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THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION
AND
THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

It has long been our boast that America offers an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and Liberty Enlightening the World stands beckoning such to our shores. It is time, Mr. President, that this sentiment should be relegated to the limbo of things to be forgotten, and give place to the more practical sentiment that our own must be provided for.

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK B. GARY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK B. GARY.

Mr. GARY. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. PENROSE. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina, as he has given notice to the Senate that he desires to address the Senate this morning.

THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

Mr. GARY. Mr. President, I ask that Senate resolution No. 279 be now laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution referred to by the Senator from South Carolina, which will be read.

The Secretary read resolution No. 279, submitted by Mr. GARY on the 4th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Immigration Commission, created by section 39 of "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February 20, 1907, be, and hereby is, directed to report forthwith to the Congress a brief summary of its acts, doings, and present work, together with an itemized statement of its expenditures, giving the amounts, purpose for which spent, to whom and for whom or what paid, and a list of all persons that have been or now are employed by the commission, directly or indirectly, their residence at time of appointment, the length of service, salary paid, and all allowances, and such other information as will give the Senate an idea of the amount of money and length of time it will take the commission to complete its labors and make its recommendations and final report.

Mr. GARY. Mr. President, in view of the short time remaining of this session, and the large number of appropriation bills yet to be acted upon, I am not unmindful that the time of this body is precious. I would be loath to consume any part of it, but, for reasons that must be manifest, I must speak now or not at all. Besides, Mr. President, there is no problem of more vital interest to the American people, or one more urgently calling for solution, than the problem of immigration. The subject embraces not only the constant importation of hordes of illiterate, unassimilable, and undesirable citizens from the cesspools of Europe, but it embraces the invasion of the Pacific slope by the yellow man from the Orient as well. Whatever may be the feelings excited in us when we consider the two classes, whether they be feelings of admiration or disgust and loathing, still the ultimate effect upon the peace, morality, and homogeneity of our race will be the same from each class if the importation is unchecked. He must, indeed, be an optimist with childlike faith who can contemplate the situation without concern for the future of our country, now menaced on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

The problem is one which, like Banquo's ghost, will not down, no matter how much we may desire to repress or shun it. But it should be approached with the calmest judgment, the highest patriotism, and the most enlightened statesmanship; and, as the Senator from Nevada well says, "No question involving such important considerations as race homogeneity and domestic industrial peace can safely be turned over to diplomacy."

It will be recalled that the Congress of the United States, on account of a disagreement between the two Houses on the enactment of an immigration restriction bill that would tend to solve the problem, inserted a provision in the immigration act, for the appointment of a commission of nine, composed of three Senators, three Representatives, and three laymen, to be appointed by the President, for the purpose of making an investigation, in the United States and abroad, of the subject of immigration with a view of determining what the conditions are and with a view of determining what legislation should be enacted. This commission was appointed two years ago. The provision which created the board required that a report should be made to Congress. It will be recalled, too, that this commission is practically unlimited as to the amount it may spend, and is unlimited as to the number of persons it may employ in its service. Whether or not the provision creating this immigration commission was enacted for the purpose of sidetracking and preventing needed legislation, as some have asserted, is not for me to say. Such a suggestion would serve no good purpose at this time. It is proper to say, however, that from a commission so constituted and so unhampered, the American people had a right to expect, before now, some light and some suggestion as a basis for legislation against the evil conditions that surround us, and which each day multiply. The books of the auditor and vouchers show that this commission has already expended upward of \$358,000, and the end is not yet.

Mr. FLINT. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. GARY. I do.

Mr. FLINT. I should like to ask the Senator a question just at that point. Does the Senator know what salaries are being paid to these commissioners?

Mr. GARY. I was coming to that. I know the salaries of some of them. There is a professor in one of the colleges who, as one of the commission, if I am reliably informed, gets a salary of \$7,500 a year and two hundred or three hundred dollars a month expenses. There is among the employees a secret-service man, as I understand, who has been at work in the southern part of California and on the Mexican border. His salary would amount to seven or eight thousand dollars a year, as he drew over a thousand dollars for the month of March, 1908. I presume he gets about that amount monthly. As to the salaries of the others, I am not informed.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, I think it is only fair to the appointing power that a statement should be made as to

the salaries of the commissioners. The Senator from South Carolina is aware that there are three Senators upon this commission and three Members of the House of Representatives, who receive no salary whatever, and that every member of that commission is giving a very large amount of work to the purposes of the commission.

Under the act the President appointed three commissioners—Professor Jenks, of Cornell University; Mr. William R. Wheeler, of California; and Doctor Neill, the Commissioner of Labor. The President fixed their salaries at the sum received by Members of Congress—that is, \$7,500 a year. Professor Jenks is receiving that salary and giving substantially all of his time to the work.

Mr. Wheeler is the Assistant Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, receiving a salary of \$5,000 a year from that source, and he receives the balance of \$2,500 under this act. I can say the same as to Doctor Neill, who is the Commissioner of Labor.

Mr. BAILEY. I want to say that there never was an hour when this man Neill could earn one-third of \$7,500 a year outside of the government service.

Mr. FLINT. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield further to the Senator from California?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. FLINT. I simply want to ask the Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] another question before he takes his seat, in reference to whether these commissioners are devoting their entire time to this work and receiving a salary of \$7,500 a year?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, I understand that Professor Jenks is giving substantially all of his time to the work. As to the other two commissioners, they are engaged in the work I have already indicated, in the positions which I have named, and the salaries received there are deducted from the salaries fixed by the President for their services as members of the commission.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President—

Mr. FLINT. In other words, Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I understood the Senator from South Carolina to state that the total expenses thus far had been about \$350,000.

Mr. GARY. Three hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars.

Mr. NEWLANDS. They have been \$358,000. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] has stated that the salaries in the aggregate amount to about \$22,500 a year—three salaries of \$7,500 each.

Mr. BACON. Not that much, for the salaries received from other sources are deducted.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Yes; as the Senator from Georgia well says, the salaries received from other sources by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor and the Chief of the Bureau of Labor, I believe it is, must be deducted, amounting to about \$10,000, so that the total amount paid for salaries out of this

appropriation is \$12,500 per annum. I inquire of the Senator what the remainder of this large sum of \$358,000 is made up of?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If I may be allowed to make a suggestion at this point, it may save time. Of course, I had no intimation what was to be said by the Senator from South Carolina or what direction this debate would take. I have not, of course, with me this morning the papers and data with which to answer all these questions. Had I known the discussion was to take this trend, I would have had them. I do not run away from any inquiry. I do not run away from any debate on this subject. I heartily favor the resolution or a substitute which will make it even better than it is, which I understand the Senator from South Carolina desires to offer; and I would be very glad this morning if the Senator could be allowed to make his speech. I will favor his resolution, and I will see that the commission sends to the Senate the fullest kind of a report upon every subject covered by it.

Mr. BACON. I desire to ask the Senator from South Carolina, with his permission, by whom were the appointments to be made?

Mr. GARY. By the commission, I assume. That is the information we want to secure by this resolution.

Mr. MONEY. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. MONEY. The Senator said, or I thought he said, that the President had fixed the salary of the men appointed at \$7,500 a year. Was that authority given him by the act?

Mr. GARY. The appointment of the citizen members of the Immigration Commission is an absolutely distinct, separate, and independent matter from the special commission appointed February 24, 1906, and about the legal creation of this latter special commission I do not know. I was merely bringing it up to show that the employment of Michael Clayton, who was paid at the rate of \$7,000 or \$8,000 a year, was simply a duplication of work.

Mr. MONEY. Is the Senator able to tell me by what authority the President of the United States fixes the pay of anybody whom he appoints?

Mr. GARY. As I said, I do not know what legislative authority the President had for appointing the special commission which he appointed on February 24, 1906. The immigration act of February 20, 1907, gave him authority to appoint three citizen members of the immigration commission created thereby, and to fix the salaries of these three.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the junior Senator from South Carolina yield to the senior Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. TILLMAN. Has the Senator discovered that this man Clayton has given any new information, or is he merely traveling over the same old route and repeating practically the same information that the other officers have already given?

Mr. GARY. That is the point I was making, that he is simply duplicating the work that has recently been done by a special commission appointed by the President and by Commissioner Braun, who had done it officially and filed his report with the Department of Commerce and Labor, and a part of whose report is to be found in the annual report of the Commissioner-General for 1907.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from South Carolina will permit me, I should like to ask the Senator from Vermont a question.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. GARY. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. The Senator from Vermont stated that the three commissioners, outside of the Members of the Senate and House serving on the commission, had had their pay fixed by the President. I understood him to say that.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. By the President.

Mr. BACON. Does the act authorize that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not remember whether there is a special provision in the act for that; but my impression is that such a provision was inserted.

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will look at the act and inform us, because, while it is true that we are to have the report subsequently, when this matter passes from our attention we do not have time to look up these reports, and I should like to know, while this debate is going on, whether or not the act does authorize this, or whether the President has done it voluntarily?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will procure a copy of the act and look that up.

Mr. GARY. Mr. President, to proceed at the point where I left off when interrupted.

On the pay roll there is one man whose salary is \$7,500 per annum in addition to his expenses, which amount to about \$200 per month. I am reliably informed that this man has not lost a day from his regular work as professor since his employment by the commission. He is ready to report as to his work, yet his salary continues. Another expensive employee of the Immigration Commission is Michael Clayton. According to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under date of January 26, ultimo, page 1462, this secret-service man has been looking into the smuggling of Japanese and Chinese coolies over the Mexican border, a matter fully investigated by a special commission, composed of R. M. Easley, J. W. Jenks, and J. B. Reynolds, appointed by the President February 24, 1906, whose report is in the hands of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and by such able, fearless investigators as Marcus Braun, whose findings of enormous smuggling were published in part by the Commissioner-General in his annual report for 1907. Clayton's total salary and allowances for the month of March, 1908, were \$1,025, made up of \$20 per diem compensation, \$8 per diem hotel allowance, and over \$5 per diem traveling expenses.

There are many and apparently well-founded complaints as to the lax enforcement of such restriction laws as we now have which are intended to prohibit the importation of undesirable aliens. There are complaints that the existing laws are inadequate.

quate; yet the light so much desired and the suggestions so impatiently awaited, have not been forthcoming. The resolution we are considering seeks to bring forth at an early day a report from this commission.

That the existing conditions are viewed with alarm by thoughtful men, men who have the welfare of our country at heart, must be obvious to all. The action of state legislatures, immigration conferences, national and state farmers' unions, patriotic societies, commercial clubs, newspapers, and all other organizations, societies, and representatives of public opinion, show most conclusively that the subject is a live one and one demanding attention. Certainly the agricultural elements of the South and West are alive to the situation and are calling in no uncertain tones that something be done to check the influx. Listen to the demand, if you please, of the representatives of two millions of farmers assembled in national convention:

Resolved, That the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, in national convention assembled, at Memphis, Tenn., this 8th day of January, 1908, and representing two millions of farmers, urge upon Congress the immediate abolition of the federal bureau of distribution and the speedy enactment of laws substantially excluding the present enormous alien influx, by means of an increased head tax, a money requirement, the illiteracy test, and other measures; and that we call upon our public and especially our state officials, to prevent the agricultural sections from becoming a dumping ground for foreign immigration.

Of the same tenor are the resolutions passed in June, 1907, by the last National Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, representing thousands of patriotic workmen.

To the same effect and equally as strong are the resolutions passed by the American Federation of Labor at its last annual convention at Denver, Colo., November 14, 1908.

Equally emphatic are the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor at Washington, D. C., November, 1908.

From another source, but quite as significant, are the resolutions of the legislature of the State of Virginia passed last winter unanimously by both houses:

Resolved by the senate of Virginia (the house of delegates concurring), That our Representatives in both Houses of Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to oppose in every possible manner the influx into Virginia of immigrants from southern Europe, with their Mafia and Black Hand murder societies, and with no characteristics to make them with us a homogeneous people, believing as we do that upon Anglo-Saxon supremacy depends the future welfare and prosperity of this Commonwealth, and we view with alarm any effort that may tend to corrupt its citizenship.

I might also cite the message of President Roosevelt to Congress in December, 1905, a short time before this commission was created, in which he says:

The question of immigration is of vital interest to this country. In the year ending June 30, 1905, there came to the United States 1,026,000 alien immigrants. Moreover, a considerable proportion of it, probably a very large proportion, including most of the undesirable class, does not come here of its own initiative, but because of the activities of agents of transportation companies. These agents are distributed throughout Europe, and by offer of all kinds of inducements they wheedle and cajole many immigrants, often against their own interests, to come here. The most serious obstacle we have to encounter in the effort to secure proper regulation of immigration to these shores, arises from the detrimental opposition of foreign steamship lines, who have no interest whatever in the matter, save to increase the returns on their capital by carrying masses of immigration hither in the steege of their ships.

As bearing out the statement of the President, as to the agencies responsible for the existing conditions, we might mention an extract from the report of the commissioner-general for 1907, where he says:

Another year's experience but emphasizes and confirms the conviction that a considerable part of the large immigration of the past few years is forced or artificial. Two separate and distinct factors are from interested motives responsible for such of the immigration as is not natural; first, the violators and evaders of the contract labor feature of the law; and, second, the steamship runners and agencies.

And speaking of the influence toward immigration of letters from previous immigrants in this country he says:

The worst of it is that there are evidences that this endless chain-letter scheme is seized upon by the promoters and money lenders to further their interests, and no opportunity lost to encourage both the writing and extensive dissemination of such missives. When this is done the line is passed between natural and forced immigration, and the machinations of the promoter and usurer become a menace to the aliens directly, and to the welfare of this country incidentally.

This steamship activity, of course, has been made possible by the changed character of steamship construction, the recent building of fleet steel ocean liners, and has brought about, owing to our feeble laws and their lax administration, a startling change in the character of our immigration. One of the most noticeable effects has been the shifting of its source from the kindred peoples of northwest Europe to the alien brownish races of southeast Europe. That the profit-making choice by these foreign steamship lines and the connivance of certain European governments are not giving us the best, even of these peoples, but much of their poorest, are matters of repeated official record. Our inspector, Marcus Braun, a foreigner by birth and a resident of New York City by choice, who was sent abroad on a tour of inspection several years ago, made the astonishing discovery of documentary evidence that the Hungarian Government had actually made a contract with the Cunard Steamship Line to deliver for transportation to this country a minimum of 30,000 Hungarians annually. The Austrian officials, of course, were soon ready with plausible explanations, but Mr. Braun's report clearly demonstrates that that Government was not engaged in any philanthropic or altruistic enterprise.

It was a plain bargain to dump upon our shores at least 30,000 of her worst, most degraded slum population, if not her criminal and social outlaws and outcasts. It is a series of facts of this character which leads Mr. Braun to conclude that some European governments, as well as private individuals and interested societies, still regard the United States as a dumping ground for thousands of their most undesirable persons. A knowledge of the actual conditions, he concludes, would drive the blood of humiliation to the face of every good American, whether native or naturalized, and a description of them would defy the pen of a Macaulay. That these scandalous conditions still exist is evidenced by the more recent report of Dr. Maurice Fishberg; by the letters of Mr. Herbert F. Sherwood, correspondent of the Liberal Immigration League, a propagandist organization, who was with the commission on its European junket two years ago this coming summer; and by the still more recent official report of Special Inspector John Greenberg, who visited Europe last summer, and whose report is now in the hands of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

It is unlikely, Mr. President, that these foreign corporations will at any time in the near future be brought to a realization of the enormity of their sins or of the great injustice their greed is doing the American people, for—

If self the wavering balance shake,
'Tis rarely right adjusted.

We must, therefore, expect a continuation of this conduct on the part of steamship companies and look upon the past as but a harbinger of what may be expected in the future, unless the Congress of the United States shall call a halt and shall by drastic legislation put a stop to this traffic in human flesh. If further evidence is needed to show that the question is a live one, we might point to the threatened legislation of California—legislation the enactment of which could be prevented only by the powerful influence of the President—and to the legislation enacted in Nevada, which even the power of the President could not prevent.

But, Mr. President, we must speak of the yellow man with bated breath. We may scarcely think strongly about him without the suggestion that some treaty right has been infringed, and the resultant need of four battle ships is proclaimed. But we may as well face the situation now, unpleasant though it be. The history of the world does not record an instance where two races have at one and the same time occupied the same territory upon terms of equality. One must be subservient to the other or they must assimilate. Where two races are trying to occupy the same territory, one of three conditions must be brought about inevitably—either amalgamation, extermination, or subordination of one to the other. Who knows anything of the Japanese character knows that he will not stand for either amalgamation or extermination nor for subordination longer than the conditions make it necessary. It seems to me, therefore, that before the situation has attained unmanageable proportions, or before it shall have become acute, it would be the part of wisdom for Congress to enact and enforce such prohibitive laws as will stop the incoming tide from the Orient. But I will not pursue this branch of the subject further, except to say that sooner or later we must meet the situation, and the sooner it is met and some adjustment made the better it will be for all parties concerned. If the assertion of supposed rights by the Japanese is vexatious now, what is to make it less annoying in the future?

The other branch of the subject, viz, the flooding of the East and Middle West by an ever-increasing stream of illiterate Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Turks, Syrians, Arabs, and South Russians, is still more dangerous because more insidious. As the *Manufacturer's Record* says in an editorial:

This mongrelism, congesting the great cities of the East, is a far greater menace to American labor, American institutions, and American life than the comparatively pure stock of the Japanese and Chinese of the West.

Who, Mr. President, can contemplate the situation without feelings of loathing and abhorrence for the miserable creatures and apprehension for the effect upon our Anglo-Saxon civilization and democratic institutions? I can not give you a better picture of that situation than by quoting from Dr. Francis A. Walker, who, writing ten years ago, said:

The immigrant of the former time came almost exclusively from western or northern Europe. We have now tapped great reservoirs of

population then, almost unknown to the passenger lists of our arriving vessels. Only a short time ago the immigrant from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than 1 per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like 40 per cent, and threatens soon to become 50 to 60 per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men of beaten races, representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains.

In this connection I would ask your especial attention to a statement made by Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, police commissioner of New York City, published in the Cincinnati Inquirer June 20, 1907, couched in modest and discreet language, yet reciting a condition that ought to arrest our attention:

There is another very important thing about this crime business. I don't want to say anything that would be indiscreet, but unquestionably the hordes of immigrants that are coming here have a great deal to do with crimes against women and children.

You will notice that these particular crimes are done by fellows who can't talk the English language. It is this wave of immigration that brings to New York the hundreds of thousands of criminals who don't know what liberty means, and don't care; don't know our customs, can not speak the English language, and are in general the scum of Europe.

Was it for the like of these, Mr. President, that our forefathers braved the hardships and dangers of the wilderness and wrested this land from the savage red man? Was it for the like of these that, later, our sires defied the arrogance of tyrants, that Anglo-Saxon and democratic government might be planted and fostered here? Was it for the South Russian—dull and apathetic, brutalized by long centuries of ignorance, privation, and tyranny; for the Greek, more debased than the Russian, because of his greater intelligence for evil, unscrupulous, quick with the tongue and also not slow with the knife that strikes from behind and in the dark; for the peasants from the Balkans, equally immoral and degraded, but less stolid than the Russian; for the chafferer, fawning and cringing, schooled to duplicity and assassination through long centuries beneath the Turkish lash; for the Hun, turbulent, savage, still half a barbarian; for the Italian, more especially him of Sicily, in picturesque rages, stiletto in his boot, murder in his heart, too often a black heart, bound either as an accomplice, or as a prey to his own black hand?

If it was for these and the like of them that our forefathers fought, bled, and died, then it were better, far better, that America had been left as a happy hunting ground for the red man, better that Boston commons had never resounded with the cry of the patriot, better that Kings Mountain had never been fought.

O, not yet mayst thou
Unbrace thy corslet, nor lay
By thy sword; nor yet, O,
Freedom, close thy lids in
Slumber, for thine enemy
Never sleeps, and thou
Must watch and combat
Till the day of the new
Earth and Heaven.

But let us look a little further and see what manner of people the steamships are dumping down upon us, and simply because so much per head goes into the company's treasury. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, 1,285,349 aliens were admitted to the United States. This was an increase of over 11 per cent of the previous year (1,100,735), which was also preceded by a banner year.

It is true that for the past fiscal year, ending June 30 last, immigration decreased to 782,870 plus 141,825 "nonimmigrant" aliens. Of this number, only 63,128 had ever been in the United States before. This would leave a new net alien addition to our population of at least 708,840 foreigners for 1908, and it is the assimilation and Americanization of these vast hordes, ever increasing in larger and larger influxes with the return of prosperous times, that constitutes our immigration problem.

About 80 per cent of the present immigration comes from extremely southern and eastern Europe and western Asia, whereas a quarter of a century ago we received practically no emigrants from these sections. This immigration is composed of Slav and Iberic or Mediterranean races, far less capable of amalgamation and absorption than the kindred peoples of northwest Europe which used to come to us and made such good frontiersmen. As a matter of fact, it is the coming and competition of these aliens, with their low standards of living, that have caused the decline in the number of assimilative Baltic peoples.

