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HUMORS

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OF A

CONGRESSIONAL

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

A Review of the Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration.
Washington, 1877.

BY

SAMUEL E. W. BECKER,

Secretary to the Bishop of Wilmington, Del., late Professor in The University of Virginia.

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INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The writer of the following article, brother to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Wilmington, Del., had occasion after reading the report of the Committee on Chinese Immigration to write an article for the *Catholic World* on an entirely different subject, in which, however, he took occasion to say that in his opinion Catholics if as represented they joined as a body in hounding down the Chinese were doing not only a wrong but an impolitic thing.

That article excited considerable talk, and letters have been received at the office of the *World* both from those who liked and those who disliked the merely incidental mention of opinion therein made.

Having passed some time in California Mr. Becker naturally felt a strong interest in her doings, and after reading with great care the testimony in the above mentioned Report wrote this article, intending it for publication in the *North American Review*, but the columns of that magazine being pre-engaged for the next two issues, and as its publication after that time would be too late to do much good, it was sent to the present editor, who has thought best to issue it in this form, believing its publication calculated to do good, especially among co-religionists of Mr. Becker.

Mr. Becker has written hitherto solely on ecclesiastical matters. He gives this as his contribution to the cause of right against foul oppression. The circumstances that caused him to examine the question and write this article were simply these: Among other books and documents sent out by Senator Bayard was the "Report on Chinese Immigration." Mr. Becker had but the general idea which every conscientious man *does* and every educated man *should* entertain, *i. e.*, a stern opposition to the abuse and oppression of the helpless, and an unswerving belief in the sacredness of treaty obligations. He has from 1862 to 1866 spent considerable time in California, Utah, Idaho and Nevada, where his observation had been very favorable to the Chinese and of

a different sort with regard to their oppressors. Taking up the book rather with a view of seeing again some of the names that had once been familiar to him in California he found occasion to join issue with some views expressed by Rev. Messrs. Gibson, Brier, &c., and in the article in the *Catholic World* of February controverted these views. In the exordium he merely stated that if true, as asserted, that the Catholics sided with might against right on the subject, they deserved to be and would yet be lashed with whips of scorpions. It was merely a casual remark, but the editor of the *World* received any quantity of letters deprecating any such statement as in the highest degree impolitic, affirming that the writer did not know what he was talking about, &c., &c., usque ad nauseam.

Thereupon he read the whole Report, striving to discriminate the true and pertinent from the false and irrelevant, became fully convinced where the truth lay, talked the matter over with Bishop Becker—corresponded with Senator Bayard on the subject, and put on paper the result.

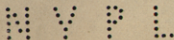
And we commend it to the careful consideration of every Christian and Patriot.

HUMORS
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Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration. Washington, 1877.

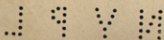
In the month of July, 1876, a concurrent resolution was introduced and carried in the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S., authorizing a joint special committee, consisting of three members from each house, to proceed to the Pacific Coast, for the purpose of investigating the effect and extent of Chinese immigration into this country. The resolution, of course, empowered the committee to procure testimony under oath; and the usual rigmarole was added about "authority to send for persons and papers." Few sane men nowadays fancy for a moment that the man who will not, of his own accord, tell the truth, is likely to be successfully launched on the track of veracity by being put upon oath; and the success of late Congressional committees in procuring papers and in dealing with persons (when they had them face to face,) has not been such as to lead even the average member of Congress to regard this phrase as anything more than "padding and filling in." That committee was required to report to the next (the present) session of Congress. It is a matter of no special interest to us who the members of the committee were—our business is with their work and the mode in which they performed it. We have the result of their labors in the 1287 4to pages before us.

Experience has, in our country, abundantly demonstrated that both political parties have been, are, and will in all human probability always be ready to pander to the last extent to the prejudices of the ignorant, who are in all countries a vast majority, and, in this of ours, have and make use of their votes. Both Democrats and Republicans inserted an anti-Chinese plank in the platform of the last Presidential campaign. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the members of this committee—men who make a profession of politics—should have come to the work as partisans, and with mentally foregone conclusions. That they did so, is manifest by the animus of the questions, suggestions, interrogations and incidental remarks of the committee-men from the first business session. The meetings were held in San Francisco, whose population has, to say the least, not won



golden opinions by the treatment that the Chinese have met there. A vast majority of the witnesses in constant attendance were municipal authorities of that city, whose outrageous and inhuman laws against these poor people have been again and again overruled—even by the Supreme Court of their State—while State officials and committees of the Legislature of California were not wanting, both as witnesses and advocates on the side of the oppressor. During the sessions, these large “anti-Coolie” clubs in San Francisco were sending threatening letters to the employers of Chinese labor, and a daily press, both the conscientious and the venal, brayed and argued, ranted and talked, lied and asserted, as usually happens when persons are excited. We have all long known that a Congressional Committee invariably divides off by parties on questions both of law and fact. Most men have settled down in the belief that such committees have no judicial character whatever, consisting simply of two boards of attorneys for the respective political parties; but in the case before us, there being no issue between the political parties, the board may be said to have been from first to last a purely one-sided affair, though faint indications appear from time to time that at least one of the committee-men felt ashamed of his role, thinking that perhaps industry, frugality, temperance and submissiveness were not the strongest grounds on which to frame an indictment against one-third of the human race.

In the teeth of what seems to us the vast preponderance of evidence laid before them, (which is now before us and before the world), and which certainly would lead many minds to far different conclusions, this committee rings all possible changes upon the utterly unproved fact, that deadly riots are likely to occur among the Celestials, owing to local hostilities previously existing in China—dwells upon the admitted fact that the Chinese in this country still largely retain their original costume and habits in food and mode of life, and inveighs against the frugality which enables the Chinaman to live and save money on wages which, lamentably enough, is insufficient for the needs of the white man, who deems it incumbent upon him to do his level best towards patronising the saloons. The Committee does not hesitate to speak of the existence of the Chinese in the Pacific States as a “*terrible scourge*,” winds up by recommending that the Executive take measures for modifying the existing treaty with China, confining it to strictly commercial purposes, and that Congress legislate to restrain the great influx of Asiatics into this country. They deliberately suggest to Congress that if this question be not now promptly met, it will have, within a quarter of a century, to be confronted on the banks of the Ohio or the Hudson. They darkly hint that Republican institutions are imperilled by the prospective immigration of Chinese, and forecast for us the gloomy prospect that the ex-



istence of Christian civilization among the hoodlums of California is menaced by the "heathen Chinese." For these honorable Senators and Representatives have evidently not that confidence in the vitality of Christianity entertained by Brigham Young in that of Mormonism, when in response to the suggestion that the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad would cause the disintegration of the religion of Joe Smith, he tersely observed that "*it would be a — poor religion if it couldn't stand one railroad!*" No doubt their intense personal realization of the practical importance of the plan of salvation opened up under the Christian dispensation caused the Committee to overrate the magnitude of the dangers that threaten the true religion. But, gentlemen, surely it cannot be well for men so highly placed to express and give way to such craven fears, since weaker brethren, taking such dicta as sound, may be led to think that Christianity, like the Pennsylvania iron trade, is a feeble growth, for the nurture of which heavy tariffs, as well as careful discriminations against all rival products are absolutely necessary.

Now six gentlemen do not travel from Washington to San Francisco—occupy rooms at the Palace Hotel, (rooms A and B were devoted, for more than a month, to the mere services of that committee)—employ a Secretary—procure witnesses, and print such a voluminous report, without its costing a very considerable sum of money. The money so spent was the money of the people. Times are and have been exceedingly hard, and the proportion of the very poor to the entire population has, at no period of our history, been so great as now. What has been gained by this expedition? What is there to show for it? Of course the reader (should the Report find readers) can lay no stress on the highfalutin but very indefinite talk of the members, touching "*intelligent*" and "*adequately paid labor.*" Vague terms like these are not expected to befool any but the rabble; and they will need to be very unintelligent indeed, who do not see that those who indulge in such misty talk, do so for a purpose which is itself by no means nebulous. Has there any single point in connection with the much mooted question of Chinese Immigration been made clearer to the mind of a single eastern resident, by the labor of this committee? Our own deliberate answer would be, that the game has not been worth the candle, and that the money spent upon the committee and the committee's report has been uselessly expended. What Congressional Committee (there have been several within the past couple of years) ever failed to bring in a report on the side for which a majority of its members had been previously contending? Have they not all been foregone conclusions, from the earliest one in our national history, down to the Electoral Committee? *A fortiori*, this one, containing essentially no discordant elements, even in a week, saw just what it wanted to see, saw nothing else, and

reports in accordance. But the members might just as well have reported before leaving Washington, and would have reported just the same thing that they now do.

