable to keep the work filled with white men, although we only worked eight hours. We worked in eight hour shifts, and as we could not keep the work favorable we put in a gang of Chinamen. Finally, before the work was half done, perhaps, I do not recollect at what stage, the Chinamen had possession of the whole work. At last the white men swore they would not work with Chinamen anyhow.

In drift the white; in the summit tunnel the Chinese came out ahead.

"Q. In that particular tunnel, or all along?—A. In that particular tunnel, not on the other work. We always had gangs of white men. We employed all the white men we could get so long as they would work.

No white man turned away.

Perhaps a case in which Chinese labor provided work for white men.

Do white laborers employed on railways settle along the line?

See J. C. R., p. 599, and p. 304 Ap. A.

Southern Pacific constructed not altogether by Chinese labor.

"Q. Would you always give white men labor when asked for it?—A. I do not think there was ever a white man turned away for want of a place, to my knowledge."

Now, here was a case in which work was probably provided by Chinese labor for white men—a thing not at all inconsistent. Mr. Evans' evidence given below proves that the same thing occurred in his experience. Every hour of delay in completing the line was a loss in wealth and convenience to the people of California, and to workmen or others looking to a home on the shores of the Pacific. In other industries we shall see that the contention is made that but for Chinese labor in a given branch there would be no room for white labor, because competition with the East would, without the Chinese, have been out of the question.

Before leaving the subject of railway building it is desirable to call attention to the evidence of Mr. David D. Colton, the Vice-President of the Southern Pacific Railroad. His evidence is specially valuable, because of the light it throws on the effect of a railway built partly by Chinese in settling up the country. One of the points made by persons opposed to Chinese is that their employment in the construction of a railway leaves the country without the advantages of a certain percentage of settlers sure to have been left behind by white laborers. The assumption that white laborers employed on a railway settle along the line they help to construct is gratuitous. The army of men employed by the contractors in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from Moosomin to the Rockies, went back like a returning tide when the contract was fulfilled. Mr. Colton's evidence shows what we might expect, that the moment the railway is constructed settlers pour in. To build a line must be a means of settling up the country through which it passes, and if it can be constructed more rapidly by Chinese labor than would be the case were they not employed their employment must hasten settlement. A portion of Mr. Colton's evidence is as follows:—

"Q. Are you the vice-president or the president of the company?—A. At this time I am the vice-president.

"Q. You have constructed it by Chinese labor I believe?—A. Not altogether.

"Q. I mean principally?—A. A proportion of it; the heads of the construction departments were white laborers.

"Q. The construction of this road gave employment to a great many white men?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You had no government subsidy, I believe, in aid of the construction?—A. No, sir; excepting the land subsidy.

"Q. What is the length of the road from Lathrop?—A. From Lathrop, or rather from Goshen, between four and five hundred miles of the Southern Pacific line proper has been constructed.

"Q. A good part of it through a farming country?—A. A great portion of it.

"Q. It has opened up that vast country for settlement?—A. It has.

"Q. What class of people are and have been settling there since the

road was built?—A. What you might term an average class of the immigrants who settle up all our new Territories and States.

"Q. White immigrants?—A. Pretty much all white. There are very few of any other kind. They are mostly from the Western States; some are Europeans."

The North-West, along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, duplicates this experience. After the line was built settlers went in, and now for many miles on either side it would be hard to find a homestead.

"Q. Could you have constructed that road without Chinese labor?—A. I do not think it could have been constructed so quickly, and with anything like the same amount of certainty as to what we were going to accomplish in the same length of time.

"Q. You had several thousand laborers on the road?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Could you have obtained that number of white laborers?—A. I think not.

"Q. Has it not been your experience since your connection with the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads that you could not obtain white labor?—A. We certainly could not in that number.

"Q. What has been the effect of the construction of these railroads upon the settlement and building up of the country?—A. From my stand-point I think it has done a great deal for this State and coast. It has been the means of opening up thousands of acres of land that would otherwise have lain vacant for a long time to come.