As to the percentage of able-bodied, strong-minded men and women, it is difficult to speak with any statistical accuracy. The present laws are designed somewhat to keep out the weak-minded and weak bodied, but under its present administration most of them either escape detection, owing to the superficial inspection, or are admitted under bond. This is well shown by the fact that at least one insane or weak-minded, newly landed immigrant is picked up in two boroughs of New York City every day, and also the fact that the States of Massachusetts and New York deliver every day into the hands of immigration authorities from three to four immigrants for deportation, who have become public charges, generally within two or three months after landing. I would call attention to the last report of Theodore Bingham, police commissioner of New York, as showing the insufficiency of our present laws or their lax enforcement when it comes to dealing with the criminal immigrant:

We are trying to handle medieval criminals, men in whose blood runs the spirit of the vendetta, by modern Anglo-Saxon procedure. It is wrong to allow these people to slip into this country. But besides allowing this we give them, once in, every chance to work their black-mail without getting caught. Against this sort of crime our laws are weak. Either they must be kept out, or else a system of procedure must be devised which is potent and immediate enough to handle that sort of crime.

The case of an alien who was arrested on November 27, 1908, will illustrate something of the difficulty the police department works under in trying to keep the city clear of alien criminals.

On November 17, 1908, a warrant was requested for the arrest for deportation of an Italian from Naples. On November 20, 1908, the warrant was issued. On November 27, 1908, the man was arrested and delivered to Ellis Island.

The penal certificate of this man stated that he had been sentenced to eight days' solitary confinement in March, 1908, by the judge of the

tribunal of Naples. Besides this, a letter from the Minister of the Interior of Italy stated that this man had committed a brutal murder in Naples, that he attempted to kill his own wife, that he had attempted to kill another man, and that while in the employ of the post-office department he had robbed the mail. The letter went on to say, that on July 10, 1908, this alien was sentenced in his absence, by the court of assize, Naples, Italy, to life imprisonment. All this information was given to the United States authorities.

On December 15, 1908, this alien was discharged from Ellis Island and is now at large in New York City.

The case of another man shows how the United States seems to insist on keeping these blackmailers here.

A man who is at present confined in New York State prison, serving a sentence of two and one-half years for attempted extortion, was arrested in Italy twenty-seven times and convicted twenty-five times. When he was sentenced to State's prison here he had been in this country less than three years. The police department tried to get a warrant for his arrest so he could be deported. The warrant was refused on the ground that the man had, by serving three years in prison, been here more than three years."

Shall we permit a condition so revolting to continue? We look to the commission to tell us how to stop it.

As to the character of the present immigration, I think the opinion of such a man as Hon. William Williams, a recent commissioner of immigration at the port of New York, through which comes the bulk of the influx, is the most reliable information that can be obtained. In his annual report (1903) he said:

The present laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who are generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of labor, desirous of settling almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American wage-worker, and unfitted either mentally or morally for good citizenship. It would be quite impossible to accurately state what proportion of last year's immigration should be classified as undesirable. I believe that at least 200,000 came here (631,885 entered through Ellis Island), who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted and will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards. Their coming has been a benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them over.

As to the number of children, middle-aged, and aged people, about 5 per cent are under the age of 14 years of age, many of whom are still brought in by Greek padrones to work in booth-lacking and other similar establishments, where the worst kind of child labor prevails; 85 per cent are between the ages of 14 and 44 years of age. About one-fourth are females and three-fourths males. From one-fourth to one-third of the adults can not read or write a single line in any language or dialect, not even their own.

But, to return to the question of the congestion of the present immigration in our large cities, let me call your attention to what the Commissioner of Labor says in his seventh annual report, where he points out that of the slum population of Baltimore 77 per cent are foreigners, of Chicago 90 per cent, of Philadelphia 91 per cent, and of New York City 95 per cent, and that southeast Europe furnishes from twenty to seventy-one times as many as does northwest Europe to these congested districts, where they are such a fertile field for the irresponsible agitator and corrupt boss.

A year or two ago Mayor McClellan directed Doctor Darlington, president of the New York City Board of Health, to make a special investigation of the push-cart nuisance. At the conclu-

sion of his investigation Doctor Darlington reported, among other things:

I have heard the assertion that immigration is necessary to carry on our public works, to build railroads, to dig canals, and the like. But the present immigrants now coming over do not come for that purpose and will not do that sort of work. No, they prefer to become push-cart peddlers and to live in our cities in poverty, breeding crime and disease. They occupy our streets, the streets for which our taxpayers have paid heavily. They interfere with traffic and break the laws of sanitation which we have decided are necessary for the preservation of public health.

Now, it is proposed by certain interests to distribute this slum population over the South and West in order to make room for more of the same kind, and one even finds such a paper as the Jacksonville (Florida) Metropolis publishing matter sent out by the railroads under the caption of immigration labor for the South.

The Manufacturers' Record tells us that Congress is likely to be asked to set aside a fund for transporting laborers from one place to another and to be thus used on a loan basis, and the reason for this fund is given as follows:

For lack of funds for transportation thousands of allens living in large cities and who appeal for work are deprived of obtaining remunerative employment. From all parts of the country the cry comes for efficient help, but the laborer in many instances is unable to go because he has not the means to pay his railroad fare. This is the situation confronting the Department of Commerce and Labor, who are trying to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens among the States and Territories desiring laborers.

The editor commenting on this plan, which is nothing more than a plan to relieve congestion in the principal cities and a plan to make more room in which to dump still more immigrants, pertinently says:

It must be confessed that these southern immigration schemes and other sociological, educational, and economic movements engineered from New York disregard the fact of the South's forty years' fight for the maintenance of white civilization. It must be confessed that if the diverse schemes succeed white civilization must pass from a portion of the South. What care the schemers for that, and what care they for the disinterested warnings as long as the public mind of the South can be diverted from the fundamental questions?

I take occasion to say just here, lest I be misunderstood, that I, in common with many other Southerners, would welcome to our midst homeseekers, whether they be of foreign or native birth, who from choice have embraced our form of government and wish to be part and parcel of us, and will work with us to build up the waste places and contribute to a free and stable government. But, Mr. President, it is better that our uncultivated lands should forever lie fallow, and our water power go unharnessed to the sea, than that we should be overrun by a lot of aliens from southern Europe, who have been brought here through the cupidity of steamship companies, and who have not left behind them and do not intend to forsake their Black Hand and Mafia methods, and who contribute nothing worth having to the common good. Much is being said about the development of the South's resources in connection with the alien-labor agitation. For myself, I have but little patience with such agitation. I do not see the necessity for all this hot haste to use up the

country's treasure, and at the same time make such an outcry for the conservation of our natural resources. Our forests are almost gone and our public domain is exhausted. The South has prospered marvelously and bids fair to make even more rapid strides. This has been accomplished without the aid of such immigration as that which now comes to our principal ports. Without them our white civilization has been maintained, and I, for one, am willing to deal with the future without their aid.

Statistics are always tiresome and dull reading, but at the risk of being tiresome and prolix I must quote a few figures for our information. As to the statistics on crime, pauperism, and insanity according to the census of 1890 (part 2, pages 169, 174, 182), comparing an equal number of foreign element and the native element, we find that the foreigners furnished one and one-half times as many criminals and two and one-third times as many insane, and three times as many paupers. When it comes to the children of native-born parentage and foreign-born parentage, those of foreign parentage are found to be three times as criminal as those of the native parentage.

According to the annual report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1904, the foreign born in all the public institutions of the United States constitute 28 per cent, whereas there were but about 10,000,000 foreign-born persons out of a population of 80,000,000 of people. His report also shows that there were 44,985 alien inmates of penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions in the United States, 64 per cent of whom were Slavic, Iberic, or Mediterranean races, and that out of the 800 confined for murder 253 were Italians, and of 373 confined for attempt of murder 139 were Italians. According to the last annual report of the commissioner-general the number of aliens confined in our penal, insane, and charitable institutions has increased during the past four years from 44,985 to 60,501, an increase of 15,516, or about 34 per cent.

In New York State, which has a population one-fourth foreign and three-fourths native, from one-half to three-fourths of the inmates of public state institutions are foreigners, who cost that State over \$10,000,000 annually—a very fitting sacrifice to those foreign gods of transportation. But more important are facts from an official report like that of Chief Magistrate Wahle's concerning the criminal prosecutions in the city of New York for 1905. He says that there was an increase for the year of 18,388 arraignments (25 per cent), and that all of this increase were southeast Europeans.

We have undertaken to show that the question of immigration is a vital pressing question and that we must face it. We have undertaken to show that on account of the greed of the steamship companies and other subagencies throughout Europe the greater percentage of the immigrants coming to our shores is of persons steeped in degradation and in the lowest intellectual and physical class. What will be the effect of this admixture of the lowest types of humanity with the Anglo-Saxon race is a question that ought to concern all who are proud of our Anglo-Saxon lineage and of our achievements in the past. That our type of national character is in serious danger from the interbreeding of native and alien stocks in the country has been affirmed on numerous occasions and by those whose opinions we

should heed. A recent study by Alfred P. Schultz, just published, called "Race or Mongrels," clearly points this out. In this book Mr. Schultz shows that all the great races of history, such as the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Phoenicians, Hindoos, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans were great only so long as, like the Jews, they kept their race free from mixture with alien types. In opposing the views of the superficial optimists, who claim that all sorts and conditions of races can be somehow welded together to produce a new and wonderful breed, Mr. Schultz relies upon the recent discoveries in biology, tending to show the paramount importance of heredity. He says:

As well expect to produce a more perfect dog by breeding together at random a dozen different kinds. It is no less rational to expect to make mongrels into refined dogs by teaching them tricks than to imagine that a few years of schooling, flag exercises, and civic instructions will make the deteriorated half-breed of Southern Europe into desirable American citizens. The ideas, ideals, and institutions of a nation change with its racial composition. Crossing must cease or America will develop into another Imperial Rome.

Recently a Canadian editor, after acknowledging the many virtues of the New Englander, stated with some condescension:

You are becoming a race of mongrels. For years you have admitted, without let or hindrance, the scum of Europe to your citizenship, and you are now beginning to reap the consequences. That is why your politics are so corrupt, your trusts so tyrannical, your public sentiment so unorganized and feeble, your Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic traditions of conservatism and civic and financial morality so nearly extinct. "Canada, not the United States," he concluded with sublime faith, "is destined to be the new world Anglo-Saxon nationality of the future."

I might add in passing that it is significant that Pan, who was the son of everybody, was the ugliest of the Gods.

Recently, as pointed out by the Canadian editor, a decided change has taken place in the character of our population in certain localities. The early Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic people who gave us our principles of liberty, our democratic institutions, and, in fact, our very civilization itself, have been overcome. Chicago has become one of the largest Polish cities in the world, New York one of the largest Italian cities, and Boston one of the largest Slav-Iberic cities. It is in these large northern cities, with their vast majority of persons of foreign extraction, that is, foreign birth or foreign parentage, that aggressive rottenness and dishonesty in municipal affairs is attracting public opinion and condemnation. It is in these large foreign cities of the North that popular government, as our Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon forefathers conceived it, has been displaced by the despotic boss; and a profound distrust of democracy has taken hold upon the educated and property holding classes, who fashion public opinion. Of late attempts have been made in a number of these cities, with their vast foreign population, to limit materially local self-government. A little over a year ago there was created in Boston a finance commission, composed of the very best citizens, for the purpose of investigating and reporting on the existing intolerable municipal conditions. The report of that commission has just been made and deals exhaustively with the situation. Among other things, the commission says:

The present electoral machinery is wholly unsuited for the requirements of successful municipal government through popular suffrage;

and recommends to the legislature the passage of a bill which will completely change the present form of city government, and divide the responsibility between the people of Boston and the legislature. This, mind you, was the once refined and cultured Boston, the Arcady of America; Boston, that has now become so infested with aliens, thought to be incapable of self-government, that it is asked that the municipal government be divided between the people of Boston and the legislature of Massachusetts. It is not surprising that schemes are being devised and ways and means provided whereby this congested mass of humanity may be pushed on to the South and West. It is history repeating itself. But if you will insist on permitting these steamship companies to bring such people to your ports for the sake of the revenue that is in the traffic, then we say keep them, even if the dose does choke you. Do not push them off on us. We will get on without them. This admonition is unnecessary, however, for the reason that the immigrant that is now being admitted can not be induced, cajoled, or even forced to leave the large cities.

In the light of what has just been related, may we not exclaim with Associate Justice Brewer:

May not the original Anglo-Saxon stock be submerged? Will republican institutions stand the continuous influx of people who know nothing of self-control and who look upon all government as an enemy? We have boasted that our liberty was a liberty of law, and left no room for revolution or riot, but certain occurrences in Colorado and elsewhere have shown that this is not always true. May not the forces against law become strong enough to break it down? Is not the Anglo-Saxon principle of liberty worth preserving, even if it should be necessary to restrict or put a stop to immigration? It is a question, at any rate, that should not be settled by sentiment, nor will it do to say that we have done well enough in the past and are likely to do as well in the future.

Much to the point is the extract from the American Commonwealth by Hon. James Bryce, author, volume 2, pages 862 and 863:

Within the past decade new swarms of immigrants have invaded America, drawn from their homes in the eastern part of Europe by the constant cheapening of ocean transit, and by that more thorough drainage, so to speak, of the inland regions of Europe, which is due to the extension of railroads. These immigrants, largely of Slavonic race, come from a lower stratum of civilization than the German immigrant of the past, and since they speak foreign tongues are less quickly amenable to American influences and probably altogether less improvable than are the Irish. There seems to be a danger that if they continue to come in large numbers they may retain their own low standard of decency and comfort and menace the continuance among the working classes generally of that higher standard which has hitherto prevailed in all but a few spots in this country.

Certainly, Mr. President, a too rapid filling up of our country with foreign elements is sure to be at the expense of national character and Anglo-Saxon homogeneity, when such elements belong to the lowest classes in their own respective homes.

I have quoted frequently and at length from men who have been in a position to see the situation and have studied it and have suggested remedies.

Certainly, Mr. President, the country awaits the report of the commission that it may insist on legislation that will check this menace to our civilization; a menace that is obvious to all, except the steamship companies and the commission. Will the commission give us its report, or will it continue to pay high-priced professors and say nothing?

Mr. President, what will be the outcome of our unhappy condition only God in his infinite wisdom may know. But, sir, we should be warned by the teachings of history. We are told that fifteen hundred years ago Theodosius the Great induced large colonies to migrate from the countries from which a large portion of our immigration is now coming into the Roman Empire. They did not assimilate with the inhabitants of the empire. Patriotism decayed. The national spirit became extinct. The immigrants became a peril, and finally caused the downfall of the empire. Let us heed the lesson.

It has long been our boast that America offers an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and Liberty Enlightening the World stands beckoning such to our shores. It is time, Mr. President, that this sentiment should be relegated to the limbo of things to be forgotten and give place to the more practical sentiment that our own must be provided for. How long, Mr. President, at the present rate, before the conditions here will be similar to what they are now in southeastern Europe? If we believe the evidence, the day is not far distant. Our bread lines are each day lengthening, and, if the newspapers are to be believed, the selling of human beings into slavery is a condition and not a theory. Well may we ponder, then, the warning words of Thomas Bailey Aldrich in the beautiful verses entitled "Unguarded Gates:"

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them press a wild, a motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,
Maylayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are these,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that once the tower of Babel knew!
O, Liberty, White Goddess! is it well
To leave the gate unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the downtrodden, but with the hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gift of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

Mr. President, I desire to offer what I send to the desk as a substitute for the resolution which is now before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURROWS in the chair).
The Senator from South Carolina offers a substitute for the pending resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary read the substitute, as follows:

Resolved, That the Immigration Commission created by section 39 of an act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States, approved February 20, 1907, be, and hereby is, directed to report to the Senate a summary of its doings and present work, together with a statement of its expenditures, the number of its employees, the capacity in which they are employed, the salaries paid and all allowances, and such other information as will give the Senate an idea of the amount of money and length of time which will be required for the commission to complete its labors and make its recommendations and final report.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, as a member of the commission mentioned in the resolution, I want to ask for the adoption of the resolution, that the commission may be able to

lay before the Senate the information requested. I do this because the commission has been engaged in the investigation of every question that has been suggested by the Senator from South Carolina in his admirable address this morning, and is now engaged in the investigation not only of those, but of very many other questions; and I feel that when the work is completed it will be one which the Senate will appreciate as having value—information that is authentic and which has been secured from a scientific standpoint and which will materially aid Congress in legislating along these lines. In order that the Senate may know what the commission is doing, I really hope the resolution will be adopted.

Mr. FRAZIER. I wish to ask the Senator from Vermont a question before he resumes his seat.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Vermont yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Certainly.

Mr. FRAZIER. It was stated by the Senator from South Carolina in the course of his address that a certain person was employed in making an investigation along the border between Texas and Mexico, and that that person was receiving a salary of from \$7,000 to \$8,000 and traveling and other expenses.

I observe from the immigration act, under which the commission has been acting, that the President is authorized to appoint three commissioners and to fix their compensation, but I do not observe that the President is authorized to appoint anyone else. I ask the chairman of the commission who appointed the gentleman referred to and fixed his compensation?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have not the papers before me at this time, and I can not speak with certainty. He was employed in connection with work conducted by Professor Jenks.

Mr. BAILEY. Employed on the secret-service force?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I shall be very glad to make inquiries about that and see that a report is made.

Mr. FRAZIER. I should like to ask the Senator further—

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I call for the regular order. This debate is entirely out of order. I yielded for the Senator from South Carolina, but the post-office appropriation bill is really before the Senate. I must insist on the regular order, Mr. President.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Pennsylvania demands the regular order.

Mr. WARREN. As conference reports are always in order, I will ask the Senator from Pennsylvania to yield to me.

Mr. PENROSE. I will yield for that purpose, but after that, in justice to the large number of gentlemen interested in the post-office appropriation bill who are here waiting for its consideration, I must insist that the Senate proceed with it.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I will ask the Senator whether, following the Senator from Wyoming, he will not allow me to proceed for five minutes upon this line of discussion?

Mr. TILLMAN subsequently said: Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. PENROSE. For what purpose?

Mr. TILLMAN. I wish to ask the Senator if he will not consent to have the resolution which my colleague sent to the desk adopted?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There is no objection whatever to it.

Mr. TILLMAN. There is no objection to it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There will be no debate.

Mr. PENROSE. Under the circumstances I yield.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. GARY].

The resolution was agreed to.

* * * * *

Mr. PENROSE. Now, Mr. President, I ask that the Senate proceed with the post-office appropriation bill.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania whether he will allow me to proceed for about five minutes upon the question discussed by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. GARY].

Mr. PENROSE. There is nothing before the Senate on that subject. We have just adopted the resolution.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I understand, but I wish to say a few words upon the subject.

Mr. PENROSE. I yield to the Senator from Nevada for five minutes.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I am sure we are all of us very much indebted to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. GARY] for his very able and comprehensive speech regarding the most serious and important national problem of our time, the race question. We have to-day in our midst 10,000,000 of black people, manumitted about forty-five years ago, and suddenly and mistakenly admitted to an equality of political rights with us. We have the problem before us relating to that race, involving the question as to whether these rights, so improvidently granted, should not be either withdrawn or modified, involving the question as to whether the Nation in a cooperative and helpful, and not in an intrusive, way should aid the Southern States in the development of this infant race toward self-control, involving the question as to whether some form of assisted emigration of the blacks from our country should not be evolved that would diminish the existing dangers of race complications.

We have also a duty to perform to 7,000,000 brown people in distant islands, in whose favor we are called upon to discharge a sacred trust leading to ultimate independence.

We have confronting us in Europe 300,000,000 people of the white race, whose surplus population of those countries is eager to come to our shores. We have confronting us in Asia 1,000,000,000 people of the yellow and brown races, multitudes of whom desire to come to this country of unrivaled resources, of high wages, of agreeable climate, and abundant opportunities. We are thus called upon to face the race question in various forms.

My belief with reference to the black race now in our midst is that the time has come for the tolerant consideration of some form of national legislation that will recognize the national character of the problem, and whilst humane to the black race will be cooperative and helpful to the white race in their struggle for race integrity and supremacy.

So far as the immigration of foreign races of whatever color to this country is concerned, my belief is that it is purely a domestic question, to be settled by national legislation and not by diplomacy, and that, without mentioning or referring to any foreign race invidiously, we should declare by law that immigration to this country shall be restricted to the white race alone, except for the purposes of travel, education, and international trade, and that the immigration of the white race to this country shall be restricted to those whose physical constitution, character, and training will fit them ultimately for American citizenship.

This question has become a live question within the last few months by reason of the action of the legislatures of various States in the West, expressive of their realization of the danger of race complication. Upon this subject I have had some correspondence with the governor of my State, and have made a public statement regarding the form which the legislative expression of the States affected should take, and I ask that clippings from the Washington Post containing such matter be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[Washington Post, February 5, 1909.]

THE JAPANESE QUESTION.

Letter of Hon. Francis G. Newlands to Governor Dickerson, of Nevada.

UNITED STATES SENATE,

Washington, D. C., February 5, 1909.

HON. DENVER S. DICKERSON,

Carson City, Nev.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: With a view to moderating any action tending to create friction between Japan and this country, I take the liberty of suggesting to the legislature, through you, a plan of action which, whilst indicating a proper solicitude for relations of friendship and amity with Japan, will mark clearly our purpose to maintain this country as the home of the white race, free from such racial competition and antagonism on our own soil as will surely breed domestic violence and international hatred.