Considering the length of time during which the civilized nations of the earth have called themselves Christians, and accepted a Revelation, which distinctly informs us, on Divine authority, that "God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth;" we have assuredly been very slow in withdrawing ourselves from the habits and modes of the Pagans, both in thought and action. They used to designate *foreigner* and *foe* by the same word, and deemed all who were not their homoglotts, to be barbarians. But, notwithstanding the manifest reluctance with which the nations gave up the notion that the foreigner was made solely to be bullied and plundered, yet they did give it up just in proportion as they became generally imbued with the truth of the Christian religion. Though it be but lately that the last vestiges of the "*droit d'aubains*" have been abolished, even in the foremost Christian countries of Europe, yet that result has finally been accomplished, and the civil position of a foreigner in England or in France is now, in no regard different from that of a native, save as to the right to vote and to be voted for. But, in earlier centuries, and for several hundreds of years, no foreigner could hold real estate, could make a will, or inherit property; and they were, at the same time, subject to all manner of vexations, taxations and restrictions, liable at any time to be unceremoniously expelled the realm, under form of law—to be mobbed by the natives for grievances real or fancied, and in the event of a war between their own nation and that in which they resided, their goods were at once confiscated, and themselves summarily cast into prison. One by one, and in different centuries, these laws and usages became a dead letter, or was abrogated; nor will it be surprising that the nation that enacted the notorious "*Penal Laws*," was the slowest and most reluctant to give them up, it being only in 1870 that the last disability was repealed by the English Parliament, and foreigners allowed to bequeath and inherit like British subjects. Even stolid Turkey had long before done away with the wretched "*droit d'aubains*."

But it would seem that in the English speaking countries the population has as yet been by no means christianised, or even civilized up to the level of the laws. California has, for over twenty years, been acting towards the Chinese in the spirit of paganism, and this committee recom-

mends, in the report before us, that the boasted government of the United States should retrograde some fifteen centuries in its treatment of the poor celestials. "I say, Bill, 'e's a blasted furriner, 'cave han 'alf brick at 'im," conveys the feeling with which, at least, the lower ranks in

England are saturated. Our own abominable "alien and sedition laws" of the pre-revolutionary period, proves that the leaven of paganism was still strong among men who stood high among freedom's champions, and should have known better than to battle for the wrong. The "Native American" excesses of 1844, and the "Know Nothing" campaign of 1855, teach us that the substratum of the community is still quite ready to abuse the foreigner merely because of his birth, and that nothing delights our home rabble more than a likelihood of success in wreaking upon men not to the manor born, that hatred and spite which clings to us as a remnant of barbarism and pagantry. With many men of much reading and reflection, it is unfortunately, not a question either of honest conviction or of stout, stolid, ignorant prejudice. With such, it is most frequently a mere question of self-interest, that interest being to *howl with the wolves*, and if it could be made manifest that a large number of citizens had, however falsely, gotten it into their heads that the Hebrew (or any other specific) population of the United States were given to clandestine feeding upon kidnapped babies, there would be found plenty of men, who, seeing thereby a chance of office or other political advancement, would pander to that false belief, knowing its falsity, and work like lawyers to prove the poor Jews guilty.

Notwithstanding the existence of the views referred to, in the minds of certain classes of the community, and though, under favorable circumstances, it would, without doubt, display itself with as little regard to the civil or moral law as in 1844; or cloak itself as meanly as in 1855, yet, what with our recent war, (in which foreigners were manifestly not the traitors, whosoever else may have been), what with the questions that arose subsequent to Lee's surrender, and the otherwise sufficiently vexed state of the politics of the country, there has been, of late years, in what Californians are wont to call "the States," no attempt at setting natives and foreigners by the ears. It is too soon after the rebellion for renewing the spurious cry, "*Put none but Americans on guard to-night.*" That *Morgan* would not be *good enough*, and the probability would be largely against success in an election conducted under such auspices. What the next twenty years may do, remains to be seen. For our own part, we hope—nay, we almost believe, that religion and civilization, that morality and education are progressing too rapidly to render it possible for us, as a nation, again to approximate barbarism, by lapsing back in the path that should be one of progress. It will take a great many dunderheaded recommendations from manifold committees of Congress to cause us to lose our faith in the brain and real conscience—the thoughtful middle classes of this great country; at any rate, we shall not bid the devil "good-morning" till we actually meet him.

But in California itself, which has been ours for not quite thirty years, which has, as yet, but few voters born on her soil—where all were, in the beginning, foreigners in a certain sense, it being very doubtful whether the actual foreigners did not, for many years largely outnumber those born within the limits of the United States, and when it would have been highly impractical, at least in the early days, to attempt any legislation against "foreigners" as such; circumstances did indeed alter cases. The patient, laborious Chinamen of the extreme southern province of Canton, heard of the discovery of gold in California, and, during '48, '49 and '50, large numbers of them entered the Golden Gate, joined in the search for the precious metals, and though abused and maltreated, as the physically and numerically weak always are by such a population, still, there would seem, in the first years, to have existed none of that prejudice against them, which has subsequently sprung up, or been excited factitiously, since the 4th of July, 1851. On the 8th December, 1850, the Chinese formed quite a large, and by far the most imposing feature of the procession in honor of the admission of California into the union of States. So encouraged were they by the success of their venture, that they joined their fellow-beings in adding what they could of splendor to the celebration of the ensuing 4th of July. People talked largely at that time, of trade with China, of making San Francisco the tea mart of the world, nay, even of raising tea, rice and silk in California, by the assistance of the natives. If not popular, the Chinaman was certainly not, as yet, bitterly disliked. The era of heaving a stone at sight of John Chinaman had not yet arrived. Half grown boys had not yet begun to make a business of shying missiles at him. We have no certain information on the point, but think it within the range of possibility that at that time a San Francisco policeman would have interposed to prevent his being abused.* Those were John's halcyon days. Alas! He has never since joined in a political demonstration with his California neighbors; has been obliged (at any rate since 1855) to keep himself, on all such occasions, very carefully out of the way, and in general not to "rile," the spirit of the superior race, by thrusting his person between the wind and their nobility. It is stated (but we regard the history as unvarnished) that the Chinese laundrymen marched at night in procession at San Francisco, soon after the ingenious discovery by which linen is counterfeited in paper; they are said, on that occasion, to have born among many smaller ones, a huge transparency with this legend; "*No more washes; paper collar for Melican man, give him linen collar back.*" If so, it was the last public demonstration in which the California celestials have ventured to indulge.

* We had neither half grown boys nor policemen.—[Error.]

With the exhaustion of the surface diggings, or to put it in California parlance, so soon as "prospecting got played out," the never very genuine, and always selfish gush of the white inhabitants over the Chinese ceased at once. It became manifest that the Chinaman could and did suit himself to the changed circumstances; that he could and did wash over old abandoned tailings, and make not only a living, but a profit upon them. Driven from these by exorbitant taxes levelled solely at and ruthlessly exacted from him, he undertook the getting up of linen as laundryman; did it so well and so cheap that the business soon fell altogether in his hands. Many Chinese became employed as cooks, or slop-boys, as domestic servants of all sorts. So sober, so obedient, so punctual and reliable were they, that those who employed them would have no others. By these qualities and a superior dexterity, they soon got hold of the business of the cigar-makers. From remnants of misfit carpet and strips of sole leather, they made and sold slippers at 50c. the pair which the noble Caucasian would not deign to make for less than \$1.50. But the noble race bought the cheaper slipper, and California ceased to import slippers from France. The woolen mills were then in their infancy in San Francisco, and the employés would get drunk; would keep "blue Monday" and many other blue days; insisted upon such high wages that the nascent industry stood no show of success, while the workmen varied performances by going on occasional strikes by way of enlivening the business prospect. Chinamen were then employed, who were always on hand, invariably sober, contented if they received the wages promised, and they soon proved themselves adepts in the art of manipulating the wool at every stage, from the fleeco to the finest manufactured article. Employers are not slow to perceive their own wants, nor more unlikely than the rest of the world to suit themselves, and thus the Chinese always found remunerative employment, while their sullen antagonists (for the miners by this time hated the Chinaman) refused work unless at their trade (if they had one)—prospected vaguely and of course unsuccessfully over the country, and were largely to be found playing "poker," or practising at the bar of the saloons. "Say, lend us a half?" began to be a not unusual form of address. Clothes grew seedier, more dilapidated, while the occasional sight of John's (every Chinaman is called John in California) neatly clad figure on his way to or from his work added fuel to the smouldering indignation of the superior (?) race. What a vile passion in human nature is that which makes the idle, slinking sot hate so bitterly his fellow (perhaps otherwise his inferior) merely for being industrious, thrifty and sober! The female house-servant had carried things, ere John's advent, with a high hand. People became tired of her—her waste, her airs, her claims, her high demands in the matter of wages. It was soon found

out that John was ready to step quietly in—do her work unsatisfactorily to master and mistress, perform faithfully all he was ordered to do, and all this far more savingly than the females had ever done it, while he claims but about two-thirds of the wages. *Servant-geldom* was "down on" him, and from that time bitter hatred has been borne and inextinguishable ire sworn against him by the laboring Anglo-Saxon, (not one in fifty of them is that,) male and female. Since then it has been simply war to the knife on the one side, and a quiet, cunning, submissive avoidance of trouble on the part of the Chinaman.

