

REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

ON

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

REPORT AND EVIDENCE.



OTTAWA :

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE COMMISSION.

1885

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

to Melbourne; the subject was literally surveyed "from China to Peru;" and the Commission to the Canadian Commissioners called for all information attainable respecting it. When the page-heading on the odd page instead of "Enquiry at San Francisco" is "Chinese in Australia," or the "Chinaman in China," &c., the general heading of "Enquiry at San Francisco" will be as it were read over the other—the substituted headings being used for the purpose of more rapidly guiding the eye to the matter below. Had there been room at the top of the page, and were it necessary to be so explicit, the general heading would have run: Enquiry at San Francisco into Chinese immigration there and wherever it has gone, with the view of obtaining information to guide in forming a judgment respecting that immigration in British Columbia.

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COMMISSION.

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

CANADA.

LANSDOWNE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By command,

G. POWELL,

Under Secretary of State.

REPORT
OF THE
CHINESE IMMIGRATION
ROYAL COMMISSION.

To His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

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

Extent of the enquiry.

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

First meeting in Victoria.

PRELIMINARY.

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

First sitting to hear evidence.

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

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

The Chairman states the circumstances out of which Commission arose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Points on which
information is
asked.

Government in-
tends to legislate.

All classes invited
to give evidence.

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

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

Facts especially desired.

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

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

Necessity of the Country.

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

Object of the Commission.

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

We then proceeded to call witnesses in British Columbia.

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

Witnesses.

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

Statements in writing.

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

The great enquiry of 1876.

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

Guiding aim in making the condensation.

Documentary.

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

All the literature on the question read.

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

Commissioners investigate for themselves.

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

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

Visits to Chinese quarters.

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

Marginal notes.

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

CHINESE IMMIGRATION ELSEWHERE THAN IN CANADA.

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

Extent of enquiry.

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

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

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

THE ENQUIRY AT SAN FRANCISCO.

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

San Francisco witnesses described.

See M. E. p. 13.

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

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

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

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

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

Progress of the Chinese question in California.

See p. 330, Ap. A.

Vague ideas on questions capable of being settled with certainty.

Chinese population.

Two independent sources of information.

Chinese population in the U.S. in 1870.

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

Chinese population of the U. S. and of California in 1880.

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

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

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

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

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

A great que...

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

A serious step to exclude law-abiding workers.

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

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

A plea for fair play.

Mistaken violence.

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

Chinese judged by an unfair standard.

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

Sweeping generalizations.

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

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

There may be a strong case for Government interference.

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

A Nevada miner's view of the case.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No wife, no family.

The Christian Village must give way to Chinese hovels.

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

A searching and complete examination.

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

United States legislation against Chinese laborers.

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

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

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

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

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

Development of country.

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

The forty-niners.

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

A railway a necessity.

The Chinaman comes forward as a laborer.

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

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

Chinese labor had been of great advantage.

See p. 183. Ap. A

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

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

In less than six months they had Chinese doing everything.

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

Advertised but could not get more than 800 white men.

See p. 313. Ap. A

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

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

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

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

Builders of Central Pacific road at first prejudiced against Chinese.

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

Never could get more than 800 white men.

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

Efficiency of Chinese labor.

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

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

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

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

Central Pacific built by Chinese.

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

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

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

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

Unreliability of white labor.

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

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

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

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

"Q. They were equal to them?—A. Yes.

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

White and Chinese labor tested.

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

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

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

No white man turned away.

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

Do white laborers employed on railways settle along the line?

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

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

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

See J. C. R., p. 300, and p. 304 Ap. A.

Southern Pacific constructed not altogether by Chinese labor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

White settlers coming in since the building of the line.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Railway the pioneer.

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

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

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

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

Capacity for hard work.

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

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

75 to 80 per cent. of construction force Chinese.

"Q. What wages did you pay them: the same as you paid the Chinamen?
—A. No, sir; we paid them as a rule twice what we paid the Chinamen.

"Q. You paid them twice as much? Did they do twice as much work?
—A. No, sir; but they did teaming and certain classes of work. I have

Chinamen cannot
drive teams.

never seen a Chinaman who could drive a team much. Teamsters and all that department we give to white men. When we are building a bridge, or trestle work, "it is in the hands of white laborers, and all the labor done about it, outside of carpenter work, is given to white laborers."

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

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

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

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

White labor for
railway ties; Chi-
nese labor build-
ing roads.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hard to get white
laborers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Could not have
achieved so much
without the Chi-
nese.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chinese employed by contract with a head man.

Land could not have been reclaimed without the Chinese.

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

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

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

Chinese specially fitted for tule-land and reclamation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. "If you look back in the history of California to the time when these great public works did not exist, would you not find that the bringing in of Chinamen, for some time any way, would have been a useful plan?—

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

A. I cannot say that, because I believe if the Chinese labor had not been available, that labor would have been brought here from other sources. I believe our public works would have been carried on as in the Eastern States twenty-five years ago. True, it would have been more difficult and work might have been retarded, but future development of the country by them would have been of vast importance to the State, whereas with the Chinese, when the railroads were completed, their mission was ended."

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

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

Chinese now interfere with white boys and girls.

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

Different theories in California respecting Chinese.

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

In a new country cheap labor a necessity.

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

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

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

Wages cannot be indefinitely raised.

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

But moral may outweigh material considerations.

Influence of servile labor.

Chinese contracts - is it coolie labor?

An ugly feature.

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

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

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

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

The way the contract is enforced.

Arrangement with steamship companies.

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

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

Contracts for labor on public works.

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

On railways the gang system is adopted.

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

Character of Chinamen as laborers.

The "reliability" of the Chinaman on railways may be deceptive.

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

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

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

MINING.

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

Partial legislation against the Chinese.

Even the laws were not honestly administered.

Cruelty and oppression.

Still the Chinese miner held on.

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

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

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

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

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

White indifference to let in Chinese to placer mining.

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

Miners returning to abandoned claims find them occupied.

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

sell them remain and exercise a sort of protection over them. In some places there are very large numbers of them. In the vicinity of Oroville there are between three and four thousand Chinamen mining upon the public domain who have obtained their claims in that manner."

It seems hard and unreasonable to complain that Chinamen came to work abandoned mines. It will be noted how they made progress. From being hired first in placer mining they go on "to be hired in every kind as laborers at good wages." This is what takes place in every branch of industry, and experience shows they gradually gain on the white man, who has neither their temperance nor their frugality.

On no ground of political economy can a principle be found for excluding these people from the mines. Does it not, too, seem better that abandoned mines should be worked than left idle? It must be better—certainly for the time. The miner would answer, for we have met the answer—"That's all very well, but I regard that abandoned mine as a refuge when luck is low." As to the employer of labor, when the labor is there, has he not a right to utilize it?

It will be well for the reader to note here, because it will come up again, this peculiarity of the Chinaman—he does not break up new ground, and on this hang important issues.

THE FIELD AND VINEYARD.

Col. Bee, the advocate of the Chinese, before the Joint Committee says: that when the harvest opens the Chinese dot the fields from one end of the State to the other, and he contends that it is because of this that California can compete with the granaries of the world. This last argument is a two edged sword; for, paradoxical as it may sound, living labor by which a State might mount as on wings to enormous wealth is attended with a fearful Nemesis in no distant future.

It is not, however, as an agricultural laborer that the Chinaman shines. Mr. Easterby tells us they do not seem to understand horses as well as whites. They are employed receiving the wheat into the header wagons, where there is a scarcity of white labor. Mr. Badlam says, he has met very few who like Chinese labor on farms. "For the wheat crop Chinamen are not of any use."

But Mr. Hollister (see page 326), who deposed in 1876 that he owned 75,000 acres of land and 50,000 sheep, puts Chinamen ahead of all other laborers. On them alone, he says, the farmer can rely. They adapt themselves to all work. Without cheap labor agriculture would cease to be followed.

There is a quality, however, which makes them attractive to at least some farmers. They are not liable to the starts and impulses of white men. Mr. Easterby says: "For instance, sometimes where there are white men only employed, if one or two knock off it stops the whole gang. The Chinese when employed will stay as long as you keep them."

The Chinaman once he gets in goes ahead.

Is it better that abandoned mines should be worked by Chinese or left idle?

The Chinaman does not break up new ground.

It is because of Chinese labor that California can compete with the granaries of the world.

The Chinaman not a great success as an agricultural laborer.

Steadiness of Chinese labor.

There is a field of country life, however, in which the Chinaman seems to be peculiarly at home. California is one of the richest fruit countries in the world. Strawberries, nearly equal to the English strawberry, flourish all the year round. California plums are famous, and the peaches attain a great size, but are inferior to those of British Columbia in flavor; they want delicacy. Its apples are not comparable to those produced elsewhere, but its pears are hardly equalled, while the grape flourishes with a luxuriance which leaves the valleys of la Champagne and the vineyards of Burgundy behind. Already its wines have attained a reputation. The soil and climate of California are, in the opinion of many, better than those of France for grape culture. Every year it is contended is there a comet year. The wine-growers assured us that the climate is perfect, that the grapes ripen fully and without fail; that there are no early frosts as in Germany or France to hasten the picking. A Joint Committee of the Legislature of California reported, so far back as 1862, that with cheap labor California could supply all the wine required for home consumption, besides sending large quantities abroad. "A portion of Chinese with white labor would add incalculably to the resources of the State in this particular branch." Already the impression prevailed that California was destined to be a greater wine producing country than France.

The Chinaman in the vineyard and the fruit garden.

The wines of California have already a reputation. (Seward, p. 69.)

Chinese called for by the Legislature in 1862.

"The wine crop of France in 1849 was 925,000,000 gallons, valued at \$100,000,000. In 1853 she had in vineyards 4,873,934 acres, giving less than 200 gallons to the acre, making about 8,107 square miles or an area of 250 miles in length by 32 in breadth. California contains 188,981 square miles, which would give 120,947,840 acres, so that if only one-twenty-fifth of our area should be planted with vineyards we should have an amount equal to France. We have a fresher soil than that of France, and a better climate for grape culture, and we could produce larger quantities of wine and of better quality than is grown upon worn-out lands."

The report goes on to say that the wine trade would soon be second only to the mining and farming interests; and then a splendid vision rises before the Committee's mind, in "the production of rice, tea, sugar, tobacco and dried fruits of every description," if only cheap labor were at hand. Events have, to a large extent, justified these confident anticipations. For the first nine months of 1876, 561,033 gallons of native wine were exported from California; the receipts for the same time being 1,266,736 gallons, and 43,050 gallons of California brandies. Mr. Henry Gerkes stated in 1876 that his vineyard produces annually about 150,000 gallons of wine; that California had 40,000,000 of vines growing, of which three-fourths were in good bearing condition; and that the crop of 1875 amounted to about 8,000,000 gallons of wine and probably some 80,000 gallons of grape brandy. One vine grower says that Chinese laborers are employed in all parts of the business, that they quickly learn to prune and take care of the vine, and that their labor is indispensable. Mr. Hill, whose evidence will be found summarized, having given the usual good character to the Chinamen for temperance, industry, honesty, efficiency and docility—

See p. 330., Ap. A.

Chinese employed in all parts of the business of vine-culture.

See p. 337., Ap. A.

"creating no trouble whatever"—says, that in his district some five hundred Chinese are employed in the vineyards. On being asked whether white labor could be got to do the work, he says :

A witness says vine-growing would have to be abandoned but for Chinese labor.

"I do not think we could. I think it is one of the industrial resources of the country which would have to be abandoned if it depended on white labor. There are certain seasons of the year when large accessions to the ordinary number of hands is required, when the crop is ripening, and I do not think white men could be got on the spur of the moment to do the work."

Hundreds, a witness contends, would be ruined without Chinese labor.

He adds, that but for Chinese labor the business in Sonoma valley would have to be abandoned, and hundreds would be ruined. Some idea may be formed of the value of Chinese labor in that section of the State from this fact: in four years vine-growing has increased the value of property from \$40 to \$200 an acre. A competent witness, Mr. J. M. Curtis, states that nineteen-twentieths of the grape-picking is done by Chinese.

The whites do not like the business.

The white laborer, moreover, it is said, does not like the business of stooping and squatting on his haunches all day picking berries, grapes and currants. This sort of work "strikes him as unmanly," as does hoeing and weeding, but the Chinaman takes kindly to the squatting and stooping posture. Another witness testified that a very large amount of fruit which would otherwise go to waste was saved by Chinese labor. It was admitted by those antagonistic to them, that without the Chinese the harvest could not be got in.

Strawberry ranches.

Chinese are employed on every strawberry ranche in the state, and the fruit growers declare they could not get on without them. "Yet," says Mr. Gibson, "with this industry carried on almost exclusively by Chinese cheap labor, our strawberries cost more by the pound than in New York, Philadelphia or Chicago. If our producers had to pay white laborers two dollars a day for far less efficient service than the Chinaman gives for one dollar, or one dollar and twenty five cents a day, who could afford to eat the fruit when brought to market? As it is, even employing Chinese labor, our producers pay as much a pound or basket for picking as is paid by the producers in New York, Delaware or Maryland."

Impossible at present prices to carry on fruit business without Chinese. See p. 299, Ap. A.

Mr. Brier a large fruit-grower, gave evidence to the following effect :—
The Chinese mostly perform labor that is disconnected with team work: almost every other kind of labor in the world, except in connection with the running of threshing machines, the Chinamen perform, more particularly in the fruit-business. I regard the Chinaman as superior to any other nationality as laborers in their own departments. At the present prices it would be impossible to carry on the fruit business with white labor. The Chinese are more skilful and reliable than white men. They will stay until they learn their business. White men will not do that: you cannot keep them. If the white man amounts to anything, he will soon acquire enough to start in business for himself. I employ Chinamen because I would not have boys nor girls from the city. If somebody would board them and put them in my orchard to work, I would not have them, from what I know of them. I could not afford it. There is too

much competition to make people who are wide awake employ boys. If I undertook to work boys at all, I would take boys from the needy class. It is a matter of certainty that employers and farmers cannot work boys to advantage. In my business I pay Chinamen \$1 a day, and they board themselves. I furnish them with a house and wood. At present prices of fruit we could not raise it without Chinese labor. I think the employment of Chinese labor in this department, and all other departments, has kept up the price of white labor.

The evidence is that hop-picking could not be carried on without Chinese. Two thousand two hundred Chinese were in 1876 engaged in canning fruit in San Francisco and 2,500 in selling fruit and vegetables.

This is a subject on which, were we reporting in the interest of California, it would be necessary to dwell at greater length. But enough has been said to show that, as regards a very large industry in this State, the Federal Legislature took a serious, though it may be a justifiable step, when it committed itself to exclusion of Chinese labor.

MANUFACTURES.

When we come to manufactures, the evidence is that many of the manufactures now in existence would not exist but for the presence of the Chinese. Colonel Bee, in his answer to our second question, gives a history of the rise of Chinese manufactures. From being employes as boot-makers, cigar-makers and the like they went into the business themselves, and we visited shops where we saw Chinese using the latest improvement in machinery for the making of boots. Before the Chinese labor was utilized in manufactures the boots were got in the main from Massachusetts, and it stands to reason the price was the sum of the cost of making them, the cost of transit, and the profit to the producer and distributor. By making them in San Francisco one of these items was saved, perhaps more, for in some instances the producer and the distributor were one, and there can be no doubt boots fell by a very large percentage. According to Mr. Lessler's statistics (page 337), in 1876 there were fifteen boot and shoe factories employing 1,892 whites and 1,970 Chinese.

The same thing took place in respect of cigars. Instead of importing them from Havanna they made the Havanna at home. During one year in one district of California 114,598,000 cigars were made by Chinese labor. This gives some idea of the magnitude of the trade. One witness said the internal revenue tax was paid on 9,300,000 cigars a month.

The woollen and jute bags manufactures are among the foremost industries. In the woollen manufacture only 2,000,000 pounds of wool are used and 38,000,000 pounds are exported, competition with Europe as yet being out of the question. In two mills there are 600 hands. At first some whites and Chinese were employed, and it seems instead of Chinese displacing white labor white girls have taken the place of Chinese, and the witness said he found American boys and girls just as good as Chinese.

Hop-picking.
See p. 308, Ap. A.
See p. 231, Ap. A.

Evidence that many of the manufactures would not exist but for the Chinese.

Before Chinese labor was utilized in boot trade boots came from Massachusetts.

Number of Chinese employed.

Cigars in the same way came to be manufactured in the State.

Woollen manufactures.

Whites displacing Chinese.

In jute factory most of the hands are Chinese. See p. 292, Ap. A.

See p. 201, Ap. A.

Operatives in jute factory almost entirely Chinese.

Chinese indispensable.

120 employed.

Jute bags and the tariff.

Jute bags and the exportation of wheat.

See p. 200, Ap. A.

In the jute factory most of the operatives are Chinese. The evidence was to the effect that Scotch girls had been imported to do the work but went away, and that this business could not go on without Chinese labor.

The witness from whose evidence we gather these facts respecting woollen and jute manufactures swore that at first there could have been neither woollen nor jute bags manufactured without the Chinese. No white operatives could be got.

“Q. Of the whole number of your operatives how many are Chinese?—A. I should think about one-half, exclusive of the Pacific Jute Factory. There the number is almost entirely Chinese, except the foreman. We tried there to have Scotch help—white girls. We imported them for that very purpose, but could not keep them a fortnight. They ran away, and we could not keep them, so that we have very few now.

“Q. Would you still be able to go on manufacturing without Chinese?—A. I think it would be prejudicial generally to our factory. I would say, as to the Pacific Jute Factory, that it could not go on without Chinese are labor.

“Q. What is the difference?—A. In the Pacific Jute Factory the looms so much heavier that very few women can run them.

“Q. Do women run those looms in Scotland?—A. Yes, sir; whether they are stronger there or how it is I do not understand; but it is very hard work. We are in direct competition with them.

“Q. How many Chinese do you employ?—A. In the jute factory, I should judge, about 120.

“Q. How many persons own this jute factory?—A. I should judge about thirty.

“Q. So the tariff is kept up for the benefit of thirty white persons and 120 Chinamen?—A. We have not asked particularly to have the tariff kept up, except that we introduced the industry and we found that we could not compete without Chinese labor.

“Q. The cost of bags to the farmer is the cost of production with the cost of manufacture added?—A. Not at all.

“Q. If it were not for the tariff, bags from Scotland and Hindostan would be likely to absorb the market here?—A. You might have a bag that would cost five cents; but if there was no local factory it might cost twenty cents.

“Q. I am speaking of the competition between Dundee and Hindostan?—A. Suppose you have no local factory. You might have to pay twenty cents, as you did last year.”

The manufacture of jute bags has an important bearing on the export of wheat. Wheat in bags is less likely to shift during a long and it may be tempestuous voyage than when in bulk. Shipowners and insurers have, therefore, insisted that wheat shipped to Europe shall be shipped in bags. Anything that would lower the price of bags would directly benefit the farmer, directly and indirectly, the whole State. Manufacturing the bags in the State has, of course, lowered considerably the price of bagging.

Now, this industry could not be carried on without the Chinese.

The President of the San José Woollen Mills says:

“When we are running full we employ about twenty white hands, and our business gives employment to eight or ten white men outside. We

employ about sixty-five Chinese. About three-fourths of the expense of running the institution, including the labor performed in selling our goods, is paid to white labor, and about one-fourth is paid to Chinese. We employ Chinese because it is necessary to compete in our business. To our white help we have to pay wages far in advance of what is paid in similar institutions in the Eastern States, with which we come directly into competition. To Chinamen, on an average, we pay less. A year and a half ago we compared our pay-rolls with several factories in the East, and I found that in our business and in theirs there was but very little difference; that with our high-priced white labor and low-priced Chinese labor, we average with them. They are twenty per cent. under us at this time.

Chinese necessary if they are to compete successfully.

"Q. How are you able to compete with them under these circumstances?—A. I do not know that we can compete with them next year, but we have been able to hold our own pretty well by having the advantage of the market in the selection of our wools.

"Q. Would your business of manufacturing have been started, or now exist, without Chinese labor?—A. It could not be carried on without it.

"Q. The work, then, that is being done would not have been done at all?—A. The work that is being done would not have been done at all. If the Chinamen were taken from us we should close up to-morrow.

"Q. You say the reason why you are compelled to have cheaper labor than white is on account of the difficulty of competition in your business with Eastern products?—A. Yes, sir; that is the difficulty.

Without the Chinese would have to close up.

"Q. Does the difficulty arise in no degree from competition here with other manufacturers?—A. If there was no competition with the East, and all the other mills here employed this cheap Chinese labor, we should have to do it too; but if we all agreed upon it here, and there were no mills in the East, we could employ white labor.

"Q. Does not the expense of transportation, etc., give you the control of the market among your various mills here?—A. No, sir; it does not give us the control.

"Q. Then, notwithstanding your cheap labor, you find difficulty in competing with the mills in the East?—A. Yes, sir."

In this connection the summary of Mr. Morgenthau's evidence should be read (page 330).

Even with Chinese cheap labor, hard to compete with the East.

According to Mr. Lessler's figures, about fifty per cent. of the laborers employed in San Francisco are Chinese. Mr. Badlam's evidence (page 231) shows how widely they are employed.

The manufacture of cordage has been secured to the State by Chinese labor and 6,500,000 pounds are consumed on the Coast, nearly all of which is made in California from Manila hemp.

In the manufacture of soap and candles, and matches, the alleged cause of the transference of the work in the main into Chinese hands is the unreliability of white labor; while the Chinese competition in broom-making, now an important industry, commenced by four or five Chinese employes going into the trade themselves. Mr. Pixley, whose brother was driven out of the business, thus explains how it was done:

Unreliability of white labor.

"The capital required was not large, and the result was that the six or seven Chinamen, under a white man, took up the business. They were required to keep a horse and wagon to dispose of their wares. This

How the Chinese set up broom manufacturing.

horse was kept in a stable. The Chinese lived in the same stable with the horse, fed and cooked for themselves in an upper loft, and slept there, and so reduced the wages that much, thrusting in this particular instance my brother out of his employment."

Is Chinese cheap labor equivalent to protection to infant industries?

Mr. Low (see page 187) contends that Chinese labor enabled men to start manufactures, and inclines to the belief that as the manufactures get firmly established and organized the tendency would be to use white labor. He compares Chinese cheap labor to protection, and uses the usual argument in favor of it:

As manufactures get established Chinese labor can be dispensed with.

"After a manufacture gets firmly established, after they get skilled labor, and get apprentices who have learned the trade, perhaps the tariff then may be lessened, or may be taken off altogether, because it can then successfully compete with manufactures from abroad. So, too, with regard to manufactures here. But for the Chinese I doubt if we would have had any manufactures, or they would have been small as compared with the present. The very fact of the Chinese being here, and that their labor was procurable at a moderate rate, has induced the opening of manufactories, and perhaps now or shortly, as they can get apprentices at work, the Chinese labor can be dispensed with.

White labor would be gradually introduced.

"Q. Do you think that that result would work out of itself naturally, that is to say, white labor to be introduced and crowd out Chinese labor? Would that result gradually come about, or will it be necessary to cut off Chinese labor in the first place?—A. I think it is gradually coming about.

"Q. Without interference?—A. Without interference. It may be that public opinion has some effect, but I know in these shoe factories they are gradually working boys into the factories, so that where they had two or three hundred Chinese laborers they have not one hundred now, and they are supplying their places with white labor."

We do not go into a number of other industries, believing that enough has been said for our immediate purpose.

Asiatic trade stimulated by Chinese.

See M. E., p. 10.

See p. 290, Ap. A.

See M. E., p. 13.

Mr. Briggs was asked what effect the Chinese had had on trade with Asia, and his reply was that they had stimulated it and had increased the volume both of exportations and importations. The Chinese merchants stand high everywhere. Mr. Babcock, who had constant dealings with the Chinese, said he never lost a dollar through one of them in his life. When the Burlingame Treaty was made with China Mr. Bee declared a man could count all the American merchant marine engaged in the trade upon his fingers. Now, 400,000 tons were engaged in the Chinese trade. For the first nine months of 1876, according to the *Commercial Herald*, exports to the value of \$2,611,798 were sent out of San Francisco to China alone.

Gifts of the Chinese to California.

Thus it is clear that California is indebted to Chinese cheap labor for:

1. Early railway communication with the Eastern States.
2. Getting large tracts of land early under cultivation.
3. Perhaps for the existence—certainly for the existence at its present magnitude—of fruit-growing and vine culture.
4. For the reclamation of large tracts of tule-lands.
5. For the rapid progress of its manufactures.
6. For stimulating the Asiatic trade.

We say nothing about the amount they pay into the public treasury, as miners, hawkers, etc., nor the amount they necessarily, apart from direct and indirect taxation, drop to swell the public wealth. Mr. Babcock calculates that they spend \$900,000 a month. See M. E., p. 13.

Of all the gifts, however, which the Chinese have given the State of California that, for which many seemed most grateful and about the character, of which, with hardly a qualification, all are agreed, is the domestic servant. This, too, is the ground on which the fiercest skirmishes of this battle have taken place. The Chinaman as a domestic.

The universal testimony is that they make good domestic servants. In fact there could not be stronger proof of it than this: most of those who attack them and say they should not be employed as domestic servants are like Condamine's cordelier, whom his convert to fasting and temperance, found feasting at supper, with three or four dishes and a couple of flagons of wine. The cordelier laughed, and said he preached as he did for a crown but would not put his preaching in practice for one hundred thousand. When a man denouncing the Chinese is asked why he employs them in the character of domestic servants, his answer is because he cannot do without them, and we fear it is a gratuitous assumption that white girls could be found if the Chinese were away. One witness after another praises the Chinese in this character, and we have ourselves seen that they are admirable servants. From 5,000 to 6,000 are employed in San Francisco alone. Mr. Briggs, while bearing testimony to their efficiency, makes a very awful charge against them: Make good domestics.

"Q. What is their character? Are they clean and efficient as domestic servants?—A. For many years they were about the only domestic servants we had here, and my observation is that generally they are quite as efficient, and as useful, as white servants; and quite as reliable.

"Q. What about their personal character? Are they cleanly or repulsive or what?—A. Those Chinese servants who enter homes are cleanly in their habits; there is no objection to them on the score of uncleanness.

"Q. While white help in houses is scarce, would it not seem to you to be very important, especially to the women of a community, that this supply of domestic labor should not be interfered with?—A. The moral influence of Chinese upon children is a wretched thing, and if a family has children it would be almost suicidal to permit the Chinese servants to associate with the children, or to have charge of them. I think the objection to them is made on that score as much as any other. Instances are not rare where these male servants have debauched children, and with their lack of moral standard the only restraint would be fear of detection." An awful charge.

We are bound to say there is no evidence that they are more prone to so revolting a crime than other peoples. Instances occur in puritanical England of coarse and brutal natures violating children of even tender years. Of course a Chinaman, any more than men of other nationalities or different civilization, is not the proper person to have about female children, and instances have occurred in Caucasian countries which would suggest that sometimes a male attendant would be better than No evidence that they are specially prone to outraging children.

The gross charges made against Chinese domestics incredible.

Questions raised in evidence.

Is China a ground from which it is possible or desirable to draw immigrants?

a female attendant for little boys. The evidence is overwhelming that no white girl can be got to go into the country, away from society and far from the church-going bell; and what are isolated country homes to do? If these Chinese domestics were dishonest and grossly and revoltingly immoral as so many contend, without giving evidence to support the contention, it is not possible to conceive they would be welcomed into so many homes as cooks and in other positions. Is it not certain we should have heard of Chinamen being lynched? In the South when negroes violated women lynching was put into operation, and a man would be as loth to let the outrage become public in the case of his wife as in that of his child, while there could be no difference of degree in the passionate sense of wrong. Nevertheless it is possible that even here it may be right to put down the dam. But, if so, let it be put down on grounds that will bear examination.

We have seen that the Chinaman was welcomed and that he did a good work. Several questions were raised by the witnesses we examined in San Francisco, and all bear on the subject of the immigration of Chinese into British Columbia. Were there coincident with this beneficent action on the part of Chinese laborers evils peculiar to Chinamen, and of such a gravity as to make it doubtful whether the State would not have been better without their help? Is the condition of things produced and now existing in consequence of that labor such that a wise man might well wish the sound of its pick had never been heard in California? Is it practical to contemplate China at all as a source whence a western population should desire to have its numbers swelled? Although up to the present Chinese labor may have been useful, are there, looking to the future, dangers which should attract the attention of statesmen? These general questions embrace a number of minor ones.

The problem calling for solution is one so complicated, touching at one point principles of justice and government, at another affecting great material interests; at one time opening up ethnic and national vistas which force the mind, in any degree prone to the "malady of thought," to move along the plane of cautions far-seeing statesmanship; and again raising such momentous social and industrial issues, that any body of men called on to deal with it, should have before them the complete materials for forming a judgment on the merits of every charge made against the Chinese, and the soundness of every theory put forward by their advocates and friends. Now, to understand the Chinese immigrant you must be acquainted with him at home.

THE CHINAMAN IN CHINA.

Several witnesses examined before the Joint Committee, and some of the witnesses examined by ourselves, gave their views respecting the character of the Chinaman in China. The impression is widespread that this is intimately related to the matters with which we have to deal, and it has an important bearing on the question whether the Chinese belong to a race inferior to our own. Mr. Crowley declares they are "a nation of thieves," and many witnesses affirm that they have no respect for truth. One witness swears he has known them openly to practice revolting crimes. That unmentionable offences, infanticide, the sale of female children, cruelty, idolatry, gross superstition, and low and degrading customs prevail is sworn by several witnesses. Yet, perhaps, the statesman would not be deterred by one or all of these charges, even if established beyond doubt, from encouraging Chinese immigration, were he certain that it brought men and women of whom or of whose children good Canadians could be made.

See M. E., p. 23.

Sweeping charges of theft and falsehood.

A glance at China and Chinese history would be useful if only to get rid of the idea that the 400,000,000 Chinamen are a huge swarm of repulsive barbarians. From the nature of the case, China was sure to be either overpraised or too adversely criticised. She had attained a high civilization when Europe was savage. When Marco Polo and other early travellers visited the Middle Kingdom, its roads and canals must have struck them as furnishing a wonderful contrast to the highways of commerce at home. The theory of the government of China and of its social organization would naturally appeal to superficial but sympathetic minds such as Voltaire's, while the perfection of its despotism would blind the glance of men like Montesquieu to some excellent things of which it may fairly boast. It is remarkable that those who know the country best speak most favorably of its inhabitants. But even the pages of the eulogist cannot hide the stagnation which prevails, the dwarfing effects of an indurated self-complacency, the evil growths of over-population, the treachery and cruelty, the want of respect for human life, the absence of natural affection in one direction, side by side with family devotion in another. But few blots, however, can be pointed out as disfiguring Chinese civilization, the counterpart of which cannot be found, at one time or another, in great European races and nations.

Chinese necessarily over-praised or over-blamed.

Palpable blots in Chinese civilization.

To say that the Mandarins are materialists is true; to say that the people are sunk in the grossest superstition is equally true; but one has not to go to the East to find materialists, and we have seen superstitious nations grow into states in which every charm of civic life and heroic

Let western ideas be engrafted on China, and she may have a brilliant future.

If so, a Chinese immigration might be useful.

Chinese history the archetype of Chinese character.

Origin of the pig-tail.

Confucius.

By giving so much importance to ceremonies killed originality.

Reason why Chinese do not emigrate to settle - worship of ancestors.

virtue was found. The character of the Chinese merchant, held so universally high; the industry and frugal virtues of his poorer countrymen, also universally admitted; a system of government in which education and scholarship hold a place they hold nowhere else, a place they have held for nearly 3,000 years; these and many other things mentioned by travellers and historians—and which set the Chinese in the front of Asiatic races—might suggest the conclusion that let but a few western ideas obtain a strong footing in China and the Chinese people would have a brilliant future. If so, it might follow that a permanent Chinese immigration would be desirable, because sure to lose those characteristics which now repel.

There is much in the past and present of China to account for the very qualities which make the modern Chinaman singular. Nothing is probably to the popular mind considered so characteristic of the Chinaman as the queue—the pig-tail. What surprises the thoughtful is that he won't give it up. Yet, that he is not without plasticity the queue itself proves, for it was imposed on him a few hundred years ago by an intrusive dynasty.* It is a badge of conquest. On the other hand an invincible conservatism is shown by the fact that the same power could not prevail on Chinamen of the better class not to torture the feet of their daughters into deformity.

Confucius, who has made so profound an impression on the Chinese nation, stands out as one of the three or four grandest men of the world. Yet, by setting so much store by ceremonies he is probably in great part responsible for the stationariness of China, and by giving the weight of his authority, example and earnest injunction to the worship of ancestors, he undoubtedly contributed to make the modern Chinaman unwilling to live permanently, or to die, out of the Flowery Land. One of the charges most frequently brought against the Chinaman is that he does not come to remain. The reason of this is but imperfectly understood. It is not patriotism. It is the cult of the worship of ancestors. Not only does a Chinaman worship his ancestors; he expects himself to be worshipped,† and it is this desire to be worshipped which causes the Chinaman before he leaves for other lands, to make an agreement that if he dies his ashes shall be taken back to his province. One of the reasons why he returns

* When the Manchus captured Leaouyang the townspeople who were spared recognized the authority of the conqueror and shaved their heads. This is the first occasion on which the 'pig-tail' is distinctly referred to. Henceforth, it became compulsory on all who wished to escape death, to shave their heads on the approach of the Manchus.—*Boulger's History of China, vol. II., p. 200.*

† "In some portions of the Empire convicts are sent out from prison each morning to beg their daily bread. At the small market town of Yuu-poo which is in the vicinity of Canton, a convict from Nankin used to find employment either as a porter, or a Sedan-chair bearer, or as a farm laborer. He was very anxious to be permitted to return to Nankin to die there, so as to receive the sacred rites of ancestral worship from his posterity."—*Gray's China, vol. I., p. 70.*

at intervals undoubtedly is that he may worship at an ancestral grave himself.