Entertaining no prejudice against any foreign race, and particularly admiring the vigor, courage, and patriotism of the people of Japan, and disposed to advance rather than to thwart her career of national greatness, we of the West are yet profoundly impressed with the view that the United States, possessing a vast territory as yet undeveloped and capable of supporting many times our present population, with natural resources unrivaled anywhere, with climates adapted to every people, will, with the cheapening of transportation, draw to itself the surplus population of all peoples.

Nature has classified the peoples of the world mainly under three colors—the white, the black, and the brown. Confronting us on the east lies Europe, with a total population of about 300,000,000 white people. We are finding it difficult to assimilate even the immigrants of the white race from that Continent, and have been obliged to carefully restrict such immigration. We have drifted into a condition regarding the black race which constitutes the great problem and peril of the future. Confronting our Pacific coast lies Asia, with nearly a billion people of the brown race, who, if there were no restrictions, would quickly settle upon and take possession of our entire coast and intermountain region. History teaches that it is impossible to make a homogeneous people by the juxtaposition of races differing in color upon the same soil.

Race tolerance, under such conditions, means race amalgamation, and this is undesirable. Race intolerance means, ultimately, race war and mutual destruction, or the reduction of one of the races to servitude. The admission of a race of a different color, in a condition of industrial servitude, is foreign to our institutions, which demand equal rights to all within our jurisdiction. The competition of such a race would

involve industrial disturbance and hostility, requiring the use of a large armed force to maintain peace and order, with the probability that the nation representing the race thus protected would never be satisfied that the means employed were adequate. The presence of the Chinese, who are patient and submissive, would not create as many complications as the presence of the Japanese, whose strong and virile qualities would constitute an additional factor of difficulty. Our friendship, therefore, with Japan, for whose territorial and race integrity the American people have stood in active sympathy in all her struggles, demands that this friendship should not be put to the test by bringing two such powerful races of such differing views and standards into industrial competition upon the same soil.

This can be prevented either by international treaty or by national laws regulating, restricting, or preventing immigration. International negotiation and treaty is, in my judgment, an unsatisfactory method. It requires a nation with which we have treaty relations to prevent its own people from going where they will, a restriction which we would never in any treaty apply to our own people. We would therefore be asking other nations to put a restriction upon the movements of their people which we would refuse to prescribe regarding our own. There is but one consistent position to assume, and that is to relegate the whole question to domestic legislation in each country, permitting each to make such laws regarding the regulation, restriction, or prevention of immigration as it sees fit. The time has come, in my judgment, when the United States, as a matter of self-protection and self-preservation, must declare by statutory enactment that it will not tolerate further race complications. Our country should by law, to take effect after the expiration of existing treaties, prevent the immigration into this country of all peoples other than those of the white race, except under restricted conditions relating to international commerce, travel, and education; and it should start immediately upon the serious consideration of a national policy regarding the people of the black race now within our boundaries which, with a proper regard for humanity, will minimize the danger to our institutions and our civilization.

Japan can not justly take offense at such action. She would be the first to take such action against the white race were it necessary to maintain the integrity of her race and her institutions. She is at liberty to pursue the same course. Such action constitutes no charge of inferiority against the race excluded; it may be a confession of inferiority in ability to cope economically with the excluded race. It involves no insult, or the possibility of war, for Japan could not possibly sustain a war, even were her finances in better condition than they are now, without the sympathy of the world as to the justness of her cause.

I give this utterance reluctantly, for I am not disposed to participate in the prevailing sensationalism; but the issue has been made; the public attention is called to the question; and failure upon the part of our western communities to meet it candidly and courageously might be regarded in the Eastern States, whose people are unfamiliar with the economic and social dangers attendant upon Asiatic immigration, to believe that we have abandoned our convictions and acquiesce in the view that a great question of national and domestic policy shall be turned over to the bargaining of diplomats. I am opposed to sporadic legislation, here and there, by the various States, intended to meet only certain phases of what constitutes a national peril, phases which will necessarily be covered by broad national legislation. I am opposed to terms of opprobrium and of insult. Japan deserves from us only respect and admiration; we deserve from her a proper regard for the integrity of our race and institutions. A temperate declaration made at this time by the legislatures of the Western States upon the lines here indicated will aid much to advance the enlightened, calm, and forceful presentation of this question in such a manner as shall convince the judgment of the world, including that of Japan herself. Thus, upon the expiration of the present treaty with Japan and without attendant attacks upon Japanese sensibilities, public opinion will be so shaped as to force a calm and rational solution of the question by purely domestic and national legislation.

Very sincerely, yours,

FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

[From Washington Post, February 8, 1909.]

RACE SOLUTION IN LAW—SENATOR NEWLANDS URGES BROAD NATIONAL LEGISLATION—NOT MATTER FOR DIPLOMACY—NEVADA SENATOR SUGGESTS RESOLUTION.

Senator NEWLANDS, of Nevada, in a statement given out last night, asserted that there should be broad national legislation covering the whole Japanese question.

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"The legislation proposed by the Pacific coast States intended to meet certain phases of what constitutes a national peril has been opposed by the President as involving violation of our treaty with Japan and imperiling her friendship," said Senator NEWLANDS.

"While the Western States will in all probability patriotically yield to such suggestion, there is danger that the abandonment of such legislation may be misunderstood by the Eastern States, whose people are unfamiliar with the economic and social dangers attendant upon Asiatic immigration, and that they may think that we acquiesce in the view that a great question of national and domestic policy should be turned over to the negotiation of diplomats. No question involving such important considerations as race homogeneity and domestic industrial peace can safely be turned over to diplomacy.

URGES BROAD LEGISLATION.

"There should be broad national legislation covering the whole question, and thus necessarily covering the parts of the question which state legislation in the West seeks to cover."

Continuing, the Senator stated that the Nevada legislature should, in his judgment, as a substitute for all pending measures, adopt resolutions making the following declarations:

"That the race question is now the most important question confronting the Nation; that already we have drifted regarding the black race into a condition which seriously suggests the withdrawal of the political rights heretofore mistakenly granted—the inauguration of a humane national policy which, with the cooperation and the aid of the Southern States, shall recognize that the blacks are a race of children, requiring guidance, industrial training, and the development of self-control, and other measures intended to reduce the danger of the race complication, formerly sectional, but now becoming national.

SITUATION ON ATLANTIC.

"That confronting us on the Atlantic is Europe, with a total population of 300,000,000 white people, whose surplus seeks outlet on our soil; that we have found it difficult to assimilate even the immigrants of the white race from that Continent and have been obliged by law to carefully restrict such immigration.

"That confronting us on the Pacific lies Asia, with a population of 1,000,000,000 people of the yellow and brown races, who, if unrestricted, would overwhelmingly immigrate to our country of unrivaled resources, of high wages, and almost unlimited capacity to support additional population; that preeminent among these people stands Japan—strong, aggressive, with high-spirited qualities, which the American people admire, but which, if given play on American soil, would develop the strongest form of race antagonism.

CAN NOT ASSIMILATE RACES.

"That history teaches that it is impossible to develop a homogeneous people by the juxtaposition of races differing in color upon the same soil; that under such conditions race tolerance means an undesirable race amalgamation, and that race intolerance means ultimately race war, or the reduction of one of the races to servitude.

"That, therefore, our duty to our race and our institutions and the maintenance of friendship with races differing in color alike demand that we abandon the attempted adjustment of these questions by international treaty and pass a national law to take effect upon the expiration of existing treaties emphatically declaring that our country is open to white immigration alone; that such immigration shall be restricted to those of a constitution, character, and training that will ultimately fit them for American citizenship; and that other races shall be excluded from immigration except for purposes of trade, travel, and education."

NO GROUND FOR OFFENSE.

Senator NEWLANDS adds that dignified legislative action of this kind could not be made the ground of offense by any nation affected; that Japan herself would be the first to take similar action were the integrity of her race and her institutions threatened; that the United States always had been friendly to Japan in her struggles to maintain and protect her territorial and racial integrity; and that such action was entirely consistent with absolute friendliness between the nations.

MEAT vs. RICE

American Manhood against
Asiatic Coolieism

WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

BY
SAMUEL GOMPERS AND HERMAN GUTSTADT

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SAMUEL GOMPERS AND HERMAN GUTSTADT.

Introduction and Appendices by Asiatic Exclusion League.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the following pages we present the material collected and assembled by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and Mr. Herman Gutstadt of San Francisco, and published, first, by the American Federation of Labor and afterward by the Government Printing Office as Senate Document No. 137.

Those now living who were residents of San Francisco and other Pacific Coast cities (1870-1880-1890-1900) will cheerfully testify to the truthfulness of the statements submitted and the correctness of the inferences drawn from the same.

At the present writing (June, 1908) the conditions which prevailed in California during the decades 1880-1890-1900 are being paralleled throughout the Pacific Coast States, but with this difference: instead of a purely Chinese menace we have a combination of all the Asiatic races, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindoos, the most dangerous being the Japanese. When (in 1900) Professor Edward T. Ross, of Stanford, in a great speech at the Metropolitan Temple, called attention to the rapid increase of Japanese and their insidious encroachments upon the industries of California, he was looked upon as an alarmist and subsequently lost his position (professor of economics) at the behest of one who was an out-and-out admirer of the Mongolian; then, when Governor Gage, guided by the alarming reports emanating from the California Bureau of Labor Statistics, called the attention of the Legislature to the rapid increase of Japs, it seemed to the observant student that the time was ripe for demanding a Japanese Exclusion law. However, the great Chinese Exclusion Convention (November 21-22, 1901) ignored the Japanese question and concentrated its energies upon the re-enacting and extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law, in which (thank God) they were successful.

The immediate result of this neglect of the Japanese problem was to give that branch of the Mongolian race encouragement in the belief that they were a welcome addition to our population, and in consequence they

began to come in swarms, like bees, until high water mark was reached in 1907, 30,226 being admitted that year, or about 9,000 less than the Chinese immigration of 1882 (39,579), which caused the great Kearney riots and almost led to the destruction of the Pacific Mail Docks.

The conditions among the Chinese during the decades depicted by Messrs. Gompers and Gutstadt find their counterpart among the Japanese to-day, and unless relief is obtained by legislative action, two or three decades hence will see California as much Japanized as is Hawaii to-day. If in the following pages the reader were to scratch out the word Chinese wherever it appears, and insert Japanese, the pamphlet would—with perhaps the exception of a few figures—be a fair portrayal of the conditions now existing not only in San Francisco but throughout the State of California, and in a lesser degree the States of Oregon and Washington, though it is safe to say that the cities of Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle have a larger Japanese population, in proportion to the whites, than has San Francisco.

No figures are submitted in support of the foregoing assertions, not for the lack of them, but because printed pamphlets containing complete tabulations may be obtained upon application, from the Asiatic Exclusion League, rooms 812-815, Metropolis Bank Building, San Francisco.

HISTORICAL.

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

In the year preceding the enactment of the first restriction Act, the Chinese immigration at San Francisco (39,000) exceeded the entire increase of the white population of the State of California for the same year, from births, inter-state migration, and European immigration combined.

In the early settlement of that State, now unquestionably one of the grandest in the Union, when mining was the chief industry and labor by reason of its scarcity, well paid, the presence of a few thousands of Chinese, who were willing to work in occupations then seriously in want of labor and at wages lower than the standard, caused no serious alarm or discomfort. The State of California at that time presented more or less a great mining camp, industrial or agricultural development not then being thought of. But this admission by no means warrants the assumption of pro-Chinese

sentimentalists that without Chinese labor the Pacific States would not have advanced as rapidly as they have done.

A well-known California physician replies to this assumption:

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

The tales of their prosperity soon reached China, and the Six Companies were formed for the purpose of providing means and transportation—but few having sufficient means to come on their own account—binding their victims in exchange therefor by contracts which virtually enslaved them for a term of years. They became the absolute chattels of the Tong, or Companies, and were held, and to this day are held just as ever, into strict compliance with the terms entered into, not by any moral obligation, but by fear of death. Each Tong employs a number of men known as highbinders or hatchetmen, who are paid to enforce strict compliance, even if it must be by the death of the culprit. The police records of San Francisco will bear ample evidence to the truth of this, as also will the report of a legislative committee of 1876. This committee concluded its report as follows:

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

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

These conclusions were arrived at after a thorough and careful investigation, during which a large number of competent witnesses testified. Among the many there appeared D. J. Murphy, District Attorney of the City and County of San Francisco; Mr. H. H. Ellis, Chief of Police of the City of San Francisco; Charles T. Jones, District Attorney of Sacramento County; Mat Karcher, Chief of Police of Sacramento; Davis Louderback, Police Judge of San Francisco—all of whom testified that it was their belief that the Chinese had a tribunal of their own and that it was impossible to convict a Chinese criminal upon Chinese evidence, unless the secret tribunal had determined to have him convicted. In a great many cases it was believed that

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They had convicted innocent people upon perjured evidence. The court records of California fairly teem with the evidences of every crime imaginable, while the coroner's office and police headquarters can furnish data as to the perpetration of crimes yet unpunished. District Attorney Jones, of Sacramento, testified as to the murder of Ah Juong, the court interpreter, who was slain in broad daylight in the streets of Sacramento, because certain defendants were not convicted of an alleged abduction.

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

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

We do not intend to enter into this question in detail, and we have called attention to it only because some of our sentimental friends have demonstrated a tendency to elevate the little brown man upon an unusually high moral and law-abiding pedestal. A more intimate knowledge of the Chinese in California—or the cities of New York or Boston—would disabuse their minds so quickly that we fancy many would be ashamed to own they ever harbored such convictions. (Appendix II.)

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

But let us return to the historical part of the narrative. Beginning with the most menial avocations they gradually invaded one industry after another, until they not merely took the places of our girls as domestics and cooks, and the laundry from our poorer women and subsequently from the white steam laundries, but the places also of the men and boys, as boot and shoemakers, garment makers, bagmakers, miners, farm laborers, brickmakers, tailors, slipper makers and numerous other occupations. In the ladies' furnishing line they gained absolute control, displacing hundreds of our girls who would otherwise have found profitable employment. Whatever business or trade they entered was, and is yet, absolutely doomed for the white laborer, as competition is simply impossible. Not that the Chinese would not rather work for high wages than low, but in order to gain control he will work so cheaply as to bar all efforts of his competitor. But not only has the workman and workingwoman gained this bitter experience, but certain manufacturers and merchants have been equally the sufferers. The Chinese laborer will work cheaper for a Chinese employer than he will for a white

man, as has been invariably proven, and, as a rule, he boards with his Chinese employer. The Chinese merchant or manufacturer will undersell his white competitor, and if uninterrupted will finally gain possession of the entire field. Such is the history of the race wherever they have come in contact with other peoples. None can withstand their silent and irresistible flow, and their millions already populate and command the labor and trade of the islands and nations of the Pacific. (Appendices III, IV.)

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

"The war of England and France against the Celestial Empire was an historical fact of worldwide importance, not because of the military successes achieved, but because the allies cast down the walls by which 400,000,000 of inhabitants were hermetically closed in from the outside world. With the intention of opening China to the Europeans, the globe has been thrown open to the Chinese. In consequence, the Chinese are streaming over the greater part of the globe, and are also forming colonies, albeit after their own fashion. Highly gifted, although inferior to the Caucasian in the highest spheres of mental activity; endowed with an untiring industry; temperate to the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator, especially in gardening; distinguished in every handicraft, the son of the Middle Kingdom slowly, surely and unremarked, is supplanting the Europeans wherever they are brought together. . . . On my first visit to Singapore in 1871 the population consisted of 100 white families, of 20,000 Malays, and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there in 1884 the population was divided, according to the official census, into 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, beautiful residences and pagodas. The country lying to the south of Indo-China—a few years ago almost uninhabited—is now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flowery Kingdom who emigrated to that point and to Singapore amounted to 100,000 in 1882, to 150,000 in 1883, and last year (1884) an important increase in these numbers was expected."

"I never met more Chinese in San Francisco than I did last summer (1884), and in Australia the Chinese element is ever increasing in importance. To a man who will do the work for half price all doors are open. Even in the South Sea Islands the influence of Chinese labor is felt. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is in the hands of a great Chinese firm. On the Sandwich Islands (Territory of Hawaii) the sons of the Middle Kingdom are spreading everywhere. The North Americans, until now the rulers of those islands under their native kings, are already feeling the earth shake under their feet as in vain they resist these inroads. All these things have I seen with my own eyes, excepting in Chile and Peru—countries that I did not visit. From official documents, however, I extract the fact that since 1860 (to 1884) 200,000 Chinese have landed there—an enormous number, considering the small European population in those countries."

How does that statement—with the figures in the appendix (Appendix IV)—compare with an assertion of Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Minister, and Consul-General Ho Yow that the Chinese do not emigrate to any large extent? The Baron said further:

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"Europe with her 300,000,000, China with her 400,000,000, represent, with exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. They send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions arise. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now suffering from a plethora, or a severe bleeding will Europe remain in a full healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anemia? What fate is in store for the young rising powers that are neither kingdoms nor republics? What will be the reactionary effect upon the mother countries of Europe? What will be the result of the meeting of these white and yellow streams? Will they flow peacefully on parallel lines in their respective channels, or will their commingling lead to chaotic events? **WE DO NOT KNOW. WE CANNOT TELL.** Will Christian society and Christian civilization in their present form disappear, or will they emerge victorious from the conflict, carrying their living, fruitful, everlasting principles to all the corners of the earth? **WE CANNOT KNOW.** These are the unsolved problems; the secrets of the future; hidden within the tomb of time. What we now distinguish is only the first clangor of the overture of the drama of the coming years. **THE CURTAIN IS NOT RUNG UP AS THE PLOT ONLY TO BE WORKED OUT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.**

In the light of events in China in 1900-1901 and the aggressive influx of Japanese into Hawaii and the Pacific Coast States, Mexico and British Columbia since 1900, how prophetic are the words of this statesman and philosopher; would it not be well to take heed?

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

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

Kipling saw Canton and says of it:

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

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

To those of our citizens still in middle age the struggle of the Pacific West must yet be fresh in mind. A growing young giant, kept to the earth by a weight he found himself unable to rise with. His appeals, piteous, and prayers for succor from those able to help availed him naught. In spite of his herculean efforts he was not even able to shift this burden, and when his final collapse became merely a question of time help came sparingly—the help he had a right to expect, but some of the weight was taken

off. The beginning being made, by persistent effort greater help was extended until, the burden being considerable lighter, the giant was able to rise. Is the burden to be again increased? Is the young giant of the West to be again crushed to the earth by an avalanche against which other and older nations have found all resistance futile? Our recently acquired possessions may furnish us a finger mark it might be well to consider.

A LITTLE PHILIPPINE HISTORY.

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

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

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

About forty years after this last onslaught, they again began to immigrate to the island, but having learned caution from the experience of their predecessors, they avoided all irritating actions and quietly absorbed the coffee and spice plantations, and then gradually engrossed the various lines

of business. Now the Spanish residents who were in business there have all been crowded out, and the shipping, banking, insurance and mercantile business, and all the leading industries, have fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

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

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

"The system is unsatisfactory, and an immigration station is needed where immigrants can be landed and a systematic examination had of them and their belongings."

General MacArthur was, like General Otis, vigorously opposed to unrestricted Chinese immigration into the Philippines. In the report above quoted he says:

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

"Individually the Chinaman represents a unit of excellence that must always command respect and win admiration, but in their organized capacity in the Philippines the Chinese represent an economical army without allegiance or attachment to the country, and which to a great extent is beyond the reach of insular authority. They are bent upon commercial conquest, and as those in the islands already represent an innumerable host at home, even restricted immigration would be a serious menace."

If a further indorsement of these facts be necessary, we find it in the expressions of General James F. Smith, who after an experience of two years and a half in the archipelago, was interviewed in San Francisco by Lillian Ferguson of the San Francisco Examiner. Upon being asked if Oriental labor should be imported into the Orient the General said:

"A Filipino can't live like a Chinaman. For this reason, if I had no other, I am opposed to the importation to the Philippines of Chinese or Japanese laborers. We have seen how disastrously immigration from the Orient resulted right here in California. Surely if the American laborers, with their superior intelligence and industry, have been unable to compete with the Asiatic, what can be expected of the poor Filipinos?"

PART II.

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

The people of the Pacific Coast, who by reason of their long enforced contact and bitter experience ought to be credited with some knowledge on the subject almost unanimously declare that it does. It is a most serious mistake for the citizens of the Eastern States to believe that the anti-Asiatic sentiment is limited to any particular class or faction, creed or nationality.

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

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

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

CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA.

John S. Enos, commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California from 1883 to 1886, inclusive, made a number of investigations both of a general and individual character. The boot and shoe and the cigar industry being the most seriously affected, were made subjects of special investigation, the cigar industry in particular revealing a condition of affairs almost too horrible for publication. The general investigation was completed with the assistance of the various county assessors of the State of California, from the result of which the following tables were compiled. There is, however, some reason to believe that the returns did not furnish the actual rate paid, as it is an established fact that Chinese [and Japanese also] laborers work at much lower wages for Chinese [and Japanese] employers than they do for white:

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Class of labor.	Average wages.	With or without board.
Domestic servants	\$21.50 per month	with
Cooks	20.00 per month	with
Lundrymen	10.00 per month	with
Wormers	22.50 per month	with
Rickmakers	30.00 per month	without
Upper makers	4.50 per week	without
Fig makers	5.25 per week	without
Wainers	1.75 per week	without
Annurjes	1.00 per week	without
Boat and shoe workers.....	1.25 per week	without
Cigar, doing piece work.....	4.00 to \$7 per week	without

Cost of Living.