"Q. Have the settlements followed the railroads?—A. Yes, sir; and constantly increasing. Our railroad construction is the reverse in this country from what it is in any other. They are built in other countries to take people out. Here we build a railroad so that people may go into the wilderness and settle it up.

"Q. The railroad is the pioneer?—A. Yes, sir. Many districts where there were twenty-five and thirty miles between each settlement, or farm house, are now being settled up. Take the San Joaquin Valley railroad compared with three or four years ago. One car would then go up the valley. I have been on the train when there would be but two or three passengers for the last twenty-five or thirty miles of the road. Now it takes four cars to do that business.

"Q. What has been the effect upon the prosperity of the State of the construction of lateral roads?—A. I think most favorable in every way. Lateral roads by themselves would not be profitable to railroad proprietors, but they would be of great advantage to the country they would open up. I think as a rule they have advanced the value of lands from 200 to 1,000 per cent. Much of the land in the Salinas Valley, for instance, was offered to us at \$2 an acre, for which they are charging now \$25 and \$35 an acre since the road was built through that country.

Mr. Colton is as unhesitating as Mr. Crocker and Mr. Strobridge as to the Chinaman's capacity for hard work and as a laborer generally.

"Q. What is the capacity of Chinese and their inclination to do hard work?—A. I have never placed them in a position where they did not, to use a common expression, fill the bill.

"Q. Did you see the work done on the Southern Pacific Railroad after it was completed?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Do you know what kind of men were employed there?—A. I have stated that 75 or 80 per cent. of our construction force were Chinamen. I think it is proper for me to say here, that so far as my knowledge goes there was never a white laborer who wanted work who was refused.

White settlers coming in since the building of the line.

Without Chinese labor neither the quickness or certainty in building line.

Opened up thousands of acres of land that would otherwise have lain vacant

Railway the pioneer.

Lateral roads had increased the value of land 200 to 1,000 per cent.

Capacity for hard work.

75 to 80 per cent. of construction force Chinese.

"Q. What wages did you pay them: the same as you paid the Chinamen?
 —A. No, sir; we paid them as a rule twice what we paid the Chinamen.
 "Q. You paid them twice as much? Did they do twice as much work?
 —A. No, sir; but they did teaming and certain classes of work. I have never seen a Chinaman who could drive a team much. Teamsters and all that department we give to white men. When we are building a bridge, or trestle work, "it is in the hands of white laborers, and all the labor done about it, outside of carpenter work, is given to white laborers."

Chinamen cannot drive teams.

See J. C. R. p. 720, and p. 318, Ap. A.

Mr. West Evans gave evidence just as emphatic, just as clear in its ring of certainty. Such testimony can leave no doubt of the efficiency of Chinese labor on railways.

"Q. Have you been extensively engaged in building Railroads?—
 A. Somewhat extensively.

"Q. What labor have you used on your works generally?—A. In the manufacture of railroad-ties I have used white labor; in building railroads. I use mostly Chinese labor.

White labor for railway ties; Chinese labor building roads.

"Q. What kind of labor is most satisfactory to you?—A. Chinamen give us better satisfaction generally.

"Q. In railroading?—A. Yes, sir; in railroad building.

"Q. How extensively have you been engaged in getting out railroad-ties?
 —A. I have been in the business ever since the Pacific Railroad was started. I think that was in 1863.

"Q. Supplying that company and others?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How many white men do you employ in your busiest time?
 A. Probably from 400 to 500.

Here again is a case where Chinese labor provided employment for whites, for if the building of the road were not going forward there would be no necessity for ties.

Hard to get white laborers.

"Q. Are you the West Evans who advertised extensively in a newspaper a year or two ago, for white laborers?—A. Yes, sir.

"Q. What success did you meet with?—A. I got very few.

"Q. How many did you advertise for?—A. I wanted a hundred.

"Q. How many did you get?—A. Twenty or thirty, I guess. I sent more than a hundred up to the work, but they would not work when they got there.

"Q. For what reason?—A. They thought it was too hard work.