This superstition which is hardly worthy of the name of the noblest of human sentiments—filial piety—has important bearings on the future of the Chinese race. It keeps province apart from province, for it is not to China but to the confines of an ancestral graveyard that the Chinaman wishes to go home. The rise of a real patriotism, with all its ennobling influence is hindered, and for those who would desire (and there are some who would) a large and permanent Chinese immigration, it imposes a long interval between the present and the consummation of their hopes. For grant that the Chinaman is more plastic than he seems, he does not remain sufficiently long in any foreign country to give his plasticity a chance. It is hard to deal seriously with those who complain that he will not stay, for the very same persons will grow querulous over the fact that he is here; and several seemed even to regret that he insisted on taking his ashes out of this continent, as though as they could not have a living Chinaman *en permanence*, a dead one was better than nothing.

Ancestral worship kills a large patriotism.

Unless the Chinese character should undergo a radical change they cannot become permanent settlers.

The evidence from books is that this ancestral worship is often gone through with heartless levity; that a coffin of a father will sometimes be exposed to the weather for months; yet had one dared to touch an exposed limb a whole village would rise. A broad generalization cannot be made from a few circumstances. One of the reasons why Chinese criminals like to emigrate is because if they commit crime away from China and are convicted, only themselves will have to bear the penalty, whereas in China the father and mother are liable to be punished for the misconduct of their children. Mr. Medhurst says:

Ancestral worship often gone through heartlessly.

See Medhurst, pp. 24, 125.

“This duty, although called filial piety, must be considered more as a general rule of conduct than as the expression of the sentiment of affection; it lives in their most ancient annals and is enforced by their earliest and greatest philosophers. It has survived dynasties and revolutions, and to day it is the most powerful principle in the Chinese constitution. It is sanctioned by law and public opinion.”

We had intended at the close of this paper in which we reflect whatever is said, bad and good about the Chinese, by western travellers, to call a witness for them in the person of Colonel Teheng-Ki-Tong, military attaché to the Chinese Embassy at Paris, and to give his remarks on the various points concerning which Europeans had either written with surprise or condemnation. But perhaps be convenient to quote here one or two of his observations on the worship of ancestors, which he truly calls the base of the moral life of China. In a society like that of Europe he thinks that perhaps he should apologize for the Chinese view of the constitution of the family, which is considered as made up of the living members, and of the souls of those of its members who are dead. “The dead are not forgotten.” To forget the dead—this belongs to the West, where, as a rule, people know nothing of their ancestors beyond three generations. The ancestors call themselves the old people (*les*

A Chinese witness on the worship of ancestors.

Revue des deux Mondes, June 15th, 1881, p. 821.

The dead are not forgotten in China.

European method of honoring the dead.

vieux). Poor old people! he cries, in fact less cherished than the antique tapestry which decorates the sumptuous staircase of a new mansion. He had visited cemeteries and had cursed the *immortelles* hung around—those flowers without perfume and without freshness, which do not wither and which symbolize the hypocrisy of a pretended remembrance. Those *immortelles* dispense with the necessity of returning. But roses—they would only live for a morning. He then contrasts the way the Chinese treat their dead. "We carry our dead to the fields, to the hills which surround the towns and cities, as high up, as near heaven as possible, and the tombs which we raise to our 'old people' will remain there in the midst of immortal nature for ever. The dead sleep in peace!" He proceeds to relate how the ceremonial worship of ancestors takes place twice each year, in the Spring time and Autumn, how it is instinct with gratitude and clothed with solemnity, how families are thus drawn together, how the temple of the ancestors of families of consequence is sufficiently large to have apartments for those members who do not dwell in the same town, how these temples raised in the midst of the country sometimes serve during summer as rural villas, how families frequently have reunions there, as on the occasion of a marriage or at the period of the examinations. "All the joys of the family are thus celebrated in the family, in the midst of its ancestors, and as it were at the home of absent ones who are not forgotten."

The Chinese carry their dead to the choicest spots of field or hill.

Temples raised to ancestors.

There is another thing about which we think there is much misconception, and which, while possessing attractive and useful features, has an evil influence, politically and otherwise—we mean the mode adopted by the Chinese Government to encourage education. Perhaps it would be more correct to describe it as the mode of recruiting the public service. Education is made the only avenue to all posts of honor and importance. This has the excellent consequence that education is spread abroad among the male population. It is to the glory of China that when the mass of the English and Irish people could not read, much less write their names, education was widely diffused in the Ancient Empire, where, as witnesses before the Joint Committee testified, and as the Abbé Huc noted in 1854, all Chinamen with rare exceptions can read and write. "Primary education," says the Abbé, "penetrates even the floating dwellings which in thousands cover the rivers, lakes and canals of the Celestial Empire." Nor is the education of women so much neglected as so many suppose. In the south of China seminaries for the board and education of young ladies are numerous. We shall see that there are women of considerable culture who devote themselves to music, and remind us of a class of Greek girls to which Pericles owed his beautiful and inspiring companion. When Su Tung P'o was banished for crossing the Emperor's will, we read that his exile was shared by the lovely and accomplished girl "Morning Clouds," who sweetened his banishment and inspired those songs which to-day are sung by those who could not name his persecutor. But, to return to the

Education in China.

Education long widely diffused in China.

Huc, vol. I., p. 122.

Gray, vol. I., p. 167.

Women of considerable culture.

examinations. They make every student a place-hunter from his youth; and as taking a good degree is pretty certain to secure success in life, this is hailed as a great achievement would be in other lands. Though there is no system of national education and no course of study is prescribed by the Government, the curriculum is the same; and at the most critical period of mental growth a profound, not to say slavish, admiration for the wise men of ancient times is inculcated. The books of these men are supposed to be immeasurably superior to anything later times could produce. Such teaching would of itself destroy mental independence; but when we remember that the more brilliant the mind, the more certain is it to look to high government employ, can we wonder that the literati of China originate nothing? The education consists in the study of moral philosophy and of an unscientific past, and the metaphysical speculations are, as might be expected, exceedingly crude. The Four Shoos play an important part in Chinese education. In the first of these, the Lun-Yu, we have digested conversations between Confucius and his disciples; the Ta-Heo is the great learning; the third, the Chung-Yung, or doctrine of the mean; and in these three we have a record of the doctrines and sayings of Confucius by his disciples. The fourth consists of the works of Mencius. The object of all four works is to teach men to be virtuous, that they may successfully discharge their political and social duties. When the student has mastered the Four Shoos he studies the classic on Filial Piety. He then enters on a study of the Five King, which embraces cosmology, ancient history, poetry, and etiquette. Confucius attached, it is said, great importance to the She-King (3), a collection of poems which he thought fitted to mould the national character. The fourth—the Le-Ke, or record of rites—deals with national ceremonial, and the knowledge and practice of its teachings are thought essential to social order and the promotion of virtue. The fifth—Ch'un Ts'ew, or Spring and Autumn—is a history of his own times and of several reigns preceding it. When the student has gone through a course of general literature he is supposed to be fit to pass an examination for the first degree, corresponding to our B.A.—examinations for which are held throughout the Empire twice in every three years. For the second, or what may be called the M.A. degree, examinations are held once in every three years. The qualification for obtaining this degree is to write two essays, compose a poem of twelve lines, recite or write from memory a portion of the Sacred Edict. Two or three days afterwards the names of the successful candidates are classified according to merit and posted. There are a half a dozen further trials of strength in the composition of essays and poems, and on the final day out of ten thousand candidates perhaps not more than one hundred remain. We saw the president of a club in San Francisco, who told us that when he was examined 12,000 competed, of whom 11,940 went back with sorrowful hearts.

At a glance all this seems most commendable. But remember that of the

Huc, vol. I., p. 121.

Mental independence destroyed.

Gray, vol. I., p. 170.

System of education.

The student passes from the Four Shoos to the classic on Filial Piety.

The Le-Ke.

Examinations for the first degree held throughout China twice in every three years. For second, or M. A. degree examinations once every three years.

Further trials of strength.

Evils of the system.

six, ten or twelve thousand who go up, each one has during the plastic period of life had his mind fixed on a government place. Are the sixty who get their degree highly educated after the standard of China? Perhaps far better men—for only sixty can be chosen—have been rejected. Here, there is at once seen to be scope for favoritism and abuse. There must necessarily be injustice. It is conceivable that of ten thousand two thousand would come fully up to a fair standard of merit. Is there nothing more behind?

Scope for favoritism and abuse.

Corruption must from the nature of the case bore into such a system.

Memorial of Ting-ta-jen.

A moment's reflection must convince anyone familiar with human nature that corruption would bore into such an educational system. In 1869, Ting-ta-jen, the Governor of the province of Kiang-su, a man of great authority and position, in a memorial published in the *Pekin Gazette*, referring to the results of the present public examination system, says :

"To speak, for example, of the one province of Kiang-su, of the office of Tau-tai, there are only two or three vacancies which can be filled apart from the throne. Of the offices of Chih-fu, Chih-Chow, Chih-hien, Tung-chih, Tung-pau, only some tens can thus be filled, while there are about sixty or seventy men expectants of Tau-tai, and more than a thousand for the other offices. But to put a thousand and more in several tens of offices must be the work certainly of a distant and undetermined future. Even in the selection, according to the order of time, and the fulfilment of requirements for temporary posts, unless it be those who have been expectants for more than ten years, none can get a single year's office. Those who are nimble-footed and manage to advance sooner, must either be clever in boring and scheming their way, or have friends in a position to help them forward. How can such a class, by nature unreliable and sordid, be expected to cherish the people? Supposing that, in the course of ten or more years, they obtain one year's office as a substitute, out of this one year must come the expenses of the preceding ten and more years for clothes and food, the cost of maintaining a family, and returning favors ; and besides, in this one year of temporary office, provision must be made for the future. To place dogs and sheep before a hungry tiger, and expect him not to seize and eat them, although you should make a show of preventing him with a stout bow and poisoned arrows, would certainly be to expect an impossibility. And so these men, having no fixed source of income, and consequently no fixed purpose of heart, are not simply villains ; their very penury is the reason of their becoming so."

Tendency to put a class unreliable and sordid into office.

In a short term of office favors must be returned and provision made for the future.

Williamson, vol. I., p. 6.

Magistracies sold.

See Boulger's History of China, vol. III., p. 323.

Why Mandarins are afraid of western civilization.

This testimony is true of the whole Empire. Poverty on the part of the Government has led to the disposal of magistracies not by competition but for money. Boulger, who takes a very hopeful view of China, and who is the latest and not the least partial of Chinese historians, says of that country thirty years ago that corruption of the public service had alienated the people ; that justice was not to be found—to the rich it was knocked down to the highest bidder ; that offices were sold to men who had never passed an examination and who were wholly illiterate ; that the value of office was the means to extortion. Hence the evils, the squeezing of Mandarins, and the sale of justice which strike every traveller and fills the most hopeful and the best-intentioned with despair. Hence, too, suggests the Rev.

Alexander Williamson, "their apprehension of the advance of European civilization. These," he cries, "are the literati who stir up the common people against missionaries and foreigners. These are the men who with the threat of reporting them to the Mandarins, annoy and squeeze Christian converts and such native merchants as may be seeking to introduce improvements."

The scholar who attains the second degree, or M.A., is qualified for any office. There are two degrees yet to which only an M.A. may aspire. Once in three years the ambitious repair to Peking to be examined by the Doctors of the Hanlin College. Three hundred are elected out of some ten thousand; the three hundred are again examined in the presence of the Emperor and a few chosen to fill up the vacancies in the college, whence the ministers and other high officers of state, are, as a rule, recruited.

When Khan Mangu, the brother of the great Kublai, asked what was understood by "a man of letters," and added: "Are there any other than doctors?" "A man of letters," replied a Chinese servant, "is a man capable of settling all the difficulties which are to be met with in the task of government, and a doctor cannot be compared with him." The ladder to statesmanship has been hurriedly described; and just, as with ourselves, up to a recent period the educated man was he who had given his days and nights to the Latin and Greek classics, so in China, "the man of letters," the right hand of Empire, is he who has devoted himself to the fathers of Chinese thought and to the writings of the literary giants who flourished in the Augustan age of the Sung.

As we might expect the gallant and scholarly Mandarin before quoted sees nothing but good in the Chinese system of securing the best and most cultured minds for the higher offices of the state, and theoretically securing the ablest and most instructed attainable for all posts. Nor will his remarks be less instructive if the reader notes the evidences of that self-complacency which is a national characteristic, the result of centuries of isolation from western countries, and early preeminence and superior civilization, as regards the tribes and nations around. Only indomitable belief in their own superior civilization could give the Chinese the force to cling to their Eastern costume and all their Eastern habits in the midst of a population to whom they know such things are offensive.

In this man, highly educated, who has lived and travelled much in Europe, we see the self-complacency of his countrymen and their contempt for western methods. After ten years study of Christendom, democracy fills him with contempt. He points out that in China there are four classes of citizens: the literati, the agriculturists, manufacturers and traders. The literati occupy the first rank as the class which thinks. The agriculturists come next, and the manufacturers stand third. But the two first are the classes esteemed and honored. All four, however, are permitted to take part in the public examinations which confer rank. This right,

A man of letters.

How entrance is gained to Hanlin College, the nursery of ministers of state.

Meaning of "a man of letters."

Mulla quoted by Boulger, vol. I., p. 499.

The man of education and culture in China.

Chinese self-complacency.

Democracy fills the Chinese scholar with contempt.

Literary degrees titles to which rights and privileges are attached.

No principle in western civilization as democratic as public examinations which confer rank and open careers to all.

What can culture and scholarship do for a man in Europe?

A Chinese panacea for the domestic troubles of Europe.

Part played by literati.

He truly says, is as democratic as any principle which exists in any part of the world, and he is astonished it has not been adopted in western countries "where the immortal principles (the rights of man) have not yet ensured the best of governments or the least imperfect social state." He then points out that the degree of B. A., or that of Doctor, or a licentiate's degree does not merely indicate the extent of knowledge of its possessor; these degrees are titles to which rights and privileges are attached. He is annoyed at the little respect paid to University degrees in Europe, and, as we have already indicated, he seems at first sight to have the best of it.

"After ten years' residence, after much study, I ask myself what principle there is in the institutions of the western world really worthy to be called democratic or liberal? I see none, and no one has shown me one so thoroughly democratic as the right of admission of all the citizens to the examinations which confer rank. People speak much of universal suffrage, but it is a weather-cock which turns to every point of the compass (*une rose des vents*). It is a principle without principles; and on a given day or hour to suppose that it can manifest itself as by a decree is to form a curious estimate of public opinion. Strange thing! One could not propose the election of academicians by universal suffrage without becoming ridiculous, but legislators are chosen by it. I believe it is more difficult to choose good legislators than good academicians. What are we to think? * * If you are poor, having no other riches than an honorable name and the ambition to bear it worthily, can you by study alone and scholastic achievements, assure yourself a name and place in the functions of the state? Can you raise yourself by the credit of your knowledge alone? Can you by it conquer a single right? Can you obtain by it alone honor and power? In China, yes; in Europe, no.

"It is not without reason then that I pretend that our customs are more liberal, more just and more salutary; for the more instructed are the most wise, and these are the ambitious men who (in Europe) disturb the public peace. Require before a man can fill the first offices of government the reputation of the highest literary merit, as for great military positions you demand tried bravery, honor, knowledge of the art of war, and you will suppress those domestic troubles which open the doors of ministers of state to intrigue and injustice. Here is the secret of the stability of our peaceful Empire." It will be observed that it seems to him an advantage that the Chinese system puts an imperial collar round the scholar's neck. He fails, too, to see that a man of genius in modern times has only to achieve to reap his reward.

He proceeds to say that China has no system of public education. "Our government understands liberty better than certain western countries where education is compulsory, without directing it to any specific end. Government has no control but on the examinations. The candidates are submitted but to a single law, the most tyrannical of all, they must know."

Having described the Chinese system of education he tells us the life of a *lettré* is passed in examinations. He adds with scorn that "at twenty in Europe the time has arrived for most to put their studies on one side and begin to forget them. We, on the other hand, ambition a new grade to which will correspond an increase of honor and fortune. The Chinese official hierarchy is not founded on seniority but on merit. * * / No one thinks in China of despising a young chief of a bureau because the chief is necessarily more capable than the sub-chief. Power and place by seniority is a mistake; it is not the bald head which makes merit, and the young attachés have shown me the inefficiency of a system of seniority so that I can appreciate the wisdom of our government in suppressing the cause."

Contrast between the life of educated men in China and Europe.

The ovation which awaits the successful student having been described, we are told that in China as well as in Europe the voice of the people is the voice of God, and this voice is heard in the councils of state when necessary. "The people are in fact represented by the literati who go from the provinces to the capital; and although they have no official title they have the right to address, in the name of the people, requests in which they lay bare things necessary to be done. * * If," says this astute Asiatic, "China ever should change her political customs and adopt one of the modes of national representation in vogue with western peoples, mindful of her traditional homage to scholarship, she will give the right to vote only to those who shall have distinguished themselves by study and probity."

Vox populi, vox dei.

Literati represent the people.

If China should adopt representative government she will have an educational test.

One of the consequences of this system, aided by the determined isolation to which China has been for thousands of years devoted, is to produce men who mistake pedantry for statesmanship. The monopoly of trade with China granted by Royal Charter to the East India Company expired in April, 1834, and the Chinese authorities had all their feathers of self-complacent arrogance ruffled when they learnt that the merchants of Canton instead of being the agents and representatives of a company were entitled to the direct protection of a remote potentate. Their policy towards foreigners became at once one of intensified and unqualified hostility. The opium traffic was made the subject of diplomatic controversy and Chinese hostility, the Mandarins doing what has been often done in western countries in regard to contraband luxuries, keeping most of the confiscated drug. But all foreign traffic was aimed at—a traffic hated in Peking and which but for the corruption of the Mandarins would never have been allowed to find a footing. Ultimately war broke out. It is known as the Opium War, but Boulger makes out a strong case for the theory that the Chinese were not so much opposed to opium as to foreign intercourse, and that the war was really one for a right to trade with China.

System produces men who mistake pedantry for statesmanship.

Boulger, vol. III, p. 103.

Was the first foreign war an opium war?

Boulger, vol. III, pp. 24, 38.

Among the prominent men of the day was Commissioner Lin, and it is laughable to read his moral speeches. One of his class, with English war

Commissioner Lin.

Moral pyrotechnics in diplomacy and war.

Boulger, vol. II., p. 315.

What the literati consider statesmanship.

How to deal with the obstinate English.

Boulger, vol. III., p. 156.

Mandarin corruption.

See note Boulger, vol. III., p. 159.

The literati.

Giles' *Historic China*, pp. 89, 106, 108.

Edinburgh Review for October, 1884.

Legge's *Chinese classics*, vol. IV., parts 1 and 2.

Educational system fatal to a real public opinion.

Pursuing literature for ulterior ends corrupting.

ships within view, wrote to his master that the barbarians required to be brought, as religious people amongst ourselves would say, into a more spiritual frame of mind. Speaking of Lin, Boulger says: "He has been called a statesman, but the claim will not be allowed at the bar of history. He was rather a typical representative of the order of literary officials to which he belonged. Statesmanship is in their eyes the carrying out of political plans in strict obedience to a groove of action laid down in antiquity, and the able man is he who can most eloquently enunciate great moral truths, which he probably does not carry out in his own life, and which without practice and the demonstration of vigor will avail but slightly to keep an Empire together." Keshen who, after Lin's disgrace succeeded him at Canton, wrote to the Emperor of the obstinate English: "It becomes necessary to soothe and admonish them with sacred instruction, so as to cause them to change their mien, and purify their hearts." Since the pills against earthquakes sold by Addison's quack there has been nothing like this. On the ruin of Keshen his property was confiscated, and his great wealth showed how he had improved his opportunities after the true Mandarin fashion. In the inventory we find after 270,000 taels weight of gold, 3,400,000 taels weight* of sycee silver, and 2,000,000 taels weight of foreign money, come four pawnshops in Pechihli, two at Moukden; eighty four banking houses; together with pearls, silks, clocks, precious stones, and what not.

Among the literati we find those who can write with true humor and quiet satire. They compose poetry, and with respect to a statement made by a reviewer of Boulger's history that the stagnation of China is due to the fact that the Chinese are without imagination one has only to read their literature to see they have fancy. That the humblest individual in the Empire, provided his record is unsoiled, may aspire to the highest position short of the throne is undoubtedly a most democratic principle, and the feeling that any office is open to their children provided they have sufficient genius and industry, goes far to reconcile the Chinese to a yoke which yet has proved sufficiently galling to lead to outbreaks and rebellions.

There is, too, this qualification to official tyranny. Riots inevitably follow an attempt to stretch power too far. A violent demonstration in a district and the Mandarin is recalled and it may be ruined. Certainly for a time his career is checked.

The worst effects of this system of education have not been indicated. It dries up a fruitful source from which elevating national impulses might come. It is fatal to the existence of a real public opinion. It deprives the people, in times of oppression, of their only chance of a great and effective champion. The robber makes friends with the watch dogs by feeding them. There is something, as history shows, specially corrupting in pursuing literature for ulterior ends. The most ennobling of all things when followed for its own sake, where it is made the thrall of power or

* Tael: weight, 1 1/4 oz. avoirdupois.

the tool of ambition, character tends to the nadir of degradation. Moreover the Mandarins are all badly paid and this of itself would lead to grave scandals. Mr. Boulger says :

The Chinese Empire.

"The Chinese Empire presents for our consideration one of the most complicated of existing problems ; and the subject is of growing rather than waning importance. In dealing with its history we are not discussing the fortune of some Empire that has long disappeared, nor are we seeking to discern the future of a race which has lost or forgotten the capacity of government ; but we are treating of a state and a people that apparently were never, during the long course of their national existence more powerful and flourishing than they are at this very day."

Problem presented by the Chinese Empire.

Travellers do not support this roseate view. They tell us that Mandarin corruption has plunged China in anarchy and misery. Mr. Boulger himself says, that the governing classes on the eve of the first foreign war appealed to "national instincts that had long been dormant, because consistently discouraged." Even the truculence of the Chinese to foreigners seems to be instigated by those who repress their aspirations after a larger life.

Sirr, vol. i., p. 264.

Gray, vol. i., pp. 26, 27.

Williamson, vol. i. pp. 163, 165.

It would be impossible that a system by which in many cases an educational test is necessarily applied should not produce remarkable men. As a fact no period of Chinese history has been without some striking characters, and there have been not a few really noble ones. The great Kublai owed much of his success to his Chinese secretary Yaochu, who became his constant companion and favorite minister. This eminent and upright Chinese scholar had been tutor to the young prince, who learned from him wise principles of government and often received from him sage advice and fruitful suggestion. Yaochu, in reply to his royal pupil, summed up the duties of a prince in eight maxims : "Regulate your household ; study the sciences ; honor the sages ; cherish your parents ; revere heaven ; love the people ; incline yourself to good deeds ; and keep flatterers at a distance."

China at every period has produced remarkable men.

An eminent and upright minister. The duties of a prince. Boulger, vol. i., p. 500.

There is no newspaper press. The *Pekin Gazette* is what its name imports. When we remember that this Court Circular and government record has been in existence since the closing years of the ninth century, long before the art of printing was known in Europe, before the dawn of the renaissance, when great warriors and kings could not write their names, and the monks of Iona were copying the works of the Venerable Bede, it is surprising that no popular newspapers have arisen. The people are kept in complete ignorance of passing events. Defeats, when the Chinese are defeated, are recounted as victories. True, in a country abounding in newspapers we have seen the same thing take place. All that was necessary was for the government to seize the telegraph, supervise the post, and exclude foreign newspapers. In each provincial capital in China a Court Circular is published daily, which contains the names of visitors to the viceroy's palace on the previous day. Under these circumstances one is not surprised to learn that the news-letter, which flourished in England before

Gray, vol. i., pp. 177-182.

Giles' Historic China, p. 59.

The Chinese people kept in complete ignorance of passing events.

Gray, vol. i., p. 179.

Boulger, vol. iii., pp. 490-512.

Chinese treachery and misrepresentation,

Chinese prowess à la Falstaff.

How grievances are ventilated.

Such local public opinion as exists in China created by the "literary and gentry."

Jan. 10th, 1871.

Mr. Low on this public opinion.

the halcyon days of journalism, plays an important part in China. But the writers are, it seems, untrustworthy. The battle of Chan-chia-wan where, according to an arrangement with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Parkes, an amicable settlement was to take place, but where with Chinese treachery it was determined to make another stand to bar the hated foreigner from Peking; where the French under General Montauban (afterwards Count Palakao) having assailed vigorously the Chinese left, and the English under Sir Hope Grant, having pressed their right, and Probyn's horse having routed a large body of mounted Tartars, the Chinese soldiers gave way before the advance of the infantry with the Sikhs in front,—describing this battle, in which there had in truth been stubborn fighting on the part of the beaten army, one of the news-letters said the English and French had been thoroughly whipped; "out of every ten men, eight or nine were killed." A most ludicrous and lying travesty is given of the march on Peking. Prince Tseng is delighted that the "turbulent barbarians" have entered the Yuen-ming-yuen palace and issues orders to the garrison of Peking to kill them all. Five thousand are slain. Five thousand escape. But they meet Prince Tseng's army. A battle and four thousand turbulent barbarians killed. One thousand taken alive. "The prince put out the eyes of 200 of the most able-bodied, or else cut off their noses." The writer of course declares that the statement that the Emperor and his ministers had fled is a falsehood.

The Chinese in San Francisco have advanced beyond their countrymen in the Flowery Land. They have two newspapers printed in Chinese.

Placards are resorted to as a means of ventilating grievances. Sometimes an oppressed individual will sit near the door of his oppressor and proclaim his wrongs to the passing world. This custom is common in India and was up to a century ago practised among the Keltic peoples of Europe.

Under such conditions as we have already indicated there can be no national public opinion. Such local public opinion as exists is the creation of the class of "literary and gentry," which stands midway between an army of interested officials and the dim masses. This middle class is composed of those who have been admitted to the public examinations and have drawn blanks. Mr. Low, writing thirteen years ago from the United States Legation at Peking to his Government, says that they play a useful part by advising the lower classes and managing local concerns for the Government.

"This class creates the public opinion of the country which exercises a controlling influence over the officials, and is usually powerful enough to thwart the intentions and nullify the action of the officers from the Emperor down, whenever popular rights are in danger of being invaded or the people unduly oppressed. So powerful is the influence of the literati that all officials endeavor to conform their action to the popular will, and in this view the Government of China is essentially democratic in practice."

Colonel Tong, who proclaims himself, with a sneer, an admirer of the European newspaper, says it helps to pass the time agreeably. The in-

fluence of newspapers on the public mind he does not rate high. If people would always read the same newspaper it would be different. The newspaper tells us what has taken place when it is well informed; it sometimes risks stating what has not happened, "but under all reserve." This is, perhaps, the only interesting thing in the paper, and to-morrow it will be denied. The world in which the newspaper preaches is impalpable (*insaisissable*), capricious. What pleases it to-day will displease it to-morrow. Watch the infatuated people who read journal after journal and then cry: "There's nothing in the newspapers!" As for the serious articles they are never read except by their authors. The newspaper, the colonel says, is an institution very useful, very precious for those who write.

Revue des deux Mondes, June 1st, 1884, p. 606.

A Chinaman on the influence of newspapers.

With great complacency he points out that no newspapers, such as those published where there is absolute freedom of the press, exist in China; and he adds: "there are great Empires even in Europe where this liberty is not complete." But he contends that though China has not liberty of the press she has a public opinion.

No liberty of the press.

The Book of Odes (the She-King) edited by Confucius is, according to the essayist, the origin of the journal in China. The sovereigns of China have always been kept informed of the state of public opinion, with reference to the acts of their government. For centuries the Council of Censors has existed. The duty of this council is to make the sovereign aware of the state of public opinion in the various parts of the Empire, and its reports are a journal whose readers are the Emperor and the high officers of state. These reports have latterly appeared in the *Pekin Gazette*.

Confucius' Book of verses.

"Liberty of the press does not exist in China because it would be contrary to the idea we have of the character of historical truth. For us there is no contemporary history. History deals with the annals of dynasties, and so long as the same dynasty occupies the throne, it is not permitted to publish a history of it. The history is written by a Council of Literati. * * It can readily be understood that it is necessary to keep these documents secret, in order that they may be a faithful reproduction of the truth."

Reason why liberty of the press does not exist in China.

In the innocence of his heart he considers that this Council of Censors, which is composed of the most renowned among the literati, who are entitled to say everything they desire, to take note even of rumors, realizes the ideal after which the European journalist strives in vain.

"The *Official Gazette* is, as a rule, seen only in official circles. The people are absolutely ignorant of what passes in the political world."

Since the opening of the ports attempts had been made to found journals on the European plan, and the example was followed in the provinces. But local journalism died a violent death, and no one has attempted to give it a resurrection. Foreigners continue to print newspapers, in Chinese. The most widely read of these are published, the one at Shanghai, the other at Hong-Kong.

Futile attempts to establish local journals.

There is, the colonel tells us, another kind of journal. The Chinese are accustomed to write their impressions of travel, of important events and

Private journals.

Anything political cannot be published while the dynasty under which it was written remains.

Both conservatives and democrats in China.

the like. But if in doing so they deal with political questions, their impressions, while the dynasty under which they are written is on the throne, cannot be published. Though they have no organ of opinion, conservatives and democrats are found in China; the partisans of the old traditions who would on no account make concessions to the spirit of innovation, and those who though they could never sympathize with western democracy, desire to serve the popular interest in such a manner that the people may reap some benefit.

Revue des deux Mondes, June 1st, p. 611.

Most instructive is it to note the mental attitude towards European institutions of this highly cultivated Chinaman. It seems to him an excellent thing that in the Empire of which he is an officer there is no liberty of the press.

Railway got rid of.

Giles, p. 121.

The railway laid down between Shanghai and Wusung was bought by the Chinese Government only that it might be got rid of. Mr. Giles, in his book "Historic China," gives for this course reasons which are wholly at fault. The real reason is given by Colonel Tong in the *Revue des deux Mondes*:

Why railways have not succeeded in China.

"The railway has not succeeded, although it is a wonderful mode of travelling. But however marvellous it may be, is it useful? Up to the present, no. Therefore it has not been undertaken. Moreover the execution of such a work would greatly disturb our customs. We hold above everything to the traditions of the family; and among them there does not exist one more dear than the worship of ancestors, and respect for their tombs. The locomotive overturns everything in its course; it has neither heart nor soul; it passes like a hurricane. Our people are not, therefore, of a mind to be invaded by the iron horse; and in truth we cannot be very angry with them for this, seeing that the French Institute refused to believe in the project of Fulton for impelling ships by steam. You can convince only the mind, and it is better to demonstrate slowly by facts an important truth than by trampling on traditions and customs to violently introduce improvements."

The railway goes straight on and would disturb the tombs of ancestors.

Telegraph between London and Pekin. Giles' Historic China, p. 121.

A telegraph line has, however, been laid between Pekin and Shanghai, and the electric link connects the capitals of the British and Chinese Empires. "For many years past," says Mr. Giles, "the Anglo-Saxon has been urging upon the Mongolian the necessity of moving more rapidly along the path of progress. It will be well, if in the coming centuries the Mongolian does not advance with more speed than is actually consistent with the worldly interests of the Anglo-Saxon." Without the aid of immigration, and in the face of internecine conflicts the Chinese doubled their numbers in a century. In 1743 the population did not, according to Grosier, exceed 200,000,000; in 1842 according to Sacharoff it had reached 414,686,994. They have a power of work which surpasses that of any western race. They attach the greatest importance to marriage. As among the ancient Jews, the more children a Chinaman has, especially male children, the more he is revered. The desire for male offspring is as strong as it was among the children of Judah when in their own land. This is a natural outcome of ancestral worship, which is the pivot

Mr. Giles suggests that the Chinaman may yet enter on the path of progress with inconvenient speed.

Double their numbers in a century.

Desire for male children strong.

on which Chinese civilization turns. Theoretical monogamists, they yet take what are loosely called "second wives," but who in reality are only concubines. The custom is for the parents to choose a wife for their son, a custom which prevailed amongst the Jews. In cases where the wives are unsuitable, the husband soon proceeds to take a second or third "wife." The fact that the children of these concubines are legitimate renders the word polygamy not unsuitable to describe the plurality of women attached to the couch. Until children are born the so-called second wife is no more than a servant in the house, and though motherhood improves her domestic status she has no legal rights. The position of women in China is deplorable; the oppression of the system of concubinage, according to one traveller, is so great that affianced maidens have committed suicide to save themselves from marriage with its tyrannies and jealousies. The supernumerary "wives," though they may be sometimes more loved than the lady who is supreme in the household, are from the point of view of individual dignity in a far worse condition. They can be discarded; sold; and made the slaves of keepers of houses of prostitution.

So called "second wives."

See Gen. xxi., 21, and xxxviii., 6; and Deut. xxii., 16.

Children of concubines legitimate.

Position of women in China deplorable.

Gray, vol. i., pp. 208, 213.

Gray says: "I have often known it (plurality of women) to result in a husband expelling from his house and selling one of his wives upon the false accusation of a rival. Naturally, therefore, many Chinese ladies are opposed to matrimony. In one street alone—the Shap-pat-kan street in the Honam suburb of Canton—I knew four families in which there were ladies who positively refused to marry upon the ground that should their husbands become polygamists there would remain for them nothing but a life of unhappiness."

Gray, vol. i., p. 185.

"Masters can sell female slaves either to other gentlemen as concubines, or to the proprietors of brothels as public prostitutes; or they can, I apprehend, use them for the gratification of their own lusts. Occasionally a master marries one of his slaves. Indeed it is not unusual for a barren spouse, if she have an amiable and good-looking slave, to suggest to her husband that he should take the girl as a second wife."

Gray, vol. i., p. 213.