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

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

Since the investigation by Mr. Enos the Chinese have successfully invaded her fields of industry. The ladies' furnishing and undergarment trade is now entirely under the control of the Chinese. Their stores are scattered everywhere throughout San Francisco, and the American manufacturers have been driven out and every effort to regain the trade has been unsuccessful. In the manufacture of male garments and furnishings conditions are almost bad, fully one-half and possibly two-thirds being in the hands of Asiatics. Several of the largest manufacturers of clothing in San Francisco have everything made by Chinese.

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

ceeded in wresting the monopoly from the hands of their Chinese competitors.

In factories owned by white employers the Chinese employes refused to work with white men, and upon one occasion positively struck against them, refusing to work unless the white help were discharged. This occurrence so aroused the State of California that an anti-Chinese convention was called and held at Sacramento March 10, 1886, in which the most distinguished representative citizens of California took part. The convention appointed a committee of five to address a suitable memorial to Congress applying for relief. The committee consisted of Hon. John F. Swift, ex-Minister to Japan; United States Senator A. A. Sargent; Hon. H. V. Morehouse, Hon. E. A. Davis, and Hon. Elihu Anthony.

There certainly can be no question as to the conservatism of those gentlemen, all of whom had been prominently identified with the growth and development of the State of California. The following extracts from the memorial are as applicable to all Asiatics as they are to the Chinese in particular:

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Now, and while this territory is still practically unoccupied, and within the lifetime of the present generation, the type of human species that is

to occupy this side of the American continent is to be determined for all time.

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

"To begin with, they have a hive of 450,000,000 Chinese [850,000,000 Asiatics] to draw from, with only one ocean to cross, and behind them an impulsive force of hunger unknown to any European people.

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

What need of more figures? The reports of the Bureau of Labor statistics for the years 1883-84, 1886, 1890, 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1906 furnish ample proof of the utter impossibility for our race to compete with the Mongolian. Their ability to subsist and thrive under conditions which would mean starvation and suicide to the cheapest laborer of Europe secures to them an advantage which baffles the statesman and economist to overcome, how much less the chances of the laborers pitted in competition against them.

Asiatic Labor Degrades as Slave Labor Did.

For many years it has been impossible to get white persons to do the menial labor performed by Chinese and Japanese—"It is Mongolian's labor and not fit for whites." In the agricultural districts a species of help has been created, known as the blanket man. White laborers seldom find permanent employment; the Mongolian is preferred. During harvest time the white man is forced to wander from ranch to ranch and find employment here and there for short periods of time, with the privilege of sleeping in the barns or haystacks. He is looked upon as a vagabond, unfit to associate with his employer or to eat from the same table with him. **The negro slave of the South was housed and fed, but the white trash of California is placed beneath the Mongolian.** The white domestic servant of today is expected to live in the room originally built for John, generally situated in the cellar, or attic, and void of all comforts, frequently unpainted or unpapered, containing only a bedstead and a chair. Anything was good enough for "John" and the white girl must be satisfied as well. Is it any wonder that self-respecting young women refuse to take service under such conditions? And what is true of agricultural laborers and domestics applies, equally, to all trades in which Mongolians are largely employed. Absolute servility (civility is not enough) is expected from those who take the place of "John" or "Togo" and it will take many years to obliterate these traces of inferiority and re-establish the proper relations of the employer and the employed.

From the report of the special committee on Chinese immigration to the California State Senate, 1878, we quote the following, while in the Appen-

dix (VIII) we submit a letter from John P. Irish upon the conditions existing in San Francisco at the time of his arrival in that city—1882:

“A serious objection to slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, was that it degraded white labor. The very same objection exists against Chinese labor [Asiatic].

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

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

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

“The slaves of the South were, as a race, kind and faithful. The Asiatics are cruel and treacherous. In this, by contrast all the advantages were with Southern slavery. (Appendix X.)

“On the whole, Asiatic immigration tends more strongly to the degradation of labor and to the subversion of our institutions than did slavery at the South. It has all the disadvantages of African slavery and none of its compensations.”

Social Habits.

Of the social habits of Asiatics none can form a proper conception unless personally familiar therewith. The following excerpts from the report of a special committee of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, appointed to investigate and report upon Chinatown, July, 1885, illustrates in a most forcible manner the evils of Asiatic immigration and the menace attending their domiciliation among us. See Appendix Municipal Reports, 1884-85.

"In a sanitary point of view Chinatown presents a singular anomaly. With the habits, manners, customs and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cesspools, exhalations from water-closets, sinks, urinals and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, living literally the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the daily use of opium to the extent that many hours each day or night are passed in the delirious stupefaction of its influence, it is not to be denied that, as a whole, the general health of this locality compares more than favorably with other sections of the city which are surrounded by more favorable conditions. [p. 174.]

"It is not too sweeping a declaration to make to say that there is scarcely a habitation occupied by Asiatics in which the so-called 'Cubic-air ordinance' is not constantly violated. This constant and habitual violation of this municipal regulation illustrates most forcibly the truth of an assertion, often made, that the habits and mode of life among Asiatics here are not much above 'those of the rats of the waterfront.'" [p. 178.]

The committee submitted a tabulation, compiled from figures obtained during the investigation, showing the overcrowding in Chinatown residences, especially in the sleeping and living accommodations of the laboring classes. In a visit to 30 apartments in which the number of occupants allowed under the cubic-air law would have been 224 there were found to be in actual possession no less than 799, and this may be taken as a fair type of the common manner of life among Asiatics of the ordinary classes. There are places to be found more densely crowded and some not so densely. But the figures given represent the prevailing rule, and the other extreme [about equally divided] the exception. The report goes on to say:

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

"It is from such pest holes that the Asiatic cooks and servants who are employed in our homes come. Cleanly though they may be in appearance while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on the habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds to the testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is to their interest to do so. But the instinct of the race remains unchanged, and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings—vice, filth and an atmosphere of horror." [p. 180.]

The conditions depicted in the foregoing excerpts have been obliterated in the Chinatown of San Francisco owing to the great fire, while Dr. Blue and his corps of sanitary inspectors have given the Chinese and Japanese houses, that are scattered throughout the city of San Francisco, a thorough cleansing. But a visit to the Oriental quarter in other cities of California, Oregon, Washington and the cities of New York, Boston and Washington, D. C., will discover conditions as odious and alarming as those formerly found by the Supervisors of San Francisco. Immediately preceding the "great fire" certain Japanese lodging houses were brought to the notice of the police and health authorities by the State Labor Commissioner and the conditions prevailing in them were similar to those existing in the Chinese quarter.

Detailed accounts of places visited cannot be given because of the unspeakable sights witnessed and conditions discovered. They may, however, be found in the report quoted. That these statements are correct can be proven by anyone who has gone through Chinatown or visited the quarters of Orientals in the outlying districts. If, then, Asiatics are satisfied to live such a life and practice such habits—in a country where they are so favored financially—what must be their actual condition where they are less favored?

PART III.

HAVE ASIATICS ANY MORALS?

Sixty years' contact with the Chinese, twenty-five years' experience with the Japanese and two or three years' acquaintance with Hindus should be sufficient to convince any ordinarily intelligent person that they have no standard of morals by which a Caucasian may judge them. A reference to the report previously quoted sheds considerable light upon the subject:

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

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

"Living as families—women 57, children 59. Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations and no family classification—women 761, children 576. Professional women and children living together—women 567, children 87."

"Such were the relations of the sexes as discovered by the investigators. No well-defined family relations were discovered other than as shown, while the next classification seemed to be a middle stratum between family life and prostitution, partaking in some measure of each, if such a condition of things can be possible.

"The most revolting feature of all, however, is found in the fact that there are so large a number of children growing up as the associates, and perhaps proteges, of the professional prostitutes. In one house alone, in Sullivan's alley, your committee found the inmates to be 19 professional women and 16 children. In the localities inhabited largely by professionals, women and children who apparently occupy this intermediate family relationship already alluded to, live in adjoining apartments and intermingle freely, leading to the conclusion that prostitution is a recognized and not immoral calling with the race, and that it is impossible to tell by a survey of their domestic customs where the family relationship leaves off and prostitution begins." (Appendix Municipal Report, 1885; page 168.)

The committee then submitted a report of the effects of this disgusting life upon the boys growing up in the community (Appendix IX). Attention was then called to evidence elicited by the Legislative Committee appointed to investigate the Chinese question in 1877 and the testimony of the Rev. Otis Gibson, who had lived in China, was given at length, which treated in general upon the slavery of the women. Alfred Clarke, clerk of the Police Department, confirmed the testimony of Mr. Gibson. Mr. Clarke submitted originals and translations of contracts with women for the sale of their bodies; one case naming four years for \$630; another, four and a half years, \$530.

For further details of this heinous traffic we refer to the report of the special committee of the Supervisors, p. 162, appendix of the Municipal Report of San Francisco, 1884-85. In corroboration of the statements submitted from said report we annex the headings of some of the testimony to be found in a report of the grand jury of the City of San Francisco during

the first three months of 1901. Miss Margaret Lake of the Chinese mission testified to conditions as depicted in the Municipal Report. A slave girl testified as to the manner in which she was sold [\$2,750 was paid for her]. She had married since her rescue by Miss Lake and her husband had been hot by highbinders.

Another girl testified that her mother had sold her for about \$400. She saw the money paid and the bill receipted. Miss Donaldine Cameron testified to the conditions of this slavery coming under her personal observation and spoke of the difficulties encountered by the mission in rescuing these poor creatures.

The foregoing represents but a minor and by far the most innocent part of the testimony taken by legislators, supervisors and grand juries, but proves beyond controversion that in spite of their (Chinese) residence in the United States for half a century there has been no improvement in their social or moral conduct. As for the testimony of several physicians of high standing presented before the special committee of the Board of supervisors, 1885, as to the gruesome results to thousands of boys, ranging from 8 to 15 years of age, from their intercourse with Chinese females, is so unspeakably vile, so horribly disgusting in its details, and so utterly degrading that its publication can only be excused in official reports and then only for the purpose of educating the public as to the evils of Asiatic emigration. (Appendix IX.)

The Opium Habit.

There are so many phases of the Asiatic question that it is almost impossible to treat of them fully within the limits of an ordinary report. One of the most far-reaching and destructive of the vices transplanted by the Chinese to American soil is that of the use of opium.

The stranger in San Francisco is often struck with a type of humanity seldom seen elsewhere unless in the vicinity of the Chinese quarters in Boston and New York or other large Chinese centers. Passing through the upper end of Kearny street, in the vicinity of San Francisco's Chinatown, after nightfall one may see a number of what were once men and women, but are now but mental and physical wrecks of humanity. Gaunt and emaciated, with a death-like skin hanging loosely over their frames, eyes deep sunk in their cavities furtively glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant and disordered attire, they slink along the street like hunted animals. They are seldom seen in open day but are always waiting for the protection of the darkness of night. Who and what are these beings, and why are they seen so frequently in San Francisco, one of nature's most favored cities? To the street gamins they are objects of derision and ridicule, to those who are the parents of children they are objects of dread and pity. Some time in the past these poor, miserable and degraded wrecks were the beloved children of fond parents, who perhaps builded upon their bright prospects, but are now hopelessly lost forever. They have become what is known in the parlance of the street as "dope heads"—opium fiends in the ordinary lan-

guage. In some manner, by some wily method they were induced by Chinese to use the drug. Time was when little girls no older than 12 years were found in Chinese laundries under the influence of opium. What other crimes were committed in those dark and fetid places when these little innocent victims of the Chinaman's wiles were under the influence of the drug are almost too horrid to imagine. The police have, in the past years, largely broken up these laundry opium joints, but there are hundreds, aye thousands, of our American boys and girls who have acquired this deadly habit and are doomed, hopelessly doomed, beyond a shadow of redemption.

It was fervently hoped, but alas, how futilely that the "great fire" having destroyed these joints, formerly existing in Chinatown, that it would be easy to prevent their revival. At this time—June 1, 1908—San Francisco stands horrified at the disclosures made by the State Board of Pharmacy in its effort to prevent the illicit and illegal sale of opium. Young girls of good family have been found smoking opium, and it is stated upon the best of authority that ladies, who can ride in their own automobiles, are the best customers of those engaged in the unholy traffic. **And this soul-destroying vice may be traced directly to the presence of Asiatics among us.**

It may be argued that this is more or less a matter of police regulation and that the vice can be extirpated if so the people choose, but is it right or just to knowingly expose our children or the children of our neighbors to such dangerous contamination, even though it be but indirectly? Knowing these conditions, it seems beyond reason to remain indifferent to an evil so entirely destructive to our domestic ideals. **Let us remove the cause and the disease may heal itself.**

Are the Asiatic coolies so absolutely sacred to us that we should willingly sacrifice everything near and dear to us to retain their good-will and favor?

Oriental Trade.

Considering that the main objection against Asiatic Exclusion emanates from the commercial interests of the United States it may be well to remember that the balance of trade has thus far been in favor of the Orient—only for a year, or two, during the Russo-Japanese war did our exports to Japan exceed the imports from that country. We may dismiss that bugaboo which has only been invoked to scare the worshipers of the "full dinner pail."

There is not the slightest danger of any trade interruption. Our trade with China has constantly increased, in spite of our restriction policy and in spite of the so-called boycott engineered and fostered by the Japanese assisted by Asiatic-loving Americans. A decrease in our Asiatic population will reduce the imports of foodstuff and clothing used by them [which would be a benefit], but will have no effect whatever upon the importation of teas and silks [which is not an unmixed blessing]. The Chinese and Japanese are acute merchants [especially the Chinese], and will certainly buy wherever they can buy cheapest, and if they find trading with us a source of

profit to them they will continue to do so, irrespective of restriction or exclusion.

But assuming that the Orientals, in resentment, should refuse to trade with us, is the retention of trade relations—the interest of the few—so important that we can afford to sacrifice the many—our own flesh and blood—upon its altar? Are the hundreds of thousands of our citizens to be deprived of employment to make room for Asiatic coolies and the standard of living of our entire laboring class to be reduced to meet their murderous competition? Is our civilization, our code of morals and social status to be exposed to the contaminating influence herebefore mentioned, in order to sell a few more barrels of flour or other cereals? Asia will never be a large consumer of our manufactures, for just so soon as a sufficient demand for them is manifested they will be manufactured in Japan at a less cost than they can be manufactured elsewhere. Not only will the Orientals manufacture articles for home consumption but they will flood the American market with their surplus products, in fact a visit to the appraisers' building in San Francisco will show the honest enquirer that the flood has already set in.

It is hardly to be credited that any American statesman will be found, who, in face of the indisputable facts before him, will be willing to jeopardize the welfare, not merely of our citizens, but of our very institutions for a mess of rank and bitter pottage.

Our Fields and Orchards.

Much has been said recently, as in the past, of the necessity of having more Asiatics for the purpose of tilling the lands and harvesting the crops of California and at the last convention of the fruitgrowers that great champion of Asiatic immigration, Mr. John P. Irish, railroaded a memorial calling for letting down of the exclusion bars. The earlier declarations of Mr. Irish upon his important question (Appendix VIII) has estopped him from being a competent witness on behalf of his clients and his utterances, at this late day when placed in comparison with those of gentlemen who were already eminent in California public life when Mr. Irish was a country editor in Iowa, exposes the fact that his conscience has been quieted by his interests.

The late Morris M. Estee* in an address before the State Agricultural Society at Sacramento said:

"I am satisfied that if in our orchards, vineyards, hopfields and grain-lands our farmers, instead of hiring the thieving, irresponsible Chinaman, what would he say of the Japanese? who like the locusts of Egypt, are eating out our substance, would give some encouragement to our boys, and by hiring them instead, that in a few years we would be rid in California of that curse to farmers and ranchmen, the irresponsible character of farm labor and have in its stead a far more valuable and intelligent class of farm

* Corroborated by Senator Blaine, p. 22.

laborers. If this were done, then the question, 'what shall we do with our boys' would be answered."

Had the honorable and learned judge lived he would have been gratified to know that the ranchers and fruitgrowers are now exerting themselves to obtain white laborers, having become heartily tired of their experience with the much-lauded Asiatics.

Though much more could be said upon each phase of this great and burning question we have tried to touch upon all of them sufficiently to enable our readers to obtain reliable information on a subject that is yet barely understood east of the Rocky Mountains. It must be clear to every thinking man and woman that while there is hardly a single reason for the admission of Asiatics, there are hundreds of good and strong reasons for their absolute exclusion.

In view of those reasons we ask, nay, we expect, the undivided support of Americans, and those of American sentiment, in the great effort being made to save our nation from a similar fate that has befallen the islands of the Pacific now overrun with Asiatics.

As a fitting close to this document we submit the remarks made by one of the greatest of American statesmen, Hon. James G. Blaine, February 14, 1879, when a bill for restriction of Chinese immigration was before the United States Senate. Mr. Blaine said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

At page 3 of Senate Document 136 (57th Congress, First Session) the table giving the class of labor, average wages, etc., of Chinese in California, compiled by John S. Enos, California State Labor Commissioner, 1883-86, is attacked as not being particularly reliable because he described a condition existing some years previous. **The author of that statement begs the question and betrays his ignorance of the whole matter.** Subsequent reports of the California Bureau of Labor statistics, especially that of Mr. Fitzgerald and the two reports of W. V. Stafford confirm in every particular the statements made so many years ago. It is also a matter of record that the Department of Commerce and Labor has stamped with its approval the California reports which the advocates of Asiatic immigration scorn as unreliable.

APPENDICES.

I.

Increase of Chinese.

The Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League, March, April and May, 1908, contain articles upon the Chinese, wherein a thorough analysis is made of that element of our population, which agrees, in the main, with the statements of Federal officials. The Chinese underrate their number because they do not want the census reports to indicate their success in evading our laws. It was the same in 1870 as now. About 1869 an examination was made, in California, by an attorney of the "Six Companies," and his statement showed that there were more Chinese then in California (having come through the port of San Francisco) than the census one year later showed as in the entire United States. Again, a joint special committee of Congress (1876) found in that year the number of adult Chinese in the State to be as great as that of all the voters in the Commonwealth. Mr. Dunn, a special agent of the Treasury Department, obtained an admission from Consul-General Ho Yow confirming the Treasury Department's figures concerning San Francisco's Chinatown. The Treasury authorities estimated them at between 50,000 and 60,000 (1901). Taking the smaller figures, and assuming that of the 50,000, 2000 are women and children, there was a startling showing: for on the accepted basis of one male adult to every five persons the figures indicate that there were in San Francisco nearly as many Chinese workmen as there were male adults of all other races and nationalities, including natives. Respecting the number in the United States the census of 1900 showed 93,000, but an official of the Treasury Department, testifying before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, declared there were, approximately, 300,000. (See Senate Rept. 776, pp. 86, 142, 234—Feb., 1902.)

II.

An Eastern Opinion of Asiatics.

It is premised in many quarters that the chief reason for opposition to the immigration of Asiatics is the fear of the demoralization of the American workingman through a reduction in wages and the consequent lowering of the American standard of living. It is true that the workingmen fear the insidious competition of Asiatics with its attendant consequences, but to the sociologist and student of the various civilizations which have existed through the ages there is another and very important reason why Asiatics should be debarred from the United States.

Since the inauguration of the campaign against the Japanese and Koreans we frequently hear gentlemen earnestly and sincerely voicing their predilection for the Chinese, as opposed to all other Asiatics. If their contentions be correct what must be the character of our Asiatic residents other than Chinese? The testimony we herewith present is far from being the worst—there is much that is unprintable—and as it relates to conditions in a part of the country remote from San Francisco we may be pardoned for dwelling upon the subject at some length. On Saturday, February 15, 1902,

before a Senate committee taking testimony upon "Chinese Exclusion," Mrs. Charlotte Smith, representing the Woman's National Industrial League of America, being given the privilege of addressing the committee, said in part:

"I have sat here for hours listening to elaborate speeches made by law-makers in regard to how the Chinese affect the financial interests, principally. **Very lightly do you touch on the moral situation.**

"My efforts for the rescue and reform of fallen women in the United States have been, I think, more extensive than those of any other woman in the country, and in my work among those women I have had frequent occasions to see the shocking results of the immorality of the Chinamen who come to this country, very few of them who bring their wives, and who prey upon white girls.

"Now in my further discussion of this question, I will confine myself to Chinese coolie labor as competitive with women as wage-earners, and Chinese as moral factors in the United States. First, the industrial women of this country have more to fear from Chinese than men wage-earners, because men are better organized, and women have no voice in the enacting of laws for their betterment as industrial factors.