"Q. How many did you retain?—A. From twenty to thirty; possibly thirty.

"Q. Did they work by contract or stated wages?—A. They worked in building the railroad by the month, and in making ties they worked by the piece.

"Q. Which road was that?—A. The Mendocino road.

"Q. Do you think there is a surplus of white laborers in the State?
 A. I have not been able to employ it. I want men now and cannot get them.

If surplus of white labor in State he has not been able to employ it.

"Q. What wages do you pay men for labor?—A. In building the road we started men in on \$40 a month and board. If a man was found to be worth more, we paid it to him.

"Q. Do you think the Chinese have been a benefit to the State?
 A. I think so.

Could not have achieved so much without the Chinese.

"Q. Greatly so?—A. I do not see how we could do the work we have done here without them; at least I have done work that would not have been done if it had not been for Chinamen, work that could not have been done without them.

"Q. White men can do any work that the Chinamen could do?
 A. Oh, yes; but, understand me, I tried to get white men to do this work and failed."

Not merely did railway work offer itself to this laborer; millions of Tule-lands, acres of tule-lands were in the state. These lands, formed by the delta of the Sacramento and St. Joaquin rivers, and tide-waters are, as the story of Egypt shows, the most productive that can invite the farmer's toil. They are very extensive. Mr. Brooks calculates that there are 5,000,000 acres of such lands. Forty bushels of wheat to the acre is an average yield on the lands formed by the winter freshets, while root crops of all kinds flourish with extraordinary luxuriance on the land reclaimed from the overflowing tide. Mr. Seward tells us that in 1876 only 5,500,000 acres of land had been brought into cultivation of all kinds. Much of this is subject to total failure of crops in consequence of droughts. Redeemed swamp land is liable to no such danger. California is already a great wheat-producing State. According to the author just referred to, it is destined to produce at an early day far more wheat than any other State in the Union. No rain falls during the harvesting season. Grain may be stacked with impunity in the open field or piled up without thatching or cover of any kind. The climate and the fertility of the land reduce the cost of production to a minimum. The farmer has, moreover, the advantage of safe transportation. The reclamation of tule-lands and the irrigation of higher lands—these are the means by which California is to attain preeminence in agriculture. 150,000 acres of tule-land were reclaimed in 1876. These lands are reclaimed by building dykes, gates and ditches, to prevent the overflow. The plan was to contract by the yard with some Chinese merchant, who supplied the men. Mr. Roberts, President of the Tide Land Reclamation Company, testified as follows:—

150,000 acres of tule-land reclaimed in one year.

Chinese employed by contract with a head man.

"Q. Could you reclaim these lands with white labor?—A. Not successfully at this time. I do not think that we could get the white men to do the work. It is a class of work that white men do not like. We have tried them to a certain extent. The special advantage of Chinese labor in work of that kind is owing to the contract system. They form little communities among themselves, forty or fifty or a hundred, and they are jointly interested in the contract. We could not get white men to do that. They would not be harmonious and agree among themselves, but the Chinese form little families among themselves, do their own cooking, live in little camps together, and the work is staked off for them separately. We first give a large contract to one or two Chinamen, and they sub-let it in smaller contracts; that is the general system. White labor could not be worked in that way at all."

Land could not have been reclaimed without the Chinese.

The witness created some surprise by stating that the land utterly waste before becomes worth from \$20 to \$100 an acre. The Chinese had by their labor in all directions added eighty or ninety millions a year to the wealth of California.

Value of reclaimed tule-land from \$20 to \$100 an acre.

Mr. Solomon Heydenfeldt also gave very strong testimony as to the

useful part played by Chinese in the reclamation of tule-lands, as well as in every field of labor they entered. Mr. Brooks tells us that a former Surveyer-General of the State of California computed the wealth for which the State was indebted to Chinese labor in the building of railways and the reclaiming of tule-lands at \$289,700,000.