Skillfully nurtured, more especially on the eve of elections, by conscienceless demagogues who have an ax to grind by this means, constant outrages and frequent murders have been perpetrated on this inoffensive race; and though there is usually a lull in the intervals between the local and other canvasses, the sore always exists, liable to break out on but slight provocation, which provocation, however, both the testimony taken and the facts otherwise known justify us in asserting never once to have come from the usually timorous Celestial.

The writer has himself seen outrages publicly perpetrated upon Chinamen in the streets of San Francisco, calculated to make one's blood boil within him. We have all read something of the treatment which these poor people experience in that city and throughout California at the hands (we will say) of boys and lewd fellows of the baser sort. Dare they do this repeatedly in opposition to a public sentiment worth anything? Who ever heard of a hoodlum being arrested, still less punished, for abusing a Chinaman? It is clearly and uncontradictedly in evidence in this Report, that bands of men and boys used to make it their business to pelt the newly arrived Chinamen with stones as they sat helplessly huddled in the express-wagons on their way from the steamer to the caravansera of the special company to which they looked for care and advice; nor was it formerly any unusual thing to see them lifted out senseless and with broken heads. Had a title of the outrages practiced with impunity upon the Chinese in California been perpetrated upon persons of any European nationality, the Alabama claims would be but a shadow of the damages that any fair tribunal would feel compelled to award that nation by way of compensation for the apathy of our officials and the brutality of our citizens.

So much being premised as to the statement of the question, we must somewhat modify our previous assertion that the Committee might as well have made its report without leaving Washington. Incidentally it happens that though a vast amount of the testimony is trashy, a great deal of it utterly irrelevant, and much of it as thoroughly *ex parte* as the minds of the gentlemen before whom it was taken, yet a portion of it, a considerable portion, and probably that on

which an observant reader will feel inclined to lay most stress, was manifestly neither looked for nor graciously received by the Committee, and tells in very plain words some very stubborn facts. The men who give this testimony are men of weight in the community, many of them being '49ers. They are neither State nor municipal politicians, nor are they policeman or officials in anti-Coolie clubs. From these various classes we have evidence *usque ad nauseam*, but its malignity is so patent as to defeat itself; and even where the probability seems favorable to its truth, we cannot help but doubt the statements, or at least ask for further and better proof. Physicians rarely show to advantage when giving testimony on their own specialty, and in this book they contradict each other at all points. A California *savant* has managed to "ring in" upon the Committee quite a voluminous essay, printed in the appendix among a great deal of other extraneous matter. His subject is, "*The origin of the Chinese race, its early migrations, the philosophy of their development, &c., &c.*," matters, which even if well treated, had about as much to do with the subject in hand as a "*dissertation of the great wall*;" and handled as it is, reminds one of nothing so much as an unusually wearisome and pointless paper in the proceedings of the Smithsonian Institute. On every item of statistics, from the total number of Chinese in the Flowery Land down to the number of Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco, or the total number of converted Celestials in California, we have so many, so widely divergent, and such wild guesses, that it is evident most of the parties talking know, of their own knowledge, nothing at all in the premises and had access to poor data for accurate guess-work. In the testimony of some of the witnesses there is a manifest undercurrent of a strong desire to be candid, coupled with an equally evident fear of the loss of public sentiment. One of the witnesses showed the Committee a threatening letter, ordering him to *leave the State forthwith*, the reason assigned being that he had in his testimony spoken favorably of the Chinese. During the sessions of the Committee, at least three distinct and aggravated outrages upon Chinamen took place in San Francisco, sufficiently serious to be reported in the daily prints, though, of course, nobody was arrested, much less punished in consequence. It may, therefore, be pleaded in mitigation of this *opus venustum*, that "more by good luck than good guidance" it contains material which will help a person who has lived upon the Pacific Coast, and had personal acquaintance with the Chinese, in coming to a rational conclusion on the matter at issue. More than this cannot be said for it.

Statements were made by their respective attorneys, 1st, on behalf of the State; 2d, on the part of the municipality of San Francisco; and 3d, from the standpoint of the Anti-Chinese Union, which seemed to be a sort of Grand Lodge

of the various Anti-Coolie Clubs. It is, by the way, a stinging sarcasm upon the innate tendency of the human race to persecution, that the names of the Presidents of the three Anti-Coolie Clubs of San Francisco before the Committee are unmistakably Irish; and this fact, together with the sorrowful certainty that that race is in California now lending its irrepressible energy to this unchristian and inhuman bounding down of the Chinese, would go far, (if anything could,) to reconcile us to the thought of their own sufferings in the days when a price was set on the head of a priest as on that of a wolf. They are now using the self-same terms about other human beings, of which they complained so bitterly, when, some fifty years ago, they were styled in the British Parliament, "*Aliens in blood, aliens in language and aliens in religion!*" If the views which they now advocate on the Pacific Coast had prevailed in the East, they would themselves never have been admitted into the country, which we cannot help but think they are by this action of theirs doing all in their power to disgrace. The opening speech on behalf of the State was a sufficiently temperate production, laying down nothing but what the speaker fancied he could prove, disclaiming all sympathy with the infamous class legislation to which the Chinese have been subjected, and eschewing any desire for their total exclusion or expulsion from our shores. A conscientious man, somewhat misinformed about the facts, but thoroughly well-meaning, might readily have made all the statements therein contained; at least, he might have done so previous to the taking of the testimony.

Not so with the speech in behalf of the municipality. For at least twenty years past, there has been in San Francisco a certain member of the bar, whose only claim to notice is the "cheek" and persistency with which he has kept himself before the public by means of this subject—to whom it has been as the breath of his nostrils; and by constant and iterate ventilation of it, we believe he ever attained the sublime dignity of Attorney-General of California. Whoever will take the trouble to read any twenty lines of his speech at random, will find ample proof that he is not a scholar. If any half page of it be read in connection with the testimony on the corresponding points, it will be seen that the politician always remains true to his instincts of untruthfulness. As is usually the case with ignorant, half-fledged men who have had a certain sort of material success in life, or gained that sort of notoriety which they are apt to mistake for applause, he is an infidel, which is bad enough. But worse still, this man is a hypocrite withal, for in the effort before us, he prates about religion, inveighs against the paganism of the Chinese, and the reluctant deleteriousness of their presence to the Christian character of Californians. But he is not even what he would call "smart," he forgets his role, for he writes,

says and allows to go on record in print, the following with other similar sentiments:

"I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, that they are not worth the saving." There is a genuine Christian character for you; and of his Biblical and Theological information, we call the following choice morsel from the same speech:

"The Divine wisdom has said that he would divide the country and the world as the heritage of five great families; that to the blacks He would give Africa; to the red man He would give America; and Asia He would give to the yellow races. He inspires us with the determination not only to have prepared our own inheritance, but to have stolen from the red man America; and it is now settled that the Saxon, American or European groups of families, the white race, is to have the inheritance of Europe and America, and that the yellow races of China are to be confined to what the Almighty originally gave them; and, as they are not a favored people, they are not to be permitted to steal from us what we have robbed the American savage of."