"The Chinese have taken the bread out of the mouths of 50,000 women in the city of New York alone. They absorb \$3,500,000 annually in that city in one industry, namely, the laundry business. Formerly women could help maintain their dependent families by procuring employment two or three days in the week at \$1 per day. This is all of the past, except in isolated cases. The Chinese have a monopoly of the laundry business, and this with steam laundries and improved machinery, most of the steam laundries are managed and run by men, consequently but few women are employed. Therefore they have taken employment away from 500,000 women in the United States.

"The Chinese control the slipper and women's wrapper and underwear trade on the Pacific Coast, also largely the fruit canning industries, in which women and children were formerly employed during the canning season. The Chinese are like a sponge; they absorb and give nothing in return but bad odors and worse morals. They are a standing menace to the women of this country. Their very presence is contaminating. They have sown the seed of vice in every city, town and hamlet in the United States. They encourage, aid and abet the youth of the land to become opium fiends, for from the sale of opium is their greatest revenue derived. Through the introduction of, importing and experimenting in cheap labor of the Chinese, a result is that our insane asylums are full to overflowing and Americans are fast becoming addicted to the use of opium.

"In my investigations as president of the Woman's Rescue League, which is a branch of the Woman's National Industrial League, I found 175 women who had been baptized in the Christian faith living with Chinamen in New York, in 1892. These women bring young pagans into the world and with their so-called husbands worship in joss-houses and become disciples of Confucius as well as opium fiends.

"Furthermore, 99 out of every 100 Chinese are gamblers, and this undesirable class come into direct competition with women who are bread-winners. The beastly and immoral lives that these Mongolians lead is only too well known in the police courts of our large cities, where patrol wagons filled with Chinese gamblers and Sunday school scholars—every Monday morning—goes to prove, as an object lesson, that they can never be "Christianized."

"In February, 1898, 700 Hebrews and Italians were discharged from two steam laundries on the East-side, New York, and 400 Chinese took their places. A delegation waited upon me at 24 Union Square, the headquarters of the Rescue League, and asked me to address a mass meeting called to protest against these Chinese substitutes, and within ten days the Hebrews and Italians were reinstated.

"I say most emphatically that the Chinese laundries could not exist six months in the large cities of the East if it were not for the patronage of the so-called industrial class. I regret to say that they are supported in the East largely by organized labor. Men who want union prices for their labor patronize and sustain Chinese laundries in all our large towns and cities. To illustrate:

"In February, 1898, I walked 108 blocks in a section of New York, a section that might be properly called the Hebrew city, where every man, woman and child were conversing in the Hebrew language and where every daily newspaper was published in Hebrew. I counted 49 Chinese laundries and but one white laundry run by a Hebrew, who was making a very precarious living. The tenants in this district were nearly all Hebrews, with a few Italians, who could not speak English, and yet the Chinese, who could speak neither Hebrew, Italian, nor English, controlled the laundry trade. The rich and well-to-do middle class do not patronize Chinese laundries. It is the poor, laboring people who maintain Chinese laundries. This, with the unsanitary conditions of these establishments and the Chinese mode of living, makes them a menace to society.

"During the year 1889, in Washington, D. C., 564 Chinese were arrested, the majority of whom were members of the Metropolitan Church Sunday school. Men and women, pipes and opium-joint paraphernalia were brought into the police court. The very worst of gamblers and most immoral opium-joint keepers were so-called Sunday school Chinese pupils. I was interested in having these Chinese "Christians" raided, because of their contaminating young children, and the result was published in the newspapers at that time.

"In Boston, June 23, 1894, 15,000 unfortunate girls were turned loose to forage upon the community because of a moral crusade inaugurated against vice. What was the result? American born, educated girls, became the mistresses of the Chinese of Boston. The tenderloin floating population was soon after transferred to Chinatown, and the Chinese were permitted to go into the business of keeping houses of ill-repute, and engaged extensively in this illicit traffic. This in puritanical Boston, where educated, American-born white slaves were bought and sold for as low as \$2 per head, while Chinese women were prized at \$1,500 to \$3,000 each. **The Chinese, with few exceptions, do not bring their wives and children to this country, therefore they prey upon American girls because they can be procured so much cheaper. They place a much higher value on their women than do Americans upon theirs.**

"A few days since I had a conversation with Minister Wu and he told me I was an enemy of China. He wanted me to say if the Chinese were not good husbands. My reply is that I do not want to see any more young pagans brought into the world in this country. I do not want to see any more children in this country become disciples of Confucius and opium fiends.

"It is time Christian women began missionary work in our big cities. The heathen are making more converts to Confucius than the missionaries are making converts to Christianity. Therefore it would be well to keep the missionaries at home and help save the bodies as well as the souls of our girls."

Mrs. Smith then quoted at length from a report upon the spread of loathsome diseases in Massachusetts, wherein the Woman's Rescue League and its president received much honorable mention. This report proved by evidence from the best medical authorities in Massachusetts that 75 per cent of all diseases treated in Boston originated from venereal diseases, and it was also satisfactorily demonstrated that already a large percentage of the population of the United States have become infected with loathsome disease because of carelessness and indiscriminate association with the Asiatic race. Mrs. Smith then went on to say that "If some decided steps were not taken by the Government to exclude and keep out this undesirable class, it would not be long until legislators would be asking that there be leper hospitals established in every township in this country.

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is a serious question, 300,000 (?) Chinese in the United States and 1,000,000 in the Philippine Islands who are entitled to the protection of our flag. The wage women, who are helpless, and society should be protected from coming in contact with these imported Asiatic heathens as competitive breadwinners. Therefore, I ask in the name of 25,000 organized industrial women and in the interest of morality, health, and industry that the Chinese be excluded from our shores." —[Senate Report 776, Part II, pp. 442-447.]

In looking back over the sixteen years which have elapsed since the giving of the above testimony, it seems astonishing that the Commission who presented the case of California before the Senate committee should be so crassly ignorant as not to see the Japanese menace that was even then confronting them and insist upon placing the Japanese and other Asiatics on the same footing as the Chinese. To those familiar with the characteristics of the Chinese and who have also made a study of the Japanese, both in Japan, on the Pacific Coast and in Hawaii, it is very evident that the Japanese problem is the most dangerous and far reaching.

III.

Asiatics in Hawaii, Philippines and Australia.

In 1853 the foreign-born Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands were 364, in 1900 they had increased to 21,746. The Japanese were not enumerated until 1884, at which time there were 116 of foreign birth, while by 1900 their numbers had swollen to 56,230. In the latter year there were of native birth—Japanese 4881, Chinese 4021, making a grand total of 86,878 Asiatics. Of this immense number, in so small a territory, 51,320 were engaged in agriculture; 1196 in professional service; 8769 in domestic service; 3286 in trade and transportation; and 4302 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. During the decade 1890-1900, Asiatics in mechanical occupations increased from 606 to 1389, Japanese mechanics, alone, increasing from 42 to 904.

In twenty-seven licensed occupations for the year 1898 we find 1468 Chinese, 452 Japanese; while for the year 1904 there were 1288 Chinese and 1241 Japanese license-holders, against 1629 license-holders of all other nationalities, including native Hawaiians. (Bull. 66 U. S. Bureau of Labor.)

In Bulletin 58 (of same Department) it is stated that the Chinese population of the Philippines (1903) was 41,035, of whom only 517 were females. There were also 921 Japanese and a sprinkling of other Orientals. From the tabulations submitted it is to be seen that the yellow men are about 89 per cent traders and mechanics, the remaining 11 per cent covering all other occupations.

In Australia the people of Teutonic and Celtic stock are insistent in their demand for the "Maintenance of a White Australia," a question which involves more for that country than does our Chinese exclusion policy for the United States. The Chinese question there has developed special aspects of more or less direct interest to Americans. So early as 1854 a Restriction Act was passed in the colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, and these acts were amended, from time to time, being made more stringent in their operation. Notwithstanding the harshness of the laws passed, in 1861 there were 12,988 Chinese in New South Wales and 24,732 in Victoria, constituting over 11 per cent of the adult male population of those colonies.

Wherever the Chinese go the experiences of white workingmen are the same. The Chinaman and Japanese will undercut, or as was said by a prominent merchant suffering from Asiatic competition, "As to patriotism, there is nothing in it selling goods; it is pocketism." They work below the rates of wages established by the government board, and the report of a New South Wales Royal Commission stated that "to stop this unless there be an inspector to each Asiatic seems impossible." The Asiatic defies the law with the quiet pertinacity peculiar to the race and there has as yet been no method devised to compel an observance of the most primitive sanitary laws.

During the past few years an earnest and honest enforcement of the exclusion laws has decreased the Chinese to about 34,000, but Japanese have crept in until there are now about 3000, while the Hindus and Cingalese have about an equal number. This is in striking contrast to the operation of our exclusion laws. (See Bull. 58, Bureau of Labor.)

IV.

Chinese Abroad.

According to a Chinese official investigation made public the latter part of 1907, the number of Chinese in other countries was as follows: Japan, 17,673; Russian Asia, 37,000; Hongkong, 314,391; Siam, 2,755,709; Burmah, 134,560; Java, 1,825,700; Australia, 34,465; Europe, 1760; Corea, 11,260; Amoy, 74,500; Malaysia, 1,023,500; Annam, 197,307; Philippines, 83,785; Africa, 8200; and America, 272,829, of whom 250,000 are in North America. The total number was 6,792,639. These figures are not as formidable as they might be, but, even taken alone, without considering the vast number of Japanese and other Asiatics who are developing a migratory disposition, they indicate very fully the possibilities of an Asiatic invasion unless restrained by stringent exclusion laws. A country which has 7,000,000 of its subjects in other lands, under existing circumstances, would probably have ten times the number if barriers to their entrance were not raised by apprehensive peoples.

While the Chinese have been sixty years in arriving at their stated numerical strength on this continent, the Japanese in twenty-five years have increased from a comparatively nothing to 200,000 and possibly many more. In view of these facts, it may be asked are we unduly alarmed? Are the protestations of the Chinese and Japanese Governments that they are opposed to the emigration of their peoples to be considered sincere or are they evasions?

V.

Expulsion of Chinese from Eureka, Cal.

One of the most efficient Labor Commissioners of the State of Washington said in a report to the Governor upon Japanese immigration, "If we were a union of men instead of a union of States, there would be no necessity for the passage of exclusion laws."

The truth of that statement has been demonstrated by the action of the people of Eureka, who in 1885 forcibly expelled the Chinese from that city, and the movement became general throughout the county (Humboldt, Cal.). This was accomplished without violence or destruction of property, and even after the lapse of twenty-three years the sentiment is as strong as at the time of expulsion. The Japanese have also been put under the ban, with the exception of about a dozen "Samurai students," who are permitted to occupy the lofty position of "utility men" in houses of prostitution. The son of a gentleman who owned all of "Old Chinatown" was Mayor of Eureka in 1908, and was and is yet one of the most enthusiastic of exclusionists, as indeed are all the people, from the "millionaire millowner" to the humblest "clam-digger." The time is approaching, very rapidly, when the people of California will again be a unit on the question of exclusion, and it is to be feared that continual disappointments will shake their faith in representative government and impel them to seek relief by methods other than petition and persuasion.

VI.

Characteristics of Asiatics.

"The entire absence of good faith on the part of China in the observance of her treaty obligations."

[p. 79, Lord Charles Beresford's "Breaking Up of China."]

"The Oriental's idea of diplomacy is to fool his adversary, for the time being, regardless of the future."

"Perjury is not a crime, as it is taken for granted that every man will lie as long as it will benefit him."

[Rounseville Wildman.]

"It is characteristic of Asia that truth is not considered a virtue if deceit will promote interest."

[Prof. Paul Reinsch.]

"Absence of truth, uprightness and honor—this is the most appalling void, and, unfortunately, it meets one in all classes and professions of the people."

[Dr. Williamson.]

"A man of good physical and intellectual qualities, regarded more as an economic factor, is turned out cheaper by the Chinese than any other race. He is deficient in the higher moral qualities, individual trustworthiness, public spirit, sense of duty, and active courage, a group of qualities, perhaps best represented in our language by the word manliness; but in the humbler qualities of patience, mental and physical, and perseverance in labor he is unrivalled."

[Bourne—England's Chinese Agent.]

"A people without nerves as without digestion—they will overwhelm the world."

[Rudyard Kipling.]

"Does any one doubt that the day is at hand when China will have cheap fuel from her coal mines and cheap transportation by her railways and steamers? When that day comes she may wrest the control of the world's markets, especially throughout Asia, from England and Germany. A hundred years hence, when the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus and Negroes, who are now as two to one to the higher race, shall be as three to one; when they have borrowed the science of Europe and developed their still virgin worlds, the pressure of their competition upon the white man will be irresistible. He will be driven from every mutual market and forced to confine himself within his own."

[Pearson—"National Life and Character."]

"Forty centuries of privation, of fierce competition for subsistence, have left ineffaceable impressions on the yellow race; have given that race a minimum of nerves, power to work hard with little food and little sleep, and to rest under the most uncomfortable conditions; have given that race qualities of self-control, servility, fatalism and perseverance which no Caucasian nation, or ever should, approximate, and which no Caucasian nation can afford to ignore.

"I tremble when I think what possibilities lie in stirring that terrible people—one-third the population of the earth—into industrial effectiveness, into—well, that is the terrifying problem. Into what?—Who shall say? Out of the land of the Dragon may sweep some modern Kublai Khan, some new Tamerlane—not perhaps with fire and sword, but with industry and rice—to destroy our Christian civilization."

[Congressman Livernash.]

"Every Chinese official, with the possible exception of one in a thousand, is a liar, a thief, and a tyrant."

"Dirt, falsehood, corruption, and cruelty are some of the least objectionable of Chinese vices."

"Chinese literature inculcates all the virtues; Chinese life exhibits all the vices. Chinese professions are everything that is desirable; Chinese practices are everything that is convenient."

[Sir Henry Norman, in his "Peoples and Politics of the Far East," pp. 282-297.]

"It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice, which in other countries are barely named, are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives. Their touch is pollution, and harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not settle on our soil. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past centuries."

[Bayard Taylor—"India, China and Japan," published 1855.]

The reasons for presenting the opinions of various travelers and publicists, relative to the characteristics of the Chinese, are, that at the present time many people who are bitterly opposed to the immigration of Japanese are openly and honestly advocating a modification of the existing Chinese exclusion laws on the ground that the Chinese are superior to Japanese in honesty and morality. If there be any grounds for such a condition, then it is undoubtedly the duty of the American government to bar out every Japanese, no matter what his standing—be it laborer, merchant or traveler. Did space permit evidence could be submitted showing that the characteristics

of all Orientals are very similar and that no exception should be made in favor of any particular people from Asia.

VII.

California a Gold Mine for Asiatics.

Senator Perkins, a few years ago, while addressing the United States Senate upon Chinese Exclusion, submitted statistics showing that the Chinese had, in thirty years, sent or carried to China, \$800,000,000. A prediction made in 1906 indicated that in a like period the money taken or sent out of the United States by the Japanese would exceed that sent out by the Chinese.

That this prediction is in a fair way of realization may be seen from the figures submitted, based upon the number of Japanese in California as per census reports of 1890 and 1900, and from a "statistical pamphlet" published by the Asiatic Exclusion League.

In 1890 there were 1147 Japanese in California; in 1900 there were 10,151, the rate of increase being 900 per cent. Estimating that each Japanese saves and transmits to his home 50 cents per day—and this estimate is possibly far too small—the amount for the decade ending 1900 would exceed \$12,000,000. The increase of the Japanese population of California, 1900-1908, approximates 55,000, an increase of nearly 8000 per year. Figured on the 50-cent basis, the total amount, including that of the past decade would approximate \$75,000,000 from California alone, and in the short period of eighteen years. If we should include in this statement all the Japanese on the mainland of the United States and in Hawaii—estimated at 200,000—the total amount would exceed \$250,000,000. Beside the savings and remittances of those engaged in agricultural and domestic occupations, we have an army of merchants and manufacturers whose profits derived from business transactions with Americans run so high as 30 to 35 per cent on the capital invested, and whose remittances to Japan are made through the numerous Japanese banks and mercantile institutions.

Is it any wonder that the Japanese Government encourages the migration of its people? If we closed our doors to her as she is doing to us in Manchuria and Corea, or burdened her trade with rebates and differentials, where would her gold supply come from? Had the enormous amount of gold of which California has been drained by Asiatics been received by white men and women it would have passed through the natural channels of trade and remained in the State for permanent investment, and our progress, instead of being remarkable, would be little short of marvelous.

VIII.

A Letter Written by John P. Irish (1883).

"We found San Francisco in a ferment over the Chinese question. Hayes insulted every lady and kicked every laborer by his veto of the effective Chinese bill passed by the last Democratic Congress, and Arthur had just deliberately repeated the dose.

"I came here not for health, but for the opportunity of looking at the Chinese question. When I saw it, I thanked God that for fifteen years, from the beginning of the evil until now, I had fought it. Since I came a ship landed a thousand Chinese laborers and thirty-five prostitutes, shipped to their masters here, for whom they must slave in infamy. Nearly forty thousand live in the district called Chinatown, and this district has in it not one dozen wives, not one dozen families. Forty thousand white laborers would represent

one hundred and sixty thousand of population. Here every woman is unclean, she has no children, she is a slave, sold at birth to infamy and trained to vice as white men train their children to virtue. The men cook their own food, tend their own foul sleeping places and live on twenty dollars a year.

"CHINESE CHEAP LABOR! Here is a tragedy—alongside this wifeless, childless, Christless labor, the white toiler with his wife and weans competes in vain.

"THE SAN FRANCISCO HOODLUM! He is a victim of the cancer. He is the son of a white laborer who was guttered in the unequal contest: his sons missed their schooling and at working age had to compete with Chinese labor. The competition was impossible, they fell into vice. The white laborers' daughters have not a thing to which they can turn to honestly earn a living. The young men who in the natural course would mate them and make them homes are in the jail, the gutter, the gambling house. So the girls' feet take hold of perdition and they carry their bodies to market to meet the Chinese and compete with them in the footrace to hell. So the white laboring class is festered out, livid with the leprosy of the Chinese curse, rotting with the cancer which grows and thrives as they decay. This is a sketch of the effects of Mongolian labor on this Coast. The picture is underdrawn; it is not colored."*

IX.

Medical Testimony Regarding Asiatics.

Much has been said in the past relative to the undesirability of Asiatic residents among whites, and much is being said to-day by philanthropists and missionaries as to the desirability and actual necessity of their presence among us. These differences of opinion are irreconcilable, from one point of view the conversion of the Asiatic to Christianity is the upmost thought with the other it is the preservation of American youth from contamination by the vices of Asia. To those inspired men like St. Francis Xavier and De Huc who devoted their lives to the enlightenment of the Orientals, in their own lands, we bow in admiration and even adoration; to those who like Bishop Hamilton, wish the Asiatic to come here for conversion and who look forward to the time when the coming American will be part Negro part Mongolian, and part Caucasian, we entertain sentiments of the greatest horror, and declare that it is questionable whether there are any people or the face of the civilized globe who would have borne so orderly and so peacefully the ills brought upon them by the invasion of Asiatics as have the bone and sinew of the people of California.

The question as it confronts us to-day has many phases, the most important one being that illustrated by testimony taken before a Senate Committee of the California Legislature, 1876 and 1877.

"Dr. Toland, a man standing at the head of his profession, founder of the Toland Medical University, and at the time a member of the San Francisco Board of Health and practitioner of twenty-three years' standing testified before this committee (pp. 168, 169, 170, Report of California State Committee) that he had seen and treated boys eight and ten years old for diseases contracted on Jackson street in Chinese houses of prostitution; and

* See opinion of M. M. Estee, p. 21.

again, when asked what effect upon the community the presence of Chinese has, he replied that it had a tendency to fill our hospitals with invalids, and it would be a great relief to the younger portion of the community to get rid of them. When asked as to whether the coming of Chinese tended to advance Christian civilization among them, he replied that it had a contrary effect. There is scarcely a single day but what a dozen young men come to my office for treatment of diseases, nine-tenths of which have been contracted from Chinese women. The prices are so low that they can go whenever they please. The women do not care how old the boys are, as long as they have money. Have never heard or read of any country in the world where there are so many children diseased as there is in San Francisco."

At pages 171 and 172 of the same report the testimony of Dr. J. C. Shorb appears. He testified that the influence of Chinese prostitution upon the white population is exceedingly bad. That by reason of the cheapness of service it affords unlimited opportunity to white boys. "I have had boys from twelve up to eighteen and nineteen, any number of them, afflicted with syphilis, contracted from Chinese prostitutes. No one can pretend to map out the ravages which syphilis will make. You don't know to what extent it may affect generations yet unborn. No man with any knowledge of the facts can reach the conclusion that Chinese immigration tends to the advancement of Christian civilization."

"Mr. F. A. Gibbs, chairman of Hospital Committee of the Board of Supervisors, San Francisco, testified that there were at the time thirty-six Chinamen in the pest-house, eight of whom were afflicted with leprosy, and most of the balance with venereal diseases. And, again, that there were many cases of white young men in the County Hospital suffering from diseases contracted in the Chinese quarter."