It is established by incontrovertible evidence—indeed there is no evidence on the other side—that only by Chinese labor could these tule-lands have been reclaimed. Whether or not white men could have stood the malarious atmosphere, while working up to the middle in water, and a cloud of mosquitoes round their heads, they could not have been got to do it. Even at the present stage of Californian history it is clear these lands can be reclaimed only by Chinese. That a day will come when white men shall be willing to do that work there can be equally little doubt. But the Chinese, as one of the witnesses explained, on physiological principles are specially fitted for such employment, because they seem less affected by air weighted with poison than white men. Until labor has become a drug in the market no white man can be got to go into this work of tule-land reclamation, and, therefore, granting for the moment that in the case of work white men will do, a government should step in and exclude Chinese immigration from interfering with it, or limit the interference, it may fairly be questioned whether we have not here a case in which Chinese immigration is an unqualified benefit.

For if, in the absence of Chinese, these tule-lands would be left to the mosquito and the bull-frog, this would be a great loss to California, and, therefore, a great loss to the world, and, therefore, also a loss to every working man on the habitable globe. At a glance it seems as if it was only the man who owned these tule-lands, who was enriched when, for what he paid a \$1 an acre or nothing, he gets after thoroughly reclaiming it an average of \$75 an acre. Seven or ten million dollars in reality were in a single year (1876) brought to swell the wealth of mankind, available for the use of the laborer as well as the capitalist. There had been added 150,000 acres to the bread-producing area of the world.

In this case the Chinese laborer can in no way come into competition with white labor.

Let us suppose then, that the companies engaged in the reclamation of tule-lands require a given number of Chinese laborers, it is in the interest of every white man, and the working man, no less than the rich man, that they should have them, unless there are countervailing considerations of a moral or political character. Moral and political considerations may far outweigh material ones. Most important are these aspects of the present enquiry, and they will be dealt with later on.

Mr. Briggs, who is opposed to Chinese immigration, admits that the Chinese "have been a very important factor in the development of the public works of California, and in the development of the resources of the state up to a certain period. I think," he says, "the time was when they were greatly needed and did much good."

Only by Chinese up to the present could tule-lands have been reclaimed.

Chinese specially fitted for tule-land reclamation.

May fairly be questioned whether a government should prevent Chinese labor being available.

Let tule-lands lie idle and it is an universal loss.

So much added to the bread producing area of the world.

The tule-land companies should have Chinamen, unless moral or political objections.

Their opponents admit they have been a very important element in the development of the country.

It would not be just to Mr. Briggs or to the section of public opinion he represents to leave his evidence here.

Q. "If you look back in the history of California to the time when these great public works did not exist, would you not find that the bringing in of Chinamen, for some time any way, would have been a useful plan?"
A. I cannot say that, because I believe if the Chinese labor had not been available, that labor would have been brought here from other sources. I believe our public works would have been carried on as in the Eastern States twenty-five years ago. True, it would have been more difficult and work might have been retarded, but future development of the country by them would have been of vast importance to the State, whereas with the Chinese, when the railroads were completed, their mission was ended."

Thinks it would be better if the Chinese had never come.

This is the most extreme position taken up by the anti-Chinese party. In answer to another question he took a more moderate view:

"I think the Chinese have been a very important factor in the development of our public works, and in the development of the resources of the state up to a certain period. We have outlived that day. The building of the overland railroads, and the interior roads, required a peculiar kind of labor; laborers who would follow up the work and live in a very primitive way, board themselves, take care of themselves, without families; labor that was always to be relied upon, and hence I believe the Chinese have done a great deal of good to the State. I think we derived a peculiar advantage from their presence here in early days; but we have outlived that day; we have finished these works, and now this labor must go into other channels, other industries, into agriculture, viticulture, factories, etc., and take the places which otherwise would be filled with white laborers in the towns and villages, and in the country, to an extent that almost prevents the whites from finding suitable employment. They now take the place of boys and girls that are growing up in this country. I believe that the peculiar advantage derived from this labor has been outgrown."

Chinese now interfere with white boys and girls.