This custom reminds one of Sarah's conduct. Finding herself growing old, she induced her lord to marry her bondmaid Hagar, in the hope that the divine promise of offspring might not fail of fulfilment. Archdeacon Gray tells how a lady named Tung Lou-shee, who resided in the western suburb of Canton, proposed that her husband should marry a young and prepossessing slave, although she herself had borne several children to him. Her own growing infirmities impelled her to this course. She stipulated that the husband and his youthful bride should live in a neighboring house. Now let us hear our Chinese witness on this subject:

"Woman is not in China the large factor in amusements that she is in Europe. She pays visits to her female friends; she receives theirs in return. But from these meetings men are excluded. Thus one of the causes which excite and produce the pleasures of European fashionable life, in a word the best part of western amusements is suppressed in the

organization of Chinese society. Men meet together frequently but no woman is present; nor do they pay visits to ladies outside the circle of their families."

Colonel Tong defends the seclusion of women:

Defence of the seclusion of women.

Thinks the Chinese legislators in limiting the occasions on which the sexes can meet have acted in the interest of the family.

"You may compare political institutions, you cannot compare social customs; these are like colors and matters of taste. That each one takes his pleasure where he finds it, is a proverb which entirely expresses my idea; for in that case one always finds it where he takes it. But it is probable that our legislators, in diminishing as much as possible the number of opportunities for bringing men and women into each others presence, have acted in the interest of the family. There is a Chinese proverb which says, 'out of ten women, nine will be jealous.' On the other hand, men are not perfect. The peace of the family is therefore exposed to great danger.

Remedy in case of adultery.

Better avoid catastrophes in married life.

"I have already said that Chinese institutions have but one end—to secure social peace; and in order to realize this, the single principle which appeared worthy of a paramount place was—to banish opportunities. This is not, perhaps, the highest bravery; but among the brave how many fall! The remedy in cases of adultery is summary execution without any process of law. It is the celebrated 'Tue-la!' expounded with so much cleverness by Alexandre Dumas fils. This right of a husband, where his dignity and authority are gravely compromised, I will certainly not dispute. Yet I follow the opinion of our sages, that it is better not to arrive at explanations which, however just the punishment may have been, spoil existence, for, as a rule, the man will have loved the woman who deceived him, and painful memories linger after the vengeance is past."

Divorce suits.

Many will sympathize with him in thinking that the remedy which consists in taking a barrister and an attorney to plead in public a cause which pride and magnanimity alike would prompt to hide from the coarse curiosity of the rabble, offers but poor consolation. This is to give a certificate to the man in his character of betrayed husband, and nothing in the situation of the divorced excites compassion still less inspires respect.

Does not believe most women deceive their husbands.

Not astonished that marriages are so rare in Europe.

"There is then only *ennui* and catastrophes in western society as it exists to-day. Personal experience, and what I have read, have thoroughly enlightened me on this subject. I do not, however, share the opinion of a large number of Europeans who hold that most women deceive their husbands. This must be an exaggeration, although a lady once said to me it was the luxury of marriage, and that men accustomed themselves to their new existence with resignation. I am no longer astonished that marriage is so rare (*abandonné*); it will soon be no more than a simple legal formality approved by the notary. This doubtless will not be a step in advance, but I grant it will be very amusing."

Women and wine classed by Confucius among dangerous things.

The colonel continues. The sacrifice they had imposed on themselves was in conformity with their opinion of the nature of man—man, who originally inclined to virtue, falls through evil example, and becomes soiled by "the dust of the world." Confucius classed among dangerous things woman and wine, and in Europe when a scandal arises, the first thought is "who is she?" The West thus supplies at once the exemp'fication and the commentary: "Who is she?" This is a phrase which would have no application in China.

Mark the sense of superiority in the following paragraph :—

"I am certain that our manners and customs have never thus been closely observed, the tendency being to criticise them and to find them—Chinese, that is to say, extravagant. Their great defect, and every sincere mind will agree with me, is that they are too reasonable. Grown-up children are like those of tender years, they do not love the price of wisdom. This is the true character of western society : people are ashamed to appear wise. They may desire to be so, but they follow bad examples as though to do so were a distinction. Such pleasure perverts ; it is playing with fire. We have remained serious. Ah! it is a strong expression : but who desires the end should take the means, and if we have happiness in the family, it is because we have suppressed temptations. Gaiety suffers a little, but good morals are maintained. And then, now that travel is so easy—we have Europe."

Chinese customs only too reasonable.

He passes with a rapid pen over the dark exceptions to this idealized picture, and takes up the subject of flower-boats. He vehemently denies that these flower-boats are brothels,* as some travellers have described them. Archdeacon Gray gives the same account of them as Colonel Tong. One of the favorite pleasures of young China is to organize parties on the water, chiefly in the evening, in the company of women who accept their invitations. These women are not married ; they are musicians, and it is in this character they are invited on the flower-boats. On these boats is found everything that a *gourmet* could desire ; and in the freshness of the evening, after a cup of tea deliciously perfumed, to listen to the sweet voice of a woman, accompanied by the tones of melodious instruments, is not considered in the light of a nocturnal debauch.

Flower boats not brothels.

"These women are not regarded from the point of view of their morals ; they may be in this respect what they wish ; that is their affair. They exercise their profession of musicians, or *dames de compagnie*—the name is of no importance ; and they are paid for the services they render as one pays a doctor or a barrister. They are generally instructed, and some of them are pretty. When they unite beauty to talent they are, of course, much sought after. The charm of their conversation is then as much appreciated as their musical talents, and numerous subjects are devised to submit to their judgment. Verses are addressed to them, and not a few are sufficiently cultivated to reply to the rhythmic gallantries of the literati."

Female musicians.

These women sometimes highly cultivated.

He declares that to say that in the meetings on these boats anything happens more than he has described is absolutely false. The female musi-

*"The most gally decorated of all boats, which have curved fronts painted in arabesque, silken lanterns suspended from their roofs, whilst looking-glasses, pictures and verses of an amatory character inscribed on parti-colored paper, decorate their sides—are those sinks of iniquity called flower-boats. The wretched female inmates, bedizened in tawdry finery, tottering on their deformed feet, appear at the doors, and on the decks, beckoning the passers-by, trying to entice them by their allurements to enter. These degraded females are at an early age purchased from their parents * * and are retained in bondage until worn out by disease and profligacy. * * Their career of vice is usually commenced at ten years of age. * * In short, the profligacy practised in China unabashed by all classes is most appalling."—*Sirr, vol. I., pp. 71 2.*

The artists also receive at their homes.

The pleasures which ruin and impoverish practised in the East as well as the West.

Tendency to density of population.

The wealth of China not developed.

Williamson, vol. I., p. 324.

Williamson, vol. I., p. 441.

cians are often invited into private houses, to play after dinner. "If these musicians were women of bad character they would not be allowed to touch the threshold of our dwellings, still less come into the presence of our wives." The *artistes* also receive at their homes. You invite them to receive you to dinner. You order the dinner and you bid your friends. Such usages, he says, show that the attractive part played by woman is highly appreciated in the Middle Kingdom. Everywhere the human heart is the same, and no doubt many romantic adventures lurk behind these invitations. "At first it was only the desire to hear the music, but this music is so perfidious! Confucius well characterized it as among dangerous things; the sound of the voice lingers in the memory; the invitations are renewed, and he who seeks fresh opportunities of meeting the lady cannot be altogether indifferent." One glides into romance, and pleasures which ruin and impoverish are practised in the China as well as in the Europe.

Early marriages and plurality of women in the house must tend to make population increase at an enormous ratio. If, therefore, foreign or intestine wars, or great calamities, such as epidemics, should not mercifully keep it down, the Chinese will have to break away beyond their own borders, ancestral worship notwithstanding.

China might, however, support a much larger population than at present if only she could find room for them. Her wealth is not half developed. Coal which is found in every province in China was certainly used there before it was known in Europe. Travellers of the 13th and 14th century tell how in far Cathay "black stones are dug out of the mountains, which stones burn when kindled and are used by many persons in preference to wood of which there is abundance."

Mr. Williamson, in his journey through Chih-li and Shan-si, describing the country beyond Chang-lang-chou and the Tai-yuen plain, says this last is most fruitful, "abounding in fruit trees and cereals, and dotted over with cities and market towns. The mountains on either side of it, if the statements of the people are to be credited, abound in coal, iron, and lime, while other minerals probably exist." Surely, he cries, such a country cannot long remain closed to the outer world. The country which excites his enthusiasm has only 253 persons to the mile while its neighbor Chih li has 475. The coal of Joong-chi hien, after coming 700 li (about 233 miles) down stream to the great gate which divides Shen-si from Hanon, is sold from the boats at 250 cash per picul of 133 pounds, or about \$5.55 a ton of 2,000 pounds. The hills in the south of Po-shan-hien are rich in minerals. "Coal-pits yielding extremely good coal are found in all directions." These hills are rich in the precious metals. But this is the common story of Williamson and others as regards every province. Yet little of this wealth is availed of. The Mandarins at one place said that if they permitted mining for gold they were afraid disturbances would occur among the miners. Chinamen of enterprise, full of

desire to work the mines, say that there would be no use in doing so as they would be sure to be 'squeezed by the Mandarins, and the art of squeezing is understood even in the palace of Peking.

Squeezing Mandarins.

For thousands of years the people have been kept in such ignorance that they imagine all other nations tributary to China. When British men-of-war were moving up to dictate terms to "the son of heaven," those whom curiosity impelled to the shores thought that they were bearing tribute. If one wants to plumb the full depths of Chinese self-complacency and arrogance, he should read the history of British relations with the Empire from 1834 until the Treaty of Nankin was signed. All the diplomatic and warlike resources of the Empire were exhausted to prevent the humiliation of receiving an English Embassy on equal terms. Arrogance and dignity sometimes overlap each other. It is impossible not to admire the conduct of the Chinese Government, when a present was sent from England to Minister Sung Tajin as a token of gratitude for his kindness to Lord Macartney's Embassy. The present was returned to Canton with a haughty notification that a Minister of the great Emperor dare not so much as see a gift from a foreigner. This recalls Elizabeth's saying that her whelps should wear no other collar than hers. But it is nothing short of childish when Viceroy Loo writes to Lord Napier that the great Ministers of the Celestial Empire, "unless with regard to affairs of going to court and carrying tribute, or in consequence of imperial commands, are not permitted to have interviews with outside barbarians." The Russian Embassy to Peking, which is one of the most remarkable events in the early years of Taoukwang's reign, was treated on terms of inferiority. When Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Matheson demanded an interview with the Chinese officials and pressed the grievances of himself and his brother merchants on them, one of the Mandarins seized hold of him and passed the right hand round his neck, signifying that he deserved to be beheaded. Matheson promptly seized the Mandarin and subjected him to the same process twice. Up to 1840 nothing had occurred to shake the faith of the Chinese in themselves, and in the majesty of the great Emperor; nor even now do they find in our persons and institutions any evidence of superiority. We have already seen that a Chinaman of the highest culture, who has lived for ten years in Europe, and who speaks and writes with elegance the most delicate of continental tongues, regards Chinese as superior to European civilization.

The people kept in ignorance.

Explanation of Chinese arrogance.

Dignified conduct of Chinese Government.

Chinese Repository, vol. iii., p. 287.

An insolent Mandarin.

Boulger, vol. iii., p. 75.

Chinese self-complacency.

Chinese morals.

The vilest crimes are laid at the door of the Chinese. The picture given by every traveller is one that calls up the Lower Empire. The Abbé David says sorrowfully, as he leaves Peking, that the natural affections do not seem to exist in Northern China, and the description of another Jesuit missionary, M. Hue—a description which leaves them without virtues and only makes them rich in vices—is well known. Williamson, who travelled over great part of China, declares that he found them everywhere morally false and foul. One traveller after another

China of to-day like the Lower Empire. See M. E., p. 14, ap. A., pp. 194, 228, 259.

Abbé Hue leaves the Chinese with hardly a virtue.

The Englishman
in China, p. 37.
Williamson, vol.
I., p. 7.

tells us they are detestable liars, and that dissimulation is universal. More than one insists that they are all thieves. Mr. Williamson says: "There is no truth in the country. Falsehood and chicanery are their hope and their weapons. Scheming has been reduced to a science; deceit and lying placed upon the pedestal of ability and cleverness."

Sirr, evidently a man of high character, having praised the filial piety of the Chinese, says: "It is with reluctance we are forced to state that we firmly believe there is not a nation yet known to exist on the face of the globe whose inhabitants are so habitually and systematically profligate as the Chinese, vice of the most revolting kind being openly practised and indulged in without shame, or incurring punishment for the crime committed. Chastity is unknown among the lower orders of women, and is only preserved among the higher by rigid seclusion and the want of opportunity."

Sirr, vol. II., p. 190.

This last statement would be a fair inference from Colonel Tong's remarks already quoted.

Sirr continues: "The degradation of women in China is, alas, absolute and complete." "Often," says Williamson, describing agricultural sights, "we were amused to see queer teams, viz.: a cow and ass, a mule and horses, and once or twice a woman, all drawing together; the whole household had turned out, man and beast."

Williamson, vol.
I., p. 200.

The evidence is overwhelming that they are cruel. But charitable institutions do exist. Mr. Sirr gives a very full description of the Shanghai foundling hospital for female children, which is conducted evidently on the same principle as that one whose padded box received from the hands of their father the children of one of the most eloquent, if not the greatest of writers, the author of "Emile." He also tells us of an institution, which provides for the sick poor, and the burial of the unclaimed dead, which is supported by voluntary contributions. It has branches throughout the city and suburbs. In the largest of these old and young are received. The young, when not too ill, are instructed by a schoolmaster, who is paid out of the funds of the hospital. Some of the old and infirm receive out-door relief. The coffins are strongly and neatly put together, and on the lid is inscribed the name of the institution, with a number which indicates how many have been used. There is a space, of course, left for the name. In 1848, 6,050 coffins had been thus given away. Mr. Sirr says:

Cruel, *ibid.*, p. 201.

Charitable
Institutions.
Sirr, vol. I., p. 218.

Sirr, vol. I., p. 219

"The burial is conducted with decent propriety. The coffin and funeral might shame Christian England, when we reflect on the manner, oftentimes indecent in the extreme, in which our paupers are consigned to mother earth, when buried at the expense of the parish."

Gray, vol. II., p. 49.

Archdeacon Gray tells us, that the foundling hospital at Canton will accommodate 500 foundlings. It is supported out of the salt-tax. A wet nurse is prescribed for every two infants, but he says the children are badly fed, as the large death-rate incontestably proves.

"As a rule the foundlings are female children. When they reach the age of eight or ten months they are sold. The purchasers are supposed to be childless married people, or to be anxious to bring up the children to be wives for their sons."

Gray, vol. II., p. 54.

He adds that the children are sometimes bought by persons who intend to sell them at the age of puberty as slaves or for baser purposes. There is an asylum at Canton for lepers which will hold from 400 to 500 inmates; and several anchorages are set apart on the river for boats to accommodate others when this institution is crowded, as it usually is. There is also an asylum for the blind and the aged and infirm. The inmates of some of these institutions are sent out to beg every day. At Wing-shing-sha there is an asylum for lepers which will contain 200 inmates, founded more than two centuries ago by a benevolent man of the clan Yhu. At Chong-poo-hom, Archdeacon Gray found another asylum, where the inmates seemed to live in comparative comfort. Everywhere asylums and anchorages for these unhappy people are found. The author whom we have so frequently quoted, and who is regarded as an authority—Archdeacon Gray—says, there is little pity in the hearts of Chinamen for the afflicted, and that benevolent institutions founded or supported by private individuals owe their origin and sustenance to other sentiments than the "pious feeling of willing sacrifice." These good works are done "to ensure the favor of the gods," and sometimes to secure the favor of the Emperor. In 1872, a banker who had given much help to the sufferers from the floods at Tien-Tsin, was raised to the rank of Provincial Treasurer, and his parents to the first grade. He then gave 10,000,000 cash (about \$14,500), and the suggestion was made that an imperial tablet or scroll should be given him. This is a rare and splendid honor. The Chinese, like the Jews in the time of our Lord, regard diseases, bodily or mental, as inflicted by the gods for sin, with the difference that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls confines the inference made by the Chinese to the individual suffering.

Gray, vol. II., p. 51

Asylums for lepers and for the blind.

Motives for Chinese charity

There are no lunatic asylums in China, and no workhouses, but there are it seems institutions where, in the winter, beggars can obtain food and shelter. Boiled rice, during a severe winter, is sometimes doled out to the hungry people. In all walled cities and in many towns there are imperial granaries, whence in time of war or famine rice is supposed to be retailed at a reduced price. But travellers tell us that these granaries are suffered to remain empty, that it is rare to find more than a measure of rice in any of them, and that many are in a ruinous condition. Mr. Gray insists that the motive which leads to the creation of these institutions is not benevolence, but self-preservation. In dealing with a nation it is, perhaps, as hard to judge motives as in the case of individuals.

No lunatic asylums. *Ibid.*, p. 55

In forming a fair opinion this must be remembered: that no social intercourse can take place between foreigners and Chinamen in China. Therefore the foreigner cannot see them at their best, and from European

Qualifying circumstances. Medhurst, p. 29.

Chinese not so black as they are painted.

Medhurst, p. 168.

Instances of cruelty.

Boulger, vol. III., pp. 74, 222.

Ibid., p. 487.

Ibid., pp. 508-20.

Ibid., p. 598.

Ibid., p. 616.

Gray, vol. II., pp. 47, 55.

Infanticide practised.

The nature of the charge of infanticide.

countries of high civilization the traveller who did not happen to come in contact with their social life has gone away making exaggerated charges of every kind. Mr. Medhurst, Consul at Shanghai, who points out many of the blots that other travellers have marked, says, nevertheless, that there is "every reason for concluding that the Chinese are not so prone to evil and so dead to good as they have been made out to be."

The charge of cruelty is, however, established. The Chinaman will contemplate the infliction of torture or death in its most repulsive form and munch his rice unconcerned. The massacre, in 1828, of the French crew of *Le Navire*, who took passage in a Chinese junk for Macao; the massacre of two crews, whose ships had been wrecked on the coast of Formosa, by the Formosa Mandarins; the conduct of the soldiers who, with concealed weapons, took passage on board the *Thistle*, and killed all on board; the cowardly treachery which characterized the abandonment of the defence of Pehtang;* the murder of men who would have been regarded by any European nation in the character of heralds, or at worst as prisoners of war; General Ching's cruelty, which nearly led to the resignation of Gordon; the brutal murder of the Wangs by Li Hung Chang, futai of Kiangsu, after he had sworn to their personal safety; want of pity for the wretched; the barbarously cruel punishments inflicted on criminals—these things, and they could be added to indefinitely, show callousness to suffering—cruelty, as it were, on principle.

As to the charge of infanticide it is established by universal testimony, and the only room for doubt is as to the extent to which it obtains. On this head the author just quoted says:

"There are towns and districts where infanticide is practised, in some to an infamous extent, in others to a less degree; there are others again where it is not known at all as a habit, and in the majority of cities I am inclined to believe that it is a crime no more indulged in than is the case in some European towns, and then only with the object of concealing another act of frailty."

He adds that if there is any distinction to be made it is in favor of the Northern and Midland as against the Southern and coast provinces. The swarm of children gives the lie to its universal practice.

Yes, certainly, to its universal practice. But the charge is not that every infant is killed, or that every female infant is killed. Either charge would not need rebuttal; it would carry its absurdity on its forehead. The charge is that where poverty is great, or the family of girls

* "While the garrison had resolved not to resist an attack, they had contemplated causing their enemy as much loss as if, he had been obliged to carry the place by storm by placing shells in the magazine which would be exploded by the moving of some gun-locks put in a spot where they could not fall to be trodden upon. This plot, which was thoroughly in accordance with the practices of Chinese warfare, was fortunately divulged by a native more humane than patriotic."
—*Boulger's History of China*, vol. III., p. 487.

already thought too large, the murder of female children is pursued on principle and with impunity. Archdeacon Gray says:

"The female children of Chinese parents are, in some instances, put to death. Many reasons are assigned for a practice so wicked and unnatural. Poor people plead their poverty as an excuse. They contend that it is better to put their infant daughters to death than be obliged, as is, alas! the case with many, to sell them as slaves or for the base purposes of prostitution. Infanticide is, however, not confined to the poor, * * * but though it is more or less practised by the nation, some Chinese regard the crime as one of a most diabolical nature."*

Gray, vol. I., p. 232. See also vol. II., pp. 50, 51.

Reasons given for putting female children to death.

Colonel Tong stoutly denies that infanticide prevails. He refers to the charge with indignation, says the love of parents for their children is the same the world over, and points out that the laws of the Empire punish infanticide, and in the next place that there are foundling hospitals. Then, the midwife who carries to one of these institutions a child found abandoned, or who gives information of an infanticide, is paid a fixed sum. When such a crime is committed, not only the immediate author of it, but the head of the family and even the neighbors are punished.

Colonel Tong's rebuttal of the charge of infanticide.

"It is a rare thing to hear infanticide spoken of in the towns and cities, where the means of earning a living are more abundant than in the country, while in the country certain customs exist which favor the education of children. In every family, the moment a male child is born the custom is to choose for him her who shall be his future wife. The parents take from a neighboring family a little girl, who is educated at the same time as her future husband and in the same house. She is brought up as if she belonged to the family.

In the country customs which would counteract tendency to infanticide.

"There is, for poor parents, another custom to escape from misery, and to protect the lives of their female children: the sale of the child to a rich family in which she will serve as a domestic."

The child may be sold to a rich family.

He assures us we need not be shocked at the word sale, because when these girls grow up they get a suitable fortune, are married, and they be-

Masters give a small dowry to their female slaves.

* "Let us take a case to illustrate the phases of national feeling with regard to it. In the spring of the year 1872, a woman who resided in the western suburb of Canton was seen by a neighbor to drown her adopted female child in the Wongsha Creek. The neighbors informed the elders of the district of the murder, and the accused was immediately seized and imprisoned in the back room of a neighboring temple. On the following day she was arraigned before the elders, and excused herself that the child was sickly. On the entreaties of her husband, who in the most importunate manner begged for her pardon, they liberated the murderess, for by no other name can she be designated. The elders were thus lenient, although a governor-general who some twenty years before had ruled over the united provinces of Kwang-Tung and Kwangsi had issued an edict declaring that all mothers found guilty of a crime so unnatural and so diabolical as infanticide, would be severely punished. In 1848, the chief justice or criminal judge of Kwang-Tung issued an edict, in which he condemned it in very strong terms. In this edict the attention of the people was directed to the teachings of nature, with the view of reproaching them for such acts of barbarity. 'You should,' he said, 'consider that insects, fish, birds and beasts all love what they produce. On leaving the womb they are as weak as a hair, and can you endure instantly to compass your offspring's death?'—Gray, vol. I., p. 232.

A case which illustrates the way infanticide is regarded.

come free. They can receive all the rights which maternity confers, and their origin is no reproach. Such usages are to be accepted and not condemned. They favor large families. There are numerous poor families who keep all their children with them and lavish on them the most tender care. The mother working in the field will carry two while she works bent to the earth, the one on her shoulders, the other in the folds of her dress, "and they smile at the birds flying around them while the poor mother pursues her heavy toil."

All this it will be seen is no answer. It is in the nature of what pleaders used to call confession and avoidance. It would be quite as much to the point to cite how Virginius slew his beautiful daughter to save her from the couch of Claudius.

At home as abroad the Chinaman is remarkably abstemious. Tea seems from a very early period to have been the national stimulant. But their novels prove that whiskey was drunk. Whiskey stills exists everywhere. Williamson in his journey from Peking to Che-foo found in several places large manufactories of ardent spirits; and unless the Chinese nation is more peculiar than it is possible to believe, where whiskey is drunk drunkenness to some extent will prevail. It is habitually drunk at least at two meals as may be seen in San Francisco. Travellers have met with drunken Chinamen. A late king drew out a life of drunken debauchery. Still Chinese intemperance does not lie in this direction. Travellers meet in all classes with victims of opium. The Abbé Huc gives a graphic picture of a Mandarin who travelled with him hopelessly lost to the vice, and Mr. Williamson tells us of a whole town given up to its degrading spell. Elsewhere he mourns that opium is gnawing at the vitals of the Empire, and destroying thousands of its most promising sons. Mr. Medhurst regrets that the vice is general and has been gaining ground, nor is it possible to regard the Chinese as a temperate nation.

Where infanticide prevails to any extent it needs little evidence to convince that the sale of children for small sums frequently takes place. Colonel Tong tell us children are sold. Nor does there appear to be any law to restrain parents in the exercise of authority over their offspring. They are sold; sons are taken as bondsmen for their father's debts; sometimes children voluntarily sell themselves with the view of relieving their parents' difficulties.

A prominent Chinese witness who said there was no slavery in China, must have meant such as existed in the Southern States. Slave-brokers are met with every day in Canton. The ranks of slavery are recruited from ruined gamblers; by kidnapping; and, worst of all, by profligate parents selling their children. Mr. Gray, describing a sale at Canton, says: "I remember two bright-looking youths being sold by their profligate father who had gambled his means away. The eldest lad fetched \$50 and the younger \$40. The old slave-broker offered one of the youths to me at the advanced price of \$350."

Chinese abstemious as regards intoxicating drinks.

Williamson, vol. I., p. 200.

Many victims of opium.

Williamson, vol. I., p. 7.

Gray, vol. I., p. 233.

Unrestricted power of parents over children.

Gray, vol. I., p. 242.

Slave brokers.

“The usual price of an ordinary able-bodied slave, male, is about \$100. Persons when sold as slaves generally fall first of all into the hands of brokers or go-betweens. Such characters are either aged men or women. Before buying slaves, a dealer keeps them for a month on trial. Should he discover that they talk in their sleep, or afford any indications of a weakness of system, he either offers a small sum for them, or declines to complete the purchase. The broker is made to take the slave into a dark room, and a blue light is burned. Should the face of the slave assume a greenish hue in this light, a favorable opinion is entertained. Should it show a reddish color it is concluded that the blood is tainted by this loathsome disease [leprosy].

Gray, vol. 1., pp. 242, 243.
Slave market.

“The slavery to which these unfortunate persons are subject, is perpetual and hereditary, and they have no parental authority over their offspring. The great grandsons of slaves, however, can, if they have sufficient means, purchase their freedom. Slaves, although regarded as members of the family, are not recognized as members of the general community. They cannot, for example, sue in courts of laws. In short, they are outside the pale of citizenship, and within the reach of the avarice, or hatred, or lust of their masters.”

Colonel Tong's papers would of themselves show that the Chinese are not a warlike race. He sneers, surely not without cause, that the chief gifts offered by the western world to China, on the opening of the ports, were fire arms. More than once he points out what the ideal of the Empire is—peace and to keep pauperism at a distance. Early as history goes with Europe did they fall into the practice of buying off invaders. But they are not cowards; they can fight; and perhaps it is a blessing that they are not warlike. The Mongols who followed the great Genghis, effected the conquest of China and made Kublai Emperor of the Middle Kingdom, owed their supremacy to their discipline and close study of the art of war. But they owed much to China “where the art of disciplining a large army, and manœuvring in the field, had been brought to a high state of perfection many centuries before the time of Genghis.” The Mongols carried the art of war further than any Chinese commander, than perhaps any in the world up to that day, yet the Chinese checked them near the Yu Mountains. Coming down to modern times they overthrew no unheroic foe at Yangabad; they brought the fierce mountain daring of the Miaotze into quiescence; and in the first and second foreign wars they showed at times soldierly qualities; as when the officials at Tynghai, though admitting that resistance was useless, replied to the summons to yield: “No surrender!” or as when their noble conduct won the praise of English officers, and, to use the words of an English tar, they stood to their guns “right manfully.” At Canton they fought well under fire; and Boulger looking back on the events of the war of 1842, and having pointed out that the Chinese were often no better than a badly armed mob, says on no single occasion did they evince cowardice. Their defeat was inevitable. But they proved they could fight well even when victory was practically impossible. In the winter of 1856 they displayed great endurance and bravery in the face of an enemy they

Chinese not a warlike race.

But not cowards.

character as warriors.
Boulger, vol. 1., p. 162.
Instances of Chinese valor.

Ibid., III., 86.

Ibid., III., 97.

Ibid., III., 146 and 183.

Ibid., III., 181.

Ibid., III., 179.

Ibid., III., 205.

Chinamen cool under fire.

Chinese bravery. Seymour's bombardment of the Bogue forts the Chinese fire brigade were seen energetically at work, under the fire from the ships, trying to put out the spreading conflagration. At the battle of Chan-chia-wan the Tartar cavalry charged the French guns right gallantly, and so impressed was Sir Hope Grant with the obstinacy of the foe, that he ordered Sir Robert Napier to join him with as many troops as he could spare from the Tien-Tsin garrison. Under Chinese Gordon they showed what they could do if they had able commanders.

Boulger vol. III, p. 512.

Williamson, vol. II, p. 299.

Chinese timidity.

On the other hand they could not stand the cold steel, appeared to fear personal contact with the European soldiers, and at Chinhai fled panic-stricken, though even here many bravely preferred death to safety by flight.

Williamson, vol. II, p. 360.

Williamson says of some native troops he saw in a valley near Ping-ding-chow that they were fine looking fellows, "good raw material if their officers were worth a rush; it is the ruling class in China which is utterly rotten." The same writer tells us, however, how he and a friend, the one with a stick the other brandishing the handle of an umbrella put a whole "celestial mob" to flight. He gives us the broad statement that in danger the Chinese are apt to become utterly useless, and this opinion is echoed by other travellers. The Abbé Hue describes an incident in his own experience which is an exact parallel of that recounted by Mr. Williamson. He and his companions were annoyed by a curious crowd which pressed to the door of their chamber in the hotel. One of them went to the threshold and addressed the "multitude" in a few words, accompanied by a gesture so energetic and commanding that the crowd was seized with panic and saved itself by flight.

Hue, vol. I., p. 21.

Such timidity may be the result of long centuries of despotism. But it may be referable to race peculiarities. Besides long centuries of despotism, are themselves the result of certain qualities in the people.

An apologist for Chinese institutions.

Colonel Tong's articles are peculiarly valuable. They say all that can be said for China by a man whose instincts and interests impel him to defend his country and countrymen. The very tone—if it can be caught in a translation—helps to an appreciation of the Chinese character. Mr. Medhurst says that an anglicised Chinaman is detestable; if writing in the same mood as Colonel Tong it might be said that a gallicised Chinaman is surely charming. We shall now let the colonel speak on one or two heads on which he has not yet been heard from. To show how happy the Chinese laborer is, he quotes, from a book by Mr. J. Thompson, published at Paris, in 1877, the following passage on the workmen of Canton;—

Revue, 15th June, 1884, p. 829.

The Chinese workman.

"In despite of these terrible needs, work even for the poorest workman has moments of interruption. When seated on a bench, or even on the earth, he smokes and speaks quietly with his neighbor without being in the least put out by the presence of his employer, who appears to find in the smiles and happy character of his workmen elements of riches and prosperity."

Mr. Thompson describes the quarters of the workmen, and it will be seen (Appendix D, p. 369) that they correspond with what the Commission saw at San Francisco.

The workmen's quarters in Canton.

"In making the round of the workmen's quarters, one easily understands how much more populous this city is than would at first appear. For the most part each workshop is a kitchen, a dining-room, and a bedroom. It is on his bench the workman breakfasts; it is on the same bench he sleeps at night. There all they possess is found. * * But of all their treasures the most precious consists in a good share of health and a contented heart."

This description of the Chinese workman is exactly the same as the hostile white man gives.

Low standard of comfort.

The Chinese workman is content if he escapes from the agonies of hunger, and if he has such health as permits him simply to live and to enjoy in a country so perfect, that the mere fact of living in it constitutes in itself real happiness. China is, according to him, a country where all is established and ordered by men who know exactly what they ought to know, and who are paid to prevent the people troubling by seeking ambitiously to quit the condition in which Providence has placed them.

The true spirit for a despotic country.

Colonel Tong also quotes the following from "Chinese Sketches" by M. Herbert A. Giles, attaché to the Consular corps of Great Britain:—

"It is generally believed that the Chinese are a degraded and immoral race; that the inhabitants of China are absolutely dishonest, cruel, and at all points depraved; that opium, a scourge more fearful than gin, causes frightful ravages among them; and that its course can only be arrested by Christianity. A residence of eight years in China has taught me that the Chinese are a people of indefatigable industry, sober and happy."

Chinese industrious, sober and happy.

Again, the same author writes:

"The number of human beings who suffer from cold and hunger is relatively far smaller than in England, and from this point of view which is of great importance, it is necessary to recognize the fact that the condition of the women of the lower class is far better than that of their European sisters. Wife-beating is unknown; the wife is subjected to no bad treatment; and it is unusual to address her in that coarse language not unusual in western countries."

The life of the lower classes in China compared with that of the same class in England.

Colonel Tong says that a Chinese workman can live on four cents a day, and that his wages are never less than twenty cents a day. Generally the workman's wife does something, either selling small articles or working in the daytime in neighboring houses.

Chinese workmen can live on four cents a day in China.

In the provinces throughout the vast Empire the whole land is cultivated, and field-labor employs a large portion of the population. All the cultivators of the soil are well off, whether they are owners or only farmers. The land-tax is very small, not being on an average more than twenty cents a head, and it is a rule that the farmer pays no rent in bad years.

Cultivators of the soil well off.

He also cites M. de la Vernède :

"We have travelled through the provinces; we have seen an immense population arrived at such a density that the land cannot in certain places hold them, and they consequently build and cultivate gardens on rafts; we have seen provinces having 100,000 square kilomètres containing 50,000,000 of inhabitants and well cultivated throughout their entire extent."

Small farms in China.

In Pechili, he tells us, the land is very much divided; agriculture is carried on on a minute scale, but the intelligence with which it is directed prevents the great inconveniences of very small farming.

The farms, small and large, with their great trees look like bouquets of flowers in the midst of vast plains yellow with rich harvests of grain. The cheapness of manual labor makes culture in alternate rows (*par rangs alternative*) possible. "The land is admirably cultivated and gives magnificent results."