Could anybody desire finer Biblical exercises, more lucid ethnography, or a more accurate knowledge of the decrees of God? Could these articles when discovered, be dished up by any ordinary brain in such "hoighth of foine English intoirely?" He never for an instant balks at asserting for fact what is not only unproved by the evidence, but even again and again distinctly asseverates as true, that which his own witnesses have utterly disproved. In the course of the examination he suggests that while some think "it would be wise to meet the Chinaman with the Gospel," he thinks that "a paving stone would be the proper weapon." It having been said by some witness that Yung Wing, (a Chinaman, who has spent most of his life in our country, and is an L. L. D. of Yale College,) was likely to be appointed Chinese Minister to the U. S., and that he had said he thought it likely that China would demand reparation for various outrages committed upon the Celestials in California, this orator of ours jauntily observes, "We'll cut off his queue." No doubt he thought he was saying a witty thing; indeed, it probably would pass both for wit and argument in an Anti-Coolie meeting. Again, when a very respectable witness (a clergyman, whose testimony he was perverting,) sedately tells him, "I did not say so, I said the exact reverse," he impudently retorts, meaning to be insulting, "You are a little touchy for a priest!" Like cause like advocate. But civilization would prefer a gentleman, Christianity a believer, and if lucubrations are to be thrust upon us at the public expense, most of us would prefer them from a man capable of writing English.

The representative of the Anti-Chinese Union adopts bodily the sentiments of both the previous addresses, merely adding a lament over (white) labor and its distresses in Cali-

formia, (owing, in his opinion, to the presence of the moon-eyed celestials), and the necessity for its protection. His argument is simply a reiteration of the clap-trap which we, on this side of the continent, have been in the habit of bearing regularly on the introduction of every new labor saving machine, from the reaper down to the Singer and Wilson—from the first introduction of foreign labor of any kind in any neighborhood, down to the last *emeute* about Italian labor on the Brooklyn boulevards. So often and thoroughly have these views been exploded, that they no longer obtain, save among the Bradlaugh and Odger men in England, or the followers of Raoul Regault in France, and the Anti-Coolie Clubs in California. But, a comparatively small number of narrow-minded men, well kept in hand by a few brawling demagogues, are quite competent to inaugurate a reign of terror anywhere, and have manifestly succeeded in scaring many of the more sensible inhabitants of the Capital of the Pacific. Is it not a little strange that the three attorneys of the Anti-Coolie Clubs insist before the committee that they have neither right or desire to drive out the Chinese already here? They know as well as we, that the following is part and parcel of the articles of association of every single club of the kind in California, viz :

"Its objects are to protect the people of the United States from the degrading influence of Chinese labor in any form; to discourage and stay any further Chinese immigration, and to compel the Chinese living in the United States to withdraw from the country."

We purposely avoid, as far as possible, the mention of names, which is only calculated to make what should be a contest of fact and argument degenerate into personal bickering. But the two gentlemen who appeared before this committee on the side of the oppressed, and in opposition to the madness that seems to rule the hour, at least in San Francisco, deserves high credit, not only for the ability with which they presented their case, but for the necessarily involved abnegation of any political aspirations which they may otherwise have cherished. Ignorance is very tyrannical, prejudice relentless, the mob despotic, and never forgives him who runs counter to its aims. If, as we have no reason to doubt, these gentlemen performed the work as a matter of duty, and because they believed themselves right, they have that satisfaction to which no other is comparable, viz : the proud consciousness of having battled manfully against numbers, prejudice and threats, for a weak people who had no other helpers.

Points upon which great stress is laid by those who favor the expulsion of the Chinese, for, whatever may be said by the attorneys anxious to make a good impression, such is the aim of the movement, are these :

1st. That the Chinese come hither under contracts of

labor for a long term of years ; in short, that they are slaves for a term.

2d. That they do not come to live and die here, and that they do not become attached to our institutions.

3d. That they are vilely immoral in China, that infanticide is common, and prostitution a reputable profession.

4th. That by working at lower rates than the whites, they prevent white immigration to the Pacific Coast.

5th. That the portion of the city in which they live, is dilapidated and filthy.

6th. That the Chinese women in California, are almost invariably prostitutes.

7th. That, owing to the crowded condition of the Celestial Empire, the Mongolians will, unless prevented, overflow the whole coast.

8th. That large numbers of white people are now living in California in poverty and distress, being unable to find employment because of Chinese competition.

It will be at once seen that these points again ramify into many questions, and many other assertions are made against the Chinese as an immigrant. It will be impossible, without making a book, rather than an article, for us to do more than examine cursorily the above points in the light of the evidence before the committee.

1. *a.* That the Chinese often, perhaps in most cases, borrow the money in order to pay their passage to this country, does not seem by the evidence to admit a shadow of doubt; but this is simply an amount of money which they owe as individuals, and very far from being a certain number of years' service. Every kind of testimony has been received on that point, and a bitter and determined effort made to make out the Chinamen of California a set of actual "coolies," in the sense in which that word is applied to those who are kept in the baracoons of Macao till a cargo can be procured for Calao or Havana. But it requires simply the ability to read and not even that of weighing testimony, to see that the effort has been a failure. It is highly creditable to the Chinese that their obligation (personal) should be of such value among their compatriots as to induce the advance of this money, which must, in outfit, passage and allowances to those left behind, amount at least to \$150 in each case. We are civilized and christian—there is about us no taint of the "heathen Chinee"—and yet our people might vainly canvass the monied men of our principal cities with a view to having their transportation expenses to California or to Australia advanced on what would be felt to be so slim a security. One of the witnesses expressed his feeling somewhat pointedly on that matter when he said, "If the teachings of Paganism make such honest men as I find the Chinamen to be, I think seriously of becoming a Pagan myself." They are not bound to work a certain length of time, but simply to re-

fund a certain sum of money. "The Chinese come here voluntarily in every case, except the women who are brought here for vile purposes; and every unemployed Chinaman is to-day open to a personal and individual engagement to work for any man who will have him. He agrees personally for the terms, receives the wages, and may break the bargain when he likes." When large numbers of laborers are required, the Chinese, owing partly to ignorance of our language, and still more largely to suspicion of our dishonesty, choose to allow some Chinaman to take the entire job when it is heavy, so that he may be responsible for their wages whether the white man breaks contract or not. Those of them who have become Christians assert unanimously that none of their countrymen come to this country under term contracts of labor, and that the individuals are perfectly free in their disposal of their purposes and services. Thousands of Chinese house-servants weekly receive their wages and dispose of them as they please. There never has been a particle of evidence before the Courts in any county of California to prove that a single individual of the Chinese population was a slave, as regards the disposal of his labor. Missionaries, Consular agents, those who have traveled in China, know the people in California, have studied the language, and have thereby the best chance of knowing whereof they affirm, assert that they are in no sense slaves, except in the sense of being, when they first land, unskilled menial laborers. Admitted, then, that many of them borrow money for the purpose of reaching California, in what respect do they differ from most white emigrants to the United States, or for that matter, from many emigrants from the States to California, save in the greater confidence that seems to be reposed in them. One witness, one too who by his position should have been a respectable man, deliberately charges their fidelity to such an engagement as a disgrace, states that the superior race would, and intimates that the Chinese should repudiate any such debt, and says that if "they knew enough" they would never pay!!

In short, any man accustomed to the hearing of testimony will be surprised to know how, in the face of all that goes to show their entire freedom, any one should have the effrontery to make the reverse charge. As individuals, they make their bargain, collect their money, leave at the end of any specified time, if it so please them, and when hired in gangs, each man keeps his account with the boss and holds the boss responsible. They are not slaves, because they act each man for himself independently, and look out for their own interests with great care. Of the whole 130 witnesses, there are but three who testify differently; and it is quite palpable that one of them is, for some reason, simply boiling over with hatred against the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which he thinks it possible to injure in this way; that a

second has a crow to pluck with our American Consular service in China, while the position of a third, discredited as he is both as to persons, things, and his own position in China, is certainly not enviable; nor would the circumstances or attainments of any one of them make him a reliable witness on the premises. Forty pages on end might be filled with testimony from this report, which would, however, at the end only multiply the sworn statement: "No Chinaman who ever came to this country is a slave in any other sense than that in which every poor man is a slave *por hac vice* to the person who loans him money which he feels bound to repay, or to the man who furnishes him labor. And this only refers to the poorest of those who come—to the mere agricultural laborers—since the merchants and artisans of course pay their own way."