The positions it will be seen are quite distinct. The one position is that the Chinese in building transcontinental and local railways were almost indispensable, but that now they are injurious; the other is that the country would have been ultimately better had it never seen them. There are those who think the Chinaman's usefulness is gone, if he was not from first to last an injury. There are again those who think he has been, is and will be useful.

Different theories in California respecting Chinese.

Men, like Mr. Babcock, say that in a new country cheap labor is a necessity, and a witness before the Joint Committee who was against Chinese immigration argued that in a new country cheap labor was analogous to protection to infant industries. Indeed, Mr. Babcock goes so far as to say that cheap labor instead of driving out labor provides a market for it, and we shall see that under certain conditions this proposition is sound, though there is a lurking fallacy in the sense attached by some parties to the word labor.

In a new country cheap labor a necessity.

The mere political economist might ask what is the meaning of such evidence taken at a grave enquiry?

Has a government anything to do with regulating the rate of wages?

The theory that a government has nothing to do with the rate of wages may be good political economy, but it is not calculated to commend itself to wage-earners, and is not likely to be acted on by the government of a country where wage-earners have a potent voice in the constitution. Nor, indeed, would it be acted on by a wise statesman, however unchecked his power. It is, however, a dangerous thing to encourage the idea that a government can be paternal and be useful. But there is a wide distance between the conviction that government can do everything and that it can do nothing. If it can be shown that wages are lowered not by a healthy and fair competition between fellow citizens, but between the citizens of the State and aliens whose standard of comfort is below what the ordinary decencies of life require, who have thrown aside every weight which could impede them in the race of competition, then a case would be made out for the consideration of the Government. At the same time there is the peril of the delusion taking hold of the mind of the wage-earners, that wages can be indefinitely raised. The moment wages rise to that height which sends profits below the rate of interest *plus* a fair return for risk and exertion on the part of the capitalist, the speculation will be abandoned, and production in that particular industry ceases. The stoppage of production diminishes the general wealth of mankind, and in that diminution every man, laborer as well as capitalist, shares, and the laborers immediately thrown out of employment lose in addition what they would have earned, at current rates, during the time they are out of employment, had they been employed. If, therefore, an industry can be carried on at a profit with Chinese labor which could not be so carried on with white labor, then it is in the interest of the working man and in the interest of the whole community that such industry should be worked by means of the Chinese, unless, as we have said before, there are counterbalancing considerations. The character of the labor, whether free or servile, would be an element of great importance. If the labor employed be truly servile, in the end it can only be attended by a curse. It may enrich a few individuals, but it infuses a virus into labor relations and the community generally which no wealth or prosperity can outweigh.

If wages are lowered by an unnatural competition a case is made out for governmental interference.

Wages cannot be indefinitely raised.

If an industry can be carried on with Chinese which without them would have to be abandoned—query: are they not an advantage there?

But moral may outweigh material considerations.

Influence of servile labor.

Chinese contracts is it coolie labor?

An ugly feature.

The evidence establishes that Chinese are as a rule brought under an arrangement something like this: the money is advanced them to cross the ocean and they agree to pay so much in return. Owing to the structure of Chinese society on the Coast this undoubtedly looks like contract-labor, but it is not; it is wholly different from the contract by which coolies are carried to Peru. It might be properly described in a familiar phrase—assisted passage—only that the assisted passage in this case is a private arrangement. The objectionable feature about it is the manner in which the repayment is enforced.

Mr. Frederick F. Low, whom we have before quoted (and there could be no higher authority), gives evidence as follows:

“Q. How is the contract enforced here? For instance, a Chinaman lands on our shore; there is no law here to enforce a contract made abroad. By what means do they compel the Chinaman to pay the price per month to the Six Companies.—A. You can very well conceive that Chinamen coming here, ignorant of our laws, language and customs, with these Six Companies or any one firm or company telling him what his duties are, with the surveillance that they exercise over him, and with an arrangement which they are supposed to have, in fact I know they have, with the steamship companies, that no Chinaman can purchase a ticket to return home unless he brings a certificate from the heads of these companies, that he is free from debt; it is very natural that he will pay his *pro rata* per month until he works out his debt. The way the contract is enforced.