Rich and pretty Chinese villages.

"In wandering along the shores of the Yang-Tse-Kiang we have seen rich and pretty villages succeed each other without interruption, a population active and laborious, showing in its countenance as well as in its actions that it was content with its lot."

He then contrasts the miserable villages on the Nile with "the pretty villages we have traversed in the Hu Pé or on the shores of Lake Poyang. Economical and sober, patient and active, honest and laborious, the people of China have a power of work which surpasses that of most western nations. Here is an important factor which should not be forgotten in questions relating to the higher politics."

Chinese pleasures.

Dealing with the pleasures of his countrymen, Colonel Tong says that among the many questions regarding China which have been addressed to him the one which he had oftenest heard was whether people amused themselves in China.

Are there amusements?

"Do they amuse themselves? Then it must be a charming country. Ah! to be amused! what a civilized expression, and how difficult to translate it! I replied, one day, to a clever woman who put to me this eternal question: 'What is it to be amused?' She thought I sought to embarrass her, and she answered: 'What you do at this moment, for instance. You are amusing yourself now.' It was now my turn to be embarrassed, or at least to seem so. 'Yes,' I cried, 'this, then, is to be amused?' 'Certainly. Well,' she added with a charming smile, 'do they amuse themselves?' and I was compelled to admit they did not amuse themselves in that way. Indeed they do amuse themselves, and amuse themselves very much—those who are not devoid of intelligence, or at the least of good humor. Intelligence plays an important role in our pleasures. * * * Our out-of-door life is not organized like that of Europe. People do not seek distractions and amusements away from their own homes. Chinese in good circumstances have so arranged their houses that they have no desire for factitious pleasures, which are a proof that one is not pleased at home.

Intelligence plays an important part in Chinese pleasures.

* * * They do not believe that cafés and other places of public resort are necessary in order to pass the time agreeably. They have

adorned their homes with all that a man of taste could desire: gardens, in which to walk; kiosques, where they may find protection from the summer heat; flowers to charm the senses. Inside all is arranged for family life. Frequently the same roof covers several generations. The children grow up, and as they marry very young they are soon grave. They think of useful amusements, of study, of conversation—and the opportunities to meet are so numerous!"

Marrying young produces precocious gravity.

Feast days, the colonel writes, are held in high honor in China and are celebrated with great spirit. First, you have birthdays, and they occur frequently in families. These feasts are celebrated generally by banquets; presents are given to the subject of the celebration; this is one of the consequences of such meetings and it is not wanting in charm.

Feast days.

They have also great popular festivals. There is the feast of the new year which everybody takes part in. He then describes several festivals at the head of which stands the feast of lanterns. The flowers which are endowed with certain allegorical powers are feted, and each flower has its anniversary. Letters go from family to family containing invitations to come to enjoy a beautiful moonlight, a charming view, a rare plant. Nature always forms an element in the festival, which concludes with a banquet. The guests are also invited to compose verses, which remain the records of the evening. During the fine weather excursions are in vogue. People go especially to the Buddhist monasteries where they find everything they can desire; magnificent mountain scenery, exquisite fruit, and the best tea. The Buddhist monks, it seems, understand to perfection how to receive "parties," and to do the honors of their establishment.

Popular festivals.

Refined pleasures.

One may well pause here to note the low tastes of these coarse barbarians; their childishness withal; grown up people inviting other grown up people to come to look at a full moon, a charming vista, or a rare flower!

"Promenades to the environs of the town, when one can make them, are very frequent. They generally give rise to some poetic effusion. It is our way of making a sketch."

Promenades to the suburbs of towns and cities.

Having given a description of visits to mountain scenes and trips by water, and spoken of the position of women, he turns the tables on his Western friends.

The description of the charge on the buffet at a great official ball may well parry the thrust of "barbarian" made against the Chinese. He points out with the utmost reason, that if he were to note that in Europe when those who compose the highest classes are admitted into the presence of the head of the State they do not sit at table but struggle with warlike fury, he would perhaps not give a faithful idea of European manners. Yet, he says, this is the way travellers have taken notes in China.

European manners criticised by the East.

"But I return to the hungry ones who wait the opening of the doors; it is all so grotesque, and I invite the disciples of the realistic school to contemplate this scene which one might call the *mélée* of the dark coats."

Supper.

How to get out!

Then he describes the rush and the crush; the row of black-coated gentlemen who cannot get near the table; the serried rank of those now satisfied who try to get out. Crowded and crushed they at length escape from the *mêlée* having had bumps raised on them, and their sides dug into by struggling elbows—but fed! He does not speak of those who remain until the servants politely request them to give place to others! “I have never,” he says, “been at a ball without witnessing this battle.”

Dullness of fashionable private balls.

At the balls of the fashionable world, our Chinese critic thinks a man cannot amuse himself as much as at the official balls. They are cold, stiff, and irritating. In the fashionable world it is difficult to find simplicity and distinction united. If you are not a dancer, you have abundant opportunities for *ennui*. An air of indifference pervades this grand world. It is sometimes icy. The dance proceeds in silence; some groups speak in low tones; people go, come, enter, disappear. They meet without appearing to recognize each other. All appear preoccupied. Generally people seek some one who is not at the ball. What a comedy, this world of the drawing room!

The world of art.

This “barbarian”, who sees so clearly the faults in the social organization of Europe which have struck thoughtful Europeans a hundred times seems to escape with relief to the world of art—“that privileged society where each one is neither noble, nor bourgeois, nor magistrate, nor barrister, nor notary, nor attorney, nor functionary, nor merchant, nor bureaucrat, nor man of property, but only artist and content to be that. To be an artist!”—he exclaims—and what a fool he will seem to some—“that is the only ambition which would make it desirable to belong to European society!” He does not admire barristers and attorneys. 400,000,000 Chinese do without them, and yet titles to property and contracts are not the less regular. But admiration for artists is without reserve, for they are the only men who propose to themselves a high aim; they live to think, in order that they may show man his grandeur and immateriality. They move him and inspire him with enthusiasm and awake his dormant faculties by creating for him works in which thought glows and beauty gleams. Art ennobles everything, elevates everything. What matters the price paid for the work? It is not the number of dollars which will kindle the passion of the artist as it inflames the ardor of the advocate. No: the only thing which escapes the fascination of gold, is art, whatever the artist may be. That is essentially free, and therefore, is it worthy to be esteemed and honored.

High aim of artists.

Art the only thing which escapes the fascination of gold.

Having eulogised those fine spirits who live for art, he says the artists of all countries reach the hand to each other over dividing frontiers and cry “shame” on those politicians who would fain separate them. The human mind moved by the bold impulses of inspiration is neither controlled by distance nor passports. The more the soul is elevated, the more humanity seeks to become transfigured into fraternity.

Senator Jones, in his zeal against the Chinese, denies that they have

invented anything, and seeks to wrest from them the doubtful honor of having found out the secrets of "villainous saltpetre." He cites Professor Draper, who gives the credit of the invention to the Arabs, and backs up Draper by the weighty authority of Mr. Mayers.

Who invented printing and gunpowder?

"Therefore I conclude that the Chinese never gave us these discoveries, notwithstanding the sneers that I have seen in some newspapers since, and the confident tone with which the Senator questioned me as to who else could have made them. And I would say, further, that there is scarcely a single piece of machinery, howsoever useful, howsoever ingenious, working in China to-day. The only enterprise the Chinese have shown in the way of railroads has been in tearing up the only railroad ever built in that country, a railroad built by foreigners and afterward bought by the Chinese authorities in order that they might tear it up."

Now, Colonel Tong naturally takes quite a different view. Considering how little communication existed between China and other nations, he says it is surprising the Chinese know as much as they do. Excepting geography and astronomy, all the other arts, they profess, are the result of their own investigation. China, he claims, is the only country on the globe which can boast that it has evolved its own civilization. They had imitated no one. Chinese civilization is found nowhere save in China. The Chinese theatre is as original as that of the Greeks. China forms a world apart. Yet he throws out a sigh rather than a hope that science might yet throw to men this great message of peace: "Ye are brethren!" Western civilization is a new edition revised and corrected of previous civilizations. "Ours no doubt has submitted to many editions, but we find it sufficiently corrected, and in any case we have no editor who contemplates the preparation of a new one." They were reproached with being stationary. But when people are well off, as well off as possible, are they certain by changing from the present to find a better future? He then claims that the Chinese invented gunpowder; and, after his manner, gives a little thrust at the West. "People do us the honor to admit we have invented gunpowder. But here is where we differ from our western brethren. We employed it for fire-works, and only that we made the acquaintance of westerns we should never have applied it to fire-arms. It was the Jesuits who taught us to cast cannon. "Go and teach all nations."

China has evolved its own civilization.

When people are well off is it good to change?

The Orient makes "a palpable hit."

He also claims the invention of printing and the magnetic needle. So early as A.D. 121 the Chinese books define the loadstone, and a century later explain the use of the compass. Powder, printing, the compass, silk, porcelain—these inventions (and some of them cannot be denied the Chinese) he holds give them a high rank among civilized nations. The monuments of this civilization belong to an epoch when Europe did not exist; a civilization contemporary with the old dynasties of Egypt, and the Chaldean patriarchs, having been founded in the early ages of humanity, and having suffered no change for a thousand years. A Greek his-

Printing and the magnetic needle.

Antiquity of China.

torian of the second century is the first outside writer to speak of China as a country whence silk, raw and manufactured, was exported. Chinese history mentions a Chinese Embassy sent in the year A.D. 94 to seek to open up some relations with the western world.

The veil lifted from the isolated Empire in the 8th century.

"It was in the eighth century that the veil which covered the Chinese world was raised. It was in this century that the Empire commenced to have relations with the Arabs, and this is the epoch whence our existence in the world of history dates. The accounts written of the sojourn of the Arabs in our country, accounts written by themselves and which have been translated, bear witness to the prosperity of the Empire, and compel the belief that one thousand years ago China enjoyed a brilliant civilization. It is probable that the Arabs learned our arts and appropriated our discoveries, which were afterwards introduced into western countries and there perfected. This is an opinion which I think I have clearly demonstrated."

A settlement of Jews.

Though the Chinese did not make voyages into distant western countries, there can be no doubt that other peoples settled amongst them. Two centuries before the Christian Era a number of Jews found their way into China. This was under the Han dynasty, "one of the most flourishing epochs of the Empire." Williamson gives a most striking narrative of his visits to Jewish synagogues. Colonel Tong quotes an account of a visit to the Jewish colony by a Jesuit in the eighteenth century not less interesting.

Chinese not an inferior race as that phrase is usually understood.

In bidding adieu to Colonel Tong we may point out this rule that you must judge a race by its highest and not by its lowest members. A race that produces a man who can learn a language like French—a language having nothing in common with his own—and write that language in such a manner that Théophile Gauthier need not blush to have the style attributed to him—such a race can be no very inferior race, whatever else it may be. It may be played out, or in the course of playing out; it may have lost hold of the principles which in other days gave it brilliancy and power; the corruption of its government, its social and political organization may have numbed its moral and intellectual vitality; but an inferior race, as this phrase is usually understood, it cannot be.

Europe before the dawn of science as benighted as China to-day.

Let us remember the dark blots which an observant eye can see in European civilization, its political defects, its social ulcers, the misery and crime. Let us remember also that the one thing which so markedly separates Europe from China is essentially modern—physical science. Before the fruitful method of the Baconian philosophy introduced a new era, before the telescope of Galileo guided the mind through the solar system, Europe was as backward in science as China is to-day, just as much given up to superstition, just as cruel. It seems but yesterday that torture was practised in England, and we know what English goals were before Howard swept away those habitations of cruelty. Mr. Gladstone's greenest laurels he won exploring and exposing and reforming Neapolitan

prisons. The Greeks had no physical science, as we understand it. They had the drama, literature, philosophy, sculpture, painting, oratory. The Chinese have a drama, and though they have neither sculpture nor oratory, they have painting of a kind—painting in which there is no shadow and which has a quaint excellence of its own. Their silks and porcelain have never been surpassed. They have had their philosophers. They have poetry, and a highly organized social life. If Chinese are to be excluded or dealt with in a way different from that accorded to other immigrants it must be on some more rational ground than the charge that they come from a barbarous country steeped in vice and overrun with crime. Chinese art.

And here, perhaps, we are brought face to face with the core of the whole question. How comes it that this people, one of the earliest to become civilized, have remained unchanged, as Colonel Tong boasts, for a thousand years? There are, certainly, limitations to development in the individual man. In the lower animals we see that each species is confined within clearly defined bounds. Why should there not be likewise determining grooves for different races of men?

Mr. Brooks takes our breath away when he suggests that China may have been peopled for 1,000,000 years, and that the Chinese were uncontrolled by foreign influence for 360,000 years. The earliest mention we have of China, unless it should be held that it is alluded to in the earlier prophets, is in a Persian work entitled *Zeenut-ul Tuarikh*. Somebody has said that had Alexander the Great known of the existence of China he need not have wept because there had come an end to his career of conquest. If one may trust the Persian author, Alexander was marching against the Emperor of China, who entered the Grecian camp in disguise. He was discovered and brought before Alexander, and explained his conduct by saying he was anxious to see the greatest of warriors; that he knew he could be no object of dread to such a man, and that even if slain the Chinese would raise another sovereign to fill his throne. "But of this," he said, with true Chinese flattery, "I can have no fear, as I am satisfied Alexander can never be displeased with an action that shows a solicitude to obtain his friendship." China was spared, a treaty concluded, and a tribute imposed. The Emperor returned to China, but reappeared on the third day with an immense army. Alexander prepared his forces for battle. The Emperor of China, with his suite, went towards the Grecian prince, who asked him why he had broken faith. "I wished," said the Emperor, "to show the number of my army, that you might be satisfied I made peace from other motives than an inability to make war. It was from consulting the stars. The heavens aid you. I war not with them." Chinese adulation

Martin's China,
vol. i., pp. 256-7.

The Chinese adulation was successful. Alexander released the Emperor from paying tribute. The Emperor took his leave and sent the master of the world presents of jewels, gold, and beautiful ladies.

This story is not without verisimilitude. It is treated as historical by no less grave a person than Sir John Malcolm.

Martin's China,
vol. 1., p. 184.

Condition of
China, 2000 B. C.

Chinese History.

Antiquity of
Chinese civili-
zation.

Legge's Chinese
Classics, vol. v.,
parts 1 and 2.

When we go beyond 2000 B.C. we get into the mythical period of Chinese history. Meng-tse, the Chinese historian, speaking of the condition of China under the Emperor Yu (B.C. 2208), says the country was desert and the men savages. The low lands were covered with water. The high lands were covered with wood and bush, and abounded in wild beasts. Yu devoted his life to draining the land. He set fire to the forests, in order to clear the land and drive the wild beasts away.

The manufacture of cotton was not known until the second century before Christ. It is quite clear that China was, long after the time of Yu, occupied only by wandering savages or pastoral tribes, with here and there a city or camp. The heads of tribes, as in other countries at a like stage, would be spoken of as princes, and wars among themselves would keep down population. How the various principalities came to be united under one head analogy enables us to guess, but the peculiarities of Chinese historians make it impossible we shall ever know the real facts. Gibbon says, "China has been illustrated by the French," and another historian points out how they have always been foremost to recognize the innate strength and greatness of the Chinese nation. This is quite true. But many of them have certainly been at fault in seeking to give authenticity to records which have unmistakable mythic characteristics, and whose chronology can be successfully assailed, not only on historical but *a priori* grounds. M. de Guignes says, that one of the sources of error is that the Chinese historians have "given to their ancient characters the acceptation they acquired only in later times." We see the same thing in Ireland, where the chiefs of tribes and clans were spoken of as kings. So the Chinese "characters now translated emperor, prince, city, palace, meant no more than chief, district, camp, house. So far from this Empire having an existence 3,000 years before the Christian Era, it has not been united together in a durable manner above 529 years B.C." China had an existence long before this, and what de Guignes must mean is that the Empire, in its present form, is not earlier than the later years of the sixth century, B.C. One historian tells us that in 1766, B.C., there were 3,000 feudal principalities in China.

The Chinese boast of being "the sons of Han," and look back on the men of that dynasty (B.C. 202—A.D. 190) as the great builders of cities to protect them against the less civilized tribes. But China is not only the oldest civilized Empire extant, it is the only civilized country in existence whose civilization takes us back to a period more than 2,000 years before our era. Confucius was born 550 B.C., and in his *Ch'un-tsew* he gives us an account of the twenty-one independent principalities into which China was then divided. If so colorless a production can be said to give a picture of anything one might say, it paints for us feudal China. But the fact is we must look elsewhere for truth which Confucius suppresses. For instance, he never lets his readers know that the Lords of the Great States of Ts'oo usurped the title of King, which was equivalent

to renouncing their allegiance to the dynasty of Chow. Without discussing the value of the book it is enough to say it shows us a civilized nation progressing towards unity before Romulus had climbed Mount Palatine. Muh-Wang, the fifth king of the Chow dynasty, was fond of magnificence and built gorgeous palaces and temples. This monarch said of himself: "My disposition inclines towards what is wrong, but my resource is in my ministers, who should check me when I swerve from the straight path." The eclipses recorded by the Chinese attest the veracity of the historian and the correctness of his dates on the whole.

Martin, vol. 1., pp. 199, 200.

Who were the people who first settled China? To what race do they belong? What is the secret of their national longevity? Professor Douglas in his admirable paper on China in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says they belong to the Mongol family. Mr. Martin says they are a branch of the Scythians.

See Legge's *Ch'un Ts'ew*, part 4, pp. 86-90.

One thing is certain they came from the same parent stock as the Hebrews, or from the same or a neighboring place. The supreme god the ancient Chinese worshipped corresponds to Jehovah, and the parallel customs are numerous. To-day the farmers in China prepare their grain for market as the Israelitish husbandman used to prepare it in the days of David. Prisoners are shackled as they were among the Jews. When a child is born he is wrapped in "swaddling clothes" having been previously washed with water in which the rind of green ginger, a herb called the gold and silver flower, and the leaves of the Whampu tree have been boiled. The mother is required to stay at home 100 days after the birth of a child and for the same cause—she is regarded as unclean. To a favorite child the father presents "a coat of many colors" as did Jacob to Joseph. The Jewish parents chose a wife for their son; so do the Chinese parents to day. Among the Jews as among the Chinese to-day the father had unlimited power over his children, and the young Hebrew was often taken as a bondsman for debts contracted by his father. The Chinese father has more power over his daughter than over his son; so had the Jew. Colonel Tong seems to think that the Chinese Emperors borrowed the custom of having eunuchs from the Arabians. But if we had no history the theory is too improbable to be received. We find in the Chinese Court eunuchs rising to posts of distinction just as we do under Hebrew sovereigns. The same intimacy exists between the Chinese noble or prince and his servants as we find exemplified when David, on hearing of the death of his child, ceased to fast and weep, and the story of Naaman and the little Israelitish captive will at once suggest itself. On the birth of a male child a rich Chinaman will give a dinner to the poor, who are bidden as in the parable. In their lamentations for the dead, the Chinese rival in length and loudness the ancient Egyptians, or the professional mourners who chant the keen at an Irish wake. The Jews in the same way "wept and wailed greatly," and "made great lamentation." Sackcloth is worn by the relatives of the deceased, and no mourner cuts his hair, or beard, or his nails, during the first seven weeks' bereavement. We learn from Herodotus

Williamson, vol. ii., p. 101.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; Ps. ii., 3.

Ezekiel, xvi., 4.

Lev. xii., 2-6.

Gen. xxi., 21, Exod. xxi., 9, 10, 11, Judges xiv., 2, 2 Kings, v., 1-3.

Numbers xxx., 4.

Mark v., 38.

Acts viii., 2.

Job xvi., 15, 16, 1 Kings xxi., 27; Jonah iii., 8.

2 Samuel, xix., 2

2 Samuel, iii., 35;
Jer. xvi., 7; Ezek.
xxiv., 17.

Matt. ix., 23.

2 Samuel, xxi., 9-
14; 2 Kings, ix.,
28-34.
Ps. lxxix., 2; Ec.
vi., 3.

Deut. xxii., 13-17.

that the same customs were observed by the common people in Egypt, and the conduct of Mephibosheth during King David's absence from his capital points to a like custom among the Jews. For seven days after a man's death his widow and children sit on the ground and sleep upon mats spread on the floor near the coffin; nor is any food cooked in the house, the neighbors supplying the common necessaries of life. We find the same custom among the Jews in early times. On the seventh day of mourning for the dead musicians are placed within the porch of the house, who play doleful tunes. Matthew tells us how "Jesus came into the ruler's house and saw the minstrels and people making a noise." All ancient nations, and the Jews furnish no exception, attached the greatest importance to the rites of sepulture. So do the Chinese, and death by drowning, or even in battle, involving the loss of these rites, is considered a calamity. Hence the Chinese proverb: "Better a dog and peace than a man in war."

Their views respecting the seat of passion and emotion correspond to those of the conquerors of the Canaanites, while they hold an opinion which clearly was held by these doomed nations, that the child is often taken away for the parents' sin. There is the feast of lanterns as with the Jews; the marriage ceremonies recall many passages in Holy Writ, and illustrate the parable of the wise and foolish virgins; while on the bridal night the same use is made of a small linen sheet as among the Hebrews. In the morning this is presented to the bridegroom's parents. On the third day after marriage the bride visits her parents. She is accompanied by servants bearing presents in acknowledgment of their daughter's chastity. The love of gain among the Chinese equals if it does not surpass that of the Jews.

These striking parallels may be mere coincidences. But, perhaps, a fairer inference would be that as the roots of Greek, Latin, Gaelic, Sanscrit, Hebrew, show that they are referable to one parent language belonging to a people hidden away in unhistoric times, so the existence of customs among the Chinese almost identical with those which obtained among the children of Abraham, would seem to point to identity of origin either ethnic or geographical.

In ages that may be described as patriarchal the Chinese race had already taken form and character, and now it is perhaps the purest race in existence. The Jews, who in the second century before our era, Mohammedans, who, soon after the death of the prophet, entered China; the Maoutze of the mountains, have all three a place and name in China, yet the Chinese have not mixed blood with them. The description given of the Chinese eighteen hundred years ago fits them to-day, just as Caesar's account of the Gauls describes, as Michelet points out, the Frenchman of the Republic, and it is morally certain the Chinaman of 1,800 years ago was like the Chinaman of 1,000 years before.

See "China"
Encyclopædia
Britannica.

To-day the main features of the government of China are patriarchal. It is founded on the family. The Emperor is the father of his people.

He is also their Pontifex Maximus, their high priest. Wang-Teen, the Supreme God, in whom Gray and Boulger recognize the Jehovah of the Hebrews, was worshipped in early times, somewhat in the same manner as the patriarchs of the Old Testament honored the God of Abraham. The religion of the Chinese is at bottom monotheistic. But this pure element is obscured by animism, idolatry and fetichism. Nor need we be surprised that the people have been driven to demonolatry, when we remember that the worship of Wang-Teen is confined to the Emperor and his Court. He stands between his people and the Supreme. He is the connecting link between them and the gods to whom alone he is responsible. He is the interpreter of the decrees of heaven.

Gray, vol. i., 86, and
Brooks, M. E., p. 33.

The life of a Chinese Emperor is no bed of roses; nor, when once the amount of business he has to get through in a day is known, will it be wondered at that he begins his day's work at dawn. He is assisted by a cabinet of four great ministers (Ta Hiasz). Not to enter too much into detail, there are besides six Supreme Boards for the conduct of government business. These boards or councils have special functions as departments have with us. They attend the administration of the affairs of the provinces; the revenue; the superintendence of ancient usages and religious rites, and the preservation of temples endowed by the Imperial Government; the navy and the army; criminal proceedings; public works. Over each presides a chief minister. The decisions of a Board having been discussed by the Cabinet, they are submitted to the Emperor, who gives his decision by a seal, and makes any remarks he thinks fit with a vermilion pencil.

For a full account
of the Chinese
Government see
Martin, vol. i., p.
108-128.

Then there are two other Councils; the Too-cha-yun, or Board of Censors, and the Tsung-pin-fow, which is a board for registering the births, deaths, marriages and relations of the princes of the blood royal.

Notwithstanding that the Emperor has a large body of ministers, and though some of these gain great influence, the Emperor's will is law.* He can order whom he likes whither he likes, and to undergo what fate he wills. Notwithstanding, there have been faithful ministers who pointed out evils and warned the Emperor that he was responsible for them. In 1822, the Censor of the Province of Yun-nau (in the provincial governments there is a qualified repetition on a small scale of the Imperial Government), and the head of the literati in Shantung, pointed out to Taoukwang that offices were sold even to highwaymen, that learned men were unemployed, that the flowers and rouge for the imperial harem cost 100,000 taels (\$150,000), that the people were cheated, and many other abuses. The memorial concludes: "If Your Majesty deem this statement to be right, and will act thereon in the Government, then the army, the

Martin, vol. i.,
p. 149.

* Even the best and wisest rulers rather feel the weight of this terrible responsibility than desire to share it. Chun once said: "The post which I occupy is the most difficult and dangerous of all. The happiness of the public depends on it." Yu said: "A prince has a heavy task. The happiness of his subjects absolutely depends upon him. To provide for everything is his duty: his ministers are only put in office to assist him."—*Boulger*.

nation and the poor people will have cause of gladness of heart. Should we be subjected to the operation of the hatchet, or suffer death in the boiling cauldron, we shall not decline it."

The vermilion pencil wrote that this was a lucid and faithful report, but nothing was done. Four years afterwards, in 1826, the sale of civil and military offices produced 6,000,000 taels.

Elaborate civilization of China.

There is not a detail of civil government, from the highest political functions down to the scavenging of the streets of Peking, which will not be found provided for in the ancient Empire. At every turn the traveller will find himself surrounded by evidences of the suspicion and jealousy of despotism. He will note that the Chinese people are really a conquered people, watched by Manchu and Tartar garrisons in every town. He will note, what Mr. Williamson points out in a dozen places, that great public works are suffered to fall into decay. He will pause in many a street and roadway to mark the arches raised, not to victory, but to *Virginity and Viduity*, and unless he is a philosopher and fetches parallels from the West he will smile at Chinese simplicity. He will meet with men driving wheel-barrows and carts, carrying a sail, if the wind is favorable, just as they were seen a thousand years ago, and as Milton has immortalized them. He will see *Punch and Judy* shows, as he would see them in the streets of London. He will see Mandarins dressed in those bright colors, abandoned for more than a century by men in Europe, borne along in chairs, accompanied by their servants and dependents, much as the Roman noble in his litter used to make his progress down the Appian way. He will see soldiers with buff and blue tunics—helmets suitable for warm climates, and armed with fire-arms made in Birmingham. He will sometimes stop to admire the quaint beauty of a pagoda dedicated to one of the different religious sects. If he goes to the theatre he will see the parts of women played by youths, just as in England in Shakespeare's time.*

Arches to virginity and viduity.

Mandarins.

Lantern-hawkers.

He will see the lantern-hawker with his great basket on his back and full of lanterns of every variety. He will admire the industry of the Chinese women of the lower classes, who find time not only to attend to their household duties, but to rear silk-worms, spin cotton, make cotton cloth, roll tea, but who yet are not always allowed to sit at table with their husbands; and if the traveller is a lady she may see young Chinese ladies working at embroidery—an art which, according to Malpière, we owe to China. On the rivers and lakes our travellers will see men fishing with trained cormorants. On the roads he will often have to stand aside to let the Tartar courier, wearing the bright yellow colors of the Emperor, pass. Attention will be attracted by bookseller's stalls; Bonzes—monks of Buddha—walking, yellow hat under arm and green umbrella open against the sun, or making a spectacle of their austerity, and begging from

Bonzes.

* An Edict of the Emperor Keen Long (1735-1796), forbade women to appear on the stage. This of itself would explain the important part played by female musicians.

the passers-by ; flower boys peddling various kinds of flowers in pots ; children with ingenious toys ; perambulating smiths ; pipe merchants with bundles of long pipes, and, of course, smoking themselves ; jugglers, surpassing those of Europe ; criminals in cangues,* or chained to upright iron posts, and fettered ; or in cages ; or undergoing the bastonnade ; wandering musicians ; mountebanks exhibiting tame serpents ; money changers ; travelling tinkers ; quail-fighting, and cricket-fighting ; boys playing shuttle-cock with their feet instead of battledores ; wood merchants selling wood cut exactly like our own firewood ; exhibitors of peep-shows. In a word, the observer would find himself surrounded with all the signs of a complex but antique civilization—stately temples, great public works, palatial residences of the Mandarins, the busy little houses of the humbler classes, numerous canal-boats, ferries, shipping, highways—there are 20,000 Imperial roads—and near the great cities, which are walled in as in ancient days, fortresses which belong to a system of war now out of date.

Great public works.

It is not possible to rise from an extensive study of the literature, travel, or history connected with China and feel any contempt for the Chinese. The feeling is one of surprise that they do not do more. They have vast resources ; they have a population which if warlike might overawe the world. But public spirit, freedom are not there, and an organized despotism has cast the shadow of decay on those teeming millions. They are disrupted. There is no play of popular life, and the tyranny of the Mandarin is qualified, so far as popular action is concerned, only by secret organizations and the unsuccessful literati. These secret organizations have been reduced to a science by the Chinese and form one of their great drawbacks wherever they go. But secret organizations are not confined to China or to Chinese.

Impossible to despise the Chinese.

Despotism casts the shadow of decay.

We have said no contempt can be felt for these people. They show great industry and achieve success in many fields of labor. They live under a despotism which would, in the course of centuries, degrade the choicest European races, and, if indeed they belong to the Mongol race they belong to a race which has produced great heroes and far seeing men, and whose fortunes at one time seemed equal to the conquest of the world.

Success in many fields of labor.

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, for October, 1884, very properly writes that if we wanted to judge of the English people it would not be enough to see the population of the trading ports. We need he says to travel inland before we can say we have seen the English at home. Now all the direct knowledge many have of China is from observing the very humblest and sometimes the very worst class from the trading ports. In this excursus on China it has been sought to supply the lacking knowledge, and thus not only to aid judgment but broaden the spirit of discussion.

* The cangue is not unlike the pillory. Two boards with two half moons cut in them are closed round the neck. The man's crime is written on a placard.

Character of the modern Chinaman.

The Chinaman in China is the heir of an old, not to say an effete civilization. Educated and inherited tendencies make him an imitator, a man non-progressive, and full of satisfaction with his country and its ways. There is no European nation which has not gone beyond the point where the Chinese stopped. His worship of ancestors binds him to the Flowery Land, and his national pride makes him look on the ways and customs of other people as barbaric. He is an idolator. Not merely his habits but his skin mark him off as of a race distinct. Only the pressure of the vast population on the least successful and poorest classes makes these leave their country for a time, and such emigrants come from Qwang-Tung and from Fuhkien, mainly from Qwang-Tung. Not a few of them are criminals, and the women as a rule are prostitutes.

Qwang-Tung—
population of.

Qwang-Tung has a population of 19,174,030 or 241 to the square mile and Fuhkien a population of 14,777,410 or 276 to the square mile. The fact that the inhabitants of the northern provinces emigrate to Manchuria shows that emigrants could, if necessary, be got higher up than Fuhkien and the fair inference is that the supply of Chinese labor is practically without limit, other than the demand.

A rapid sketch.

Naturally only a rapid sketch of the Celestial Empire is attempted here. One less full would have given no information capable of aiding the judgment.

After what has been said it is not necessary to quote such witnesses as Rev. W. Loomis and C. W. Brooks to show that Chinese intellectual capacity is of a high order. Should they ever escape from the thralldom of the worship of ancestors, and learn to drill and fight so as to bring their soldiers even to approach an European standard, "the Chinese problem" will assume a new and, perhaps, not so interesting a form as at present.

MORAL EFFECTS.

There can be no doubt that one of the causes of the strong feeling against the Chinese is that their immigration consists mostly of unmarried men and prostitutes, and it is said that the Chinese prostitutes are more injurious to the community than white abandoned women.

PROSTITUTION.

The evidence is that Chinese prostitutes are more shameless than white women who follow the same pursuit, as though the former had been educated for it from their cradle. This is what might be expected from what we know of Chinese customs in China. They sit at their doors and through a sort of wicket try to decoy the passers-by. They are bought and held in bondage and the Rev. Otis Gibson produced two contracts such as are made between these unhappy women and their mistresses. Such contracts are,

See p. 222. Ap. A.

See M. E., p. 48.

Ibid pp. 20, and pp. 202, 225, 262 Ap. A.

of course, illegal, but the Chinese women thus enslaved do not know this. Some have escaped from degradation and tyranny and taken refuge either at the City Hall or the Mission House. Some of these women are kidnapped in China. At one time there were about 1,500 prostitutes in Chinatown, San Francisco. In 1876 there were some 400. About \$500,000 are said to be invested in the business.

See pp. 204 and 216
Ap. A.

See pp. 263 and 278
Ap. A.
See p. 203 Ap. A.

The charge respecting prostitution takes two forms. It is said these women bring with them a most virulent form of syphilis, and that in a special way they corrupt little boys.

There are only two points about Chinese prostitution worthy of notice as affecting our estimate of the character of Chinese immigration. The Chinese are the only people coming to the continent the great bulk of whose women are prostitutes. White prostitutes are, as some witnesses testified, imported from Europe, and they are, in consequence of the debts they owe the keepers of the houses in which they dwell, in a state of semi-bondage. But they form only a percentage of the white women on the coast.

As to the Chinese prostitutes introducing disease, on such a subject the question of degree is of little consequence. But we think it is proved that they are specially corrupting to boys, and this for three reasons: In the first place, their training has, as a rule, left them without that small sense of decency which lingers in the breast of the white prostitute until she has become an utter ruin, physical and moral, and which would make her shrink from permitting the visits of very young boys. In the next place, being under the control directly of a mistress and indirectly of a company of Chinese scoundrels, known as the Hip-ye-tung, force may be placed on them to extend their trade without regard to age. In the third place, the high value attached to money by the Chinese would make their prostitutes more accessible to boys than white ones. Several witnesses proved that boys frequented Chinese brothels and contracted physical contamination. Mr. Briggs said that apart from prostitution he did not know that the Chinese had any demoralizing effect on the community. But several witnesses dwelt on the demoralizing influence of opium-smoking and gambling.