Of the utter contempt of Asiatics for sanitary laws ample evidence will be found in the preceding pages, but we call particular attention to the utterances of an eminent medical gentleman of Oregon, Dr. Ralph Matson, State Biologist, and a recognized authority on tropical diseases, who, with his brother, Dr. Ray Matson—former health officer of Portland, Or.—conducted an exhaustive investigation of the "bubonic plague" situation in Portland and other parts of Oregon. The conclusions of Dr. Matson are:

"Until the Asiatic sections of every city on the Pacific Coast are thoroughly modernized and the inhabitants made to conform to the standards of cleanliness set by Americans, the Coast will never be free from the danger of an incursion of the bubonic plague," saying in conclusion: "If this result can not be obtained by any other method than the stringent exclusion of the Chinese, Hindus, Coreans and Japanese, then I do not believe that exclusion is too high a price to pay for it."

Much more evidence of the baneful influence of the presence of Asiatics could be here produced, but we deem the foregoing sufficient for the purpose of calling the attention of those not familiar with the Asiatic question to the manifold dangers to which our youth are exposed, and the inevitable result if such horrible conditions are permitted to become permanently engrafted upon Caucasian civilization.

X.

Are Chinese Honest and Truthful?

It is being urged in many quarters that Chinese are desirable additions to the body civic—and would be to the body politic. There is some testimony in the report before quoted (see Appendix IX) which throws some light on the subject. At page 114, Abram Altemeyer, a member of the firm of Einstein Bros. & Co., being duly sworn, deposed:

“Have employed from 200 to 375 Chinamen in our factory. We have a contract to recompense us for anything they steal. They will bear close watching. I think they will take things whenever they get a chance.* Have made the contractors pay us \$1000 for goods stolen. Many of the goods (boots and shoes) were found in their boarding and lodging houses.”

Davis Louderback, judge of the Police Court, said of the Chinese (p. 158): “I think they are a very immoral, mean, mendacious, dishonest, thieving people, as a general thing. As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enforce the laws, where they are concerned, for that reason. They also use our laws to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent.”

Mr. W. J. Shaw, who had traveled extensively in China, testified (p. 84): “Regarding their honesty, I can mention this fact which may interest the committee: I was assured by all the merchants with whom I conversed on the subject—in the towns that I visited in China—that nobody hired a Chinese servant without taking a bond from some responsible person that he would be responsible for any thefts that servant might perpetrate. It was considered that Chinamen were so constituted that they must sooner or later steal something.”

Note—It may be advanced that the facts presented in the pamphlet, “Meat vs. Rice,” and its appendices that conditions have changed since the seventies, eighties or nineties, but the Asiatic Exclusion League, during its three years of existence, has accumulated sufficient evidence to warrant the declaration that the change has not been for the better. Never before in the history of California had she so many Asiatics within her borders—including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindus there are more than 100,000.

It is true that the whites have increased in population and that the material resources of the State have been developed, but that curse of all governments—republican and monarchical—the trend of population away from the land—has been accelerated and abnormally increased, in our case, through the presence of these Asiatics as tillers of the soil. A secondary Asiatic population following the agriculturists have built up a numerous class of Asiatic traders who, making an enormous profit through a system of semi-compulsion with their countrymen, are enlarging their scope so as to compete with the white merchant for the patronage of his white customers.

For information or literature apply, or write, to Asiatic Exclusion League, Rooms 812-815 Metropolis Bldg., San Francisco.

* See opinion of Judge Estee, p. 21.

Selection of Immigration

By Prescott F. Hall, Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, Boston, Mass.

SELECTION OF IMMIGRATION

By PRESCOTT F. HALL

Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League

The two factors of race migration and race survival have had most potent effects upon the world's history. But, while these factors are conspicuous when we look backward through the centuries, we often fail to appreciate the importance of their influence in the immediate past and in the present. The immigration question in this country has never had the attention paid to it which its importance entitles it, but has been sometimes the scapegoat of religious and racial prejudices, and always in recent years an annual sacrifice to the gods of transportation.

The causes of such indifference are not far to seek. In the early days of this country the people were busy with other matters. Immigration was small, and not especially objectionable in quality. Later, the doctrines of the *laissez faire* school, and the obviously narrow and prejudiced theories of the Know Nothing movement, helped to continue the existing status of free movement. More recently, a misapprehension of the doctrine of "survival of the fittest" has led many intelligent citizens to adopt an easy-going optimism, in many respects kindred to the benumbing fatalism of Oriental peoples. This misapprehension is caused by the fact that the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" is usually stated in a catchy and condensed formula, with the authority of modern science, and accepted without critical understanding. The doctrine is that the fittest survive; fittest for what? The fittest *to survive in the particular environment in which the organisms are placed*. The only teleological valuation in this formula is the almost mechanical one of survival in time. Those who survive need not be the fittest for any other purpose whatsoever, except the continuation of life and reproduction. Were the citizens of the Netherlands inferior to the soldiers of Alva, or many of the victims of the French Revolution to those who slew them? Were the Polish patriots inferior to their Russian conquerors, or are the Finns inferior to those who are now

engaged in taking away their constitutional rights? Yes, but only in the matter of survival in time. But if the duration of human life on this earth is limited, as we are told it is by the same scientists who lay stress upon the "survival of the fittest," the mere success in duration for any race seems of no great value in itself, and may it not be worth while to consider other valuations as we go along, so that the whole world history shall be as valuable as possible from all points of view?

I have dwelt on this point because, while the value of artificial selection in breeding animals, in producing seedless fruits and new grains, in fact in nearly every department of life, is now generally recognized; and while some advanced persons are talking of regulating marriage with a view to the elimination of those unfit *for other purposes than mere survival*; yet most people fail to realize that here in the United States we have a unique opportunity, through our power to regulate immigration, of exercising artificial selection upon an enormous scale. What warrant have we for supposing that the Divine Power behind things does not intend human reason to be applied to these matters as well as hunger, steam, steel, and the lust for gold?

In such cases as the present an appeal is usually made to the fathers of the Republic, and to the argument that they recognized the right of every human being to migrate wherever he chose, and to produce as many children as he pleased, and, in general, to pursue happiness by living the kind of life that suited him. However the fathers may have been influenced by the French political theories of their time, they were practical men with much common sense, and it is by no means certain that if they were present to-day, the vastly changed conditions would not lead them to hold the views of the present article. Washington writing to John Adams in 1794, said:

"My opinion with respect to immigration is that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men and professions, there is no need of encouragement, while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for by so doing they retain the language, habits and principles, good or bad, which they bring with them."

Can there be any question how Washington would feel about

excluding the thousands of immigrants who have recently come to create and to occupy the slum districts of our Northern and Eastern cities?

But even the prophetic vision of Washington could not possibly have seen the unparalleled change in the conditions of immigration from his day to ours. From 1821, when statistics were first kept, to 1900, a total of 19,115,221 immigrants has come to our shores; and the annual immigration has increased from 9,127 in 1821 to 857,046 in 1903. The modern immigration problem, however, dates from 1870; and it is necessary to emphasize this point because much of what is said in recent discussion ignores the profound change which has taken place in the character of immigration since that date. It may be frankly admitted that this country owes a large share of its development, its wealth, its power and its ideals, to the early immigration as well as to the best part of the later immigration; but any arguments based upon the effects of early immigration cannot be applied to the new comers as self-evident truths, for the data are by no means the same.

However much social prejudice there may have been against the Irish and German immigrants of the forties and fifties, and while even that immigration tended to diminish the native stock as I shall show later, it still remains true that prior to 1870 immigration was chiefly of races kindred in habits, institutions and traditions to the original colonists. Mr. Lodge said upon this point in addressing the Senate, March 16, 1896:

"It will be observed that with the exception of the Huguenot French, who formed but a small percentage of the total population, the people of the thirteen colonies were all of the same original race stocks. The Dutch, the Swedes and the Germans were simply blended with the English-speaking people, who like them were descended from the Germanic tribes whom Cæsar fought and Tacitus described. During the present century, down to 1875, there have been three large migrations to this country in addition to the always steady stream from Great Britain; one came from Ireland about the middle of the century, and somewhat later one from Germany, and one from Scandinavia, in which is included Sweden, Denmark and Norway. The Irish, although of a different race stock originally, have been closely associated with the English-speaking people for nearly a thousand years. They speak the same language, and during that long period the two races have lived side by side and to some extent have intermarried. The Germans and Scandinavians are again people of the same race stock as the English who built up the colonies. During this century then, down to 1875, as

in the two which preceded it, there had been scarcely any immigration to this country except from kindred or allied races, and no other which was sufficiently numerous to have produced any effect on the national characteristics, or to be taken into account here."

How marked the change in nationality has been since 1869 is shown by the fact that in 1869 less than 1 per cent. of the total immigration came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia, while in 1902 there were over 70 per cent.; on the other hand, in 1869, nearly three-quarters of the total immigration came from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia, while in 1902, only one-fifth was from those countries. Or, to put it in another way: in 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia were about one one-hundredth of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia; in 1880, about one-tenth; in 1894, nearly equal to it; in 1902 three and one-half times as great. In 1903 the largest element in immigration was the South Italian with 196,117 souls, and the next largest was the Polish, with 82,343.

It does not, therefore, at all follow that because this country has been able to assimilate large numbers of kindred races in the past, it can in the future assimilate vastly larger numbers of races alien in customs, traditions and ideals. Immigration in 1903 amounted to over 850,000 persons. In 1923 or 1943 it may be two million a year, and the mere fact that the two million may bear no larger proportion to the total population of that day than the immigration did to the population in 1870 is no guaranty of our power of assimilating such a number of such races, especially when our total population will contain such a large proportion of these very races which are difficult of assimilation. Within the last year or two there has been a marked increase in the number of sailings from Europe, and especially from the Mediterranean ports. Recently, the White Star Line has established a Mediterranean service, the Cunard Line has a guaranty of 30,000 emigrants per year from Austria-Hungary, and a new line has been established between Odessa and New York; also the steamers which formerly ran between Austria and Central America now are to run to New York. There are increased sailings of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines, and the size of all new vessels has enormously increased. All these steam-

ship lines are in the business for profit, and immigrants, who require no loading and unloading, are by far the most profitable cargo. The thousands of agents of these lines all over Europe, Asia Minor and Northern Africa are bound to create all the business they can for their respective lines, and naturally they are concerned only with the selection of such applicants for tickets as will not certainly be rejected under the laws of this country.

The influence of these conditions upon the quality of immigration has been forcibly expressed by General Francis A. Walker, formerly Superintendent of the Census, as follows:

"Fifty, even thirty, years ago, there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous and courageous, of the community from which he came. It required no small energy, prudence, forethought and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his migration, to accumulate the necessary means, and to find his way across the Atlantic. To-day the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the Continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration there been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting ground. . . . Illustrations of the ease and facility with which this Pipe Line Immigration is now carried on might be given in profusion. . . . Hard times here may momentarily check the flow; but it will not be permanently stopped so long as *any difference of economic level* exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad."

Speaking of the probable effect of recent immigration General Walker continues:

"The entrance into our political, social and industrial life of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us."

The main point to remember in regard to recent immigration is that much of it is not *voluntary* in any true sense of the term. The limits of this article do not permit a detailed statement of the facts supporting this allegation, but anyone who will read in the

report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1903 the remarks of Special Inspector Marcus Braun, who has just been upon a tour of investigation in Europe, will find abundant evidence. The same thing was brought out in the investigations of our Industrial Commission. The race migration at present going on is not, therefore, even a "natural" movement. It is an artificial selection of many of the worst elements of European and Asiatic populations by the steamship companies.

It is significant that no general immigration legislation was found necessary until some years after the newer kind of immigration had begun to come hither. The first general immigration act was passed in 1882 and imposed a head tax of fifty cents; the contract labor acts were passed to prevent the immigration of the cheapest mining labor in 1885 and 1887; the general law was revised in 1891; an administrative act was passed in 1893; the head tax was raised to one dollar in 1895; and a general codifying act was passed in 1903, raising the head tax to two dollars. These Acts were passed in pursuance of the principle that the nation, as an attribute of its sovereignty or under the commerce clause of the Constitution, has a right to exclude or to expel from its borders any aliens whom it deems to be dangerous to the public welfare. This principle has been sustained by several decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the most recent one being in the case of *Turner, the Anarchist*.

So far from it being an established principle of our country to admit any and all persons desiring to come, it was early recognized that Congress has complete control over this matter, and Congress has established numerous classes of persons to be excluded. (1) An Act of 1862 prohibited the importation of Oriental "coolie" labor, and the later "Chinese Exclusion Acts" have rigorously enforced this principle. The Act of 1875 added (2) convicts, except those guilty of political offenses, and (3) women imported for immoral purposes. The act of 1882 added (4) lunatics, (5) idiots, (6) persons unable to care for themselves without becoming public charges. The Act of 1887 added (7) contract laborers. The Act of 1891 added (8) paupers, (9) persons suffering from loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, (10) polygamists, (11) "assisted" immigrants, *i. e.*, those whose passage has been paid for by others, unless they

show affirmatively that they are otherwise admissible. The Act of 1903 added (12) epileptics, (13) persons who have been insane within five years previous, (14) professional beggars, (15) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials, (16) persons attempting to bring in women for purposes of prostitution, (17) persons deported within a year previous as being contract laborers.

It is apparent that, however formidable the foregoing list of excluded persons looks upon paper, it practically is by no means an adequate protection to the country. Out of the 857,046 immigrants arriving in 1903, only 9,316, or a trifle over one per cent., were debarred or returned within one year after landing. In previous years the percentage has usually been less than this. The theory of the law is that the transportation companies will not sell tickets to persons liable to be excluded, and this undoubtedly keeps some undesirables away. But, after all, the present system of excluded classes utterly fails to attack the main problem of the proper selection of immigrants. In the Report of the Commissioner-General for 1903, the Commissioner at New York speaks of this matter as follows:

"I believe that at least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came here, who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will on the contrary be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here."

It is probable that most citizens would agree on a definition of "undesirable" immigration. At any rate, for the purposes of this paper, I shall call that immigration undesirable which is ignorant of a trade; which is lacking in resources; which has criminal tendencies; which is averse to country life and tends to congregate in the slums of large cities; which has a low standard of living and lacks ambition to seek a better; which fails to assimilate within a reasonable time, and which has no permanent interests in this country.

Now how far does our recent immigration fulfil this definition? It is to be remembered that in 1903 about three-quarters of it came from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia; 65 per cent. of it

was destined for the four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. Over 80 per cent. was totally unskilled or had no occupation at all. On the average, each immigrant had only \$19 with him, and many only one or two dollars. Those from Southern and Eastern Europe admitted an illiteracy of 39.7 per cent., as against 3.9 per cent. for those from Northern and Western Europe. The true illiteracy was probably much higher for the former class, as they are known to be coached on this subject in view of the agitation for an illiteracy test, and whenever the writer has made practical examinations of immigrants he has found considerable misrepresentation in this regard. Taking up first the matter of distribution, we see a marked difference between the immigration prior to 1870, which built up the Northwest, and the races which now come to us. The census of 1900 shows that in the 160 principal cities of the country there were only $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Scandinavians, less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the British, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Germans, as compared with over $\frac{3}{5}$ of the Irish, Italians and Poles and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Russian Jews. Of the Poles in Illinois, 91.3 per cent. were in Chicago; in New York State, 75.5 per cent. were in New York City and Buffalo; in Michigan and Wisconsin, over $\frac{1}{2}$ were in Detroit and Milwaukee. Of the Italians in Illinois, 72 per cent. were in Chicago; of those in New York State, 79.8 per cent. were in New York City. Of the Russian Jews in the United States, 71.8 per cent. were in six States, as compared with 54 per cent. in 1890. Of the Russian Jews in Illinois, 84.2 per cent. were in Chicago; of those in New York State, 93.7 per cent. were in New York City; of those in Pennsylvania, 56.8 per cent. were in Philadelphia. Only 3.9 per cent. of the Poles, 4.4 per cent. of the Hungarians and 8.7 per cent. of the Russian Jews live in the Southern or Western States.

The Seventh Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor shows that Southeastern Europe has furnished three times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, and 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia. In these same slums the illiteracy of Northwestern Europe was 25.5 per cent., that of Southeastern Europe 54.5 per cent. or more than double, while the illiteracy of the native American element in the slums was only 7.4 per cent.

The concentration of these large bodies of ignorant foreigners in the slums of our Eastern cities is a serious matter. Forming racial settlements, they do not tend to assimilate, but, as Washington predicted, keep to their native customs and standards of living. They cannot even read the newspapers, board of health notices and trade journals printed in their own language, and as a necessary consequence are slow to become acquainted with any other standards except those of their immediate neighbors. The census of 1890 seems to show that, taking an equal number of the foreign element and of the native element, the foreigners furnish $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as many criminals, $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as many insane, and 3 times as many paupers as the natives. It is not strange that there should be many foreign-born paupers when we consider that the South Italians bring on the average \$8.84, the Hebrews, \$8.67 and the Poles, \$9.94 each, as compared with \$41.51 brought by the Scotch, \$38.90 brought by the English and \$28.78 brought by the Germans. The statistics as to the nationality and parentage of dependents and delinquents in the various States are as yet too incomplete for very accurate conclusions, but it is evident that the present laws do not exclude the unfit. In the final report of the Industrial Commission, p. 967, it is stated that "the second generation, *i. e.*, the native children of foreign parents, furnish the largest proportion of commitments and prisoners of all race elements in the population." According to a recent investigation in New York State there were 13,143 persons of foreign birth in the public institutions of that State. Recent testimony of the New York State Lunacy Commission was to the effect that the State of New York is paying \$10,000,000 annually for the support of the alien-born insane alone. Two of the largest hospitals in New York City have been obliged to suspend part of their activities on account of the burden of the foreign patients. The point of this is that things were not thus until the change of nationality took place. One of the managers of the House of Refuge in New York City writes:

"I notice the large number of children that are placed in charitable institutions for no crime or misdemeanor, but to relieve their parents of their support. They are principally from Southern and Eastern Europe."

In 1902 the number of arrests of Greeks in New York City exceeded the entire Greek population of the city for the year 1900;

$\frac{1}{8}$ of the foreign whites in the United States over ten years of age cannot speak English, and of these 89 per cent. are over 20 years of age; that is to say, they are not likely to receive any schooling. Considering New York State alone, these persons who cannot speak English are chiefly Italians, Russian Jews and Austro-Hungarians.

In addition to perpetuating a low standard of living and a willingness to underbid native labor, this ignorance has a bad side politically. On the one hand, it means an indifference to civic matters, and a lack of knowledge of and interest in our institutions; and, on the other hand, it means bad material out of which to make citizens. The average percentage of British, Germanic and Scandinavian aliens among the males of voting age in 1900 was 11.5; of the Slav, Latin and Asiatic aliens, 45.3. Of these aliens, $\frac{7}{10}$ had been in this country long enough to be naturalized. This in the face of the great inducements to naturalization held out by political party leaders, and the fact that many municipalities insist on the employment of citizens only upon public works. It has recently been estimated that there are 50,000 fraudulent naturalization papers held in New York City alone. However this may be, it is evident that many of our present immigrants are not the stuff of which patriots are made. This is a highly dangerous condition in a country where we are once for all committed to the principle of government by force of numbers.

Some persons who are in favor of indiscriminate immigration admit, as indeed they must, the force of facts like those recited above; but they say the whole matter is a question of distribution. Let us get these people out of the cities, they say; let us put them upon the unsettled regions of Texas or Oklahoma, and the results will be very different. In regard to this plan several things may be said. (1) The immigrants will not go there of their own accord, as appears from what has been already said. Most of them cannot afford to go inland if they could. (2) The experience of the Hebrew Charities on a small scale shows that even where colonization is successful—and in many cases it has been an utter failure—it is altogether too expensive to be applied on a large scale. (3) If it could be applied to those already in the city slums, the slums would fill up faster than they could be bailed out, unless we adopt some further regulation of immigration as to newcomers. (4) It is, therefore, proposed to bar

aliens not destined to an interior locality. But it would require a policeman for each immigrant to see that he did not sell his ticket on landing, and that he actually went to his destination. (5) Even if our recent immigrants were able and willing to go to the West and South, *these States do not want them*. In 1896 every one of the associations formed to encourage immigration into the Northwest petitioned Congress for an illiteracy test for immigrants and stated that they did not want Southeastern European immigrants. A Government Commission in 1896 took steps to ascertain the wishes of the States in this matter by communicating with their governors, labor commissioners and other officials. Of 52 replies received all expressed a preference for native born or Northwestern Europeans, chiefly for British, Germans and Scandinavians. There were only two requests for Southeastern Europeans and these were for Italian farmers with money. Within a month the Immigration Restriction League has repeated the experiment of the Government Commission, and the thirty replies received to date are most instructive. Of the States desiring immigrants practically all wish native born, or immigrants from Northern Europe, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. All are opposed to having the slums of eastern cities dumped upon them. In regard to immigrants not desired, three States desire no immigrants at all; two, no foreign born. Five desire no Southern and Eastern Europeans. Eight wish no illiterates. Of the rest, immigrants settling in cities, the Latin races, persons who cannot speak English, Asiatics, and in general any but the best classes of immigrants, are objected to.

Before considering remedies for the existing state of things, I wish to return to what was said at the outset and to emphasize the most important reason of all for further selection in admitting immigrants. The late Bishop Brooks, who was a large-hearted man if there ever was one, in a public address used these words:

"If the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon us that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it. . . . We have a right to stand guard over the conditions of that experiment, letting nothing interfere with it, drawing into it the richness which is to come by the entrance of many men from many nations, and they in sympathy with our constitution and laws."

