

**Some Reasons for
Chinese Exclusion;
Meat Vs. Rice, American
Manhood Against
Asiatic Coolieism.
Which Shall Survive?**

**American Federation of
Labor**

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SOME REASONS FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION; MEAT VS. RICE, AMERICAN MANHOOD AGAINST ASIATIC COOLIEISM. WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

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SOME REASONS FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION; MEAT VS. RICE, AMERICAN MANHOOD...

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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 per jury, 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 coroners 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 HIGHBINDER—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 merchants 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 they 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, slip-permakers, 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 Eussell and 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 Dore 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 HISTOET.

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 Kings 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 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 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

S D-57-1-Vol 13 12 have straightened in his saddle at sight of the enemy—he was on the defensive at once.

"A Filipino," he answered, "cant 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 with-out board.

Domestic servants 821 50 per month With.

Cooks With

Laundrymen 10.00 per month With. With

Brickmakers 30.00 per month Without. Without

Bag makers Without.

Without.

Canneries 1.00 per day Without. Without.

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 davery.

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.

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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,