J. C. R., p. 222.

See M. E., pp. 24, 50,
also pp. 180, 207, 213,
354 Ap. A.

See M. E., p. 1.

GAMBLING.

The Chinese are inveterate gamblers. In China it is not uncommon for a man to gamble away his breakfast; and in San Francisco and elsewhere they often lose at the gaming-table all their earnings. We visited several of the many gambling-houses in Chinatown, San Francisco, but did not see a white person present; nor is there any evidence that white men frequent these haunts of "tan" and "lottery." It must, therefore, be as an example that Chinese gambling is demoralizing to the whites, if it be demoralizing. These gambling-houses are owned by the Po-sang-tung. Both Bainbridge and Vinton think it cannot be suppressed. It certainly cannot be if, as Mr. Gibson says, the police are in the pay of the man who

See M. E., p. 36, also
pp. 194, 222, 223, 341,
242 Ap. A.

runs the gambling-hell. But, if the police carried out the law properly, the evils of prostitution and gambling might be greatly lessened, as might that attending

OPIUM-SMOKING.

The evidence is positive that they teach whites to smoke opium. There is a law in China imposing a severe penalty on a man who entices another to indulge in the too seductive drug. Before such a law came into existence the crime must have been known. *A priori*, therefore, it is probable enticements would be made use of wherever Chinamen set up opium-dens. Both Cox and Crowley give cases in which whites had become slaves to opium.

See M. E., pp. 14,
25, 48, 108, 161, 175.

To say that whites go to the chemists and get laudanum, or some equally powerful drug, or had learned to use opium before the Chinese ever had a Chinatown on this continent, would be an answer to a proposition affirming that because Chinamen smoked, they are inferior to, or more wicked than, whites. But it is no answer to the statement that the existence of opium-dens in a large city is demoralizing. You cannot multiply places of the kind without bringing forces into existence which surely will have their influence in dragging some weak natures to degradation. But this, too, is a matter with which efficient police could effectually deal.

Women
debauched in
opium dens.

There is some evidence to the effect that women have been taken to opium dens and debauched. But this crime has been perpetrated in taverns, and even without the aid of either opium or whiskey. In China, where opium is prized as an aphrodisiac, women are frequently attached to opium joints. But no such places appear to exist on the Pacific Coast.

See M. E., p. 10.

Chinatowns.

We think we may here leave the moral effects of Chinese immigration. Mr. Briggs speaks of their presence as "a moral blight, because they never improve anything. When they take possession of a building, that building becomes unfit for occupancy by any other people except Chinese." This is rather a material than a moral effect.

We repeat, all that is objectionable in the Chinese quarter is a matter which could of course be dealt with by an efficient police. Given policemen under the control of the civic authorities and paid by salaries out of the civic Treasury, and there can be no difficulty in putting down Chinese prostitution, gambling dens, and the nauseous debauchery of opium joints. The belief is universal that the police, on beats in Chinatown are in the pay of the bands of ruffians alluded to above, who own the gambling houses and brothels, and terrorize those who try to bring about in Chinatown a healthier tone. The efforts of one Wong Ben, a Chinaman who had some knowledge of English, and who tried to make a stand against the prostitute-brokers, showed clearly at whose door the responsibility for the worst features of Chinatown lies.

CHINATOWNS.

Filth.

The filth of the Chinese quarter in San Francisco is dreadful; or to use the language of Mr. Meares, "inconceivably horrible." The evidence

is that personally the Chinese are clean ; but their quarters are abominable to sight and smell. It is said : "Look at the low parts of London or New York, at Whitechapel or at Five Points." There is a fallacy in this reply. Those who inhabit Whitechapel or the Five Points are the dregs of a population tens of thousands of whom live surrounded by cleanliness or it may be every appliance of the most refined civilization. Shiploads do not come to New York to make straight for the Five Points. One has only to go through Chinatown in San Francisco to see that the fact that Chinese immigrants will herd together in a quarter of their own, is a most grave feature in this question. Wherever they go they do the same thing. Several witnesses pointed out that it was only the favorable situation and peculiar climate of San Francisco which prevented an epidemic breaking out.

Owing to the way they cook one should think the risk from fire would be very great. Oddly enough the weight of evidence does not support the natural probability. William M. Dye an insurance solicitor—specially employed by the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company—swears that for the fifteen years ended October, 1876, there had not been a single building of importance destroyed in the Chinese quarter ; that the State Investment Company paid a large premium to get the Chinese business ; that it was easier to settle with the Chinese than the whites, but that, however, some companies would not take their business for fear of incendiary fires. Mr. Bigelow, who represented the Home Mutual Insurance Company, said the incendiary hazard was the reason he did not insure in Chinatown. Several fires had occurred, and he expressed the opinion that in most cases they had been caused by white people.

Most harm is done when, as is the case with San Francisco, Chinatown is in the centre of a city and cuts off one part from the other. The landlords of the Chinese seem well contented and will renew their leases, nor can we be surprised at this when we know that the Chinese pay better than whites, and that desirable white tenants could hardly be got for any of the houses in Chinatown.

Making a special quarter for themselves is favorable to

CRIME AND CRIMINALS.

The Chief of Police at San Francisco says the criminality of the Chinese is "away above any other nationality." Instead of being a quiet race, as Mr. Bee describes them, the evidence from every quarter establishes that they are addicted to faction fights, that where they are in the majority they are turbulent, and that many of them, certainly all the criminals, and Mr. Bee tells us there are 1,400 of these, are accustomed to carry, concealed about their persons or disguised as a fan, formidable deadly weapons. They are expert as thieves and burglars.

Mr. Bee, the Chinese Consul, makes a point that out of 6,127 arrests for drunkenness not one was a Chinaman. But we know that at the same time Chinamen were debauching themselves with opium.

See M. E., pp. 3, 10, 40, 56, 95, 97, 102, 109, 118, 123, also pp. 198, 200, 211, 221, 222 Ap. A.

An important distinction.

Danger as to fire.

J. C. R., pp. 661, 666, 969.
See p. 313, Ap. A.

As affecting insurance.

As affecting property.

See M. E., pp. 14, 15, 23, 25.
A turbulent race.

Statistics as to crime.

The Consul takes the year 1881 and notes the figures in the Municipal Report. Out of 380 commitments for the year ending June 30th, 61 were Chinese and 83 Irish, and taking the total, native and foreign, the ratio of Chinese crime was as 61 to 732. Now, the population of San Francisco in 1880 was 233,959, and of Chinese 21,745. The number of Irishmen in San Francisco in 1880 was 30,721. Thus it will be seen that statistics for 1881, assuming the population to have been about the same as 1880, do not support the contention that the ratio of criminality amongst the Chinese is above that of other nationalities. For the year ending June, 1876, the white arrests made were 17,991; Chinese, 2,117.

United States
Census for 1880,
pp. 380, 381, and
pp. 548, 549.

See p. 204, Ap. A.

Hard to make
arrests.

As it has already been said it is hard to make arrests among the Chinese and still harder to obtain convictions. Mr. Lawler, the Judge of Police Court No. 2, testifies:

See M. E., p. 37.

"As I have said before to you the Chinese quarter is over-populated. There are places of abode underground as well as over, and in a small room that a white man would not think of living in, a dozen Chinamen may be found, not only sleeping, but living and cooking in it. Chinatown is intersected, or cut up, also, by numerous small streets and alleys, and between a great many of the buildings there are communications like bridges across the streets and alleys, and there are means also of passing from roof to roof. Owing to these convenient connections between the buildings, and the crowded state of the Chinese quarter, it is often a matter of extreme difficulty to pursue and capture an offender, and the means of secretion are numerous and complete, there is no doubt whatever, but that many criminals escape detection and punishment through these means. The most vicious element amongst these people is what is termed the highbinders, amongst whom there is a strong union. They do not belong to any one of the Six Chinese Companies, but they are composed of members from them all. They are a desperate class of people, and live, as I believe from my experience, in a large degree, upon means obtained by them through extortion, gambling, etc."

See p. 204, Ap. A.

Difficult to obtain
convictions.

Mr. Ellis, the Chief of Police in 1876, gave similar testimony.

The difficulty in obtaining convictions arises from the unreliability of Chinese testimony. All persons entitled to speak on this head tell the same story, from the Honorable Judge Hoffman down to the detectives. And it stands to reason it should be so. Here we have people dwelling in the midst of a different race, whose language they do not speak whose institutions they do not understand, and whom they regard as barbarians. We know no form of oath to bind their consciences. What can be more natural as human nature goes than that they should lie when they go into the witness box, especially if doing so will save a brother Chinaman from prison, or redound to their own ease or profit?

Testimony
unreliable.

Highbinders.

But the evidence goes farther than this. It brings us face to face with a most sinister element in Chinese crime. A society of highbinders exists, which overawes Chinamen who would be disposed to aid the law, protects the keepers of brothels, and undertakes, it is said, for money, assassinations. They live in fact by organized crime. They even levy blackmail on rich Chinamen. Mr. Lawler says:

Blackmail.

"Not long since a case was examined by me, in which their mode of procedure was well explained. The evidence showed that, just prior to the Chinese new year, the defendants who were before me sent threatening letters to a Chinese merchant, stating that they were without money upon the approach of the festival, and that they should be supplied with money, otherwise that serious consequences would follow a non-compliance. These highbinders are much feared, and are through this tolerated, and are not prosecuted by many of these respectable Chinese merchants."

Dr. Swan, who was a coroner from 1874 to 1877, tells the following story:—

See M. E., pp. 20, 27.

"A given case being reported, I frequently found Chinamen who were near the spot; claimed to have witnessed the whole transaction; gave graphic accounts; these would be among the witnesses on the formal inquest. On appearing they would intimate that they did not understand English, and through the interpreter would say that they knew nothing about the affair, and upon asking him in distinct terms, through the interpreter: 'Did you not, yesterday (at such a time), tell that man (pointing to my deputy) so and so?' The reply would be: 'I did not understand what he said.' I never succeeded in fastening a crime on a Chinaman through Chinese testimony but once. In that case the witness was a little Chinese girl, old enough to be intelligent; too young to understand the danger she was running in testifying. That man was hung.

Terrorism of secret societies.

"Q. What do you mean by the 'danger she was running in testifying?'—A. As she was giving her testimony, and she was asked to point out the man that she saw do the act, out of a number of Chinamen that were there, she pointed her finger at the man and said: 'Him.' As soon as she said this he jumped right to his feet, and said something to her in Chinese. She started back with a great deal of terror, and went into the arms of some bystander, or bysitter I should say. This was at the inquest. The accused jumped right out of his chair and started across the room, and I asked the interpreter what he said in his Chinese. The interpreter said he had said: 'You had better shut up.' Of course this is all an opinion of mine, for the girl was very much frightened, and on enquiry I got hold of this idea that she was threatened; and the remark was made by the Chinese police officer—I mean the officer that was on the beat in Chinatown—that if the girl had been older, and understood, we could not have gotten anything out of her, on account of the danger she ran in testifying against this man.

"Q. Could you be more specific as to the danger she ran?—A. I should consider that she ran the danger of assassination.

"Q. By whom?—A. By this man's friends or acquaintances; and, as I say, all these matters are simply matters of opinion that I could not bring you specific proofs about."

The theory of Dr. Swan is only too probable if the habits of criminals in China and the Straits Settlement be compared with what we know them to be amongst the same class on the Pacific Coast. Dr. Swan concludes his evidence with this statement:

"When I wanted to get hold of one particular man, we always went to the interpreter of the company he belonged to, and the impression left on us by dealing with him, and by other facts, was that there was some power behind, that we could not grasp nor understand.

A power behind

See p. 114. Ap. T.

Sir Matthew B. Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia, in December sent a postscript to his previous evidence, which was very favorable to Chinese. Nor will it be improper to give his addendum, because the evidence shows that the same Chinese companies and societies which operate in California operate in British Columbia. He writes :

" There have occurred since I wrote some very notable exceptions to this behavior :

Terrorism by a secret association.

" 1. At the recent Victoria assizes, in a case of Chinese abduction, where Chinamen witnesses and interpreters were necessary, it was established to the satisfaction of the presiding Judge (Mr. Justice Crease), that these were being terrorized by the threats of certain Chinamen, alleged to belong to a secret association. Three persons alleged to have used such threats were summoned before Mr. Justice Crease, who took immediate cognizance of the charge, (the investigation then pending being paralyzed, so long as the terror continued), and after hearing witnesses, and what the parties, who all appeared on the summons, had to say in their excuse, he fined them \$500, \$500, and \$1,000 respectively, and in addition sentenced them to six months' imprisonment ; treating their conduct as a very high contempt of court.

Supposed attempt to pervert the course of justice.

" 2. Another attempt, or suspected attempt to pervert the course of justice is just reported from Lytton. The body of a deceased Chinaman had been found under circumstances which seemed to point to a murder, and two Indians gave evidence before the coroner which implicated two Chinamen in the crime. But at the assizes, these Indians refused to repeat their statements, alleging that their former testimony was false, that they repented of it, and that they had been bribed by some other Chinamen (who appeared as prosecutors) to tender it. This is not a clear case ; though Mr. Justice Walkem, (who presided at the assizes), appears to be under the impression that what the Indians said before him was true in substance.

" It is only just to the alleged suborners to recollect that the neighborhood of Lytton has been the scene of terrible outrages against Chinamen, in all of which the perpetrators have escaped scot free. One case in particular, which in its wholesale unconcealed atrocity equalled anything which I have read of agrarian outrage in Ireland, the alleged ringleaders, though fully identified by four of the surviving victims, were acquitted by the jury upon evidence of an *alibi*, which the prosecutors might well deem perjured—so that in the present case the Chinamen, entirely misapprehending the principles of our criminal law, may have imagined that subornation of perjury was a weapon permitted by our courts, and that to acquit or condemn we only required the production of sworn evidence, without troubling ourselves to enquire whether it were true or not.

Robbery with violence.

" 3. There has been since the date of my answers yet a third case, contradicting my former experience. At the late assize at Nanaimo last week, some Chinamen were convicted of robbery, with violence dangerous to life, upon a Chinese woman named Ah Chif.

Six Companies.

This brings us to a further charge. There are Six Companies which may be said to have naturally risen from the condition of things in which Chinese immigrants found themselves in the early days. Colonel Bee says they are benevolent societies: They are labor bureaus. It is admitted that they take a fee from each member ; that they lend him money to go into the interior ; that they provide him with medicines and a hos-

See M. E., pp. 18, 19.

pital; that they arrange to send his remains back to China. The friends of the Chinese vehemently protest that these companies do not bring them to this continent under contract. But, again it is admitted that they cannot return to China until they are clear on the books of the company to which they belong. The inference is irresistible that they are a good deal more than benevolent institutions, and that those who manage them make a good profit out of the business. Nor is there any reason why they should not. And the power they exercise, already referred to in connection with the steamboats, is still further illustrated by the evidence of Mr. Gibbs.

These companies
business
institutions.

See p. 216, Ap. A.

It is charged that they came in bondage to the Six Companies. There is no proof of this. But when the helplessness of the Chinaman without such companies is considered, it can be understood that they must have quite enough power over the laborer.

Nor is there any proof that courts exist controlled by one or other or all of these companies; secret tribunals before which men are tried on civil and criminal charges. Colonel Bee tells us they hold courts of arbitration, and one can easily understand how, holding such courts, the impression would get abroad that still more was done, and persons were tried on criminal indictments before private individuals, in secret, and without a shadow of authority. The conviction is widespread and strong that such is the case. Mr. Lawler declares:

Is there a secret
tribunal?

"It is often stated, and I think with a considerable degree of truth, that there are in Chinatown species of courts, in which many cases arising between these people are tried. For it is a noticeable fact that crimes are often committed in that locality, and the greatest diligence fails to discover any clue. This may happen where trouble arises between members of the same company; for the heads of these companies have such a control over these members, that they can at any time prevent one member from going into a court of justice and testifying against another.

Mr. Ellis, who was Chief of Police, in 1876, suspected that Chinese tribunals existed for punishing crime. But he said he had no evidence of this.

J. C. R., p. 166.

HOSPITALS.

Their hospitals are evidently not of the best, and the evidence as to their indifference to suffering is what we should expect from what we know of the Chinaman in China. Starving men have been refused food, and the Companies' sick have been put out uncured and helpless on the street. Still the Chinaman must prefer such care as they get at the Companies' hospitals, or else they are unaware of the character and hospitality of Christian infirmaries; for the universal testimony is that they do not burden public charities. Mr. Gibbs says: "they have a dread of our hospitals."

Do they care for
their sick.

See M. E. p. 351,
also pp. 221, 316,
Ap. A.

See p. 217, Ap. A.

LEPROSY.

When we arrived in San Francisco we found newspaper rumors full of cases of leprosy. But though the disease prevails to a frightful extent in

No leprosy.

China, the evidence was conclusive that it did not at the time of our enquiry prevail amongst the Chinese in California. Mr. Cox, the detective, who was bitter against the Chinese, said he had seen no cases. But in 1876, Mr. F. A. Gibbs the chairman of the Hospital Committee told that in December, 1875, there were fourteen lepers in the pest house. He also found that the prostitutes in the city were afflicted. When he tried to get them back to China he was interfered with by the Six Companies.

J. C. R., pp. 190, 200,
also pp. 216, 219,
Ap. A.

Not improbable
that they should
introduce leprosy.

We may say, generally, that there are any number of lepers in China, and that therefore there is a danger that Chinese immigrants may introduce it. It is a mistake to suppose that it is confined to warm climates. It has existed in Scotland and in New Brunswick. If the cattle disease prevailed in any country to the extent relatively that leprosy does in China, the cattle coming from the infected country would be subjected to cattle diseases prevention arrangements. The sanitary condition of human beings is, perhaps, as important to the world as that of cattle.

SMALL-POX.

No proof intro-
duced small pox.

See pp. 189, 191,
Ap. A.

See pp. 338, 356
Ap. A.

The Chinese are also accused of having introduced small-pox. Pixley says, positively, they brought it into San Francisco. But there is no conclusive evidence to support his contention. Mr. King swears they have offered to embark people suffering from this disease and that more than seven-eighths show distinct marks of having had it. Mr. O'Donnell says they introduced it about 1871, but Mr. Humphrey denies this. We know small-pox has originated in Europe and in parts of this continent where Chinamen have never been. All that can be said is that it is not improbable that they should introduce it.

The fact is there are only two statements respecting Chinese immigration to which it is worth while to pay any attention. One of these statements has relation to the

EFFECT ON WHITE IMMIGRATION

of the presence in large numbers of Chinese.

The adverse statement which is of the first moment is that the Chinese immigration prevented white immigration. Mr. Briggs contends that white immigration both from Europe and the eastern States was retarded if not wholly barred. It will be remembered that in 1882 an Act, excluding all Chinese laborers after ninety days after the passage of the act was passed, and that a yet more rigorous act was passed two years later. Now Mr. Briggs gives the following figures in support of his view. The excess of arrivals over departures in 1879 was 9,500, Chinese and all; in 1880, 4,100, and most of these he says were Chinese; in 1882, there were 17,573 immigrants to California. The immigration in 1883, that is of course the excess of arrivals over departures, was about 24,000.

See, M. E., p. 1.

Statistics in
support of the
proposition that
white laborer was
kept out.

Mr. Briggs as will be seen by turning to p. 12 fell into one or two errors here. In 1880, the real excess of arrivals over departures was

3,563, and of these 698 were Chinese, showing a great falling off as compared with the years 1873-75, when the demand for labor brought annually an average of 17,000 Chinamen into the port of San Francisco. In 1881, the excess of arrivals over departures was 24,722. There was a gain that year of 14,685 whites and 11,137 Chinese, 18,561 having arrived. The next year 27,404 arrived as against 9,831 departed, the white immigration being 58,113 against 37,113 gone away. The falling off in 1880 in Chinese immigration would probably have gone forward for a few years but for the steps taken towards restrictive legislation in that year, and it is likely white immigration, but for the same cause, would have remained about the same. But the new policy gave a stimulus at once to white and to Chinese immigration: to Chinese immigration, by impelling all who could get in before the passing of the Act to do so; to white immigration by leading the labor agents and societies to encourage instead of to discourage eastern laborers to go to California. This last remark is further illustrated by the statistics for 1883. The Restriction Act of 1882 had begun to do its work. The aggregate immigration was 82,913 of which only 3,536 were Chinese, the excess of departures over arrivals being 3,005.

Effect of restrictive legislation to stimulate white immigration.

The immigrants for 1884, up to May 31st, showed a total of 9,680 — most of them white settlers, seeking homes. These were registered, and one-third of them, Mr. Briggs considers, reached San Francisco. He did not attribute this result wholly to the legislation. Prior to the legislation excluding Chinese labor, no movement to encourage white immigration was made, "because we had all the labor we could utilize. But the moment Congress was invoked to stop the influx of Chinese to the coast, then we began to circulate printed information relating to the State, showing its advantages and opportunities, and sent that broadcast into Europe and east of the Rocky Mountains in this country, and, thereby induced a larger immigration than would have come otherwise. Unquestionably the effect of the Restriction Act was toward the increase of that immigration, because we could say to these people that the Chinese immigration had ceased, and they no longer were in danger of coming into competition with coolie labor direct from China, that was constantly coming at the rate of 15,000 or 20,000 per year."

Favorable result not wholly due to legislation.

Albert M. Winn, president of the Mechanics' State Council, swore positively that he knew that the fact that Chinese laborers were largely employed in California kept out white immigrants. He says that when men interested in labor organizations in the eastern States wrote to him to know what chance there was for employment, he advised them to stay away if they could get any employment, that the Chinese had filled all the places that might have suited them. As a consequence they did not come. "That is very common. I state this to them all the time whenever I write. When a man of family comes here he can only get Chinese wages and he cannot support his family. A Chinaman has no

See p. 245. Ap. A.

Labor agents advised white workmen to remain away.

family to support and the Chinese can live on a very small amount per day. Therefore the white laboring men had better stay where they are."

There was an active movement, to keep away white immigration on the ground that where Chinese labor is abundant there is no desirable field for white labor. This brings us to the charge which is only another form of that which has just been stated. It is said Chinese laborers injuriously compete with the white laborer. On this head there is great diversity of opinion.

Chinese competition.

Shrewdness of the Chinese laborer or servant.

We have seen that the Chinaman is a valuable worker. Whether as a navvy, or a reclainer of land, or a fruit-picker, or a domestic servant, the testimony in his favor preponderates. One witness after another testified that he drives a keen bargain. It is in evidence that after the new-comer has, by reason of the instruction of master or mistress, or because of availing himself of some opportunity, become more efficient in any walk; he demands higher wages, and if his demands are not acceded to he goes into new service. We suspect the uniformity of this conduct must be traced in part to instruction from persons longer in the country, and who make it a business to see that their countryman gets all he can. Knowing what we do of their ready aptitude and of their mode of life, we should naturally infer that the tendency would be in all those branches of industry they affect, for Chinese wages to rise and white wages to fall, until a water-mark was reached above what Chinese originally got, and below the wages earned by white workmen before Chinese were employed. The evidence establishes that something like this occurred. Albert M. Winn, who, as we have seen, was accustomed to tell white laborers not to come to California, having sworn that white laborers could not live on "Chinese wages," explains that he means the wages of Chinese when they come "green." Mr. Briggs, on being asked whether white men could not compete with Chinese, says:

Tendency for Chinese wages to rise and white wages to fall.

After a time it is said Chinamen insist on high wages.

See M. E., p. 3.

"I think that day has gone by; the time was when they could not. Chinese to-day do not labor for as low wages as they did ten years ago. Their labor is regarded nearly as valuable as white labor, particularly in piece work; they earn as much as whites. And many are laborers on their own account."

"Q. Then, after a time, the objection from the working men would disappear?—A. So far as wages are concerned it does not hold as good to the extent that it did in the early stage of the introduction of this labor."

See p. 250, Ap. A.

On the other hand, Mr. Condon, who was examined before the Committee of 1876, tells us that as to carpentering and painting, the sash, door and blind department is almost exclusively in the hands of Chinese; that the best workmen could not live on the wages paid them; that the white mechanic is consequently kept out of employment. The wages of Chinese carpenters he says is \$1 to \$1.50 a day. That there is plenty of white laborers he proves by the fact that a firm which advertised for two boys in the painting business had 100 applications. His evidence is hardly consistent with itself or that of other witnesses. He says the effect of Chinese labor had been to create an overplus of labor, while others swear that

But a witness says that no white carpenter can live on the wages paid the Chinese carpenter.

His evidence inconsistent.

white immigration was kept out. This witness declares that thousands of white men were out of employment, that Chinese labor had no tendency to lower the price of sashes, doors and blinds to the consumer, and that in consequence of Chinese labor, sashes, doors and blinds which used to come from the eastern states are now made in California. If in consequence of the employment of Chinese articles which before could not be made in California are now made there, the tendency must be to lower the price of such articles, and it may be said in passing that the material result of the presence of Chinamen must be for the time anyway of the greatest advantage to the State. Mr. Condon says the whites are much ahead of the Chinese in speed. If this be so \$1 a day would not be as low wages as it seems. If, for instance, a white painter or sash-maker could do double the work of the Chinaman, the \$1 a day paid to the latter would be equivalent to \$12 a week to a white workman. But the witness tells us the wages of the white mechanics is about \$15.

Comparison of wages.

Mr. Condon mentions box-making as one of the branches in which Chinese compete, and he says they get \$1 a day. Yet when we turn to statistics prepared by Morris Lessler, and sworn to, we find that no Chinese are employed in making packing-boxes. The Chinese do compete in cabinet-making but not to any great extent, there being seventy-five Chinese to 1,104 whites engaged in this business. There is no reason to doubt that Lessler's statistics are approximately correct. He was examined and his statements are of a nature that, were they incorrect, they could and would have been in a day or two contradicted. Less than a month, it is true, was a short time to perform the task he undertook and he was avowedly getting up facts for a Chinese advocate. Then it is in evidence that some firms, while employing Chinese, in fear of being boycotted, advertised that they only employed white laborers, and if they advertised misstatements, there is no reason why they should tell the truth to an unauthorized interviewer like Lessler. Still Lessler makes specific statements which were capable of being tested, and his figures, on the whole, agree with facts obtained from other and reliable sources. According to him there were employed in San Francisco in 1876, 15,324 whites, and 7,050 Chinese, or say forty-six per cent. of the laborers and mechanics are Chinese.

See p. 337, Ad. A.

Lessler's statistics.

According to the census of 1870, the Chinese made 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the employes working in cotton and woollen mills; 27 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. of fishermen; 25 per cent. of miners; 10 per cent. of agricultural laborers; 25 per cent. of nurserymen and market-gardeners; 28 per cent. of domestic servants; 20 $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. of laborers; 71 $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. of laundrymen; 7 $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. of traders and dealers; 17 $\frac{1}{10}$ of hucksters; 22 $\frac{8}{10}$ of workers on railroads; 15 $\frac{6}{10}$ of the workmen in boot and shoe factories; 89 $\frac{5}{10}$ of the hands in cigar and tobacco factories. But the Chinese population in the United States had increased in the decade from 1870 to 1880 by 42,729. The railway draw on this immigration

Chinese in the field of labor according to the censuses of 1870 and 1880.

Fluctuations of
immigration.
See p. 125, Ap. A.

J. C. R., p. 77.

U. S. Census part
2, p. 1200.

U. S. Census part
2, p. 1200.

J. C. R., p. 1200.

Manufacture of
boots and shoes
almost wholly in
their hands.

J. C. R., p. 1211.

J. C. R., p. 1212.

Cigar-making.

See p. 242, Ap. A.

spent itself in the years 1867-69, to again operate in 1873-75. In 1871, the immigration fell to 5,000, and in 1872, to 9,000; but in 1873, rose to 17,000; in 1874, to 16,000, and in 1875, to 18,000. Mr. Low, when asked to explain this rise in the tide, at first could not give any reasonable explanation, but subsequently said, the building of the railway to Los Angeles and other lateral roads would, to some extent, account for it. "I have no doubt that that accounts for it partially; and that the Chinese merchants here, and those having an eye to business, speculate on all these probabilities of labor as well or better than we can." This experienced witness clearly does not think the railway building would fully account for the spring-tide of Chinese immigration from 1873 to 1875 inclusive, and it is a fair inference that a considerable portion flowed into other channels of toil. Unfortunately, the census of 1880 does not enable us to say what number of Chinese were in that year found in various callings. It gives the number of those employed in the several industries, born in Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, and British America, but classes all other nationalities under the head of "other countries." The gross number of persons in all classes of occupations in California in 1880, was, 376,505, of whom "other countries" are credited with 101,452. In San Francisco we learn, that of those engaged in manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries, 9,877 came from "other countries." It is no forced presumption to say that nearly all these are Chinese. In 1880, there were only eighty-six Japanese in the whole State, out of 37,475 persons working as mechanics, in factories and at mining. The census of 1880 leaves us almost without guidance. But taking into account this fact, that the Chinese population went on increasing until the Act of 1882 came into operation, it is morally certain that the number of Chinese employed in the various industries, as given by Mr. Lesler, would have to be increased considerably to meet the facts in 1880. The manufacture of boots and shoes is largely in their hands, as we ourselves saw. In 1876, there were 1,970 Chinese employed in manufacturing boots, to 1,012 whites. In 1876, not a person of any nationality, other than Chinese, was employed in the factories where Mr. Lesler made enquiries. In 1870, the percentage of Chinese employed in this manufacture was 89 $\frac{1}{8}$.

The census of 1870, counts clerks and bookkeepers employed in connexion with the factory. And this fact makes it necessary to add to the percentages given above of Chinese in thirteen industries. We have then nineteen cigar firms employing 3,197 Chinese and not one white. According to the evidence of Frank Muther, a cigar-maker, there were about 150 white cigar-makers in San Francisco in 1876, the union numbering 100. Of these one hundred some sixty were employed, their earnings by piece-work averaging \$11 a week each man; the Chinese earning \$6. The difference is accounted for by the fact that the Chinese are slower workmen. In consequence of employing Chinese labor the workshops

are very inferior to those in the Eastern States. In a shop which in the East would be considered fit for twenty men, in San Francisco they would work 100 or 150 Chinamen. This impedes the white workman. They have not the facility for drying the tobacco and preparing it. "If" said the witness "they would introduce the same system here that they have in the East, the white men would make almost double what the Chinamen get." But as the white man was earning \$11 to the Chinaman's \$6 he was already making nearly double even under the cramped conditions described.

Effect of employing Chinese on the character of the workshop.

White cigar-makers make nearly double what the Chinamen makes.

See p. 243, Ap. A.

This witness swore that the Chinese, in order to obtain employment, have gone to the boss and offered to work for very low wages in order to obtain the shop.

Acts put forth by Chinese in order to get employment.

"When they cannot prevail on the boss they will turn round and try to bribe the foreman. They have offered \$10 for every Chinaman they will put on, or \$10 for every thousand cigars manufactured, and where the foreman sometimes will have a chance to make money he will take on the Chinamen.

J. C. R., p. 315.

"Q. Do you know any foremen of that kind?—A. I have met foremen who have told me they were offered money. I asked them if they would come on this stand. They told me they were situated in business that they did not want to expose. I went to one particular one named Joe Betts. He told me he would swear that in the last few weeks he was offered money, one dollar for every thousand cigars manufactured, in the shop by Chinamen, or \$10 for every Chinamen he would put on. It is from this fact that they have hurt us so much. Even when we can hold the bosses, they bribe the foreman, and of course it is hard to hold men under such a liberal offer. When they offer a man \$80 and \$100 a week for a year or so, it is hard to hold honest men under such inducements. Temptation is hard to resist when it becomes that liberal."

Foremen offered money if they would employ Chinese.

The Joint Committee do not seem to have thought it worth while to examine Joe Betts. At all events he was not examined, and no remarks were made on his absence. The charge made here against the Chinese is a very serious one. It represents them not as coming into the market to compete with white men under fair conditions, but as declaring war against them and resorting to corruption in order to drive them from employment. Underselling them is one thing; bribing foremen to turn them away is another. Such a charge ought to have been sifted to the bottom. As it is, we have nothing but the hearsay evidence of a prejudiced witness in its support.

Chinese represented as declaring war against white labor.

The witness denied that the cigar-makers' trades union limited the number of apprentices. No conscientious man, he declared, would take an apprentice, because after the boy had learned his trade he would get little wages, and perhaps would even fail to get employment. The Chinese had got the trade. "They have got us, so to say, conquered." Asked whether if Chinese cigar-makers were excluded there would be enough white labor to carry on the manufacture of cigars and meet the demand, his reply was:

Denied that cigar-makers' union limited the number of apprentices.

"Not in the State now, because they have been driven away; but New

3,000 cigar-makers in New York in 1876 idle.

White cigar-makers after coming to California went right back.

See p. 243, Ap. A.

York reports 3,000 cigar-makers walking the streets doing nothing. * * When people understand that we have been incorporated and they are itching for a change as times are hard, and they correspond with us, our general reply is: 'Do not come.' * * When I came here first I got a very good situation, but it has dwindled down so now that I cannot make within \$8 a week of what I did two years ago."

The witness, in reply to a leading question from Mr. Pixley, said he knew of a great many white cigarmakers and their families who had come to California and went right back because the field was better in the Eastern States. Another leading question elicited statements to the following effect:—

"Chinamen, when pinched, will take contracts below the actual cost of the goods—that is, certain companies—from the wholesale tobacco houses. The monopoly of this town is the wholesale business. They contract to furnish all the cigars, such brands and such brands. They have to give good quality; everything that is not good they have the right to refuse. The contract will absolutely say that they have to purchase the tobacco from the wholesale house, and in this way the tobacco houses have the monopoly. They have got the Chinamen, and they have got the public. They invariably beat the Chinamen on the tobacco, and get the goods they contract for; and all the poorer trash the little white shops have to work up. Tak, Lang & Co., take a very cheap contract; they have 400 boarders, besides apprentices. This firm say they can collect \$400 to \$480 a week from all their boarders, and that they do not care if they do not make anything on cigars. If they can get contracts they will take them rather than lose their boarders."