Now in order to develop our institutions in the spirit of those who built them up we must guard our power of assimilation, and not only refuse to take in immigrants whom we cannot assimilate, and refuse to take any immigrants in faster than we can assimilate them, but we must see to it that we ourselves and those whom we assimilate shall continue to exist and to hand on the torch of civilization to worthy successors. All statistical discussions of immigration and its effects are defective in two respects. First, under our census system the children of immigrants are classed as native Americans. Second, no account is taken of the children which are never allowed to be born. In other words, the question is not really between us and the immigrants now coming, but between their children and the children of future immigrants and our children. To put the matter concretely, the greatest danger of unselected immigration is its effect upon the native birth rate.

Take a teacher in New York City with a high standard for himself and his children. He has but two because he cannot give them what he wants to give them in education and the decencies of life. Compare him with a Southern Italian or a Syrian living not a mile away who has ten children, and who brings them up regardless of any high standard of living, any education they get being paid for by other people. Once on a time half of these would have died. Now, with our improved public sanitation, they live. Perhaps, as stated above, some of these children are supported at the public expense until they are able to go into a sweatshop. There can be no doubt which is the higher type of citizen or of family, yet the higher barely tends to perpetuate itself and the lower "survives" to five times the extent of the higher.

Of course the falling of a birthrate may be due to many causes which I have not time here to discuss. But in general it is caused by the desire for the "concentration of advantages," and one of the principal provocatives of this desire is the effects of immigration. Consider for a moment the typical town of a hundred years ago with its relatively homogeneous society. The young men drive the omnibus and tend the store. Everybody knows them, and, while not ranking with the judge, or the parson, or the doctor, they are in general as good as anybody. Now suppose a small factory is started and some of the village girls are employed there. For a time no great

change occurs. Then a number of unskilled immigrants settle in the town. Being unskilled they naturally take up the easiest kind of manual labor. At first they are regarded as curiosities. More come, enough to form a class. They naturally group more or less by themselves. They do not enter into the existing clubs and amusements of the town. After a time they constitute the larger part of the help in the factory. Being poor, they live in the cheapest location and in the most frugal style. The natives gradually withdraw from social contact with them, the girls dislike to work with them in the factory, the boys do not want to be with them in the fields and the mills. After such a caste system invades a town the natives are unwilling to marry, or, if they do marry, to have children, unless they can be sure of enough means to secure employment for their children in an occupation where they will not be classed with the immigrants. The girls no longer go out to service, but go into book-keeping, or certain kinds of stores; and the boys are sent to the High School or, if possible, to college. At any rate, the children of the natives seek only the so-called better grades of employment. After a time there is an invasion of French Canadians or Italians into the town, and the same process tends to operate in the case of the earlier immigrants.

That this is no flight of the imagination but an actual description of what happens is testified by many students of the question. The writer has personally inquired as to the cause of the small families in various parts of our Eastern States and has been repeatedly told by parents that this social reason was the controlling one in their own families. Dr. Roberts and Dr. Warne report the same thing in the mining regions of Pennsylvania. General Walker says:

“The great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States, the smaller was the rate of increase, not only among the native population of the country as a whole, including the foreigners. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain a considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reenforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock.”

The Industrial Commission also says in its report, p. 277:

“It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population.”

R. R. Kuczynski has shown that in Massachusetts the foreign born mother has two-thirds more children than the native-born mother, and three-fifths more children living.

Now in many discussions of this question it is said that the natives are displaced by the foreigners, but are "crowded up" into higher occupations. I do not believe that this can be shown to be true, even of the natives in existence at the time the process operates. Some are undoubtedly crowded up, some are crowded out and go elsewhere, many are crowded down and become public charges or tramps. But the main point is that the native children are murdered by never being allowed to come into existence, as surely as if put to death in some older invasion of the Huns and Vandals.

In this question of immigration we are dealing with tremendous social forces operating on a gigantic scale. How careful should we be, then, to turn these forces in the right direction so far as we may guide them. It is no doubt true that hybridization has often produced better stocks than those previously existing; and some infusion of Mediterranean and Alpine blood into the Baltic immigration of the last century may perhaps be a good thing. But if we were trying such an experiment on plants or animals would we not exercise the greatest care to get the best of each stock before mixing them? And has it not been said that human beings are of more value than many sparrows? The success of the American Republic is of more value to the world than the good of a few thousand immigrants, whose places are filled up at home almost before they reach this side of the Atlantic. It is by no means certain that economic reforms would not already have taken place in Europe which have been delayed because those countries have had the safety valve of emigration to the United States, and have thus been able to keep up the frightful pressure of militant taxation in their own domains.

If we are to apply some further method of selection to immigrants, what shall it be? The plan of consular inspection in Europe, once popular, has been declared impracticable by every careful student of the subject. A high headtax might accomplish something, but it is not a discriminating test, and hits the worthy perhaps harder than the unworthy.

Two plans have been suggested. One, more in the nature of a palliative than a cure, is to admit immigrants on a five-year proba-

tion, and to provide that if within five years after landing an immigrant becomes such a person as to be within the classes now excluded by law, whether the causes of his changed condition arose prior or subsequent to his landing, he shall be deported. There are various practical difficulties with such a plan, the chief one being that of identification, but, in view of the decision in the Turner case, such a plan would probably be held to be constitutional.

The other plan is to adopt some more or less arbitrary test, which, while open to theoretical objection—as any practicable test must be—nevertheless will on the whole exclude those people whom we wish excluded. It must be a definite test, because one trouble with the “public charge” clause of the present law, under which most exclusions now occur, is that it is so vague and elastic that it can be interpreted to suit the temper of any of the higher officials who may happen to be charged with the execution of the law. As I have elsewhere repeatedly shown those persons who cannot read in their own language are, *in general*, those who are also ignorant of a trade, who bring little money with them, who settle in the city slums, who have a low standard of living and little ambition to seek a better, and who do not assimilate rapidly or appreciate our institutions. It is not claimed that an illiteracy test is a test of moral character, but it would undoubtedly exclude a good many persons who now fill our prisons and almshouses, and would lessen the burden upon our schools and machinery of justice. In a country having universal suffrage it is also an indispensable requirement for citizenship, and citizenship in its broadest sense means much more than the right to the ballot. The illiteracy test has passed the Senate three times and the House four times in the last eight years. It has been endorsed by several State legislatures, a large proportion of the boards of associated charities of the country, and by numerous intelligent persons familiar with immigration matters, including the State associations for promoting immigration above referred to. This test has already been adopted by the Commonwealth of Australia and by British Columbia, and would have certainly been adopted here long since but for the opposition of the transportation companies.

It is no doubt true that many of the newer immigrants are eager to have their children educated, and that many of these children are good scholars. But this fact strikes us the more forcibly

because it is the one ray of hope in . . . I do not know that anyone has ever claimed that these foreign-born children are superior in any way to native-born children, and the latter acquire the most valuable part of civic education by hearsay and imitation in their own homes, while the foreign born have their only training in the school. Furthermore, everyone admits the enormous burden of educating such a large mass of children, illiterate as to even their own language. This is in addition to the burden of the adult illiterates imposed on a country which already has its problems of rural and negro education. There is no doubt that an illiteracy test would not only give us elbow room to work out our own problems of education, but would greatly promote elementary education in Europe. Why should we take upon ourselves a burden which properly belongs to the countries from which these immigrants come?

Whatever view we may take of the immigration question there can be no doubt that it is one of the most important, if not the most important, problems of our time, and, as such, it deserves the careful study of all our citizens. We are trustees of our civilization and institutions with a duty to the future, and as trustees the stocks of population in which we invest should be limited by the principle of a careful selection of immigrants.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE, No. 30.

DIGEST OF IMMIGRATION STATISTICS.

**EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION UPON THE
UNITED STATES**

AND

REASONS FOR FURTHER RESTRICTION.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

I. General Figures as to Total Immigration.

(1.) *Immigration by Decades, 1821 to 1900.*

(From Report of U.S. Industrial Commission, p. 267.)

1821 to 1830	143,439
1831 to 1840	599,125
1841 to 1850	1,713,251
1851 to 1860	2,598,214
1861 to 1870	2,314,824
1871 to 1880	2,812,191
1881 to 1890	5,246,613
1891 to 1900	3,687,564
Total, 1821-1900	19,115,221

(2.) *Immigration by Years from 1885.*

(From Reports of Superintendent and Bureau of Immigration.)

1885	395,346	
1886	334,203	
1887	490,109	
1888	546,889	
1889	444,427	
1890	455,302	
1891	560,319	
1892	579,663	
1893	439,730	[The Cholera Year.]
1894	285,631	[Period of Commercial Depression.]
1895	258,536	
1896	343,267	
1897	230,832	
1898	229,299	
1899	311,715	
1900	448,572	
1901	487,918	

II. Recent Changes in the Nationality of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistics No. 2, Series 1892-1893, and Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

(1.) Comparison of Certain Groups.

	Per cent. of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia to total immigration.	Per cent. of immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia to total immigration.
1869	0.9	73.8
1880	8.5	64.5
1890	34.0	57.7
1891	39.6	52.1
1892	44.8	53.9
1893	42.7	48.2
1894	42.6	47.9
1895	39.8	52.9
1896	52.	39.
1897	52.	38.
1898	57.	33.
1899	64.	27.
1900	66.7	25.3
1901	68.6	22.5

Note. — In 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-10th; in 1894 nearly equal to it; in 1901 three times as great.

(2.) *Western Europe and Eastern Europe.*

Note. — In 1899 the Government abandoned tabulation by political divisions and adopted a classification by races. This was in all respects a more precise and useful division, and had long been needed. In order to preserve the valuable comparison of groups of relatively desirable and relatively undesirable immigrants from Europe, the League has divided Europe by a north and south line as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U.S. classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.

The Hebrews are also included in Eastern Europe, as the Government report shows that about seven-tenths come from Russia and most of the balance from Austria-Hungary.

	Immigration from Western Europe.	Per cent. of total Immigration.	Immigration from Eastern Europe.	Per cent. of Total Immigration.
1899	130,160	41.7	175,270	56.2
1900	149,442	33.3	276,793	61.8
1901	164,792	33.7	309,301	62.7

(3.) *Total Immigration of Asian Races.*

1899	8,972
1900	17,946
1901	13,698

(4.) *The Largest Elements in Immigration at Present are:*

	1899.	1900.	1901.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346	115,704
Hebrew	37,415	60,764	58,098
Polish	28,466	46,938	43,617
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952	40,277
Irish	32,345	35,607	30,404
German	26,632	29,682	34,742
Slovak	15,838	29,243	29,343

III. Conditions of Immigration.

(1.) *Average Money Shown by Immigrants.*

1896	\$11
1897	15
1898	17
1899	17
1900	15
1901	15

Money Brought by the Several Races, 1900.

(*Report of United States Industrial Commission, p. 284.*)

Races.	Amount of money shown per capita.	Races.	Amount of money shown per capita.
Scotch,	\$41.51	Chinese,	\$13.98
Japanese,	39.59	Finnish,	13.06
English,	38.90	Croatian and Slavonian,	12.51
French,	37.80	Slovak,	11.69
Greek,	28.78	Ruthenian (Russniak),	10.51
German,	28.53	Portuguese,	10.47
Bohemian and Moravian,	23.12	Magyar,	10.39
Italian (northern),	22.49	Polish,	9.94
Dutch and Flemish,	21.00	Italian (southern),	8.84
Cuban,	19.34	Hebrew,	8.67
Scandinavian,	16.65	Lithuanian,	7.96
Russian,	14.94		
Irish,	14.50		
Syrian,	14.31		

(2.) *Percentage of Immigrants who have been in the United States before.*

1898	18.
1899	16.
1900	11.6
1901	11.9

(3.) *Percentage of Immigrants having no Occupation, including Women and Children.*

1895	35.
1896	36.
1897	39.
1898	39.4
1899	35.1
1900	30.1
1901	30.5

(4.) *Percentage of Immigrants who were Farm Laborers, Laborers, or Servants.*

1895	42.
1896	46.
1897	40.
1898	40.3
1899	47.3
1900	53.0
1901	53.1

(5.) *Illiteracy.*

(a.) In General.

Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration
over 15 years of age.

1895	20
1896	29
1897	23

Over 14 years of age.

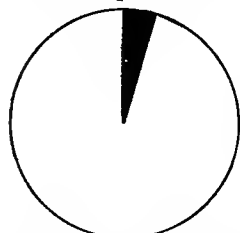
1898	23.
1899	19.7
1900	24.3
1901	27.7

(b.) Of Particular Groups.

(Compiled from the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Year ending June 30, 1901.)

PERCENTAGES OF ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS FROM THOSE NATIONS OF EUROPE WHICH SENT UPWARDS OF 2,000 IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1901.

Coming from Western Europe.



Average of Group, 5.6%.

The black part shows the proportion of those over fourteen years of age who could not read and write in any language.

Coming from Eastern Europe.



Average of Group, 43.2%.

Note: that the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past three fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Scandinavian	0.6	0.9	0.6
English	1.7	0.2	1.1
Scotch	—	—	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	3.3	3.0	1.5
Finnish	2.0	2.7	2.2
Irish	3.9	3.3	3.2
French	3.5	3.9	3.9
German	3.2	5.8	4.1
Dutch and Flemish	—	9.6	7.8
Italian (north)	11.4	11.2	15.7
Average of above	3.6	4.2	5.6

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).	1899.	1900.	1901.
Magyar	10.8	16.8	7.5
Hebrew	20.3	22.9	23.6
Greek	23.4	17.1	25.9
Slovak	27.6	27.9	30.7
Polish	31.3	31.2	37.5
Croatian and Slovenian	26.1	37.4	39.7
Lithuanian	32.4	31.7	49.8
Ruthenian	—	49.0	53.2
Italian (South)	57.2	54.6	59.1
Portuguese	65.5	59.9	63.8
Average of above	37.6	36.4	43.2

OTHER RACES.			
Cuban	—	6.8	—
Japanese	4.7	8.9	6.7
Chinese	—	—	6.9
Syrian	56.2	55.9	56.1

(c.) Illiteracy of Italian Immigrants.

(From manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York during April, 1896, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples. This is believed to present a fair average of recent Italian immigration.)

Total Immigrants examined,	3,174
Percentage of males,	89.2
Percentage of females,	10.8
Total illiterates,	2,147
Percentage of total immigrants who were illiterates,	67.6
Percentage of male illiteracy,	66.5
Percentage of female illiteracy,	75.7
Number debarred under existing laws,	197
Percentage debarred of total immigrants,	6.2
Number which would have been debarred by a reading and writing test,	2,147
Or a percentage of,	67.6
Percentage of those who had been in the United States before,	27.7
Percentage of total immigrants who were laborers,	85.8

IV. Effects of Immigration in the United States.

(1.) *Crime, Insanity, and Pauperism.*

According to the *Census of 1890* [*Part II., pp. 169, 174, 182*] those of foreign birth or parentage, who are 38 per cent. of the total white population, furnish over $\frac{1}{2}$ the white convicts of the United States, while the foreign-born population, who are about 15 per cent. of the total population, furnish $\frac{1}{3}$ of the insane, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the paupers of the United States.

Or, comparing an equal number of the foreign element and the native element, the foreigners furnish $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as many criminals, $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as many insane, and 3 times as many paupers.

(*From Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.*)

Country.	Commitments to all penal institutions of Massachusetts per 1,000 inhabitants from countries named, less drunks.	Illiteracy of Immigrants (1895).
Scandinavia	5.1	1
Germany	3.6	2
Scotland	5.8	3
France	6.1	3
England	7.2	3
Ireland	7.1	7
Russia	7.9	26
Austria	10.4	28
Poland	16.0	29
Hungary	15.4	33
Italy	18.2	44

(2.) *Distribution of Immigrants.*

(a.) *Foreign-Born in the United States.*

(*Census of 1890. Population. Part I., pp. lxxxii, cxxxv.*)

The total foreign-born population of the United States is 9,249,547, constituting 14.77 per cent. of the entire population of the United States.

This foreign-born population is made up as follows:

	Number.	Per cent.
North and South Americans	1,088,245	11.76
Great Britain and Ireland	3,122,911	33.76
Germanic nations	3,119,583	33.73
Scandinavian nations	933,249	10.09
Slav nations	510,625	5.52
Latin nations	319,822	3.46
Asiatic nations	113,383	1.23
All others	41,729	0.45
Total	9,249,547	100.0

(b.) Distribution of Foreign-Born.

(*Compiled from Census of 1890, Part I., p. cxxxvi.*)

	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
Great Britain and Ireland,	59.5	2.5	27.6	2.4	7.9
France,	36.0	2.2	34.1	12.7	14.9
Germany,	32.2	2.9	56.4	4.1	4.3
Bohemia,	10.4	1.4	84.3	3.1	0.8
Scandinavia,	12.7	0.3	76.0	0.8	10.0
Austria,	49.9	1.7	31.8	8.4	8.1
Hungary,	72.9	1.8	22.1	1.4	1.6
Italy,	65.0	2.7	12.0	6.7	13.7
Poland,	38.4	1.7	57.0	1.7	1.2
Russia,	50.9	3.2	38.2	1.5	6.1

“South Atlantic” includes States south of N. J. and Pa.

“South Central” includes States south of the Ohio River and Mo.

Note: that only 4.6 per cent. of the Poles and only 4.8 per cent. of the Hungarians and 10.8 per cent. of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western Division; altogether only 29,528, scattered in a total population of nearly twenty-three millions.

Note: that while the non-Atlantic States gain three-fourths of the Germans and Scandinavians, the Atlantic States are burdened with two-thirds of the Russians, Hungarians, and Italians.

(c.) Congestion in Certain States.

(Compiled from the Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.		Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River.	
1895	72.	1895	—
1896	72.	1896	11.
1897	71.	1897	15.
1898	68.9	1898	15.2
1899	68.7	1899	15.7
1900	68.8	1900	13.4
1901	69.5	1901	13.5

(d.) Rural and Urban Distribution.

It is said that there is plenty of room in this country in the West on farms and ranches to receive an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

In considering this statement the following figures are of interest. [From Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Report, No. 2, 1892.] Of a total foreign-born population of 9,249,547 in 1890, 4,081,927, or **44 per cent.** of them, were found in the 124 principal cities of the United States.

Of persons born in Norway	20.8%	live in cities.
“ “ “ “ England	40.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Germany	47.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Ireland	55.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Poland	57.1	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Russia	57.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Italy	58.8	“ “ “

Congestion of Recent Immigration and of that most Affected by the Illiteracy Test in Large Cities and Centres of Population.

(From the Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.)

In 1890 there were 147,740 persons in this country born in Poland. Of these there were, in the States of —

New York	22,718
Pennsylvania	25,191
Illinois	28,878
Michigan	15,669
Wisconsin	17,660
Total	110,116

Now let us see how they are distributed within these States.

Illinois :

Cook County (Chicago) 25,336

Michigan :

Wayne County (Detroit) 5,599

Manistee County 2,607

Bay County 1,973

Kent County 1,175

New York :

Erie County (Buffalo) 8,929

New York County (New York) 6,759

Kings County (Brooklyn) 1,957

Pennsylvania :

Allegheny County (Pittsburg) 3,343

Luzerne County 7,408

Northumberland County 2,083

Philadelphia County (Philadelphia) 2,189

Schuylkill County 4,492

Wisconsin :

Milwaukee County (Milwaukee) 10,066

Portage County 2,070

In 1890 there were 182,580 Italians. Of these there were in Massachusetts 8,066, and 4,799 in Suffolk County (Boston). In New York, 64,141, of which 39,951 were in New York County (city of New York); Kings County (Brooklyn), 9,789; Westchester County, 1,820; Erie County (Buffalo), 1,908. In Pennsylvania, 24,662, of which 6,799 were in Philadelphia County; Allegheny County (Pittsburg), 3,498; Luzerne County, 1,661. In New Jersey, 12,989, of which 3,598 were in Essex County; Hudson County (Jersey City), 3,039. In Illinois, 8,035, of which 5,734 were in Cook County (Chicago). In Louisiana, 7,767, of which 3,622 were in Orleans County (New Orleans). In California, 15,495, of which 5,212 were in San Francisco.

There were 182,644 from Russia. Of these there were in the States of —

New York 58,466

Pennsylvania 17,315

Massachusetts 7,325

Connecticut	3,027
South Dakota	12,398
Michigan	11,889
Illinois	8,407
Kansas	9,801

Of these New York City had 48,790; Brooklyn, 3,397; Rochester, 1,085; Albany, 479; Syracuse, 774; Elmira, 108; Long Island City, 121.

There were in Boston 4,305, or more than attributed to Massachusetts; Philadelphia, 7,879; Chicago, 7,683; New Haven, 1,160; Hartford, 492; Bridgeport, 102; Waterbury, 123.

One-half of these Russians are found in the Atlantic division, or 89,896, and in the Central division, 69,907.

Philadelphia has	7,897
Pittsburg	2,279
Scranton	488
Wilkesbarre	149

Kansas:

Marion County	316
Ellis County	1,269
McPherson County	1,654

Michigan:

Portland County	3,521
Gogebic County	1,129
Marquette County	2,563

In 1880 there were only 8,967 of these in the 50 principal cities. In 1890 there were 98,355.