2. *b.* Most of our readers have a general idea that the Chinese have not been, in California, treated over and above well, and with that their information probably ceases. Once in a while, they may have heard of a very severe outrage, but by the time such a case has permeated to the east, the salient points of its atrocity have been smoothed down, even when care has not been exercised at first in keeping the full facts from the general public. Without cumbering the present article with particulars, which those who wish can get from the evidence, let it suffice to say that these miserable people have been, for the last twenty years, the almost invariably unresisting objects of unprovoked attack and brutal maltreatment, both individually and in a collective capacity, ranging in grade from assault and battery in the street, up to cold blooded murder, or that a vast majority of witnesses, testify that no attempt was made, as a rule, to arrest the assailants, and that it is on testimony that "no jury can be found in California, to hang a white man for murdering a Chinaman." Would it not, under these circumstances, be very strange if they did become attached to our institutions? It is proved that they are very much averse to appearing before our Police Courts, where they have learned by experience, that for them, arrest and conviction are almost synonymous terms, and they, therefore, for the most part, arbitrate their difficulties among themselves, before the representatives of some one of the "Six Companies," to one of which, all of them belong, and which seem to be benevolent societies similar to the St. George's, the St. Andrews's, the Germania, among foreigners, or to the New England Society among our own people. They are taxed to support our schools, but peremptorily refused admission to their privileges; while their anxiety to avail themselves of the chance for education, is shown, not only by the efforts they have put forth in the direction of the public facilities, but by the roll-call of 3500 in the various Mission Sunday and class schools of the different associations maintained by the various

sects for the purpose of evangelizing them. Abundant witnesses testify that no other foreign population strive so hard, with as little encouragement, to learn our language, laws and customs. "If the right to citizenship depended solely on knowledge of our language, laws and a good moral character on the part of the individual applicant, numbers of Chinamen would ask for naturalization papers, and would have a right to them." "I have heard," says a gentleman before the committee, "many Chinamen say 'we want to become citizens but they will not let us; How can we become citizens when the laws will not allow us?'" Another says, and his evidence is of a piece with the preponderance, "If I had to come into the United States and be treated as I have seen the Chinese, I certainly should have but little admiration for the religion or the institutions under which such outrage was possible."

Though weak as a palliation even if true, it has been said that these assaults and these annoyances spring mostly from the ebullient prejudices of the hoodlum class, fanned into a flame about election times by politicians who want to make political capital thereby. But the assaults and injuries complained of are too persistent and too continuous—the failure to punish too constant for any one to accept such plea in palliation. Besides, what is to be said of the laws called the "foreign miners' tax," "the queue ordinance," "the cubic air law," "the laundry tax,"—all aimed against the Chinese and not even attempted to be enforced against any others—so wantonly unjust that even the most manifestly rabid chinaphobist witnesses are ashamed of them; that the State Courts of California have in many instances adjudged them unconstitutional, and that the very attorneys in this investigation shun openly to espouse them. These enactments were made in cold blood—carried out, many of them, for years—and display a fiendish malignity of causeless hate worthy of the foulest demons. By the "foreign miners' act," passed in the spring of '61, no one not a citizen or having declared his intention to become such, (California Judiciary excepted,) was allowed to engage in the operation of mining for gold or silver before paying a tax of \$4 per month. This was the lowest amount, but it varied so as to be, at different times and places, \$6, 8, 10 and 20 per month. Of course all others, if called on for such tax, at once said they were citizens, or went straightway and declared their intentions. No tax was ever gathered or expected to be collected out of any but the Chinese, and the Chinaman had no remedy. He could not declare his intentions, for the law precluded him, and that tax has been, until a few years ago, regularly extracted from the Chinaman just according to the greed and caprice of the deputies in the different counties. The "queue ordinance" makes it lawful to cut off the queue of the Chinaman sentenced for any offence in a police or other court, and when

it is borne in mind that the Chinaman is looked upon as disgraced who has lost his queue, we leave the reader to imagine the horror of such a wanton mutilation. No one makes a pretence that this was aimed at any others than the Chinese. To do so would be to stultify oneself.

It is not contended for a moment that there was a single arrest of a white man under the ordinance. The laundry ordinance is a jewel in itself. Individual Chinamen have little washhouses all over the city of San Francisco and carry the clothes of their customers to and fro in baskets. Now Chinamen know, for the most part, nothing about a horse or a vehicle drawn by one, and our honest and just City Fathers passed a law that all laundrymen having a two-horse vehicle should pay \$2 per quarter, those having but one horse should pay \$4, and those *that carried clothing in a basket, using Shank's mare, should pay \$15 per quarter.* We cannot go over all the tyrannical and oppressive measures enacted. These are quite enough to show the animus and to serve as a sample.

It is more than likely that the inducing cause of immigration on the part of the Chinese is a desire to improve his condition and wish to make money. In this respect he is exactly like the rest of the human family—like the foreigners who come hither from Europe, and like our own people who went out in the early days to California. It is, doubtless, all very pretty and poetical to talk of immigration for the purposes of becoming a citizen of a new commonwealth, assist in spreading the area of freedom; but we know that such is not the moving cause in one case out of a million. It was with pleasure that we saw the response of a present politician and former Governor of California to some of the falsely based questions put to witnesses on this issue. *Ques.*—“With what intention do the Chinese come?” *Ans.*—“I suppose *the same as we all came here—to make money.*” *Ques.*—“Do they come here to make a home—to become citizens, *as you did?*” *Ans.*—“When I came to California I did not come for any such purpose!” Had the first white immigrant to California, or in any other region, found themselves met by a hostile population and hostile laws; had they been beaten on the streets, robbed and plundered by

Francisco, they have the reputation of paying promptly their rents, taxes and debts."

"It is said that about cities, where the morals of a certain class are very low, there is little hesitation in destroying female children at early birth. There are, however, laws against it, and proclamations are from time to time issued against it, and it is punished when the parties are detected."

"Prostitution is, in China, regarded with more aversion and disgust by respectable Chinese than it is, if possible, by Americans or Europeans, and a prostitute is more of a pariah in Chinese society than among Americans. After a graduate shall have passed the examination which would entitle him to official position, he must bring testimony that none of his family for so many removes has ever been a public prostitute. Failing this affirmative evidence, he cannot occupy the position."

"Gambling and prostitution is not legalized or licensed by law in China. The laws prohibit these vices, but petty officials, *as with ourselves*, receive bribes to permit the unlawful traffic."

"The marriage relation is honored and respected in China, and polygamy, though allowable, is not generally practiced. The children are all legitimate, and the second wives bear about the same relation to the first that Hagar did to Sarah."

Certain it is that there is no such shameless and open exposures, no such impudent solicitation either in the cities of China or in the commercial capital of California, on the part of the Chinese prostitutes, as is to be met with on any evening in the streets of San Francisco, on the part of white strumpets. It is a vile subject and we are in no condition to fling the first stone at the poor Chinese for this offence, even had we not the proof that when the more reputable Chinese tried to put a stop to the importation of such women, our own lawyers stepped in, invoking our own laws to maintain the abuse, which they did successfully, because there was "*money in it*." In any case, experience has amply shown the possibility of breaking up at least the most offensive features of prostitution in any city, wherever the authorities are honest, sincere and earnest in the matter. Chinese prostitution had been so completely abolished in San Francisco, at the time of the meeting of this committee, that according to evidence, there were not believed to be forty remaining prostitutes in Chinatown. The same thing could have been done with their white sisters!! All that San Francisco needs to do, is to make and carry out good municipal regulations on this point. Chinamen will be glad of it, and will head their efforts; reputable citizens of all nationalities will rejoice, and there is certainly no need of calling on Congress to modify or abolish a solemn treaty for the purpose of doing away with one-tenth part of the prostitution of San Francisco.

4 d. In the face of constant repetition by Californians, of the cheapness of Chinese labor, we make the assertion that the labor of the Mongolian is *not cheap* as compared with the rates of wages in our Eastern States. Every one acquainted with the subject, knows or may know that the wages for farm hands (white) over the whole west and northwest, averages from \$12 to \$15 per month, with board, and that the wages of laboring men do not range beyond \$1 to \$1 25 per day. The evidence before us shows this to be the wages of the Chinamen in California, and it shows in addition that a Chinaman will not work much or long under price. He will get as much as he can, and when he can do better he leaves and does something else. As before said and amply proved by the report, there is no similarity between Chinese and slave labor. The fact would seem to be, that while the Chinese will undertake and successfully accomplish any kind of labor, from the severest tunnelling down to fruit picking, they are physically not the equal of our white laborers for severe and heavy work, and though they are very deft with the fingers and handy in light labor, yet they are, even after instruction, by no means fully up to the general run of white men. Now as no trade at all, that is, no handicraft is pursued in China, in the same way as with us, every Chinaman has to undergo what is tantamount to a sort of apprenticeship before he can expect to earn even his dollar per day. It is very true that the Central Pacific R. R. was built for the most part by Chinese, but they were not employed till every effort had been made by advertisement and otherwise to procure white men at \$45 per month and board. When it was abundantly evident that white labor could not be procured, then, and not till then, the management very reluctantly made the experiment of employing the Chinese at \$1 per working day, they to furnish themselves. Yet withal, it is in evidence that during the whole course of construction, *not a single white man was ever refused work*, and that the bosses and overseers, the bridge-builders, and in general all the skilled laborers were white men. It is admitted that but for the Chinese, that road, so important to the interests of the entire country, would not have been finished for at least ten years longer, and the four lateral roads in California, so important in opening up for settlement what had been hitherto an utterly undeveloped country, could neither have been begun nor finished. White men cannot be induced to work on the reclamation of the submerged and tule lands, the success of which, by Chinese labor, has added so many thousands of acres to the arable surface of California, so that, so far are the Chinese from preventing other immigration into the State by what is decried as their cheap labor, that they actually prepare the country for a larger immigration, and open up avenues for profitable occupation to the white settler.