The witness gave a description of the manner in which Chinese, when uncontrolled by white men, make cigars. They take the cigar in their mouths and put spittle on it to get it smooth. There can be no doubt that they do this. We ourselves saw them do it. He swore they were accustomed to do something still more disgusting. He had worked in shops where Chinamen were packed around him thick as herrings in a keg. "They would get to sweating, and it was a common thing for them to take these cuttings and wipe their arms and their faces with them and blow their noses in them."

Partly because all this got abroad, partly because of the general antipathy to the Chinese, firms were accustomed to advertise "No Chinese labor employed here." In some cases this was true; in others not. There was a strong temptation to keep the Chinese. As an instance of the way Chinese competition was felt, Muther tells how he was appointed by the cigar-maker's society to visit the house of Alexander & Co., 222 Battery street, which had sent them a card asking for white labor. The boss said he wished to introduce something new, and when he described what he wanted, he was informed that only the oldest mechanics could do the work. "What will your men charge me?" he asked. "Our organization makes no charge; we hold no particular price." "Are you a married man?" "Certainly, and so are all the oldest cigar-makers." "Then," he said, "I cannot use you. The Chinaman is not married, and

J. C. R. p. 319.

he can work very cheap. If you will introduce me to unmarried men, I will pay them enough to live comfortably, but I do not care to keep more than one comfortably. I am not responsible for other men's children and cannot support them. I did not have anything to do with their existence." Muther left him, telling him he was a fraud as were all other advertisers for white labor.

Chinese competition.

Mrs. H. J. Humphreys, examined in 1876, said, thousands of sewing women were out of employment, that the Chinese were wedging the women out of needle-work, that the women got a little more per dozen than the Chinamen, and that these were starting manufactories of their own. Lessler's statistics showed that there were 129 Chinese employed in shirt factories, as against twenty-six white men and eighty-six girls. We ourselves saw several shops where Chinese were working on their own account, and in a space so contracted that if the same number of girls worked in it they would soon die of consumption. Here in one industry we have 129 places occupied, which might have been filled by white women, and the complaint was heard that girls were driven to prostitution and boys to become hoodlums.

J. C. R., p. 337.

We have seen that in some cases the tendency was for certain industries to pass into the hands of Chinese; in others into the hands of white laborers. We have also seen that there are instances where Chinese labor made opportunities for white labor. Mr. Babcock tells us that the white people are much better off in consequence of Chinese labor; that labor begets labor; that in consequence of the presence of Chinese the people get cheaper cigars and boots; that the women get clear of the drudgery of washing, and that the working classes have clean linen oftener than they would have it were the Chinese not here. But Mr. Babcock has no idea of settling the State with Chinese, or giving them votes.

"Q. Do the Chinese come with the intention of remaining and becoming permanent citizens, or returning?—A. Of returning. Their rule is, or was formerly, to return every fourth year.

J. C. R., p. 714.

"Q. Does the average white immigrant from the East come with the intention of remaining and becoming a permanent citizen?—A. He comes with the intention of becoming a permanent citizen.

"Q. Then, what do you think is best for the future of the State?—A. I think it better that it should be settled by white immigration.

"Q. Why?—A. The whites, we all know, are a superior race to the Asiatics. But, as I said before, I consider that cheap labor in a new country is absolutely necessary, and we should have the cheapest labor that we can get."

Mr. Pixley, not unfairly, then presses a question which probes the situation to the bottom:

"Q. Then, you are looking upon it as a temporary necessity?—A. No, sir; I do not look upon it as a temporary necessity. I believe that a hundred years hence, when our descendants are living in California, they will turn back the page of history and see these proceedings, and they will then cast their eyes abroad over the country, look at the industries and how much Chinese labor has added to it, and they will smile with

derision at the ignorance of their ancestors. That is the view I take of it. Eighty years hence we shall see a population of 150,000,000. You might have one or two millions Chinamen, and what harm can they do? I would not give them a vote. I would never give a negro a vote. That is my platform.

"Q. Is it desirable to have within a free commonwealth a non-voting population?—A. Yes, sir; I see no objection to it at all; not a particle. The Chinese do not want to meddle with our politics. They are the most quiet, industrious and best people I ever saw. They are the most valuable laborers I ever saw."

No desire to see California settled by Chinese.

Not a witness, however favorable he might be to the Chinese, would say he wished to see California settled up with them. This attitude on the part of their friends is as striking as it is instructive. If they are such good laborers such quiet, peaceable people, how comes it that those who regard them with so complacent an eye would not wish to see them settle up the country? Here surely is something strange. We are told they have excellent qualities as laborers and business men, that they are in many cases preferable to the whites, but that the whites are a superior race.

J. C. R., p. 718.

There seems, too, to be an instinctive feeling of preference for whites, independent of any reasoned out opinion respecting their merits or demerits as compared with Chinamen. Several manufacturers who employed Chinese said they would prefer whites. And in domestic service especially we should think white girls would be much more welcome than Chinamen. Mr. Babcock testified that he never found any difficulty in getting white domestics, but that it would be difficult to get a white girl to do, as a Chinaman will, all the work of the family.

Domestic servants.

"The Chinamen are a great advantage all through the state, and I think the people in the country find a very great difficulty in getting white servants to remain with them, whereas Chinamen do not care where they go. I would rather have a nice tidy girl to wait on me, and I suppose you would too. You would show your want of taste if you did not.

"Q. Suppose we did not have these Chinamen here, would we not have nice tidy, white girls?—A. No, sir; and you would pay such wages that if you are unable to keep these servants, you could keep only two, probably, and then you would be able to exercise no control over them. The Chinese make a balance of power and it is absolutely necessary in the condition we are to have the Chinese, in my opinion; yet I do not employ them."

Mr. Bee uses almost the same language. He says the Chinese enable the well-to-do whites to hold a balance of power as against Bridget and the trades unions. From this point of view the Chinaman is regarded as the ally of capital in its fight with labor. Chinese labor is held not only to benefit those who use it, but those who do not. The latter it enables to get white labor at a lower rate and to exercise control over it. It is easy to understand how the workingman or woman must regard Chinese labor.

Two questions suggest themselves here. Is it for the public good that

alien competitors who are not to be regarded in the light of citizens, should be introduced into any country to compete with its citizen workers? If it be desirable, is it possible to control them, and those natural movements, which will rule them so that evils which their friends would appear to anticipate from large settlements of them shall not take place, and that no such grave consequences as the opponents of Chinese immigration dread, shall happen?

Mr. Crocker says: "I believe that the effect of Chinese labor upon white labor has an elevating instead of a degrading tendency. I think that every white laborer who is intelligent and able to work, who is more than a digger in a ditch, or a man with a pick and a shovel, who has the capacity of being something else, can get to be something else by the presence of Chinese labor easier than he could without it."

J. C. R., p. 667.

Mistaken views.

This is perfectly true. But let us see where it lands us. In fact the tone of contempt with which the digger in a ditch is referred to, strikes the note of the social change, which Chinese labor largely employed would inevitably produce. It is a most desirable thing that ladies of moderate means should have their housework efficiently performed at a reasonable rate, most desirable that there should be an adequate supply of labor in a new country, and these good things should be secured if they, like the white girl when there is no Chinese competition, and the working man when labor is scarce, do not prove too dear.

We need not show that Chinese labor is cheap labor. That is its *raison d'être*. We need not stop to prove that it is docile; that is one of its admitted attractions. Just as one of the lower animals will go and remain where he is fed, so the Chinaman will go and stay for a certain time in any place where he is paid a certain wage, admittedly not high. What must infallibly occur as Chinese laborers stream into various channels of employment? The white workmen, not content with the rate to which wages are reduced, will if they have the money, leave the country. Those who remain sink lower even than the Chinaman, because they have to do more with the money out of which he saves a little fortune to enjoy in China. They become more and more degraded. It is in evidence that a man who has bossed Chinamen is not fit to boss white men, because he becomes too arbitrary, contracts in fact something of the bearing of the slave-driver.* The white men who would remain to compete with Chinese would have to accustom themselves to such bossing as the Chinese would bear. Out of Chinese wages white workmen could not

Chinese labor
cheap labor.

* Miss Corner, in her admirable sketch of Chinese history, says: "After all the Chinese must be said to be governed by the whip and the bamboo, the bamboo having the larger share in the administration. The viceroy bamboo the mandarins, the mandarins bamboo their inferior officers, and these, in their turn bamboo the common people; the husband bamboo his wife; the father his son, even when of mature age. One of our oldest travellers says, of a surety there is no such country for stick as Cathay; here men are always beating or being beaten."

The same effect as
slave labor.

save money ; on such wages they could hardly support a family. There would be but few instances of persons rising out of the rank of laborers to be small property holders, and as members of the middle class failed they would sink to the condition of "mean whites." We are stating natural tendencies. There was not time to have very grave results produced. But some of the most thoughtful of the Californians believed they saw signs of an order of society coming into existence not unlike that which obtained in the southern States, where slavery had produced immense wealth, but where society was rapidly losing everything like a middle class, where the aristocratic class was becoming smaller, and where there was no gradation from a proud and exclusive landocracy and professional men allied to them to black slaves and whites not less miserable. The Kearney agitators only saw that thousands of white laborers were out of employment and that the Chinaman was a competitor for work ; the more thoughtful looked further, and asked how these Chinese laborers were working with those shaping forces of the present, from which the future will take its outline and complexion.

They could not contemplate the struggle which had commenced between Chinese and white laborers without alarm. The white man was handicapped. He was competing with a man come from the lowest class of a population whose standard of comfort throughout is low. He could not live on a shelf. He could not be content with tea and rice, a little lard, and the least attractive part of the sheep or pig. He had often to support a wife and children. In all unskilled employments, which required only strength, laboriousness, patience, docility, imitativeness and steadiness, wages were lowered, and on many of the river bottom farms there was a Chinese quarter, a few huts where dwelt the Chinese who did much of the work of the farm throughout the year. In the same way there used to be negro quarters on the plantations in the South.

A Chinese influx
possible.

From what has been said about the worship of ancestors, the density of population in China, and the rate of remuneration it is morally certain that had there been no restriction, Chinese unmarried laborers would have poured in, and spread over the State of California, and thence over most of the western States, and perhaps they would have effected a lodgment in every State of the Union. Colonel Tong tells us they earn in China from \$5 to \$6 a month, and that they can live on 4c. a day at home ; but thousands work for \$3 and \$4 a month. They are, as has already been stated, intensely fond of gain. Can it be doubted their numbers would have gone on increasing indefinitely ? Mr. Low seemed to think without any restriction the immigration would have regulated itself. But he seemed at a loss to account for the large number which came during certain years. Every four or five years some would go back, but their places would be taken by others, until the Pacific Coast would rely almost entirely for unskilled labor on a fluent population, working at low rates, and separated in sympathy and race from its employers. The

result would undoubtedly be to add immensely to the wealth of California. Her resources would be developed. Her manufactures would multiply, and eastern cities would be distanced in the race of competition. We should perhaps in time hear the cry for cheap labor of the Californian Legislature of a quarter of a century ago, echoed along the Atlantic sea-board. It must be borne in mind that the wages paid when only 70,000 Chinese were in the State, would not be paid when there were 200,000 or 300,000. Wages would fall to that point that would prove a sufficient attraction to draw the Chinese laborer, who would not have been elevated while the white would have been dragged down.

It is quite consistent with such a state of things to have a brilliant society, as we see in Rome during the Augustan age, when Roman art attained its highest perfection, but when half the population were slaves, and the other half a rabble without money or property. The yeoman was gone. The middle class, the ark of the sterling qualities of a community was gone, and the time came when the heir of the conquering republic had to bow her head. Such a society, without enduring stamina, has no sympathy with freedom, and, therefore, any element which has a tendency to bring it about is dangerous, especially to a young community.

Must not be
dazzled by rapid
wealth.

The Rev. Mr. Gibson suggested that some arrangement should be made which would compel Chinese to cut off their queues before landing on American soil, and that those now in the country should have three years to cut them off or go home; that they should doff their distinctive Chinese garb. This seems to us quite impracticable. To begin with it only skims the surface of the question. The difficulty goes deeper than externals. But even so superficial a concession to western ideas would not be yielded. Mr. Babcock says, they are proud of their country and attached to its customs, and that they would not give in on these points. Mr. Briggs seemed to think there would not be so much objection to them if they came with their wives and became regular settlers.

Ineffective sug-
gestions.

One of the objections put forth most prominently by Mr. Briggs himself is that the Chinaman kept out white immigration. But if this is done by single much more would it be done by married Chinamen. The added conditions would go but a very little way towards equalizing the struggle for existence. If they came with their women they would come to settle and what with immigration and their extraordinary fecundity would soon overrun the country.

We are inclined to think that without any arrangement whatever, this is in time what, were there no restrictive legislation, would happen. They are not more attached to China than were the Jews to Palestine and Jerusalem. Yet the Jew has learned to live away from Zion. For many years the Chinaman has been driven to live on rafts, and dire necessity would infallibly break the bonds of superstition. After living for some time in California he would accommodate his creed to his inclinations and interests.

Manchuria.

In Manchuria, there are large settlements of Chinese who have definitely left the Flowery Land.

Mistaken cries.

California and all the western States were menaced with a swarm of cheap laborers having none of the distinctive features of good citizens, and it may be with a lodgment of a non-assimilable race. For this is the real objection. The cries against their morality and against cheap labor amount to very little. The same cries were heard a quarter of a century ago in Illinois against Irish labor. But it died away when the daughter of the cheap laborer married the son of him who protested. Race antipathy is what is at the bottom of the cry, and though to the philosopher such antipathy may appear narrow, a profounder insight may find in it a natural—perhaps a divinely-implanted—safeguard against great evils. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, protesting that the black man was God's image in ebony and was the equal of the white, was silenced by being asked: "Would you like your daughter to marry a negro?"

Races change slowly, but the stationariness of the Chinese race seems phenomenal. Some of the witnesses declared their belief that no matter how numerous the Chinese were, the American would rule them. They had not duly weighed the effect of numbers in giving boldness.

To-morrow in the light of yesterday.

Judge Tourgée, in his last work, "An Appeal to Cæsar," shows what a tremendous problem is presented in the South by the existence side by side of two races which cannot mix. If those who oppose Chinese immigration establish that mixture between the Mongolian and Caucasian is impossible, and that yet a large permanent immigration is, they make out a case which a wise government would regard as requiring immediate attention. Describing the state of things in the Southern States, this writer says:

"From the cradle to the grave, the white life and the black touch each other every hour. Yet an infinite distance separates them ever. In all this there is no equalization, no assimilation of rights, no reciprocity of affection. Children may caress each other because they are children. Betwixt adults fewer demonstrations of affection are allowed than the master bestows upon his dog. Again the negro has not forgotten either the rights or privileges conferred upon him by national legislation. The more completely he is debarred from their exercise, the more deep and irremovable becomes his conviction that the whole race of the South is his enemy."

With unrestricted Chinese immigration something like this state of things would thirty years hence exist on the Pacific slope. Two free races separated by marked characteristics and above all by color cannot live side by side without conflict. Professor E. U. Gilliam, a southerner, writing in the *Popular Science Monthly* for Feb., 1883, says that fusion between the whites and blacks is impossible, because fusion is the resultant from social equality and intermarriage.

"The human species presents three grand varieties marked off by color—white, yellow and black. One at first sight, in origin and color, the race multiplied and spread, and separate sections settled in different latitudes

took on—under climatic conditions acting with abnormal force in that early and impressionable period of the race's age—took on, we say, different hues, which as the race grew and hardened, crystallized into permanent characteristics."

These groups stand rigidly apart. No such fusion can take place between them as takes place between the Irish, German, French, etc. The yellow and white or the black and white will not mix, and the antagonism of race is always intensified if one of two peoples has oppressed the other, or regarded it with social scorn. On the hypothesis of a permanent settlement of Chinese they would soon resent being deprived of the right to vote and as they became stronger in numbers and wealth, would treasure up the memory of past contempt. In the case of the Chinese the feeling would, perhaps, be stronger than in any other instance known to history. For the contrast between the whites and the Chinese is not as their enemies fondly and foolishly say, the contrast between the civilized and the barbarian, but between two kinds of civilization, the one modern and of the West the other ancient and of the East. It is not merely that the Chinaman comes as a competitor in the labor market, or that he is of another race, differentiated by physical, intellectual, moral, and religious characteristics, the whole stamped and sealed by color. He comes a highly civilized man, proud of those things which distinguish him as one of the sons of Han, full of contempt for the "barbarians" amongst whom he means for a time at least to cast his lot, and ready to despise their institutions and, as we see in the case of Colonel Tong, smile at their most cherished dreams, as the idle anticipations of wayward children. He brings his harem with him. He in fact inducts into western life an Asiatic civilization, and the Chinaman would about as soon think of imitating American manners as the men who built Quebec and introduced the France of pre-revolutionary days into North America would have thought of imitating the manners of the red Indians. The snowshoe, the canoe, and one or two other things were borrowed from the Indian. So the Chinese would adopt a few of the white man's arts, but in the main they would remain Chinese.

Already they have created political trouble. Regard race antagonism how you will; treat it as a natural instinct or as an unreasonable prejudice; there it is and will not down; and if nothing happened more than outbreaks of violence amongst the whites, a case would be made out for considering the expediency of regulating this immigration. Mr. Henry C. Beals, the editor of the *Commercial Herald and Market Review*, was examined before the Joint Committee in 1876, and his statements as those of a journalist and a man of moderate views, are worthy of being carefully weighed. Though he pointed out that without Chinese labor the manufacture of cordage could not be carried on, that it was owing to Chinese labor the manufacture of boots and shoes was established in San Francisco, that fruit-growing could not be carried on without them, that flour in large quantities was being "handled" by the Chinese and exported

to China, that they "bought and handled" more quicksilver than any other people, that the abrogation of the treaty with China would be an irreparable loss, that the Chinese merchants were men of the highest character, their credit A 1, that for domestic service white girls could not be got, says, nevertheless, he would have the country settled up with white people, and files documents showing that in the spring of 1876 he had warned the Federal Government in emphatic terms that "the Chinese of California were sleeping upon a volcano that may burst forth at any time." Public notices had been given that the question would be violently disposed of by an anti-Chinese vigilance committee. Mr. Beals' paper is read by commercial men, and he was under no temptation to pander to popular passion. Yet, in March, 1876, he wrote:

"Although the Chinese immigration into this country for the past twenty-two years is but a drop in the bucket compared with that which reaches us from Europe every year, yet there is such an immense margin of difference between the two that no parallel can be instituted. European immigration is acceptable, in fact desirable, while that from China is simply detestable. * * * It cannot be denied that Chinese immigration has been productive of much good as well as of much evil. They are our principal railroad-builders, and but for their cheap labor we would have to pay more for freights and fares. But, unlike European immigrants, they do not, will not, and never can assimilate with our people; there is a gulf between them, a yawning chasm, which can never be bridged. So long as they remain they will be a source of endless annoyance and a promoter of outrages which will eventually culminate in terrible bloodshed."

The man who wrote as above, denounced, on the 25th May, 1876, the daily press of San Francisco as responsible for the lawless raid which was being made on the Chinese. He deplored the disgraceful and cowardly scenes at Antioch, from whence they had been driven, and their houses burnt. Mr. Beals sees clearly that those who talk about cheap labor mistake the issue. The unassimilable character of the Chinaman, the race difficulty—this, he truly says, is the point which must be grappled with by an advocate of Chinese immigration, and this is the point on which its opponents, if true tacticians, would draw up their forces.

One has only to go forward a quarter of a century and then the Chinese might be able to hold their own against anti-Chinese clubs. But what would that mean, but the near domination of the Chinaman? Then, when philanthropic or ambitious politicians would want a question on which to bring themselves before the public we might see a political issue—the enfranchisement of the Chinese. And if not, what would you have? A large and increasing population separated from the rest of the community by everything which can divide and provoke hostility.

The instructive analogy of the southern States struck Mr. Beals in 1876 and Judge Tourgée's book should be read by any one who wants to form a far-seeing opinion on this question. He recalls, how a century ago a few negroes seemed not worth considering; the sanguine temper with

which the citizen of the great Republic looked forward to the solution of all possible questions; emancipation; four million slaves called to the privileges and duties of government; against them the pride, the knowledge, the experience and the wealth of the white race; the massacre at New Orleans, when negroes and white men first met in a public capacity to organize a party, of which the negro should be a constituent element; the Ku-Klux Klan, composed of the best white people in the South, organized to make the colored people "behave themselves;" the Rifle clubs and Bull-dozers; the sullen, unsuccessful, pathetic resistance of the colored voters. During all this period the line of conflict, the picket line of danger was that which separated the two races; and the slaughter at Hamburg, and the riot at Danville, arose out of trivial incidents connected with race antagonism.

The Negroes in the southern States.

It was thought by optimists that in the course of a generation the negroes would have forgotten all about slavery, and philanthropists seemed to hope that after a further lapse of time they would disappear. So far from this being the case they have increased at a ratio greater than that at which the whites have increased, and then they themselves increased when in a state of slavery. In 1790, there were 689,882 colored persons in the South, of whom 657,327 were slaves, the whites numbering 1,271,400. Seventy years pass and in 1860, the whites were 8,116,691 and the colored slaves 2,947,251; in 1880, the figures are respectively 12,420,247 and 6,039,000. The census of 1880 shows that in eight of the Southern States 46 per cent. of the population are colored, in South Carolina, the percentage being 60.6; in Mississippi, 57.5; in Louisiana, 51.4; the average throughout the entire of the southern States being 32.5. In the entire of the United States there are 6½ whites to one colored person; in the southern and border States one out of every three is of African descent; in the southern States proper there is practically one colored to every white inhabitant. As the passage quoted above from Judge Tourgee indicates in so forcible a manner, there is in eight States one colored living side by side with each white person and yet separated by infinite distance. One moment so near; the next, the race feeling stirs in the breast and a chasm yawns between them which no wing can cross.

Figures as bearing on the question.

Most serious is all this were we sure it would remain as it is. But it becomes much more so when we find that the colored man is distancing the white in the race of population. Compare the numbers in the territory recognized in 1860 as slave States, at their first enumeration in 1790, with those of the census of 1880, for the same area, and you have a gain among the whites of 880 per cent., while among the colored you have a gain of 775 per cent. But these figures are deceptive, the colored population having received little addition from outside and the white having, especially along the border States, been reinforced by considerable accessions from northern immigration, and an appreciable increment from foreigners. If now we separate the border from the older slave States

The whites distanced.

A black belt.

we find that in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, the whites have increased at the rate of 1244·8 per cent. and the colored at 713·9, while in the old slave States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, the white increase was 340·2 and the colored 563·7. If we compare the population of the old slave States at the date of the first enumerations the figures stand: whites 1,066,711; colored 654,308 or 412,403 more whites than blacks. Now, compare the tables furnished in 1880. We have in those old slave States, in that year, of whites 4,695,253; of colored, 4,353,097. Thus the whites have only increased 39,753 more than the blacks, i.e., 1,066,308 whites show a gain of 3,728,542; 654,308 blacks a gain of 3,698,789. In the black belt or the old slave States the negroes are therefore oustripping the dominant race. But a further analysis gives more striking results. Compare the old slave States in 1860 and 1880, and you find that the whites increased only 33 per cent. while the blacks increased 43. Here we are face to face with a law by which in eight States the blacks must relatively increase and the whites relatively decrease. Let us now push the analysis one step farther. Let us look at those States in perfect freedom. In 1870, their population was: whites 3,681,554, blacks 3,241,057; in 1880, whites 4,695,253, blacks 4,353,097. In ten years the numerical gain of the whites was 1,013,099 or 27·5 per cent., of the blacks or colored 1,112,040 or 34·3 per cent. Note that we have not here merely an increased percentage, but a greater numerical gain on the part of the blacks. In ten years 3,241,057 colored people increased 98,341 more than 3,681,554 whites. And now if with the aid of professor Gilliam we push the analysis yet one step farther the results will probably make people who say: "What harm can a few Chinese do?" pause; results which remind one of those school-boy calculations which used to fire all that was mercenary in the puerile fancy and which showed a fortune to grow from a farthing for the first nail in a horse's shoe, two farthings for the next, and so on doubling until the twenty eight nails were exhausted.

Relative increase of population.

In the United States, from 1830 to 1840, the white population increased thirty four, the black twenty three per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, the figures were respectively thirty eight and twenty three per cent.; from 1850 to 1860, thirty eight and twenty two per cent.; from 1860 to 1870, twenty-four and nine per cent.; from 1870 to 1880, the white increase was twenty nine, the black increase thirty four per cent. From the twenty-nine per cent. Professor Gilliam takes nine per cent. as attributable to immigration, leaving a net white gain of twenty per cent. How account for the startling difference between the white and the black gain in the decade? The solution, according to Professor Gilliam, is found in the superior fecundity of the colored race. Thus the white population, increasing at the rate of twenty-per cent. in ten years, would double itself in thirty five years; while the blacks, increasing at the rate of thirty-five

per cent., in the same period, would double itself in twenty years. Professor Gilliam calculates on the basis of all these figures that the population of the United States will, as the years roll on, show the following results: whites in the United States in 1915, will, in round numbers, be 84,000,000; in 1950, 168,000,000; in 1985, 336,000,000. The southern States, which in 1880, contained 12,000,000 whites, will, at the rate of two per cent. a year, in 1915, number 24,000,000; in 1950, 48,000,000; and in 1985, 96,000,000 whites. The blacks in the same States, who were 6,000,000 in 1880, will in 1900, number 12,000,000; in 1920, 24,000,000; in 1940, 48,000,000; in 1960, 96,000,000; and in 1980, 192,000,000.

What the census shows.

If a still closer scrutiny is made it will be found that in 1950, or in fifteen years hence, each of the old slave States will have a colored majority. The United States will then have eight small black republics on its hands.

We do not offer an opinion as to how these black republics will use their power. We simply note the fact, and we venture to point out that though a long time would certainly elapse before the Chinaman would desire to become a permanent settler, historical analogy and *a priori* probabilities based on the effects of necessity on men's wills and prejudices lead to the conviction that in time, if unrestrained, a certain number would be found settled for good on this continent, and what has happened in the southern States enables us to read, to use the eloquent words of Judge Tourgee, "to morrow in the light of yesterday."

Probabilities.

Very interesting and instructive, from the point of view of this enquiry, is it to note how, when the negro and the white man came into competition in the labor market precisely the same results follow as from the competition of the white man and the Chinaman in California. The farther the colored man gets from slavery the more surely does he squeeze the white man. The white blacksmith is becoming rare and rarer in the upland regions of the South. The colored people have become masons and carpenters, and contractors for the plainer sort of mechanical work. The race is doing its own building. It furnishes its own religious teachers. It is beginning to supply its own school teachers. The next step will be to seize on its own professional work, and as the opportunities of the colored race expand those of the white will contract. What must be the surest and most momentous result of all this? Why, of course, the emigration of the best whites. There is no scope in the South for the energetic poor man who begins with nothing and ends a millionaire, or at all events in comfort and independence. The manual labor is either held by the negro or rendered worthless by his competition, and there is nothing between this and the professions. Mr. Brooks and other witnesses spoke of the survival of the fittest, and we asked that gentleman what he meant by the phrase. Scientific sociologists who have never read a line of Darwin or Spencer, take it up and convince themselves that the best race is the race which survives. Not at all. In the struggle between races it is not intellectual power, physical and moral daring, well knit joints and muscles,

The race of lower needs crushes out the higher.

Survival of the fittest.

which prevail; but the capacity to endure hardship, to perform with patience monotonous toil, to subsist upon little. The following reads like evidence given in San Francisco or Victoria, B.C., on the Chinese question:

"The white man cannot compete in any field of labor except the highest with the colored man at the South. He may do more work, and better work; he may use more skill and achieve better results even on the plantations: but he demands a higher price; he cannot live upon the same food and be happy amid the same surroundings; he cannot compete upon even terms with the man whom he has been accustomed to despise. So that in the struggle of race, granting the continuance of present conditions, or those which are likely to prevail, unless there be some great and abnormal social revolution, the colored man is certain in the future to increase far more rapidly in comparison with the whites than in the past."

Best whites will emigrate.

We have seen that one result of the present condition of things in the old slave States must be the emigration of the best whites. Another result, which as certainly follows, is that colored emigration will decrease. The security of those States, where he nearly preponderates, furnishes and will continue more and more to furnish, the strongest attraction to the colored man, and will more than outweigh the higher wages of States where his *amour propre* would be wounded at every turn, and where he would, on occasion, be exposed to lawless violence. Like the laboring class among the Chinese his ambition is not great. A little house, hardly able to keep out the storm, a bit of land, humble fare, this is all he needs. In his meagre wants he is kept in countenance by the Chinaman. But the want of self reliance which he has inherited from slavery, and which makes him shrink from the unknown—this defect either finds no counterpart in the brain of the yellow man, or else it is supplied by the support and organization of the Six Companies.

The supremacy of the negro in at least eight States is secured: *

Thousands like this man will leave, not because they fear the negro, but because there will be no prizes worth aiming at, even if the struggle could be successfully maintained.

* A southern gentleman who was going to Kansas said: "The fact is I don't see what's a cumin' when the niggers git a little better off and a little more education and are really able to take care of themselves. They'll outvote the white man, outwork him, and I don't see why they shouldn't outgrow and out-rule him - unless they're killed off or kept down. I ain't in favor of that, and never was. If the law gives a nigger the same sort of chance I have, he's a right to use and enjoy it, I say; and if I don't like it or can't stand it I can move away and let him take the country and pay for it. I sold one of my plantations to a nigger. He'll pay for it, too, and I don't see what's to hinder he's being a rich man in a few years.

"Wal, all this seems to me to be kind o' promising trouble in that region for years to come. I didn't mind about it myself. After outliving the Confederacy one needn't be troubled about any thing. I couldn't feel easy in my mind though, about leaving the children there to grow up and face what may turn out a heap worse than anybody knows; and I tell you what it is: I ain't the only one that's getting these sort of notions down there, neither."

"The black," says Professor Gilliam, "will always, in the main, vote together. Why they are republicans now is readily seen. But should present political parties break up and others be formed, the blacks would still go as a body."

Mr. Swift tells us, and every man of sense will agree with him, that if the Chinese got votes they would vote *en bloc*.

There are three courses open before Chinese immigration, where unrestrained :

1. It may continue to pour in male laborers, capable of living under conditions which would make life wretched for the white man, and these as builders of railways and fruit raisers, and the founders of manufactories may do much good, while, however, doing great harm by barring out white working men ; keeping out white immigrants devoted to unskilled or partially skilled labor, competing with boys, needle women, and with white girls, erecting Chinatowns, and bringing to the country prostitutes who tend, somewhat more than white women of the same profession, to corrupt young lads.

Three courses
before Chinese
immigration.

2. Freed by travel from the thralldom of the worship of ancestors, or driven by necessity, Chinese immigrants may bring their women and settle down in the country. In that case, with their capacity of living on little, they would increase in numbers at a rate which would soon menace the numerical ascendancy of the whites. Meanwhile that state of things already described, in which a middle class could not exist, would be brought about, and without having actual slavery you would have all its evils. A small aristocracy, immensely rich, destined to die away on its own effeminacy, but not until after its depraved pride had done all in its power against freedom and free institutions ; a yellow population of laborers soon to grow so numerous that the danger of rioting would arise, as much from their consciousness of strength as from the whites ; while many Chinese merchants would have their Tartar roofed mansions, their gardens, their harems and all the appurtenances of the requirements of Asiatic civilization.

See on this question the conclusion of an article entitled "Over-haste in making our nation" in the *Overland Monthly* for January, 1883.

3. Or the Chinaman having effected a lodgment might be given a vote. "Most improbable!" True. But not one whit more improbable than it was in 1859 that the negro should be allowed to put his ballot in the urn. And what would be the end? The end would be after riot and bloodshed that you would have a yellow belt on the shores of the Pacific.

All this will seem to be looking far ahead. But we ask that the language of persons who have lived in China should be remembered. Those who know the Chinese know how much there is in them. In fact outside of European art, of war, and the higher mechanical employments, they can beat the world, and Mr. Giles warns the Anglo Saxon he may find this despised Celestial move only too quick in the coming years. M. La Vigne seems to throw out a similar warning.

It was, therefore, a wise thing of the Congress of the United States to

take action respecting Chinese immigration. Whether the action they took was wise or not is another question.

RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

In consequence of the enquiry of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives in 1876, and their report and local active agitation, three gentlemen were sent to China to obtain a modification of the Treaty, and a new Treaty was made. In 1882, after long debates, on May the 6th an Act was passed. This Act suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States for ten years. But those Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the 7th of November, 1880, or who should have come before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of the Act, were exempted. The evidence that an immigrant came within these classes consisted in a certificate furnished by the collector of customs of the district from which the laborer was about to sail. Full precautions were taken for his identification. Section 6 provided for the admission of Chinese other than laborers, the identification of such to be established by a certificate from the Chinese Government, giving in English full particulars respecting the holder. This certificate was made *prima facie* evidence of the fact contained in it. The issue of a fraudulent certificate was made a misdemeanor, the penalties or fines not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisonment for a term of not more than five years.

By the second article of the Treaty it was provided that "Chinese laborers now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nations."

The third section of the Act of 1882, as we have seen, extends the privileges of this article to laborers who were in the United States on the 17th November, 1880, or who shall have come in before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this Act. The date of the Treaty is November 17th, 1880. The Treaty was ratified on the 18th of July, 1881. The date of the Act is May 6th, 1882. Before the Act no one was authorized to issue certificates. A question arose as to when the law went into operation, and as to whether a laborer here at the date of the Treaty and who had gone away before it was ratified could not come under the second article. The question was, as a local paper put it, how big a hole had been made in the Exclusion Act. Many *habeas corpus* cases arose out of the ambiguous language of the law, from the belief (sometimes groundless) of imposition, from undoubted evasions by means of Canton certificates, and from the ambiguity of the word "merchant." The Treaty only excluded laborers, and it was hard to prove that one who represented himself as a merchant, or as interested in a business, was a laborer.