“Q. The Pacific Mail Steamship Co., a common carrier, subsidized by the general Government, refuses to take a Chinaman home unless his associates say he has paid his debts?—A. Not only that company, but all companies—other companies aside from the Pacific Mail. There was a company here, of which Macondray & Co. were the agents, and complaint was made to me by missionaries on behalf of the Chinese. I remember going myself to Major Otis, who was the head of the house of Macondray & Co. I told him I thought it was a great outrage that they should put this exaction upon the Chinese. Otis said ‘this is the custom; it has been in existence for years; the Pacific Mail Co. do it, and if we do not conform to the custom all the trade will go over their vessels and we will not get any.’ I presume it is the custom that exists to-day.” Arrangement with steamship companies.

Then on all the large works, such as tule-land reclamation and railway building, the contract is not between employé and employer but between the employer of labor and some “merchant,”—really, of course, a labor-broker. On tule-lands the contract is made at so much a yard, and the employé need care little about the fitness or unfitness of individual men; on a railway it is different—so much a month being paid each man—and one witness, a railway contractor examined at Portland, said that when a man was objected to, the boss Chinaman instead of removing him from the road transferred him to another gang, and they were all so much alike that the deception was not easily discovered. Contracts for labor on public works.

A great deal of evidence was taken in 1876, and some by ourselves, on the character of the Chinaman as a laborer, and in his praises—and the praises were well deserved for many humble virtues—his “docility” is dwelt on and his “reliability,” and one of the reasons given why the labor was so reliable was that the contract was with the “boss” and not with the men. Therefore, if the boss had to have a certain number of men at the railway the fact that ten of his men might be sleeping off an opium debauch would not prevent ten others being in their places. One of the witnesses, a railway contractor, who said he never saw a Chinaman drunk, said he had seen them on his line under the influence of opium. The staying power of the Chinaman at railway work may, therefore, have been deceptive, and it is only just to the white laboring man to point this out. Still the evidence can leave no doubt that the majority of them are capable of hard toil. At heavy work as well as at the lighter labor in

Contract as to tule-lands, at so much a yard.

On railways the gang system is adopted.

Character of Chinamen as laborers.

The “reliability” of the Chinaman on railways may be deceptive.

the towns it is proved that they show themselves more "reliable" and more "docile" than white men. A Government cannot look at a citizen of a free country as a mere tool in the hand of capital. The jade is much more docile than the charger and each is useful in its place.

It is possible for labor to be useful to a railway and detrimental to the country.

A country is not developed merely by work. The character and habits of the workers are of importance, as well as the incidents attaching to the labor, and men like Mr. Briggs, Mr. Pixley and others hold—as a railway sub-contractor already referred to as examined at Portland held—that though the railway may pay more for white labor the country gains in settlement. This, however, is stated as an *a priori* theory not as a proposition established by facts, and we have seen it did not hold good in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway. And if the railway be not built there will be no settlers with characters to consider. We have seen above that railways built by Chinese labor led to the settlement of whites in the country through which the railway passed. There are other standpoints from which this question must be viewed, which command a more extensive outlook, and one more fruitful of suggestion.

MINING.

Mr. Seward calculates that the Chinese miners of California must have paid the state \$1,350,000.

Partial legislation against the Chinese.

Even the laws were not honestly administered.

Cruelty and oppression.

Still the Chinese miner held on.