In all the trades we have testimony of manufacturers to the fact that it would have been impossible to establish their special industries, and indeed out of question to continue them, paying the wages demanded by white men. They are quite ready to employ white men, will give them even the preference, but they insist, and as it seems to us, with reason, that they cannot pay higher wages than is paid at the East, because, in that case, it will be impossible for them to compete, and the eastern manufacturers will necessarily undersell them. Clothing is as cheap, and food much cheaper on an average, in California, than in the eastern States; and we are utterly at a loss to see any reason why wages should be higher, or why the Chinaman, who is willing to work for the wages that the eastern operative and laborer is glad to get, should be stigmatized as a cheap laborer. It is plain from this concurrent testimony of the experts, that if it were not for the labor furnished in the establishment of manufactories by the Mongolian, few or no manufactories could have been established in California, and that State must have gone on, as it did for many years, expending yearly for manufacturer's products, a sum estimated at \$40,000,000 per annum, a drain which no State could long have stood, certainly no agricultural State—which California has been essentially, ever since the failure of placer mining. The mistake seems to us to be on the part of those who are unwilling to face the consequences of the change from the condition of the early and mining, to the present and farming condition of the State, and who insist in maintaining a rate of wages which no farming community can possibly pay. Why should a white woman turn up her nose in California, at \$8 or \$10 per week, the wages paid by the Standard Shirt Co. If it be because they also employ Chinese labor, we fail to see any good ground to sympathize with her; if it be because the wages is too low, we certainly must insist with the foreman who testified before the Commission, that if the Company attempts to pay more, it must sell its shirts and other underwear so high that it will be impossible to dispose of them at all on account of competition from eastern manufacturers. To us it seems self-evident that there would not be so many people in California, but for the labor of the Chinese, (a labor, be it owned, which would, without them, not be done,) and that this work has given, and gives employment and homes to hundred of white immigrants for which there would be otherwise no opening whatever.

5. e. That the sewerage of San Francisco is wretched—that the Chinese live for the most part, huddled together in a portion of the city known as Chinatown; that the houses in said quarter of the city are dilapidated and filthy; the streets unswept except as the Chinese inhabitants attend to it themselves, and that too many of them live in each house for comfort, cleanliness or health, we have no disposition to

deny. The evidence is perfectly convincing ; the same evidence, however, proves that the whole of Chinatown is owned by whites (mostly very wealthy) who rent out these dirty and dilapidated tenements to the Chinese at exceedingly high rates, and the Chinese have no option but to take up their quarters there, because they can get no other place. Poor when they first come, rarely becoming what would be called by our people comfortably off, it is not at their option to select the better built or otherwise more eligible portions of the city. It cannot be denied that for the purpose of making the rent come lighter on each one, larger numbers of them combine in the occupancy of a room than is desirable in a sanitary point of view, and yet it is very natural, when we consider the prejudice of the lower classes against them, that they should congregate together for protection, to say nothing of the natural desire on the part of all people to consort with those whom they know and whose language they can understand. But it is fair to say that the Chinese are not to blame for the lack of adequate sewerage in San Francisco. There is no reason why the authorities should not have kept up both *tenants* and *owners* of the buildings to the duty of keeping them clean. Will it be believed that while every other part of the city is kept clean by the city's carts and scavengers, and these people and this property pay taxes like all the other inhabitants and estates, the police testify that in five years they have not seen a city scavenger or cart in Chinatown, and that all the effort made in that direction is from the voluntary contribution of the Chinamen themselves? Bearing in mind, that according to the evidence of the Chief of Police, it costs a small family more in San Francisco for water than for flour, it would take more money for the laboring Chinaman to supply himself abundantly with water than he could readily save or spare, \$2 50 per month being the lowest rate for a spigot, it will be found that for a transient and poor population, unsupplied with facilities for sewerage or facile water privileges, the Chinese deserve credit for the pains they have taken to keep the place as clean as it is perhaps possible for such a crowded locality to be kept. Certainly the city which taxes them and has not sent a cart there in five years, which rents water at such high rates and furnishes no adequate sewers, has no right to complain of a population which taxes itself in one block at the rate of over \$150 per month for the purpose of doing that which it has already paid the city to do. The remedy for dirty streets and alleys would rather seem to us to rest with the municipal authorities than in the abrogation of national treaties and special acts of the United States Congress. It is testified on all hands that the individual Chinaman washes frequently, bathes whenever he can, and in point of personal cleanliness compares favorably with the Americans. Still it is not to be doubted that their crowding

together, as they are obliged to do, in great numbers at certain times of the year, when they return to the city after the busy season breeds foul air. In short, the city utterly neglects its duty in regard to Chinatown, and then throws the blame on the poor Chinese, who pay their own special (white) policeman a salary such that *he cannot swear to it within \$500 per annum*, and pay additionally for such cleaning as, with their limited facilities, they can get done. It is in evidence that all the rest of the city except the Chinese quarter is cleaned by the Superintendent of streets, no other portion of the Corporation limits pays more tax for the purpose, than this. Why then are we to blame the inhabitants for the shortcomings of the city government?

6. *f.* The treatment of the Chinese in this country has certainly not been of a kind to encourage them to bring their families here. It must also be borne in mind that a very large proportion of the Mongolian immigration consists of men under 21 years of age, who were unmarried at the time of leaving China. They claim to have in San Francisco nearly 200 first wives, or wives of honor, and that there are many times that number of secondary wives. Lately, the testimony shows that many of them are marrying after our forms. But the great majority of the Chinawomen on the Pacific Coast, of whom there must be fully 2000, nearly one-half residing in San Francisco, were, within the last two years, bought up in China by unprincipled Chinese dealers, male and female, and brought out to California under agreement to ply their vocation for a specified number of years. It is found to be a money making business by the dealers, who are banded together under the name of Hip-ye-tong, which association, though not unsavory, and decried and despised by the other six reputable companies, has kept up the nefarious traffic almost from the beginning of Chinese immigration into California. Of course we say no word in favor of the disreputable trade, but it does not differ materially from the system by which the supply of white courtesans is kept up. Of these latter there are in San Francisco very many of our own and of all other nationalities—many of them as degraded as it is possible to be—and they are more ruinous by far, even in proportion to the population, than are the Chinese of the same class. It is admitted by the Commissioners of Emigration, by the Chief of Police and by the Surveyor of the Port, that the Chinese merchants, the six companies, and the respectable Chinese have always been ready to assist the authorities both with means and information in putting a stop to the influx of this depraved class and in sending them out of the country; and the fact stands as clear as testimony can make anything, that the municipal authorities are perfectly competent to master the evil the moment they go earnestly to work at it. It is in clear proof that under the administra-

tion of Mayor Bryant, Chinese prostitution was reduced to a very small figure, and could not only be readily crushed out, but prevented from reappearing. It would be just as fair to hold the church-going population of San Francisco responsible for the existence of white prostitutes as to decry the entire body of Chinese in California because there are a few Chinese knaves who make money as panders and pimps to the vices of whites and Chinese.