Act of Congress,
1882.

Provisions of
Treaty.

The Act of 1882.

Judge Hoffman, of the United States District Court, in his elaborate judgment in the matter of Tung Yeong on *habeas corpus*, goes fully into the question and admits that there were evasions of the law. He points out, however, what statistics already quoted prove, that the law had not been ineffective. Towards the close of his judgment he says :

"Returns obtained from the Custom House show that from the 4th August, 1882, to the 15th January, 1884, a period of nearly sixteen months, there have arrived in this port 3,415 Chinese persons. During the same period there have departed no less than 17,088."

"It thus appears that not only has the flood of Chinese immigration, with which we were menaced, been stayed, but a process of depletion has been going on which could not be considerably increased without serious disturbance to the established industries of the State. It is stated that the wages of Chinese laborers have advanced from \$1 to \$1.75 per diem — a fact of much significance if true.

"It is much to be regretted that the notion that the law has through its own defects, or the fault of the Courts, proved practically inoperative, has been so widely and persistently disseminated. Such a misapprehension cannot have failed to be injurious to the State, by preventing the immigration of white persons from the East to replace the Chinese who are departing."

The result of the clamour against the Courts, and the fact that the meshes of the law were not sufficiently close, was that an amended Restriction Act was passed July 5th, 1884. This Act, which we give in the Appendix, (as the volume of the Statutes has not at the date of writing come to the Library), is very strict and removes all ambiguity as to the definition of the excluded, and the weaknesses in the certificate from the Chinese government are effectually removed. Still we hear of the persistent Chinaman exchanging, as it were, his blouse for a Spanish cloak and gaining entrance into the United States, notwithstanding one of the most stringent Acts ever passed.

Perhaps, as we have indicated, a mistake has been made in adopting the policy of absolute exclusion. Mr. Briggs, who was one of those who advocated the Restriction Act, says :

"I believe that if the Restriction Act had been modified so that a limited number of those people could have continued to come to this coast, we might have utilized them, and never have felt the opposition we feel to-day to the Chinese. I believe that in our fruit interests it would now be an advantage to have even more than we have. I believe that in some other industries, minor industries, the Chinese would play a part which would be more or less important even to-day if they were to continue to come. With that view, with the idea that we have had a scarcity of labor here, and will probably continue to have during some period of the year, for the next few years, because the industries are developing faster than the population is increasing, their presence would not be altogether undesirable. We are putting forth efforts to secure white labor, and I do not believe the Chinese would play as important a part as white labor if we can secure it. I think the advantage to us, and to the coast, is so greatly in favor of the whites that we can better afford to suffer somewhat from a want of supply, than to encourage them, and still put an obstacle in the way of the whites coming here.

Habeas Corpus.

Appendix Q.

Restriction Act of 1884.

Appendix F.

Questioned.

"Q. What I understand you then to say is, that you think the labor, if properly regulated, would be very useful?—A. It might be, but I cannot believe it would prove ultimately beneficial or desirable.

Widened by the Anti-Chinese.

Mr. Pixley complained that Consul Bee had widened the issue when he spoke of the exclusion of Chinese, and the boldest of those who frowned on them only asked at first for regulation of some kind.

"We desire, if the Commission please, to say that the scope of the argument taken by the friends of the Chinese is broader than we assumed it to be. We have never asked, nor has public opinion gone in the direction of asking, to exclude the Chinese who are now among us from all the rights which they have acquired under the Treaty and under the law. Nor has public opinion gone so far as to exclude any Chinese from coming, but it is more correctly chartered out and represented by the idea of Senator Sargent set forth in his speeches in the Senate of the United States, and Mr. Piper, a member of the Committee on Commerce in the House of Representatives, that Chinese immigration shall be so placed within the power of Congress that it may be regulated and restrained."

That the legislation of Congress in 1884 was not perfect may be gathered from the difficulty which has been found in working it. We give below the remarks of the *American Law Review* * for November 1884, on

Cases which have arisen under Act of 1884.

* "CHINESE RESTRICTION ACT - INTERIM CUSTODY OF IMMIGRANTS. —The recent statute of the United States for the exclusion of Chinese immigrants has overwhelmed the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of California with writs of *habeas corpus*, and has developed much difficulty in its practical operation. The length of time required to investigate the right of the immigrants who had come over on a single ship, and who had been arrested for being unlawfully within the country, was found to be so great that to detain the ship until all could be investigated, for the purpose of compelling it to take back those who should be found to have been brought here contrary to the Act, would produce such injustice and such public and private inconvenience, that it was directed it ought not to be done. Then the question arose, what should be done with the prisoner pending the investigation, and the Courts were of opinion that he was in the custody of the Court and might be committed to the custody of the marshal or admitted to bail. Another difficulty arose touching the question, what should be done with the immigrant who should be found to have been landed in violation of the law, pending the action of the President in removing him from the territory of the United States, at the instance of the United States, as provided for in the 12th section of the Act; and it was held that the statute by implication conferred on the justice, judge, or commissioner, the right to hold the immigrant for a reasonable length of time to await the decision of the President, pending which time he might be committed to the custody of the marshal or admitted to bail (*Matter of Chow Goo Pool*, 1 W. C. Rep., 585; *re Ah Kee* of 4 W. C. Rep., 10). If the right of the petitioner to land or to remain in this country is determined against him, the more difficult question arises: how is he to be sent back to China? The Act provides that he may be sent back at the expense of the transportation company by which he has been brought hither, or at the expense of the United States, and it empowers the Circuit Court of the United States to 'cause' such immigrants 'to be removed.' This it is held, necessarily confers the power to use the necessary means to accomplish the required object. (*Re Chow Goo Pool*, *Supra*; *re Chin Ah Sooy*, 3 W. C. Rep., 603; *re Ah Kee*, *Supra*.) It is accordingly held that the Court has power, when the question has been determined against the petitioner, to

the operation of the Act. It seems to us that a clause might be framed so simple and comprehensive as to do no injustice and prevent the possibility of such waste of money and of the time of the Courts as the present Act in the United States entails.

Mr. Brooks suggested that international difficulties might arise unless the Canadian Government pursued a policy similar to that of the United States. His idea was that Chinamen would come into Canada and cross the line. If they did, we suppose they could be watched as well as smuggled goods.

Probable international difficulties.

We learn from San Francisco newspapers that large numbers of female children are brought in the steamers, and the statements made that they were born in the United States and afterwards removed to China. How these children are procured in China need not be told those who have read how female infants are sold for small sums, nor the objects for which it is sought to import them. That such attempts should be made to evade the law shows how susceptible it is of improvement.

A large number of women also came on board the *Oceanic*, and they, of course, claimed that they were among those excepted from the operation of the Act. "According to Judge Hoffman's order," says the *Call*, "these women and children are taken to a photographer's, their pictures taken in the form of tin-types and they are then allowed to land on bail."

remand him on board the ship to the custody of the master, whether it be the same master or another who has in the meantime taken his place; and if the ship has departed pending the proceeding, that the petitioner can be detained by the marshal, by order of the Court, till the return of the ship, to be then placed on board by the marshal, in the custody of the master, and that it is the duty of the master to receive him and not thereafter to permit him to land. In such case the party has only been provisionally taken from the ship, out of the custody of the master, who detains him in his character as master controlling the ship and not in his individual personal character. He is taken into the custody of the law, solely for the purpose of securing his discharge in case his detention proves to be unlawful. He has not, in contemplation of law, been landed at all. He is still under control. This power to prescribe the interim custody of the prisoner pending an enquiry by *habeas corpus* is necessary to render effective this writ. He may be bailed from day to day, or remanded for safe keeping to the custody from whence he came, or committed to any other safe custody which the Court in its discretion may prescribe. The original commitment, if there be one, is suspended pending the enquiry by *habeas corpus*, and the prisoner to the fullest extent in the custody of the Court (*Rex vs. Bethel*, 5 Mod., 19, 22; *State vs. Sparks*, 27 Tex., 705; *ex parte Ewen*, 7 Tex., App., 230; *re Kaine*, 14 How., U. S., p. 134). Security may be required of his custodians for his forthcoming. (*United States vs. Davis*, 5 Cranch C. C., 622.) No other Court has power over him (*Matter of Hamilton*, 1 Ben, 465), unless it be a Court whose authority is, in respect of the question under enquiry, superior to that of the Court in whose custody he is held. (*Leary's Case*, 6 Abt. N. C., 43, 47.) The *habeas corpus* Acts of many of the States contain provisions which expressly recognize this power. The Court may make such an order as the nature of the case requires. The prisoner may be remanded to the custody of the defendant or placed in such custody as his age or other circumstances may require; or if detained upon a criminal charge, and the character of the charge authorizes it, the Court may take bail from him for his appearance until judgment is given."

Cases under legislation of 1854.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO AND THE STRAITS.

Chinese want of
adventure.

The Chinese who pushed their way into Central Asia, as far as Bokhara and the Khanat of Kokand, never showed any conquering energy or commercial enterprise on sea. Formosa is not twenty leagues from the coast of China; the Philippine Islands not more than one hundred and fifty; yet, it was not until 1661, after Europeans had shown them the way, that they colonized the former. The Philippines were better known to them, because lying in the direct course of the monsoons, and could hardly fail to be touched in the course of voyages to more westerly isles, rich in peculiar luxuries and abounding in those nests* of which the most exquisite soup known to the Chinese palate is made. That, however, no Chinese settlements had been made in those islands is proved by the fact that when discovered by Magellan, or when half a century afterwards, conquered by Legaspi no trace was found of a Chinese population, no relic of Chinese art, or language, or institutions. But that the Chinese traded with the natives from a remote period there can be no doubt.

Jealousy of the
Chinese on the
part of the
Spaniards.

No sooner were the Spaniards established at Manilla than a Chinese rebel appeared with sixty junks bent on a filibustering expedition. He was beaten off. But from this time the Chinese continued to pour in and in half a century numbered 25,000. They established themselves as traders, laborers and mechanics, and notwithstanding the oppressive hand of Spain thrived. They excited the jealousy of the Europeans, to whom their competition became odious. Distrusted and persecuted they naturally became dissatisfied and resentful. When in the year 1593, the Philippine Spaniards fitted out an expedition against the Malaccas, one hundred and fifty Chinamen were pressed as rowers for the Governor's galley, and were held to the oar with stripes. A wind rose and the vice-regal galley was separated from the fleet. It had not got clear of the islands, when the Chinese murdered the Viceroy and crew. In the year

Peculiar
condiments.

The Jesuit Du Halde writes: "The most delicious food of all, and most used at the feasts of great men, are stags' pluckies and birds' nests, which they carefully prepare. To preserve the pluckies they dry them in the sun in summer, and roll them in pepper and nutmeg. Before they are dressed they are soaked in rice water, to make them soft; and, after being boiled in the gravy of a kid, are seasoned with several sorts of spices. As for the nests, they are found in the sides of the rocks, all along the coasts of Tong king, Java, Kochin China, etc., where they are built by birds which, as to their plumage, resemble swallows, and are supposed to make them with the little fishes they catch in the sea. However that be, this is certain: that the birds themselves distil a viscous juice from their beaks, which serves them instead of gum to fasten their nests to the rock. They have also been observed to take the froth that floats on the sea wherewith they cement the parts of their nests together, in the same manner as swallows make use of mud. This matter being dried becomes solid, transparent, and of a color sometimes inclining a little to green, but while fresh it is always white. As soon as the young ones have quitted their nests the people of the place are very eager to get them down, and sometimes load whole barks with them. They resemble the rind of a large candied citron in shape as well as size, and mixed with other meats give them a good relish." — *Du Halde, Vol. I., pp. 302, 303.*

1603, the Emperor of China sent three Mandarins to Manila to learn whether "the fort of Cavite was made of gold," as he had been told. The Spaniards took alarm, said they were spies, and gave out that they were forerunners of an army of 100,000 men. There was no such army. But their presence was connected in the minds of the Spaniards with an insurrection of the Chinese which followed, and when a rich Chinese merchant, who had become a Christian and lived on terms of great intimacy with the Spaniards, undertook to build a stone wall round their quarter the jealousy and hatred of the Spaniards burst into a blaze. They inflamed the populace with the idea that the Chinese had determined to murder the Christians. With the history of Spain in mind, it is easy to imagine the result. It was determined to massacre the Chinese, who retired in fear into the country and made a feeble defence. Twenty three thousand were killed—the remnant escaped to China.

A massacre.

In 1639, thirty six years after the massacre, the Chinese had again increased to the astonishing number of 30,000. Again they excited jealousy. Oppression drove them once more to revolt. They were hunted down and after an irregular struggle for several months, during which more than twenty thousand perished, seven thousand surrendered at discretion. "Manilla," says Crawford, "was reduced to the greatest distress by the loss of so large a portion of its most industrious subjects."

Hunted down.

In 1662, Kwo Sing Kong, who had wrested Formosa from the Dutch, sent a Dominican friar to the Governor of Manilla demanding to be recognized as sovereign of the Philippines. The Spaniards at once ordered all the Chinese off the island. The Chinese either distrusting the motives of the Spaniards or rendered confident by the prestige and prowess of Kwo Sing Kong, flew to arms. The death of Kwo Sing Kong probably saved the island to Spain.

Half a century later the Chinese pressure was again felt by the Spanish colonists. Complaints singularly like those made on the Pacific Coast to day, were urged against them. They came, it was said, under the mask of traders. As traders they became monopolists. They carried off the wealth of the country to China. From being servants they became masters; they beat the Spaniards along the whole line of enterprise. The very form the accusation of monopoly took was an eulogy on Chinese acuteness and enterprise. They were accused of "watching narrowly the wants of the inhabitants and the demand for the different articles of consumption, which they kept back until they rose to their price." In 1709 they were expelled. But, with the persistency of their race, they slowly crept back.

Once more unjustly oppressed.

In 1762, an attack was made on the Philippines by the British. It was planned and executed by Sir William Draper. The plunder of Manilla was the motive, and the East India Company stipulated to get one third of the booty. The English lauded with great bravery and after a gallant resistance took the place. The Chinese made common cause with the English, "gave them every aid and accompanied them in all their expeditions." The oppressive Spaniards could have expected nothing else.

Act with the English.

Java.

The fertility of Java, its commerce and the security afforded by an European Government attracted the Chinese in considerable numbers. The Chinese of Batavia had amassed great wealth. As usual they excited jealousy and the Dutch looked on them with an evil eye.

Chinese and reprisals.

They goaded them with excessive taxation, as Mr. Seward says the Californians have goaded the Chinese in the great Pacific State, and from 1730 forward their oppression took an active form. In 1740, a number of Chinese were forcibly seized and deported to Ceylon. Many of the Chinese in the neighborhood of Batavia flew to arms. They assembled a large force. Acts of violence, excess and cruelty were committed by them. Some of their countrymen in the city were put to the torture and on confessions wrung from the agonized wretches a story of a wicked and long premeditated conspiracy to destroy the Dutch was got up. Between the Chinese and the Dutch troops some small and indecisive actions took place. The Chinese quarter took fire. This, it was said, was intended to mask arrangements to murder the European inhabitants. The Dutch colonists were seized with panic. Then commenced one of the most disgraceful acts recorded in history. A massacre of the Chinese commenced. A few hours after the bloody work had begun the Regent formally authorized it, and directed that none but the women and children should be spared. The Dutch fleet lay at anchor in the roads. The sailors were put on shore to carry out the order. These sea dogs, influenced with rum and lust, burst open the Chinese houses and dragged out the indwellers, who were massacred. These fell, with the fatalistic stoicism of their nation, without offering the smallest resistance. "They made," says the Javanese annalist, "no more resistance than a nest of young mice." Of the Chinese not less than ten thousand fell.

Brutal conduct of Dutch sailors.

Persistence of what yet is an unreasonable cry.

The rest of the Chinese joined the natives, and the effect of Dutch cowardice and cruelty was felt throughout the entire Island of Java. The motive was the same as prompts the agitation in British Columbia, as prompted the Kearney riots in San Francisco, the jealousy and resentment the Chinese never fail to inspire, and the same cry was heard that we hear to day -- "they take the money out of the country." On this cry we have not dwelt, because it seems so absurd. If they make money they have given the country an equivalent in labor, and they have a right to take it where they like. After you have pointed out the absurdity, however, the fact remains that the mass of people wherever the Chinese have settled have sooner or later come to regard them as dangerous intruders. This may be unjust, unreasonable, wholly indefensible, but taken as a fact it cannot be ignored. It is not merely that they do not create confidence; after a time they inspire dread. One reason which will at once suggest itself to the reader of the evidence submitted, their ability -- their usefulness in the humbler fields of labor, their commercial skill, combined with their phenomenal frugality. Nothing succeeds like success, but on the other hand nothing is hated like it, at least by those who think it has

been achieved at their expense. Even Dutch shrewdness was no match for theirs, and Dutch thrift, in theirs, has met its master.

Oliphant shows us how the modern lazy *Mestizo* is outweighed by the energetic and prosperous Chinaman. See Oliphant's
Elgin, vol. 1, p. 78.

From scenes in which so-called civilized Europeans vie with Chinese and Javanese in acts of barbarity, we turn to that which, while accentuating the distinguishing characteristics of the Chinese, shows them to us at the same time in the most pleasing light. We mean Chinese immigration in the straits settlement.

When the graceful dusky race which had immigrated from Menangkaboa to the Malay Peninsula had increased so that the land became scarce, a swarm was thrown off which peopled Singapore. It is probable the Amherst Embassy led to the purchase, in 1818, of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore, to be used as a naval station for the purpose of promoting trade with China. The Chinese show at their best under British rule. We noticed the marked superiority in physique and bearing, and in intelligence of those in Victoria to those in Francisco.

The Chinese population, practically the result of immigration since the British settlement in the Straits, stands next to the Malays in the census of the colony, and at the three stations of Singapore, Penang and Malacca the number over 200,000. They are by far the most industrious and the most valuable people in these possessions. To their enterprise and labor is due the development of the internal resources. "In Singapore all the gambier and pepper produced is of their growth, and the sago is of their manufacture; in Penang and Province Wellesley also the chief plantations are in their hands or worked by them; and in Malacca all the tin, all the sago, and all the tapioca is of their production. Unlike the Malays, they are ambitious and become rich, and though this ambition has generally its origin in the desire to return to China in affluent circumstances, yet our possessions not the less benefit by their labor, and while many never attain the full realization of their aspirations, others as they grow rich become attached to the country and its laws, seek wives from among the comely daughters of the soil, and abandon all idea of returning to their native land." The tonnage that passes through Singapore is, it is claimed, second only to that of Liverpool. Cameron's Mala-
van India, pp.
138-143.

The following paragraph shows that the Chinaman in the Straits Settlements is precisely the same as the Chinaman in California and British Columbia:—

"The proportion, however," continues Mr. Cameron, "of those who may be said to have permanently settled down is small, and the yearly addition to the Chinese population from birth altogether insignificant. The number is kept up entirely by immigration. During the months of December, January, February, March, April, fleets of junks crammed with Chinese coolies arrive at all the ports in the Straits from the different provinces of China. In Singapore the arrivals for the first four months of the present year (1864) were 8,560 males and 109 females, But a small pro-
portion settle
down.

and for the whole year about 14,000, which is not much above the average of other years. Were this immigration in no way counterbalanced, the Chinese population of the Straits would soon become enormous, but it may be estimated that those who yearly return to China number quite two-thirds of the arrivals."

Contracts.

The manner in which this Chinese immigration is carried on, and the contracts by which the men are bound down are most unsatisfactory, so many years of labor being pledged, but those upon which the females are brought into the country are still more deplorable: young girls from twelve years old and upwards being retained, as we have seen is the case in San Francisco, in forced courtesanship to a population where the males are as fifteen to one of the females. "Thanks, however," says Mr. Cameron, "to the demand for labor and its high reward on the one hand, and to the demand for wives on the other, neither condition of bondage endures long.

Encroaching character of the Chinese.

"The character of the Chinese has frequently been described, and no change of scene or circumstances seems materially to affect it. They have attained a high civilization of their own sort, and this keeps, and I think always will keep them distinct from the other peoples with whom they mingle. I have met them in the most out of the way islands in the Archipelago, where, perhaps, a dozen of them had formed a settlement, and had gradually monopolized the trade of a people numbering many thousands, without any concession in dress, in religion, or in manners; they were the same in every respect as are to be found in Java, in the Straits, and in the seaports of their own country. There are good and bad among them; the best have bad points, and the worst a few redeeming ones; it is only as their characters and manners affect them as an element in the population of the Straits that I have anything to say.

Love of home.

"One of the characteristics they seem to carry with them into whatever country they may adventure, is a strong love of home, not a patriotic attachment to China generally, but a love for the province, the town, and the very homestead from which they come. This involves many good and amiable qualities -- a kindly regard for all who may belong to the same province or district, and a constant industry and a careful economy, that they may by a yearly remittance testify to their relations they have left behind at home that they do not forget them. But from this very love of home and country springs the great evil which marks the Chinese population of the Straits. China is divided into many large provinces, with nationalities as distinct as the different states of Europe, and this is no exaggeration, for the inhabitants of each speak a different language. Between these, from time out of mind, have jealousies existed and feuds been carried on; the people of the one are born and reared up in the hatred of the other, and those jealousies are not obliterated by emigration.

Feuds.

In the Straits the emigration not confined to Kuang Tong.

"The Chinese who arrive in the Straits come from several of these distinct provinces; and the people of each find themselves, for the first time in

"their lives, thrown together in a town or in a district where they must lay aside at least all outward display of enmity.

"Instead of forgetting their national prejudices or postponing their indulgence of them till their return to China, the people of each province clan together and form a hoey or secret society. The avowed object of these hoeyes is to afford mutual protection, but they are often used for the infliction of wrong, and have been found a great stumbling-block to the perfect administration of justice in the law courts of the Straits. The form of admittance to these societies is sufficiently solemn in the eyes of the Chinese, and the oaths administered sufficiently binding, to afford security against the disclosure of their organization, and always to obtain implicit obedience to their mandates. Every candidate for admission is led blindfold to the hall where sit the officers of the society; all the doors are guarded by men dressed in rich silk robes, and armed with swords.

Cameron's
Malayan India,
p. 112.

Secret societies.

"A few preliminary questions are put to the candidate, when he is led into the centre of the hall and the bandage removed from his eyes. He is then forced to worship in silence for half an hour before any oaths are administered to him. After this a priest comes up, and opening a large book swears in the candidate: "You have come uninfluenced by fear, by persuasion, or by love of gain, to become a brother; will you swear before God to reveal nothing that you see and hear this night, and to obey all orders you receive from the society, and to observe its laws?" On the candidate's solemnly affirming to this, the laws of the society are read out, each being separately sworn to. Some of the chief of these, for they are very numerous, are:—

"You shall not reveal the proceedings of the society to any but a brother."

"You shall not cheat or steal from a brother, nor seduce his wife, his daughter, or his sister."

"If you do wrong or break these laws you shall come to the society to be punished, and not go to the authorities of this country."

"If you commit murder or robbery, you shall be dismissed for ever from the society, and no brother will receive you."

"If a brother commits murder or robbery you shall not inform against him; but you shall not assist him to escape, nor prevent the officers of justice from arresting him."

Administration
of Justice.

"If a brother is arrested and condemned, and is innocent, you shall do all you can to effect his escape."

"A number of signs by which the members may recognize one another are also communicated. The whole ceremony has a strongly religious aspect, and the hall of meeting is furnished very much as their temples are. Nor would there be much cause to complain of the influence of these societies were their rules conscientiously adhered to, and the exercise of power by their head men confined to the settlement of disputes between the members, or to the punishment of petty crimes. Or, could there be but one society to the whole Chinese population, its influence

Chinese turbulent
when strong.

" might be equally harmless. But each nationality has one or more societies
" of its own, and they keep alive all that rancor and clan jealousy which
" is imported from China. The Chinese riots of 1854 were originated and
" maintained by the power of these societies, and almost all the fights which
" so frequently take place in the streets of Singapore are due to the party
" spirit which they foster.

Chinese evidence
unreliable.

" The manner in which they interfere with our administration of justice
" is very deplorable, as it renders Chinese evidence on oath a most unreli-
" able test, in any case where members of rival hoeyes are concerned, or
" where the heads of a society have prejudged the matter for or against a
" culprit; in these cases, every means is deemed legitimate to bring about
" the purposes of the hoey. A case strongly illustrative of this occurred in
" Singapore many years ago. A murder had been perpetrated, and three
" men were charged with the crime before the police magistrate, on the evi-
" dence of an eye witness. The prisoners were committed, and on the day
" of trial at the Supreme Court the principal witness stepped into the
" box, declared to having seen the murder committed, and gave all the
" details which had been taken down by the magistrate. The man was about
" finishing his evidence when the magistrate himself happened to come into
" court, and, looking narrowly at the features of the witness, declared to the
" recorder that he did not believe he was the same man who had appeared
" before him at the police court. A strict enquiry was made, and at last
" the witness confessed that the man who had seen the murder and given
" evidence before the police had run away, and that he was told to take his
" place and say what he had said. The recorder ordered him to be taken at
" once to the bridge across the river, and there receive six dozen. No
" doubt one hoey, on behalf of the prisoners, had procured the deportation
" of the original witness, and another, determined that justice should not
" be defeated, had obtained this substitute.

Personating
witnesses.

Evil influence
of these societies.

" Were it not for the evil influence of these societies the Chinese would
" be unexceptionable, as they certainly are very valuable citizens; but as
" it seems that these institutions are ineradicably planted among them, I
" think they might be taken advantage of to introduce a system of registra-
" tion, so much required among this section of the population of the
" Straits.

Secret societies
ineradicably
planted among
them.

Cameron's "Mala-
yan India," p. 41.

" But many of the junks which lie quietly at anchor there, in the harbor
" of Singapore, could, if they had the power to speak, tell sad tales of
" human suffering. The chief trade of not a few of them is the traffic of
" human freight, and it is unfortunately of such a generally remunerative
" character as to leave but little hope of its voluntary abandonment. The
" demand for labor, and the wages paid in Singapore, are so considerable,
" as to induce a large number of junks yearly to sail from China with men,
" picked up and stowed away on board, under what misrepresentations it
" is very difficult to say, and on arrival they are kept on board till a bar-
" gain for their employment is effected. It appears that no passage money
" is demanded from these emigrants before leaving China, but that they are

"made to pledge so many years of their labor on the condition of bare sus-
 "tenance only. Large premiums, at least five or six times the mere cost of
 "passage are at once offered by the gambier and pepper planters of the
 "island for the transfer of these contracts; and when the bargain is struck
 "the coolies are hurried off to some isolated clearance in the midst of the
 "jungle, before they can have communication either with the authorities
 "or with their own countrymen in town. It is not, however, by the en-
 "durance of cruelty or of unreasonably long terms of servitude, when the
 "men are arrived, that the laws of humanity are in much danger of viola-
 "tion. One or two years at most, and the new arrivals become acquainted
 "with their rights as English subjects and with the knowledge how to en-
 "force them. The danger is in the overcrowding of the vessels that bring
 "them; in this the poor fellows have not even the protection that is secured
 "to the African slave, in so far that by their death, though there may be a
 "loss of profit, there can be none of capital to the shipper. The men cost
 "nothing, and the more the shipper can cram into his vessel the greater
 "must be his profit. It would be a better speculation for the trader,
 "whose junk could only carry properly 300 men, to take on board 600,
 "and lose 250 on the way down, than it would be for him to start with his
 "legitimate number and land them all safely; for, in the first case, he
 "would bring 350 men to market, and in the other only 300. That this
 "process of reasoning is actually put in practice by the Chinese there was
 "not long ago ample and very mournful evidence to prove. Two of these
 "passenger junks had arrived in the harbor, and had remained unnoticed
 "for about a week, during which the owners had bargained for the engage-
 "ment of most of their cargo. At this time two dead bodies were found
 "floating in the harbor; an inquest was held, and it then transpired that
 "one of these two junks, on her way down from China, had lost 250 men
 "out of 600, and the other 200 out of 400. The bodies upon which the
 "coroner's inquest was held were two of the sickly passengers, who had
 "died after arrival, and whose corpses the owners, forgetful that they were
 "now in harbor, had tossed into the wafer, as doubtless they daily had the
 "bodies of their companions on the voyage from China. It is needless to
 "say that no Europeans are in any way engaged in this traffic.

Immigration of
Coolie labor and
its hardships.

"They first combine among themselves to get as much out of each other
 "as they possibly can, and when practicable to monopolize trade and rule
 "the markets; and then, feeling the strength of their own organization, the
 "societies set up laws for the rule and protection of their members, and in
 "defiance of the local Government. The congsee, or guild, thus drifts
 "from a purely commercial into a semi-commercial, semi-political league,
 "and more than once has menaced the power of petty states, by making
 "efforts to throw off the yoke which rested so lightly on its shoulders. The
 "disturbances at Perak are the latest development of this tendency, and
 "we have had many previous instances of the same insubordination in
 "Penang, and elsewhere.

Thomson's
"Straits of Ma-
lacca, Indo China,
and China," p. 14.

Guilds.

Fouls of immi-
grants imported.
Thomson's
"Malacca, &c.,"
p. 15.

Emigrate from
Qwang-Tung.

Penang.

Ibid.
pp. 44 to 48.
Guilds.

Effect of secret
societies in pre-
venting the detec-
tion of crime.

"Nor are these the only dangers; the fouls of the immigrants are im-
ported with them, and break out again as soon as they have set foot on
foreign soil. Thus, in Penang not long ago, there were two Chinese
societies, known as, if I remember aright, the Hilum and Hokien congsoes,
that is the Hainan and Fukien societies. The members of the one were
all men from the island of Hainan in Qwang-Tung, and the other men
from the Fukien Province. The two Provinces are said, at an early
period in Chinese history, to have formed independent states, and the
dialects spoken are still so widely different, that natives of Qwang-Tung
are looked upon by the lower orders in the Fukien country as foreigners.
I was present on one occasion in Penang at a village which, on the pre-
vious night, had been sacked and burned by the members of an opposing
clan, and it required strong measures to put down these faction fights.

"Guilds and secret societies would seem almost indispensable to the
individual existence and social cohesion of the Chinese who settle them-
selves in foreign lands. If this were not really the case, it would be hard
to say why we tolerate native institutions of this sort in the Straits settle-
ments at all, for they have proved themselves, and still continue to be,
the cause of constant trouble to the Government. Avowedly established
to aid the Chinese in holding their own, not in commercial circles only,
but politically against the authorities, and to set our laws, if need be, at
defiance, it can nevertheless hardly be doubted that some of the rules laid
down for the guidance of their members are good ones, and embody pro-
cepts of the highest moral excellence; but other most objectionable in-
structions are to be met with, of which the following affords a good exam-
ple, and from it we may perceive the reason why our officials, both in the
Straits and in China, are so often baffled in detecting crime. If a brother
commits murder or robbery, you shall not inform against him, but
you shall not assist him to escape, nor prevent the officers of justice from
arresting him. In connection with the foregoing, let us take another of
their regulations. If you do wrong, or break these laws, you shall come
to the society to be punished, and not go to the authorities of the country.
From the two specimens here given, we can get some insight into the
obstacles which the Chinese secret societies manage to raise up to shield
offenders from justice. So far as my half score of years experience goes,
I believe that under the rule first quoted a Chinaman is clearly enjoined
to conceal the facts of a brother's crime even in a court of law; and as
perjury on behalf of a friend is esteemed an undoubted sign of high moral
rectitude, and as in our courts a false witness has no torture to dread, no
rack nor thumbscrews, the successful disclosers of secrets in China, he
lies without let or hindrance, and thus the all-powerful society so effect-
ually conceals a member's guilt as to render Chinese testimony practically
useless.

"These societies are imitations of similar institutions in every Province
of the Chinese Empire, where the gentry combine to resist the oppression

“ of a despotic government, and the peasantry unite in clans and guilds
 “ to limit the power of local officials and of the gentry, and to promote
 “ their own commercial and social interests. The Chinaman, however poor
 “ he may be, has great faith in the infinite superiority of his own country,
 “ government and people, over all others ; and when he emigrates to some
 “ foreign land he at once unites in solemn league with his clansman to resist
 “ what he honestly deems its barbarous laws and usages. He has no belief
 “ in a liberal and pure form of administration. After years spent, it may
 “ be, in some English colony or in America, he will yet be unable to shake
 “ off the feeling that he, in a great measure, owes his success abroad to the
 “ protecting influence of some powerful clan or guild.

Self-complacency.

In a foreign land unites to resist.

“ Such societies were at the bottom of the disturbances that threatened
 “ Singapore in 1872, and the principal rioters concerned on that occasion
 “ were of the class described as the “ Sam-Sings,” or fighting men, whereof
 “ each society has always a certain number in its pay.

Riots and Singapore in 1872.

“ The immediate cause of these riots was the enforcement, for the first
 “ time, of a new ordinance, designed to regulate or ‘ suppress,’ as the Chi-
 “ nese chose to believe, a certain class of street hawkers. These hawkers,
 “ always useful, if not always innocent members of a Chinese community
 “ in Singapore and elsewhere in the East, naturally felt aggrieved at having
 “ the prospects of their livelihood curtailed. Some of them went so far as
 “ to resist the rough interference of the police. Their case was taken up

Thomson's "Malacca &c.," p. 46.

Fighting men.

“ by the fighting men in various quarters of the town, the Sam Sings, whom
 “ Mr. Whampoa (an old Chinese gentleman for many years resident in
 “ Singapore) thus describes : — ‘ They live by looting, and are on the watch
 “ for any excuse for exercising their talents. Each hoe, or society, must
 “ have so many of them, but I do not know any means of ascertaining
 “ their number. I suppose they are paid by the hoecs and brothels. They
 “ are regular fighting people, and are paid so much a month. If there is
 “ any disturbance, these people go out in looting parties ; whether ordered

There would seem to be a class of fighting men — “braves.”