Not only as a railway builder but as a miner the Chinaman has played a large part in California. So early as 1861, mining claims had been bought by Chinese miners to the extent of \$1,350,000, and \$2,160,000 had been paid by them for water rates. They had to cope with great difficulties. They had to face oppression on the part of ruffians and submit to hostile taxation. But no thought of receding occurred to them. An Act in 1852 provided that a license of \$3 a month should be levied on foreigners working in placer and quartz mining. It also provided that companies employing foreigners should pay the tax, and that foreigners not paying the license could not sue or defend in the courts. In another year this tax was raised to \$4 a month. The next year it was augmented \$2 a month. The tax was clearly intended to drive the Chinese miner away. In 1861, an Act was passed which was so worded as to exclude the Chinese miner from taking metals from the mines or holding a mining claim, "unless he shall have a license therefor of \$4 a month." Such taxes honestly administered would have been burdensome enough, but it would seem that by dating licenses back the collectors were guilty of great oppression. Mr. Speer, the author of "China and the United States," quoted by Mr. Seward, gives a picture of still worse conduct. The collectors made the most illegal demands, and "if the men refused to pay, they struck, stabbed or shot them; perhaps tied them to a tree and whipped them," or drove them forward, the collector from his horse laying on a horsewhip until they reached a town where still more grinding tyranny could be exercised. But still worse recitals might be given, and a Committee of the two houses of California, which met in 1862, reported that eighty-eight Chinamen had been murdered. Notwithstanding, with the pertinacity of their race and its indifference to danger when in pursuit of any object, they held on.

They are admirable miners whether at digging or placer mining. For the one purpose they are patient in toil, as all the evidence proves; in the other case there is, as one of the witnesses explains, a similarity between placer mining and rice culture, in each case the workman squats on his hams and is exposed to the sun. Mr. Sneath, who was examined before the Joint Committee, testified that in certain hydraulic mining where a mine will not pay with white labor, they can make it pay with Chinese. He gave an instance in which two hundred Chinamen were employed and where without such labor the mine would have to go unworked.

In certain cases of hydraulic mining a mine will pay with Chinese labor when it will not pay with white.

Mr. Degroot, whose evidence will be found summarized on p. 357, Appendix A, having declared his belief that the presence of Chinese had been detrimental to labor interests and mining industry, says:

"My attention was first called to this fact as long ago as 1853-4, when I was acting as collector of the foreign miners' tax. At that day we had a great deal of river-bar mining, and placer mining of every character, that would pay from \$3 to \$6; it would average \$4 or \$5 a day to each man; but that was hardly considered white wages then, and the community generally was indifferent as to the presence of the Chinese, and thought it was well enough to let these people come in and work that character of mines, believing that it would not pay white labor then and probably never would. The Chinese went on, and by their method of mining they covered up a great deal of good ground. They prevented white men from coming in because they did not like to mine near them, and in that way a good deal of mining-ground was lost which we will never be able to work out. Subsequently they began to increase and to be employed as laborers in the mines—that is, to be hired. This went on increasing. We thought at first they could not be employed to advantage in certain classes of mining, or in any class, but it was found that they could. They were hired first in placer mines, and then in drift-digging to some extent, and finally in hydraulic mining to very good advantage, except for moving stones and working in the pit; and as they became educated to the business they greatly displaced white labor, and now we have them employed in every kind of mining as laborers at good wages. This operation is constantly going on and displacing white men. The result is that the country all through from Kern River to Shasta, a distance of five hundred miles, is full of villages in a state of decadence. It is true these villages were partially depopulated along about 1857, when the surface placers were considerably exhausted and a great many miners left and went to Fox River and elsewhere. Many of them returned afterwards, but in the meantime the Chinese labor was substituted and when they came back they found that their claims were occupied. They found their position as laborers occupied, and they drifted away again; left the mines instead of working them, staying and building up homes. In that way the Chinese have come in and do nearly all of what is now called river-bed washing, turning the channels of rivers and washing them. There is a class of white men, residing in the mines from the first, who have made it a business to take up claims and sell them to the Chinese, which is in contravention, of course, of the laws of the country, and also of the local laws of the miners; but the miners leaving, these local laws have not been enforced, and these white men who do not like generally to work very well have made it a business to take up claims and sell them to the Chinese. When they are once inducted into these claims, these men who

White indifference to let in Chinese to placer mining.

From being placer miners become employed in all kinds of work and at good wages.

Miners returning to abandoned claims find them occupied.

A class of white men who, contrary to law, take up claims and sell to Chinese.