7. *g.* The greatest bugbear of all, and viewed in the light of the evidence taken, the most absurd as a supposition and untenable in view of the facts, is the fear which some persons no doubt seriously entertain, but which far more express without believing, *i. e.*, that the Chinese will finally overflow the whole Pacific Coast. Nothing is easier than to call the attention of a gaping crowd to the teeming population of China, to their low wages at home, to the scantily populated plains and valleys of California, and to cry out that these strange people will inundate the whole country. But how do the facts stand? We shall certainly never again be able to offer such strong inducements to the Mongolian immigration as in the past, and it seems to be admitted on all hands that there are not now as many Chinese on the whole Pacific Slope as there were in California twenty years ago. Certain it is that their numbers have not grown so as to excite any reasonable alarm. The best reasoned exposé of the numbers of Chinese in California, that of Mr. Alfred Wheeler, taking arrivals and departures from the books of the Commissioners of Shipping, making allowances for the death rate, and taking the statistics of those whose bones were sent back, makes the sum total up to 1873 not over 93,000. Of course the unthinking people take very accurate notice of the numbers that arrive by every steamer, but they fail to pay the same attention to the large numbers of departures, nor do the large numbers who come and go away again because they neither like the wages nor the treatment, impress their imagination as do the arrivals. Would it not be fair to reason that if there be less than 100,000 Chinese on the coast after nearly 30 years, it would at the same rate take 250 years to bring hither a million, and that the inducements are and have been yearly diminishing. Nobody contends that the Chinese are fools. The evidence all goes to show that they are unusually shrewd and understand with great accuracy which is the buttered side of their bread. It follows, hence, that they will withhold the supply of labor just the instant there shall cease to be a demand and a profitable demand for it. The influx of Chinese labor has certainly heretofore depended altogether upon the demand, and we have seen that for many consecutive years there were as many departures as arrivals, and that during quite a number of others the surplus of arrivals over departures amounted to but a thousand or two. The

white population has increased and is increasing out of all proportion to the Chinese, nor in view of these patent facts would this craze have ever seized the white population but for the desire on the part of scrub politicians to make capital out of a prejudice so deeply rooted among the ignorant and unreflecting as is the hatred of foreigners. It is of a piece with the old "no popery" cry, in former years so sedulously cultivated by the same class in England and even for a short time in our own country. We know that the cost of passage, outfit, etc., is very large to the Chinaman, and that he will not pay it unless he sees a clear way of reimbursing himself for his outlay, which can only come from his being able to procure readily profitable remuneration for his work, which occupation will to him be wholly regulated by the increase of the white population, without which he is not wanted at all. The Chinaman neither makes nor calculates on making anything off his countrymen. His labor is of use but to the whites, and just in proportion to the increase of the latter and the subsequent need of working hands to develop the country will be the influx of Chinese. It has never yet borne a ratio of over *one to ten* at any time, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever will.

8. *h.* We are constantly told by the anti-Coolie speechifiers that there are large numbers of white people living in distress in California, unable to procure employment, and that this arises from the fact that all the avenues to labor have been filled up by the Chinese. Of course, it is a plausible tale on the part of the speaker, and gladly heard by the bummer as forming a good excuse for his idleness; but the question arises, "Is it true?" "Will it wash?" We shall go no further than the Report for an answer, and we shall take only on this point the evidence of men, the rest of whose utterances show them to be pronounced Chinaphobists. A former Governor of California testifies:

"There is at the present time no surplus of labor on this coast, taking both (white and Chinese) kinds together, and, in my opinion, such surplus has never existed."

A Judge of sixteen years' standing says:

"I have never seen the labor market overstocked on the Pacific Slope."

A Chief of San Francisco police adds:

"The hoodlums probably owe their existence to those absurd regulations of the various trades' unions, by which young boys are prohibited from being employed as apprentices. The fault lies with the trades and the Chinese have nothing to do with it."

The manager of the Tideland Reclamation Company says:

"The Chinese fill places which white labor would fill very reluctantly, or not at all. We have by this means reclaimed over 40,000 acres previously worth nothing and now producing 50 bushels of wheat per acre. The labor is very disagreeable, but if done furnishes openings and opportunities for white peo-

ple. We could not pay the wages which white men would charge, nor could we depend upon them to stay at any price. If the Chinese were taken away we would have to abandon the work."

A farmer of 27 years' standing says:

"There is now, and there always has been employment enough for every body in this State, white, black and yellow. The wages of white men are about the same as 10 and 15 years ago."

A missionary long resident in California, but a friend of the Chinese, states emphatically:

"Notwithstanding this peculiar cry about the evils of Chinese labor, labor for industrious white persons is as abundant, wages as high, living as cheap and the condition of the white laborers as good as in any other part the United States or of the globe."

A well known lady, who describes herself as a solicitor for life insurance, says:

"There is plenty of employment. It is very hard to get a good house servant at the present, and at all times in California. Here in San Francisco no white girl will cook or work in a house where there are Chinamen. In my business the door is more frequently opened to me by Chinamen than by white women."

The disposition so manifest on this side of the continent on the part of the laboring population to crowd into the cities, exists largely in California, and the tramp question looming upon us, appears in California under the name of *hoodlumism*. Of course, under all circumstances, there will be instances in which the conditions of labor and employment will not seem at once to adjust themselves; but there can be no doubt that the time is not, has not been, and will not likely soon be in California, when an industrious man, willing to work, will be for two days unable to find employment at paying wages. Senator Sargeant states that 16 or 17 years ago, he has been called upon in San Francisco, by as many as twenty men in one day, each one telling him how impossible it was to find work, and how absolutely requisite for the sake of his starving family, was some Governmental position, but he admits that he did not believe the stories, nor do we, in like manner, give any credence to the tales of misery resulting from the industry of the Chinese, which we can trace to no more trustworthy sources than an Anti-Coolie League, or the palaver of hoodlums and tramps. No amount of wages will apparently induce the women to take service in the country or in the smaller villages; indeed, every where but in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, etc. One of the gentlemen who appeared before the Commission, tells how he came to San Francisco, (he resides in the interior) anxious to hire a number of white women at high wages. He went to Croset's Intelligence Office on Clay st., and made known his design to the proprietors. There were over thirty there sitting in the office,

who professed to want employment, but not one could be induced to listen a moment after learning that the place was in the country.

We have wished to say in as few words as possible what we think really needs saying on this very important subject, which, ill understood on the spot, and by many of those who are most immediately interested, is still more likely to be misapprehended by persons here in the East, who have not met the Chinese personally, and who are liable to be deceived by the persistent cry of the agitators of this question. But it is necessary to add a few general observations in order that the subject may be put on its proper footing.

Our first treaty with China was made by Caleb Cushing in 1844. It contained provisions for a modification of its terms at the end of twelve years. Such modifications were made by W. B. Reed. Essentially a new and much more elaborate treaty was made by Anson Burlingame in 1862, and certain additional articles were proposed by our Government, and accepted by the Chinese Emperor in 1868. The treaty is in all respects, far more favorable to us than to China; in fact it has been at our urgency that treaty stipulations were entered into at all, and we have reaped all the benefits therefrom resulting. How far we have deviated from the reciprocity clauses, it will be unnecessary to detail to any who are at all familiar with the course of California oppressive legislation and discriminating taxation of the Chinese. What our treaty promise is worth, wherein we bind ourselves that the subjects of either country shall have full rights to the educational establishments of the other, he will best know, who attempts to enter the most reputable China boy into a San Francisco school. Our subjects in China are punished (no matter what may be their crime) by their own law, administered by their own Consul; the Chinese are dragged before our Courts where they know neither the laws nor the language, and of which one of the witnesses says:

"Judges and juries find it easier to decide against these people than against our own race, and heavier judgments are awarded against them for the same crimes; they fail of a proper hearing for want of adequate interpreters and proper counsel, and the public officers do not even attempt to conceal their prejudice against the Mongolians."

As to the clause in the treaty promising immunity from insult and outrage, we will take the testimony of the San Francisco Chief of Police (surely without being on the side of the Chinese) who says:

"Chinamen have in this city, again and again, been treated most outrageously, pelted, beaten and abused in a most shameful manner. If one is found alone by a number of hoodlums, he is very lucky if he escapes with his life or unmaimed." And a member of the police force testified that a week or two be-

fore the sitting of a Committee "a political club going home, demolished all the Chinese wash houses on its route, and no arrests were made." Certainly this is not acting as becomes a great, liberal and magnanimous people. If we are superior we should demonstrate it by our acts, which should be kind, and by our adhesion to our treaty stipulations.

To contend, as some have done seriously, that the blind prejudice existing against the Chinese on the part of our own most ignorant citizens, is a good reason either for driving out those already here, or for restricting the immigration of others, is of a piece with that logic which would seize and punish the subject of an assault and battery for having been unfortunate enough to excite the rage of his assailant. But it comes very consistently from the attorney in this case, who says, fully knowing that he states a falsehood, that "*the Chinaman is the lowest in the rank of created intelligence.*" Such men and such arguments simply make themselves unentitled to a hearing, and discredit the little truth they might unwittingly utter.