Criminals.

Headmen.

“ by the head men or not, I cannot say ; perhaps they do it on their own
 “ account.’ From the same report I gather that such characters are at the
 “ present time plentiful, as they have been driven out of the neighborhood
 “ of Swatow, in the south of China. In a previous work, I have noticed
 “ the disturbed state of a part of the Province of Qwang-Tung, and the
 “ strong measures taken by ‘ Juilin,’ the present Governor General of the

Criminals driven out of China.

“ two Kwang, for the restoration of order. But some of the lawless
 “ vagabonds who escaped the vengeance of Juilin have settled in Singapore
 “ and other British possessions, and there under the protecting wings of
 “ their guilds they obtain frequent and lucrative employment in the shape
 “ of pillage or perhaps murder. At first sight it seems strange that the
 “ Sam-Sings should find scope for their villainies in a British colony ; even
 “ greater scope, one would be apt to imagine, than they find under the
 “ corrupt government of their own disorganized land.

Find more protection under British rule than under the corrupt government of their own disorganized land.

“ But any disinterested observer who has travelled through China will

Scum of population.

Parents punished for criminal children.

In a foreign city a Chinese criminal enjoys the countenance of his countrymen.

Thomson's "Malacca," etc., pp. 64, 65.

Why wealthy Chinamen are not robbed.

Coolness of Chinese burglars.

Chinese crime.

"agree with me in this: that however far behind in other respects, the
 "Tartar rulers, when it suits their convenience (except when the population
 "is in actual revolt), know very well how to deal with and keep down
 "marauders with a very strong hand; so much so is this the case, indeed,
 "that the scum of the population is frequently driven to seek refuge in
 "emigration to more congenial climes. One element which operates suc-
 "cessfully in maintaining order in China is the superstitious reverence
 "which the Chinese have for their parents. Should a son commit a crime
 "and abscond, his parents are liable to be punished in his stead. This law,
 "even supposing it were put in force in a foreign land, would not affect the
 "immigrants, as they seldom bring their wives or parents with them; and
 "to this fact alone—the absence, that is, of the strong family ties held so
 "sacred by the race—we may attribute much of the difficulty encountered
 "by our authorities in dealing with the crime and vice of this section of the
 "population. It must also be borne in mind that a Chinese ruffian, who
 "would soon be brought to justice (unless he could purchase immunity) if
 "he were practising on his countrymen in a Chinese city, enjoys, on the
 "contrary, the countenance and support of his compatriots in a town such
 "as Singapore. For there he commits his depredations on men of foreign
 "extraction; and the avenger of blood from whom he is hidden away is,
 "after all, only an officer of those 'white devils,' whom it is the China-
 "man's delight anywhere and everywhere to oppose.

"If we know nothing of Chinese clanship and Chinese guilds, we should
 "think it strange that the wealthier Chinamen are rarely made the victims
 "of the great gang robberies that, during my time, used frequently to occur.
 "These robberies are perpetrated by bands of ruffians, numbering at times
 "as many as a hundred strong, who surround and pillage a house that is
 "always the residence of a foreigner. Chinese thieves are thorough experts
 "at their profession, adopting the most ingenious devices to attain their
 "infamous ends. I recollect a burglary which once took place at a friend's
 "house, when the thief found his way into the principal bedroom and deli-
 "berately used up half a box of matches before he could get the candle to
 "light. His patience being rewarded at last, he proceeded with equal cool-
 "ness in the plunder of the apartment, not forgetting to search beneath
 "the pillow, where he secured a revolver and a watch. These Chinese rob-
 "bers are reported to be able to stupefy their victims by using some nar-
 "cotic known only to themselves. I have no doubt this was done in the
 "case just referred to, by the agency of the Chinese house-servants, who,
 "perhaps, introduced the drug to my friend's bed.

"Chinese, when it suits their purpose, do not stick at trifles, as may be
 "gathered from the fact that a Chinaman, esteemed a respectable member
 "of society attempted, on one occasion, to poison the whole foreign com-
 "munity of Hong-Kong with the bread he supplied. The Malays have
 "told me of cases where, as they averred, the cunning Chinese thief passes
 "the doorway of the house to be pillaged, and tosses in a handful of rice

"impregnated with some aromatic drug. This drug soon sends the inmates off into a deep repose from which they will seldom awaken till long after the robber has finished his undertaking, and that in the complete and deliberate style which suits the taste of the Chinese.

"I have been," says Mr. Westgarth, "to Singapore, as well as he, and I have noticed the excellent bearing of the Chinese, so much so that I do not see how Singapore could get on without them; in fact it may be called a British colony based upon Chinese labor. It is a prosperous colony, the labor element depending entirely, or all but existing, upon Chinamen. We might say the same of other such colonies. We must remember there are two classes of colonies in our Empire. There is the tropical colony, where our race cannot live as the general laboring population, and where we must have other races. There is again a colony of the British race."

Proceedings of
Royal Colonial
Institute, Vol. ix,
p. 67.

"It is," says Mr. Tidman, "twenty years since I first knew the Chinese, and I have seen them as colonists in three distinct European communities. First, in Borneo, under the Rajah, then Sir James Brooke; next, in the Straits settlements; and lastly, in the Dutch Islands of Java. I have had much to do with him in my capacity as magistrate, merchant, manufacturer, planter, and miner, and my knowledge of them in one capacity has verified my experience of them in another. I do not hesitate to say that they are pre eminent among Asiatics for frugality, enterprise, and indomitable energy." He goes on to say that the Chinaman comes of a race that is law respecting.

Ibid. p. 57.

"The morality of no people that I know of," says Cameron, "varies so much with their circumstances as that of the Chinese. From among the poorer and lower orders our criminal calendars are chiefly filled; they supply all sorts of offenders, thieves and housebreakers in the greatest number; nor do they appear to be very straightforward in their dealings with one another. The upper classes — those that have grown rich — on the other hand, leave behind them nearly all their vices, and lead a life distinguished by outward prosperity. * * But when we remember that nearly all the industry and much of the enterprise of the Straits is due to it; that it furnishes good hard working coolies and persevering, adventurous traders, the Chinese element in the population of these settlements is entitled to be esteemed among the most valuable."

Chinese character

Crime.

Cameron's Malay-
an India, p. 116.

When rich leave
their vices.

We have given above the words of eye witnesses. It is, in the nature of evidence, and the reason we have not condensed or described it is obvious.

THE CHINESE IN OUR SISTER COLONIES.

A tide which ebbs and flows.

The Chinese population in every foreign country is a tide which ebbs and flows—now rolls forward from and again sweeps back to its parent sea in China ; but, so long as there is profit to be made, ever gains on the land. An increase or decrease in this population has hardly any reference to births or deaths. A comparison between the Chinese population in any country, therefore, from the end of one decade to that of another will indicate whether immigration is on the increase or decrease. Mr. Briggs' tables (page 12) shows a falling off in arrivals at San Francisco, from 27,404 to 3,536, as the result of the Restriction Act of 1882. This, of course, was certain to happen. Each of the 3,536 speaking roughly must either have been in the United States before the new policy, or must have imposed a fraud on the collector of the port, in regard to which some evidence was taken by the Joint Committee.

Legislation against Chinese in Australia since 1855.

When we look at Australian legislation we find that in 1855 an Act was passed in Victoria limiting the number of Chinese arriving to one for every ten ton the ship could carry, and imposing a rate of ten pounds sterling per head.* Yet between 1854 and 1857, according to the census returns, the number of Chinese had increased from 2,000 to 25,370. The increase is due to the natural impulse of the Chinese immigration at that time operating, but no doubt the number was swelled by the determination to get in before the Act came into operation, as we have seen was the case in California. In 1857, a Committee took evidence on Chinese immigration, and reported that the business which some 40,000 Chinamen brought to the colony was no adequate compensation for the amount of gold (120,000 ounces), which they were annually abstracting from the wealth of the country. If the figure 40,000 was correct, between the date of the census, March, 1857, and November, a great increase had taken place. Some restriction the Committee said was necessary,† and they reported in favor of a bill having license clauses really aimed against the Chinaman on the gold fields. In New South Wales, in 1861, a Restriction Act was passed, and in 1864 an act consolidating the laws affecting Chinese immigration was passed in Victoria, which like the former act imposed £10 (\$50) per head import duty on Chinese, and the number limited to one for every ten ton a vessel could carry, and though this Act was repealed in 1865 it was by an Act which gave most extensive powers to the Governor in Council. There soon followed a striking decrease in the number of Chinese arriving in that colony. In 1871, there were 17,935 Chinamen in Victoria ; in 1881, only 12,128. Of these, two-thirds lived in counties, and one-third in cities ; 621 in Melbourne ; 518 in Sandhurst ; 382 in Ballarat. The largest number in any one shire was

*Acts of Council.—Adamson, Vol. I., p. 714.

Victoria Votes and Proceedings, 1850-57, Legislative Council. See also Statistical Notes on Progress of Victoria, p.p. 30, 51.

746, in Grenville. So diffused, the Chinaman can hardly offend the most vigorous mongolophobic. In all the Australian Colonies, there were in 1881, only 43,400. In 1859, nearly that number was in Victoria alone.

See census of Victoria, 1881. Assembly 3, 2nd Session, 1881.

The Chinese immigration, as elsewhere, is in the Australian Colonies male. In all these Colonies there are but 362 Chinese females, or only a fractional part of a woman to every 100 men, the exact ratio being 1.84 to the 100.

The standard of comfort, as elsewhere, is low. In Victoria, 6,832 live in houses; 5,122 in huts; 154 in tents; 12 camping out, and 8 in boats.

Standard of comfort low.

The religious condition is not bright, yet Christianity has made some progress. Of the Chinese in Victoria, Australia, 92 per cent are pagans. Of the remainder: 375 Church of England; 81 Presbyterians; 229 Methodists; 5 baptists; 6 Bible Christians; 132 Roman Catholics. One hundred and fifty-six refused to state their religion, and on enquiry it turned out they were afraid of persecution. Those who have read the interesting account of Hue's travels in China will remember how he encountered converts who revealed themselves secretly, and who feared to make an open profession of their faith.

Religion.

The facts respecting Chinese education in Victoria are not discouraging. Students under twenty, including half castes, number 494 - of whom 286 are boys and 208 girls. Of the boys, eighty-four, or 29 per cent., and of the girls seventy-three, or 35 per cent. were, in 1881, receiving an English education. Of the 157 being educated, eighty-five were attending State and ten private schools. A few could read and write English. There may, perhaps, in some of these schools rise up a Chinese Cadmus to give his people an alphabet.

Educational conditions not discouraging.

It is curious to note that of the 12,000 Chinamen in Victoria only 12 describe themselves as laborers; 6,603 put themselves down as miners; 2,233 as farmers, market gardeners, station servants, and the rest distribute themselves amongst a variety of callings.

Occupations.

One of the witnesses examined at San Francisco said, the Chinese were healthy, owing to their temperance. Another said he did not think they were a long lived race. In Victoria it was found, in 1881, that one in every eighty-one was disabled by sickness; one in every 6,000 deaf and dumb; one in every 1,000 blind, and one in 140 lunatic. These figures show that the Chinese suffered less than the general population from each description of infirmity except insanity.

Health.

The Chinese would seem to have, in some instances, intermarried with the whites in Victoria, because we find by the census of 1881 that there were 169 half castes, mostly the offspring of Chinese fathers and of mothers of European birth or extraction. If we suppose these children to be found in families and give three to a family, then you have fifty-six instances of miscogenation in Victoria. We saw at Victoria, British Columbia, a young half-caste with the Mongol hair and a blue Saxon eye.

Miscogenation.

Of the 12,128 Chinese in Victoria, in 1881, 7,840 or 65 per cent. were on the gold fields. This is a much smaller percentage than at former

Immigration to
Victoria falling
off.

periods. In 1871, 90 per cent., and in 1861 97 per cent. of the Chinese population were on the gold fields. Taking the Chinese population in 1861 at 42,000, this percentage would give us 33,180 on the gold fields and 8,820 in other employments. Since 1861 the "import duty" and licenses have been operating and besides Queensland has come to the front as a desirable place in which to look for gold, and is nearer to China.

In Queensland, though a very young colony, there are 11,206 Chinese and Cooktown district is almost entirely Mongolian. In New Zealand, there are 4,995 Chinese.

Mr. Reeves in a speech in the New Zealand Parliament in 1878, in which he moved that the House was of opinion that immediate legislation should take place on the subject of Chinese immigration, quoted a portion of a letter from a friend in Cooktown which runs as follows:

The Chinaman in
Queensland a
serious fact.

"The Chinese question is becoming one of very serious import here. It is no use denying the fact that the Chinese are gradually and surely elbowing the white population out of Northern Queensland. The European population here have urged and still are urging the Government to take steps to prevent the influx of Chinese into the colony. You may depend on it that if something is not speedily done to check the immigration of Chinese it will lead to riot and bloodshed, and probably the loss of many valuable lives;" and he goes on to cry God help New Zealand, which was menaced with a touch of the "Yellow Agony."

An undesirable
neighbor.

On the 11th December, 1877, a paper was read before the Royal Colonial Institute, by Arthur Macalister, Esq., C. M. G., Agent General for Queensland, in which he gives a graphic account of the condition of things among the miners in Queensland, at that time.* Hardy English colonists and no Chinese meant life and property secure. The entire European population in the Cook and Palmer districts do not number more than 5,000 all told, for the most part composed of gold diggers. To the Palmer River diggings for nearly eighteen months previously the Chinese flocked until it was computed there was not less than 30,000 of them on the gold fields. The essayist says that had the Chinese come into the colony in the ordinary course of immigration no complaint would have been heard. But they come in an army captained by bosses; not as colonists but to capture the auriferous deposits in the gold fields and decamp. He then goes on to show how unpleasant a camping neighbor is this Chinaman whom he describes as both a thief and a liar and henceforth good bye to security in the camp.

Frugality, enter-
prise and energy.

In the course of the discussion which followed, several gentlemen well acquainted with the Chinese spoke, some on one side and some on the other. Those who advocated Chinese immigration did so because of their character, on grounds of international law, and on general principles.

*Queensland imitated that year the example set by New South Wales in 1861. See clauses 3 and 4, "The Chinese Immigrants Regulation Act of 1877."—*Acts of Parliament, Queensland, 41 Vic., No. 8.*

Mr. Tidman, who saw much of them, says they are preeminent among Asiatics for "frugality, enterprise, and indomitable energy." He tells us he was astonished to find the disturbances in the Straits spoken of as insurrections, whereas they were only "faction fights—clan disputes, such as were common enough in Scotland years ago, and we know to this hour in Ireland." In another place he says: "The secret of the government of the Chinese is government through their head men." This is a very important statement as bearing on the character of Chinamen as guests in large numbers. It comes from a man who has known them well, and who even advocates settling Queensland with Chinamen.

Government through their headmen.

Sir Francis Murphy, of the colony of Victoria, gave a brief history of the Chinese question in that colony. He says after a time it was found that "the dangers which we apprehended from the influx of Chinese at first were greatly exaggerated." He points to an experience which has been duplicated elsewhere, namely: that the Chinese proved very manageable, and really came as gleaners in the wake of other miners. "They worked upon ground that the diggers had abandoned as useless. They learned from them, moreover, how to till the ground with skill and minuteness, which we had not the patience to do in Australia, and successfully to get even from barren soil many products necessary for animal life, such as vegetables—an occupation that few of the European population engaged in themselves at that time. And to this day a large proportion of the people derive their vegetables and garden produce from Chinese labor." He adds, however: "But there is no doubt many evils have resulted from the introduction of a low class of Chinese, the dregs of the seaside Chinese towns, who are brought to work as slaves."

Dangers apprehended from influx of Chinese exaggerated.

Market gardeners.

This gentleman bears testimony to the high character of the Chinese merchants whom he had met in Victoria.

Then, on the other hand comes Mr. Kelsey, of Queensland. At the time when the North Queensland gold fields were opened there were many thousands of Anglo Saxons scattered over hundreds of square miles. But prior to "the Chinese invasion," a score of policemen spread over this wide district was sufficient. The miner after washing up his gold put the results in a tin panikin and left it by the water side. He then went back two or three miles, as the case might be, to get some more wash dirt. The Anglo-Saxon drinks, maybe, and fights and swears, but he will not steal; but the moment that the first hordes of Chinese arrived the European lost small things and valuables, and felt that he could not leave his camp, where were all his worldly possessions. No longer could he go away leaving his goods, and possibly wife and child, unprotected. "Chinamen are like a flock of sheep. You might see a suspicious Celestial lounging about your camp, but if anything is stolen you cannot tell him from any other Chinaman, all of the lower and criminal classes being as much alike in face as one black sheep is to another." The result is the digger hardly dares to go to look for gold. In Melbourne and San Francisco, he says, almost pathetically, there are "Chinese quarters," and all that people in

The Chinese miner in Queensland.

Wholesale Chinese immigration in Queensland a dangerous and cruel thing.

either place need see of the Chinamen is when he comes to take away the washing. "But the wearied digger finds when he comes to his humble home that Chinamen are squatting all round his camp, prepared to rob him of goods and comfort." Until Queensland is rich and old enough to provide an army of police, he says, "wholesale immigration from China is a dangerous and cruel thing. It would stop the progress of a prospering part of a splendid colony, if swamped by Chinese criminals, landing in great numbers at this present time."

Mr. Westgarth, whose colony (Victoria) was the first, to have "the Mongolian invasion," and who was a member of a Commission in 1854, to enquire into the immigration of the Chinese to the gold fields tells us how while the Commissioners were sitting four cargoes of Chinese arrived.

All China coming.

"The Commission were very much astonished a tovertaking on their way to the gold-fields, as I recollect, a whole cargo travelling up the great highway to the Castlemain diggings; and afterwards, when they came to Ballarat and the other gold-fields, were no less so to look down upon the dense masses of the Chinese, busy after their old fashion at gold washing."

Ten thousand were then in the colony, and it was said "all China was coming." Later on, however, he repeated what Sir Francis Murphy had said, that their fears proved to some extent groundless. The influx of Chinese was much less than was expected. All this is very important. These men are old colonists speaking of a time of panic—if the word is not too strong—not dissimilar to that which prevails in certain places at this moment. Much of the apprehension arose from the "very miscellaneous and bad lot of Chinese" which first came. "We found that in Victoria—and I am sure they found it in Queensland even more—when on the Palmer diggings there were, within a brief time, as many as 30,000 Chinamen." Mr. Westgarth proceeds to say, what at this hour should be pondered by every man who would discuss this question with an approach to a statesmanlike spirit:

30,000 Chinamen in the Palmer diggings.

An indigestible mass.

"The great objection to a large influx of Chinamen, or of any other extremely foreign element, is that it is an indigestible mass in the midst of a society with which it can never amalgamate in a political and general sense; and that was the feeling which, if I recollect rightly, weighed upon the Gold Commission of which I was a member. This high social consideration is really what we ought to look at, and not be bandying accusations against the Chinese that they are this, that, or the other that is bad."

Effects of the Chinese Acts in Victoria.

The Chinese had good points. Nobody ever saw a Chinaman drunk. *En revanche* he was often intoxicated with opium.

Mr. Labillière then spoke. In the course of his speech he said he remembered the passing of the Chinese Acts in Victoria. The effect was most beneficial. "It checked the stream of Chinese inundation" and Chinamen going back to China reported to their countrymen: "You cannot go there in too great numbers because there is this legislation to prevent you." Within a short time the Chinese flood had taken the

direction of Queensland; "and the Government of that Colony has most wisely followed that remedial course of policy which was so successful in Victoria." A wholesome lesson would have been taught the Chinese that they must not convert Australia into "a dependency of the Chinese Empire." Mr. Tidman had told them that it would be a most advisable thing to people Northern Australia with Chinese as Singapore had been peopled.

"I admit" he goes on "that by introducing within the next ten years as many millions of Chinamen into Queensland or other parts of Australia, you might develop the resources of Australia to an extent to which they would not otherwise attain in fifty years; but is it desirable that we should accelerate the progress of Australia at the expense of the future nationality of Australia. Is it desirable in order that a few men may make fortunes the whole type and character of the population of that great continent should be fixed and moulded forever? I think, unless we are to be so tremendously cosmopolitan as to deny the superiority of our own race altogether, and to say that the Chinaman is as good as the Englishman, or perhaps a good deal better, then, I think it is essential that we should at once face this question and say that a Chinese inundation shall not be tolerated in Australia."

Must look to the future

One thing is worth noticing about this Australian evidence—for it is as good evidence as if it was taken by examination—namely, the exact similarity of position and tone to those taken by men in San Francisco and British Columbia to day. The Chinaman seems to be the same everywhere, and the advocates of his advent or his restriction or exclusion use the very same words whether they live in Melbourne, or London, or San Francisco. In San Francisco, the moment a man proved himself strongly pro Chinese you might be certain that in a few minutes he would abuse the Irish; and so in the course of this colonial debate we find a Mr. Strangways who says that any cry against the Chinese is sure to have an Irish origin. He has no sympathy with those who would keep out Chinese labor in the interest of white labor, but, like other pro Chinese, he would be opposed to allowing the country to get swamped with Chinese.

Chinese characteristics the same everywhere.

In Queensland an agitation arose for an Act more stringent than that of 1877, and in 1884 the Premier of Queensland introduced the Chinese Immigrants Regulation Bill. In Committee on the bill a debate arose, most interesting is it as showing the feeling in Queensland, and indeed in all the Australian colonies. The Premier said that clause 3 in the principal Act provided for the number of Chinese that a ship might carry; clause 6 provided that a certificate should be given as a receipt for the £10 paid; and clause 7 provided for the return of the money on the departure of the Chinese from the colony. On clause 3—"Ships not to carry more than one Chinese passenger for every fifty tons register"—the Premier referred to the fact that on the second reading of the Bill there was a good deal of discussion on this clause, and some honorable members were of opinion that it was not sufficiently severe. He contended that the provisions of that section

Feeling in Queensland rising.

See Parliamentary Debates, Queensland, Feb. 21st, 1884.

were preferable to those adopted in New South Wales and Victoria. In those colonies the number of Chinese coming in ships was limited to one for every hundred tons, and the poll-tax was £10.

Distinction between Queensland and New South Wales and Victoria.

“Those were the most severe measures passed in the Australian colonies up to the present time against the influx of Chinese. There was this difference with respect to Queensland, which influenced the Government to a great extent in making the modification they had done: the restrictions of coming by ship appeared to be a matter of passage money; and he took it that practically it would be ten times as difficult for the Chinese to come under this Bill as it was before. The distinction between Queensland and New South Wales and Victoria was that there was a considerable trade between the eastern ports and Australia, which he was sure they did not wish to discourage, except as regarded the Chinese. Those ships sailed from Hong Kong, called at two or three of the northern ports, and then came on to Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne. Now, the prohibition was against their having Chinese on board, whether as passengers or not; and as the present section provided that no ship should have more than one Chinaman for every fifty tons register, that meant that Queensland, where the first ports of call were, would prohibit more than that number coming to all Australia, or to Sydney and Melbourne. There was considerable traffic between Hong Kong and Sydney and Melbourne, and the passenger traffic would be continued; they could not prevent it; but if a ship was 1,500 tons register, she could only carry thirty Chinese passengers for any part of Australia. Practically, therefore, the number of Chinese who would come here would not exceed ten or twelve by every ship. Our position was different to that of Sydney and Melbourne, as they did not want to prevent a ship coming into Queensland ports simply because she had Chinese passengers for Sydney and Melbourne on board. He thought the proposed restriction would be sufficient to keep the Chinese out, and the departures would, he felt sure, more than balance the arrivals.”

Strenuous opposition to Chinese.

The views thus set forth met with strenuous opposition. One member did not want to injure the trade with and from China, but he had no desire to preserve the trade if it interfered with preventing Chinese coming. “Chinese were able to compete with our own people, and that was where the danger was.” Several members spoke even more strongly.

The thing to note is the tendency of legislation in every quarter where white men can thrive to become more restrictive in respect of Chinese immigration.

The Queensland Acts for 1884 are not in the Library, and since the parliamentary debates of that colony have been brought before there has been no time to learn the fate of the measure referred to. It is certain however to have passed into law.

Temperate climate suitable for European races.

Oliphant, who is an admirer of the Chinese, and who suggests that in Singapore they should be given some share in the government, says: “We must be careful of judging of the results of Chinese immigration by the experiences of California, Australia or any other colony where peculiar conditions resulting from gold discoveries exist, and where the climate admits of competition by whites. It is as undesirable that such a com-

petition should be established in those countries adapted for European out-of-door labor as that others should be deprived of the benefits of any such labor at all, because the climate is fatal to the white man." Mr. Brooks points out that only in temperate climates can the European races thrive, and that the countries in this belt should be kept for them. See p. 33, M. E.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, JAMAICA, ETC.

In the Hawaiian Islands, according to the census of 1878, out of a population of 57,985 there were 5,916 Chinese, and, though intermarriages with the natives in some cases took place, the Government thought fit, in 1883, to discourage Chinese immigration and to encourage Portuguese and Japanese. [See Appendix S.] The grounds for this course are those stereotyped objections to the Chinese which one hears everywhere. The policy is most unpopular with the planters, but the press and public opinion outside of the planter class support the Government. Chinese Immigration discouraged by the Hawaiian Government. See M. E. pp. 312-3 and 411, 414.

Accounts from Jamaica, Peru, and from other places is, as we might expect, to the effect that the Chinaman carries with him everywhere the qualities which distinguish him in California, the same virtues and vices. Mr. Edward Litchfield, a prominent business man in New York, who knows Jamaica well and has observed the Chinese on Taylor's and Dawkin's or Ellis's and Molines' caymanas, writes that they favorably impressed him. In cultivating sugar the Chinese were always able to show more work than the negro. "They always seemed contented and happy, no class of laborers giving less trouble to their employers. Their style of living, and the manner in which during sickness they attended to each other's wants would teach a good lesson to many of the white people who seem to consider it a crime to encourage those industrious, inoffensive, hardworking, simple minded Chinese." M. E. pp. 238, 360. Testimony of an ex-sugar planter to the Chinese in Jamaica.

RESUMÉ.

1. That Chinese labor is a most efficient aid in the development of a country, and a great means to wealth. As a railway navvy the Chinaman has no superior, and his presence in California has given the State a start many years ahead and added incalculably to its material prosperity; while in British Columbia Chinese labor has been attended by great advantages to the Province and the same excellent effects would, most likely, for many years from now follow its utilization.

2. That, however, the Chinese being a non-assimilable race, clearly marked off from white people by color and national and race characteristics, their presence in a country is not unattended with disadvantages, foremost among these being the irritation, discontent and resentment they inspire in white laborers. Without discussing the reasonableness or otherwise of this antipathy, there it is; and, as an important element in the problem of the development and government of the country, it is a fact for the State to consider in all its practical bearings.

3. That being able to subsist on much less than white men, they (lower wages; and the sentiment of race superiority on the part of the whites leads these to feel humiliation at working by the side of Chinamen, the tendency being, as some contend, to bring labor into contempt.

4. That the Chinese do largely engross domestic service, in which they prove themselves faithful and efficient; that the evidence was strong, if not conclusive, that white girls cannot be induced to go into the country, removed from their church and accustomed companionship, to work as domestics, and that a sufficient supply can not be had even for cities and towns; that the fact that the Chinese thus compete with female servants is, nevertheless, one well worthy the attention of Government.

5. That the tendency is for certain industries to pass completely into the hands of the Chinese.

6. That the statements as to their bad moral effect on the community are grossly exaggerated. In fact their morality is not lower than that of the same classes of other nationalities.

7. That their custom of living in quarters of their own—"Chinatowns"—is attended with evils, such as the depreciation of property, and owing to their habits of lodging in crowded quarters and accumulating filth is offensive if not likely to breed disease. But these evils might be dealt with by police supervision.

8. That they do not burden public charities nor unduly swell the calendar of crime.

9. On the point whether the Chinese have a quasi-government amongst themselves, the evidence is such as to leave the matter in doubt. It is probable, however, that what really exist are guilds and courts of arbitration. The Six Companies, about which so much is said, not only arose naturally in the early days, but such guilds are Chinese institutions found everywhere, and there can be no doubt that in China and Singapore such associations enable compradors to behave with great independence, not to say tyranny and peculation. Much of what has been said and written on this subject shows complete ignorance of Chinese character and habits. Chinamen invariably combine.

10. It would be very hard to say to which side educated public opinion in California leans on this subject of Chinese immigration. In British Columbia those who are not dependent in one way or another on the support of the laboring classes are, as a rule, unfavorable to anti-Chinese legislation. Everywhere the railway men and the mine owners, the manufacturers and the housekeepers, the merchants and shopkeepers are against absolute exclusion, but the very best friends of the Chinamen think their immigration should be regulated. In California an overwhelming vote was polled against them.

11. Assuming, as is done above, that the Chinese cannot be assimilated, it is well to pause before a choice of evils. If, for instance, they supply a want that cannot otherwise be supplied, labor where else great works would have to stop, help where else the weak and the old would in the discharge of their household duties sink beneath the burden of infirmity or age, then their presence so far from being an evil is a good. When other labor can be had, and other help is at hand, then would have been the time to think of dispensing wholly with the Chinese, and Congress undoubtedly went beyond the demands of some of the leaders in the anti-Chinese movement.

12. No one doubts that they have done a good day's work for the people of California. But if it is unfair on the one hand to complain after they have given value that they take the money out of the country, it would be equally illogical on the part of the Chinese, who professedly have never come to stay, to complain if the door is shut against new comers. Those who have vested interests there are suffered to remain, and the wage-earners who never intended to stop could claim no reversion for others.

13. That they show no desire to understand or meddle with politics,

and take no or little interest in any country where they go to labor, and always intend to return to China; nor, save for the density of population in China, would there be reason to apprehend large permanent settlements of Chinese. But as that density must increase, necessity would in time lead to such settlements. This remark, however, should be made: although the climate of Northern China is cold, the immigrants who seek the western shores of this continent come and are sure to continue to come from provinces whose climate is either semi-tropical or borders on that; nor need there be any fear of a Chinese inundation in Canada.

14. That no one, save a few persons of very ill-considered opinions, desires to exclude Chinese merchants, or any class of Chinese save two. All would exclude prostitutes and criminals. While numbers would welcome laborers on the ground of their usefulness, numbers would exclude them because they compete, or are supposed to compete, to the disadvantage of white laborers. It is universally admitted that the merchants are honorable and capable men, of high credit and of great commercial advantage to the community; and these would not only be welcomed but would be desirable.

15. That now (if here a speculative thought may enter) British Columbia has a great opportunity, by welcoming Chinamen, and thus securing not only cheaper labor than California, but conciliating the good will and fixing the attention of a people, from the vast resources and inchoate wealth of whose country the veil is only just being drawn aside, whose commerce is of great value, and on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway may be of incalculable value. British Columbia has many features in common with California. It is a country which needs local railways; it is a mining country; it is a fruit-growing country. It possesses, besides, enormous resources in timber lands and fisheries. If, therefore, British Columbia were to decide that the undoubted evils of Chinese immigration were largely counterbalanced by other considerations, what would happen is this: she would by vigorous legislation secure that her mines would be worked on a large scale, the riches of the country being thus enormously increased and her treasury swelled; she would engross nearly all the coal and timber trade and much of the fruit trade of the Pacific Coast, while her fish would largely supply the markets of the eastern and central parts of the continent, and even with Europe no insignificant commerce would be within her grasp; her wealth positively and above all relatively to California would develop at a ratio not short of mathematical; she would literally

shoot ahead as one of the great seats of commerce and industrial activity; and, her position achieved, she could then apply herself to the political and social problem, and by the aid of the Dominion Parliament deal with that.

16. That the Chinese are most successful as market-gardeners. Perhaps in this character they are hardly equalled in the skill with which they bring the maximum of produce out of the ground, and though not clever in the management of horses, in the field they play a useful, if a subordinate part.

17. That if Chinamen dispensed with those conditions of Asiatic civilization which they have hitherto insisted on taking with them everywhere; if their children were found more often than at present dressed in western garb and their books under their arm going to an English school, hostility to them would gradually disappear. In fact, a few bright Chinese school boys would do more for assimilation than all the measures of statesmen. There is little difference in appearance between a Chinaman who wears western clothes and makes a western toilet and the Portuguese or the Italian, who would be welcomed on whatever shores immigration was needed. The Japanese wins sympathy everywhere, and in some cases is actively encouraged because he adapts himself to the customs of the country in which he settles.

18. That the Chinaman in Victoria, B.C., under British rule, and in Portland under that of the United States, where the hostility to him is not so great as in the capital of California, is of a superior type to the Chinaman of San Francisco, and the inference is that he improves according as he is treated well.

19. That restrictive legislation in the United States has of necessity stimulated white immigration, but there is as yet no evidence that the supply would meet the needs of the country if the Chinese were to disappear.

20. That assuming Chinese immigrants of the laboring class will persist in retaining their present characteristics of Asiatic life, where these are strikingly peculiar and distinct from western, and that the influx will continue to increase, this immigration should be dealt with by Parliament; but no legislation should be such as would give a shock to great interests and enterprises established before any probability that Parliament would interfere with that immigration arose. Questions of vested rights might come up, and these ought to be carefully considered before action is taken.

21. That, therefore, if restrictive legislation were considered opportuno

it should aim at gradually-achieved results, and the history of the question, as well as the evidence, shows that by legislation regulating, not excluding Chinese laborers, every purpose can be effected which those who apprehend evils from Chinese immigration could, and actually do desire.

22. That whenever legislation on this subject takes place its provisions should be of such a character as to avoid the difficulties, litigation and expense which have followed (as will be seen on pages cvi-cix, Enquiry at San Francisco,) the administration in the United States of the Restriction Acts of 1882 and 1884.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. CHAPLEAU.

Ottawa, February 21st, 1885.