This prejudice, agreeably to the testimony, does not exist on the part of native born Americans, unless it be politicians, office-holders and hoodlums; and the Chinamen themselves are reported to indicate that they have a pretty clear notion of the existing cause, when they say in cases of outrage upon or insult to one of their number, "*Bimeby, after election, all lite.*" Can it be possible that this great country is about to discredit herself not in the eyes of China alone, but of all Christendom, by attempting to withdraw from the terms of her treaty? Yet it must be confessed that she has never lived up to its terms, and that the whole course of our treatment of China in this matter, has been simply a repetition of the game called "Heads, I win; tails, you lose." As a matter of international law, we have no standing ground in proposing a change of the treaty; on grounds of national amity it is a direct insult, and as a simple matter of fact, we will get the worst of it if any change be made, for the Chinese are shrewd diplomatists, and the extra territoriality clause has long been a sore point with the Chinese Government.

At this point it occurs to us to remark on the very apparent tendency on the part of many of the witnesses not to tell the unvarnished truth, but to allow their testimony to descend into a petty shuffling to prevent the bringing out of some point regarded as unfavorable by the witness, or to his party, for nearly every witness testified as a strong partisan. As an instance, the author of "that disgraceful piece of legislation," the queue ordinance, is asked under oath: *Question.* — *Was not that ordinance launched especially against Chinamen?* *Ans.*—*I know what you're driving at, and I'm going to dodge you if I can!!* There is a witness for you under oath; there is a man sworn to tell the truth and the whole truth! Was it much to be wondered at, that in the community

where such a man is a law maker, judges and lawyers should testify in words tantamount to these: "*Perjury in our Courts by white witnesses is as common as the smoking of cigars on the streets!*"

We have it iterated and reiterated that the laboring class of the Chinese are sober, industrious, frugal and steady; and that their artisans are all this, and in addition, quick, intelligent and apt in business; while it would be impossible for human beings to get, for courtesy, uprightness and integrity a higher character than every witness, without exception, gave to the Chinese merchants. Surely the country would stultify itself, which should, at the behest of a few brawling politicians and a cry raised by them, attempt to prevent the influx of such inhabitants. It is more of them, not fewer, that is needed!

But it will be said that petitions largely signed have been sent to Congress and to the State Legislature of California, asking that a stop be put to Chinese immigration, and that few or none to whom they were presented refused to sign them. Admitted at once; and managed in the same way, petitions could be gotten up to take California out of the Union, or do any other equally absurd and lawless thing. It will at once be seen how the thing works, when it is considered that there are 2000 Anti-Coolie Leagues in San Francisco, or that each member of each club "*pledges himself not to employ Chinese labor; not to purchase any goods, wares or merchandise from any person who employs Chinese, and not in any way to sustain, foster or encourage either Chinamen or those who employ them.*"

That Article 3, Sec. 5 of the Constitution of the Anti-Chinese Union reads thus:

"*Measures shall be taken to ascertain and publish the names of the persons in this city, who employ Chinese,*" and that a paper was actually published (perhaps is so still,) containing such list of names. It will be readily seen that when such a crowd took a petition along the business streets, there would be more signatures than refusals to sign; the more so, as those in charge had instructions to add the names of those who refused, to this black list. Of course, this is a free country, but there are no more martyrs for principle in it than in any other; that is a very persuasive way of procuring the signatures of business men, and whether such organized ostracism is not a little too *Mollie Maguirish* for general usage in a country so free as ours, is liable to great question.

We add the testimony of a young woman who had worked with the Chinese in a shoe shop, lest it might be supposed that there was something offensive in the talk or manner of the Chinaman towards a young woman, which would account for the dislike heretofore referred to.

Quest.—"*You say girls object to working in the same shop with Chinamen?*" Ans.—"*Yes, sir.*"

Quest.—“Are Chinamen rude to the girls?” Ans.—“No, they never say anything to the girls.”

Ques.—“Are they offensive in manners?” Ans.—“No, they never talk all day long; they sit and work and when it is time, they go home.”

We have said nothing whatever upon the matter of naturalization of the Mongolian element in our population, deeming that to be a matter that has no necessary bearing on the subject in hand. The law has already decided it for us; and there are already in San Francisco hundreds of merchants and others resident who have no inclination to give up their own nationality though the inducements happen for them to be greater to reside under the Stars and Stripes than in their native land. Such might or might not be the case with the Chinese. Certain it is that California has one more member of Congress by their means than she would otherwise be entitled to. We believe that citizenship is, in the case of any emigration, the very slightest part of the inducement; yet we cannot help but deprecate such an expression on the part of a witness, and lament the necessity under which we are of believing that he spoke the truth as to a class, however small in our midst. Here are his words:

“I think the first Chinaman that got naturalized would be hanged to the lamp post as he left the court room, and we would rather have all Chinatown gifted *en masse* with the franchise to-morrow than believe that we had a majority of citizens in any one State capable of regarding such a deed with anything but abhorrence. For though the action of the anti-Coolie clubs above referred to be coercive in its nature and renders their movement tyrannical—though it reveals an utter absence of the true basis of freedom, yet one is not so much appalled by the evident want of even the remotest inkling of humanity. Of Christian charity, it is hardly worth while to speak in either connection, still less in regard to another utterance of the anti-Coolie attorney, wherein he said that he would like to stand on *Telegraph Hill* and see all the Chinese hung from the yard arms and see the ships burned as they came in.” The strong and unanimous impulse of an intelligent people is seldom wrong, but may God preserve us from knaves and fools!

It is simply absurd for Californians to fancy that they can, for any length of time within this Union, uphold and maintain a different rate of wages from that which prevails elsewhere in the same country. That was possible in regard to her currency during the war; but the Pacific Railroad had not yet been built, and every day makes a repetition of it less possible. She might as well attempt to re-establish and maintain the \$16 per day of 1849, for which wages, by the way, the white man could not purchase much, if any more, of the necessities of life than he can to-day for a single dollar. The United States has many citizens residing in China,

to whom she owes protection, and cannot consent at the cry of a small but very loud and active faction in California either to degrade their position there or allow them to be driven out. When we force a nation to open her ports in order that we may do business with her citizens, and make a solemn treaty with her, the reciprocity is not all on one side. California is after all but one State, and we cannot allow one State to dictate. Massachusetts has tried that business. South Carolina once took a hand at it. It can hardly be said that they were successful. In the matter of a treaty, we cannot ask what we refuse to concede, and China is not likely to grant privileges which she does not get.

A witness has well said that "it is we that keep the Chinaman apart, and not they. From the day they land till they lay their bones down, or go away, we are constantly building a wall of exclusion about them." And this, too, happens in a State that has 101 million acres of surface, of which there are only 20 million acres that, from mountains, necessary forests, overflow, &c., will never be arable, but of which there are not 4 million acres actually cultivated. It is this State, a few of whose inhabitants wish the Congress of the United States, in defiance of treaty obligations and of our proud boast that our doors were open to all God's creatures, to keep out whom? We will describe them in the words of a Chinaphobist witness: *A race indispensably necessary for the reclamation of the submerged lands, and which for steady employment in that grade of labor is, perhaps, better suited than any other race.*" The area of California can, be it observed, well support seventeen million inhabitants, and has not now all told over 700,000. Of course, we have too much confidence in the good sense of the people of that State to believe for a moment that such is the will of any but a misled and noisy fraction, aptly and fitly led by such a man as appeared in the capacity of attorney before the Commission. But noise and cheer sometimes carry the day where decent conduct and sense are disregarded. No one believes that the good people of the United States take any such view of the question at issue, and yet we all can see that both political parties, apparently with a fear of losing a few votes, put an anti-Chinese plank into the campaign platforms. But this will not perplex any one who knows politicians and platforms—the subservience of the one and the hollowness of the other. If a party equally blatant were to get up the cry, either in California or elsewhere, that inasmuch as men could have employment steady by digging up the land with a spade, we should ostracise every person who presumes to use a horse and plow for the purpose, we could soon have that inserted in platforms, anti-horse and plow leagues, sapient attorneys for them and equally sapient committees listening to their pleadings.

For our own part we should not be a bit more surprised to hear the horse and plow characterised as "a terrible scourge" than we were to read the report and recommendations of this Committee, and to learn therefrom that the latter are supposed—surely it must be in some very occult way—to have been deduced from the former.

We submit then, that whether we look at the question in the light of a treaty, or in the mere dollar and cent view, or in that higher phase (which many of our opponents are, doubtless, above taking into account) that a gracious Providence has endowed us with a certain number of talents that we ought to use for the benefit of the world; that both justice, selfinterest, common humanity and heaven-descended religion preclude us from either oppressing, excluding or restricting the Mongolian whom we have amongst us further than as the law restricts ourselves; and such is the confidence that we entertain in the sober sense of an educated people, that we believe the Government of the United States incapable of such a gross wrong as the proposed action would involve.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a continuation of the author's argument.]

JUN 1940