(e.) Destination of Illiterates.

(From Manifests of 1000 Immigrants at New York, 1896.)

	By Numbers.					By Percentages.			
	Penn.	N.Y.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Russians,	11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91%	9%
Hungarians,	76	20	34	4	0	130	4	97	3
Galicians,	25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80	20
Croats, etc.,	20	8	0	4	4	28	8	78	22
Syrians,	0	21	2	0	4	23	4	85	15
Totals,	132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89	11

Only 11 illiterates were destined to the South, 1 Hungarian going to Delaware, 3 to West Virginia, and 2 Galicians to Maryland, while the 5 who were going to Missouri were sent before the Board of Special Inquiry on suspicion of being contract laborers and were admitted for lack of evidence.

Italians. — From examination of the manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples, in 1896, it appeared that 95.3% were destined for New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Of those destined for "other States" 31 or less than 1% were bound to States west of the Mississippi river, and only 11 to States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, while only 3 were going to the Southern States proper.

Note: that an educational test as a measure of restriction would not affect in any important degree the Western and Southern States, many of which are naturally desirous of obtaining a large immigration; because the races like the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, French, and English, which would be little affected by an educational test, largely go West, while the illiterate races, such as the Hungarians, Galicians, and Italians, remain to lower the standards of the already crowded Atlantic territory, as appears by the tables above.

(f.) Illiterates and Slums.

The *Seventh Special Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor* (1894) shows (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign-born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same report (pp. 160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same report, pp. 41, 72:

*Austria-Hungary, Italy,
Poland, and Russia.**United Kingdom, France,
Germany, and Scandinavia.*

Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.		Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.
1.97	12.72	Baltimore.	13.52	27.29
		Chicago.		
6.41	44.44	|	30.70	10.64
		New York.		
9.45	51.11	|	30.73	8.64
		Philadelphia.		
1.95	50.28	|	22.95	8.44

Note: that Southeastern Europe furnishes 3 times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

The comparative degree of illiteracy of foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above-mentioned four cities:

Scandinavia,	5.6%
Great Britain,	7.0
France,	10.2
Germany,	21.9
Ireland,	40.4
<hr/>	
Average of Group,	25.5
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Austria-Hungary,	16.6
Russia,	37.1
Poland,	46.1
Italy,	66.4
<hr/>	
Average of Group,	54.5
<hr/>	
Native Americans,	7.4

(3.) *Naturalization of Aliens.*

By *Census of 1890, Part II., p. 683*, out of the total foreign-born males over 21 years of age, 32.8 per cent. were not naturalized; *i.e.*, nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the foreign adult males are not citizens. And out of the total male population of the United States over 21 years of age, 7 per cent. are aliens. Of the 1,189,452 aliens in the United States, 32.6 per cent. do not speak English.

From the *Census of 1890* [*Part II.*, pp. 600, 688] it appears that the proportion of the foreign-born of the various races who were still aliens was as follows:

Slav,	21.4%	British,	9.3%
Latin,	29.7	Germanic,	9.7
Asiatic,	85.7	Scandinavian,	13.2
Average,	32.0	Average,	9.9

(4.) *Replacing of Native Stock by Foreign Stock.*

Perhaps the most important effect of immigration, and the one to which popular attention has been least directed, is that of the supplanting of one race by another in this country. In this view the descendants of the settlers of British origin, and later the immigrants of Irish, German, French, and Scandinavian origin, have tended to increase less rapidly on account of the coming of immigrants of habits, customs, and modes of thought alien to those already here and of an inferior social and economic status. The result is not merely a social and economic struggle between those already here and those coming, in which it may be true that the former are in general victorious and are displaced upwards to take more lucrative and responsible positions; but there is another struggle between the new-comers and their children on the one side, and the children of those already here on the other, in which the latter are defeated and slain by never being allowed to come into existence.

Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, maintained that if there had been no immigration whatever into this country during the past 90 years, "the native element would long ago have filled the place the foreigners have usurped." And he further says:

"The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . The great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population, but throughout the population of the country as a whole, including the foreigners. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reinforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." (*See articles in "Forum," 1891, pp. 634-743; reprinted in "Discussions in Economics and Statistics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426; also article in "Atlantic Monthly," Vol. 77, p. 822, June, 1896.*)

The United States Industrial Commission says in its report, p. 277: "It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population."

IV. Nationalities of Immigrants desired by the States.

(From Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, January, 1896. The Commission sent letters to the Governors of all the States asking what nationalities of immigrants were preferred in their several States.)

Of 52 preferences for different nationalities of immigrants expressed in these replies

- 15 are for Germans.
- 14 are for Scandinavians.
- 12 are for English, Scotch, or Irish.
- 3 are for French.
- 2 are for Swiss.
- 2 are for Italians.
- 1 is for Hollanders.
- 1 is for Belgians.
- 1 is for "North of Europe."
- 1 is for Americans.

Note: that there are only 2 calls for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and these are both for Italians. One of the Governors asking for Italians expressly states that he is "not sure that immigrants from any foreign country are desirable as laborers" in his State, and the other says "that unskilled labor is not desired" in his State, but that farmers with small means are highly desirable. As very few of the Italian immigrants now coming to this country settle down and become independent farmers, but are almost entirely unskilled laborers, it may be concluded that in the second case Italian immigration of its present character is not desired.

Note: that there is no call for Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Slovaks, or the other races of Southern and Eastern Europe and of Asia.

Note: that the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, such as the English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians, and French, who are desired as immigrants in all parts of the United States, are as a whole well educated, there being on the average only four per cent. of illiteracy among them, while the illiteracy of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and Poland is over forty per cent. An educational test, therefore, requiring every immigrant to be able to read before gaining admission to the United States, would debar a considerable number of the undesirable classes, while it would interfere very little with the immigration from the North and West of Europe.

V. The Present Laws and Their Effects.

(1.) *Excluded Classes.*

The only classes of persons excluded from this country under our present immigration laws (not considering Chinese immigration) are the following: I. *Idiots*; II. *Insane persons*; III. *Paupers or persons likely to become a public charge*; IV. *Persons with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease*; V. *Persons who have been convicted of felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude*; VI. *Polygamists*; VII. "*Assisted immigrants*," unless on special inquiry they are found not to belong to any of the foregoing excluded classes; VIII. *Contract laborers*; IX. *Women imported for purposes of prostitution.*

Note. — There are three general misconceptions regarding our present immigration laws. *The first* is that we now require a careful examination of all intending immigrants in Europe, before they embark, and in this way the least desirable element is very largely prevented from coming here. *The second*, that persons who cannot read and write are at present debarred from landing. *The third*, that every immigrant must have \$30 in order to be admitted. None of these is true.

• All immigrants except those from Canada and Mexico pay a head tax of \$1.

(2.) *Numbers Debarred and Deported.*

1892	2,801 out of 579,663 or 0.5 per cent.
1893	1,630 out of 440,793 or 0.4 per cent.
1894	2,389 out of 228,020 or 1.0 per cent.
1895	2,419 out of 258,536 or 1.0 per cent.
1896	3,037 out of 343,267 or 0.9 per cent.
1897	1,880 out of 230,832 or 0.8 per cent.
1898	3,194 out of 229,299 or 1.4 per cent.
1899	4,061 out of 311,715 or 1.3 per cent.
1900	4,602 out of 448,572 or 1.3 per cent.
1901	3,879 out of 487,918 or 0.8 per cent.

VI. Proposed Methods of Restriction.

(1.) *Consular Certificate Plan.*

It has been suggested that the U.S. consuls shall examine intending immigrants at the various ports of embarkation and certify as to their admissibility under the U.S. immigration laws. This plan was formerly very popular and at first sight seems an excellent one; but closer examination discloses defects in it that not only make it useless but show it would endanger all the good of the present system of inspection. Some of these objections are as follows:

1. Necessitates a large increase in consular force, and consequent expense.
2. Divides responsibility between the consul and the inspector at the American port. In doubtful cases each would throw responsibility upon the other and the immigrant would be allowed to enter; or else
3. Works hardships on the immigrants, because it is not certain that all with consular certificates will be allowed to land.
4. Consuls have not the time to examine the large numbers embarking at one time, and the result would be that inspection would practically be done by their clerks, who are frequently natives and who would generally sympathize with the immigrants, and in any case would be less efficient and responsible, and more open to corruption.
5. Does not add at all to the classes now excluded by law, but is simply an administrative measure. Other classes are objectionable also.
6. Does not draw any line of exclusion more definite than the present law, which vests an unlimited and burdensome discretion in the immigration officials.
7. If consular inspection were public the foreign governments could at once tell whom to detain as being desirable citizens, and fit for military service; or
8. If secret consular inspection were contemplated foreign governments would not permit its introduction.

(2.) *The Educational Test.*

(a.) **Advantages of the Educational Test as a Means of further Restricting Immigration.**

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude; *i.e.*, those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable

of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation.

2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers and American citizenship.
9. Promotes education among those who desire to immigrate, and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion, and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

(b.) Proposed Bill.

The Immigration Restriction League is not committed to any one method of restriction. It recognizes the need of many administrative reforms, and of a proper treaty with Canada concerning European and Asiatic immigration through that country; it is also not opposed to a small increase of the head-tax for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the inspection service. Nevertheless it believes that the most important reform at present is legislation which will really exclude the most undesirable elements of the present immigration.

The League has therefore prepared a bill embodying the educational test as follows:

A BILL TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

That section one of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, in amendment of the immigration and contract labor Acts, be and hereby is amended by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States the following :

All persons over fifteen years of age and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language ; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not.

SECT. 2. That for the purpose of testing the ability of the immigrant to read, as required by the foregoing section, the inspection officers shall be furnished with copies of the Constitution of the United States, printed on uniform pasteboard slips, each containing not less than twenty nor more than twenty-five words of said Constitution printed in the various languages of the immigrants in double small pica type. Each immigrant may designate the language in which he prefers the test shall be made, and shall be required to read the words printed on a slip in such language. No two immigrants listed on the same manifest shall be tested with the same slip. An immigrant failing to read as above provided shall not be admitted, but shall be returned to the country from which he came at the expense of the steamship or railroad company which brought him.

SECT. 3. That the provisions of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract labor laws shall apply to the persons mentioned in Section one of this Act.

(c.) Endorsements.

The principle of the educational test has been endorsed in past years by about 90 PER CENT. of the PRESS of the United States which has pronounced editorially upon the question of restriction, and was asked for by petitions of thousands of citizens sent to the 54th and 55th Congresses.

The following bodies and individuals are among those that have at various times endorsed the test :

STATE LEGISLATURES.

- Arkansas House of Representatives by a vote of 80 to 2, January, 1897.
 The Legislature of the State of California.
 The Legislature of the State of Washington.
 The Legislature of the State of Wyoming.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR PROMOTING IMMIGRATION.

- John M. Haines, Esq., Secretary Idaho Immigration Association.
 Sewell Davis, Esq., Secretary Montana Mining and Immigration Committee,
 Butte, Mont.
 S. W. Narregang, Esq., Secretary South Dakota Immigration Association.
 D. R. McGinnis, Esq., Secretary North Western Immigration Association.
 Sixth Congressional District Immigration Association, Aikin, Minn., March
 17, 18, 1896.
 South Dakota Immigration Association.
 Washington State Immigration Society, Seattle, Jan. 14, 1896.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

National and International.

- American Federation of Labor, by a vote of 1,858 to 352, Nashville, Dec. 17,
 1897.
 General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Rochester, N.Y., Nov. 14, 1896;
 November, 1897; November, 1901.
 Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, December, 1897.
 Carpenters and Joiners National Brotherhood, Cleveland, Sept. 29, 1896.
 Core Makers' International Union, Newark, N.J., Aug. 25, 1897.
 Henry Weil, Esq., Secretary American Diamond Versters Union, New
 York.
 Electrical Workers of America, November, 1897.
 Henry White, Esq., General Secretary United Garment Workers of
 America.
 Glass Blowers' Association of America.
 Glass Blowers' Association of United States and Canada.
 Glass Bottle Blowers of United States and Canada.
 Granite Cutters' National Union.
 Horseshoers' International Union, Buffalo, May 30, 1896.
 United Wood Carvers' Association, New York, December, 1896.

Local.

- D. C.* — Central Labor Union, *Washington*, 1896 and Dec. 6, 1897.
 “ Local Assembly, No. 2672, Knights of Labor, *Washington*, Oct. 11, 1897.
 “ Knights of Labor District Assembly, No. 66, *Washington*.
- Ill.* — Journeymen Tailors' Union, *Bloomington*.
 “ Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, No. 1, *Chicago*.
 “ Carpenters' Union, No. 10, *Chicago*.
 “ Hoisting Engineers' Association, *Chicago*, March, 1897.
 “ Woman's Fed. Labor Union, No. 2703, *Chicago*, Dec. 3, 1897.
 “ Zinc Workers' Protective Association, No. 6500, *Collinsville*, Sept. 11, 1897.
- Mass.* — Central Labor Union, *Brockton*.
 “ Lodge No. 21, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin, and Steel Workers, *Cambridge*.
 “ Workingmen's Protective League, *Lowell*, Nov. 26, 1897.
- Mich.* — Chandelier Workers' Union, No. 6913, *Detroit*, Sept. 3, 1897.
 “ Council of Trades and Labor Unions, *Detroit*, Feb. 11, 1897.
 “ Cigarmakers' Local Union, No. 22, *Detroit*, 1897; Dec. 7, 1901.
 “ Edison Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Trades and Labor Council, *Port Huron*.
 “ Longshoremen's Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Journeymen Barbers' Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Typographical Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Cigarmakers' Union, No. 368, *Port Huron*, November, 1901.
- Minn.* — Central Saw Mill Workers' Protective Union, No. 6724, *Duluth*, Sept. 4, 1897.
- N. J.* — Screw Makers' Union, No. 6585, *Elizabeth*, Sept. 27, 1897.
 “ Hatters' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Typographical Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Morocco Dressers' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Silk Workers' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Central Labor Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
- N. Y.* — Branch No. 1, American Workmen's Protective League, *Brooklyn*.
 “ Central Labor Union, *New York City*, Jan. 31, 1897.
 “ Protective Labor Union, *New York City*.

- N. Y.* — Blacksmiths' Helpers' Union, No. 6931, *New York City*, Sept. 3, 1897.
 " Brass Moulders' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
 " Stair Builders' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
 " Stone Cutters' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
 " Typographical Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
 " United Wood Carvers, *New York City*, December, 1896.
 " United Garment Workers, Local No. 136, *Rochester*, Dec. 20, 1897, and Nov. 18, 1901.
- O.* — Trades and Labor Assembly of Ohio.
 " Coöperative Trades and Labor Council, *Hamilton*, Sept. 8, 1897.
 " Trades and Labor Assembly, *Massilon*.
- Pa.* — Kane Labor League, *Kane*.
 " Knights of Labor Social Assembly, No. 1562.
 " Glass Bottle Blowers, *Philadelphia*.
 " Cigar Makers' Union, No. 295, *Scranton*.

OTHER BODIES AND INDIVIDUALS.

National.

- National Board of Trade, *Philadelphia*.
 American Agents' Association, *Louisville, Ky.*, Aug. 30, 1897.
 American Agents' Association, Nov. 18, 1901.
 Commercial Travellers of United States.
 Farmers' Congress, *Indianapolis, Ind.*, 1896.

Local.

- Cal.* — A. Eckstrom, Registrar of Associated Charities of *San Joaquin County*, *Stockton*, Nov. 26, 1901.
- Col.* — Mrs. S. Izetta George, Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Denver*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- Conn.* — Associated Charities, *Bridgeport*, Nov. 11, 1901.
 " A. S. Finch, Esq., Agent Associated Charities, *New Britain*, Oct. 31, 1901.
- Fla.* — L. B. Wombwell, Esq., Commissioner of Agriculture.
- Ill.* — Board of Trade, *Chicago*, Dec. 15, 1896.
 " Miss Mary P. Roberts, Superintendent Associated Charities, *Jacksonville*, Nov. 2, 1901.
- Ind.* — C. S. Grout, Esq., General Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Indianapolis*, Oct. 26, 1901.

- La.* — Michel Heymann, Esq., Superintendent Jewish Orphans' Home, *New Orleans*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- “ Miss Sophie B. Wright, State Secretary, International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, *New Orleans*, Nov. 25, 1901.
- Mass.* — State Board of Trade, Jan. 19, 1897.
- “ Associated Charities, *Lynn*, Nov. 25, 1901.
- “ Associated Charities, *Salem*, Nov. 1, 1901.
- “ Boston Chamber of Commerce, *Boston*, Jan. 22, 1896.
- “ The Bostonian Club, *Boston*.
- “ Bostoniana Club of *Boston*.
- “ Park Street Club, *Boston*.
- Minn.* — Common Council and Mayor of *Duluth*, March 16, 1896, by a unanimous vote.
- “ O. C. Gregg, Esq., Superintendent State Farmers' Institute, Dec. 10, 1897, *Lynde*.
- Mo.* — J. M. Hanson, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Kansas City*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- Mont.* — S. M. Emery, Esq., Director Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.
- “ Jas. H. Mills, Esq., and J. A. Ferguson, Esq., Commissioners Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, *Helena*.
- Neb.* — The Nebraska Club.
- N.J.* — A. W. McDougall, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Orange*, Oct. 30, 1901.
- “ Miss Sarah M. Van Boskerck, Agent Organized Aid Association, *Plainfield*, Oct. 29, 1901.
- N.Y.* — Daniel O'Leary, Esq., Chief Factory Inspector, State of New York.
- “ Dr. J. H. Senner, when United States Commissioner of Immigration Port of New York.
- “ Catholic Temperance Society, *Buffalo*, January, 1898.
- “ Hon. John G. Milburn, President of Pan-American Exposition. *Buffalo*, Dec., 1901.
- “ Frederic Almy, Esq., Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Buffalo*, Oct. 24, 1901.
- “ Charity Organization Society, *Castleton*, Nov. 14, 1901.
- “ Hon. Chas. Stewart Smith, Ex-President New York Chamber of Commerce, *New York City*.
- “ Mr. Justice Robert C. Cornell, *New York City*.
- “ Edward T. Devine, Esq., General Secretary of Charity Organization Society and Editor of “Charities,” *New York City*, Oct. 22, 1901.

- N. Y.* — Homer Folks, Esq., Secretary State Charities Aid Association, *New York City*, Oct. 23, 1901.
- Ohio.* — C. M. Hubbard, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Cincinnati*, Oct. 26, 1901.
- “ *Cleveland* Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 15, 1896.
- “ J. H. Brigham, Esq., President of Trustees of Ohio State Penitentiary, *Delta*.
- Ore.* — W. R. Walpole, Esq., Secretary Associated Charities, *Portland*, Nov., 1901.
- Pa.* — Association for the Improvement of the Poor, *Pittsburg*, Nov. 11, 1901.
- S. D.* — Hon. Thomas Thorson, Secretary of State, *Pierre*.
- Texas.* — W. T. Levy, Esq., U.S. Inspector of Immigration, *Galveston*.
- Wash.* — Seattle Chamber of Commerce, *Seattle*.
- Wis.* — Associated Charities, *Milwaukee*, Nov. 8, 1901.

(3.) *Restriction Generally.*

A very large number of important names of those favoring measures for restricting immigration, though not in terms advocating the educational test, may be added to the above. A few of these are :

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, April, 1895.

National Association of Hatmakers of the United States, New York, Jan. 25, 1895.

Eighty-five local unions of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, 1897.

E. E. Clark, Esq., Grand Chief of Order of Railway Conductors.
Secretary Pearce of the United Mine Workers.

International Convention of Factory Inspectors, Detroit, Sept. 2, 1897.

Farmers' National Congress, St. Paul, Minn., September, 1897.

National Prison Reform Association, Austin, Texas, December, 1897.

Commander Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army.

Cal. — Building Trades Council of *San Francisco*, Nov. 20, 1897.

Col. — Colorado State Grange, Jan. 12, 1898.

Conn. — Connecticut Branch American Federation of Labor, Hartford, Oct. 14, 1896.

“ Mrs. Mary A. T. Clark, Superintendent Associated Charities, *Wilmington*, Nov. 2, 1901.

Ill. — State Branch American Federation of Labor, Bloomington, September, 1897.

- Ill.* — Ernest P. Bicknell, Esq., General Superintendent Bureau of Charities, *Chicago*, Nov. 4, 1901.
- Ky.* — Miss E. A. Gallagher, Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Louisville*, Nov. 16, 1901.
- Mass.* — Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1895.
- “ International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Local No. 16, *Boston*.
- “ Bricklayers' International Union, *Worcester*, Jan. 21, 1897.
- “ Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Unions, *Boston*, April 8, 1895.
- “ Brockton Branch of Lasters' Protective Union, *Brockton* (1,100 members).
- “ Hon. Roger Wolcott, late Governor of Massachusetts.
- “ Mrs. Lucia T. Ames, Factory Inspector, State of Massachusetts.
- Mont.* — Hon. Robert B. Smith, Governor of Montana.
- Nev.* — Legislature of the State of Nevada, March, 1897.
- N. Y.* — Joint State Convention of Labor Organizations, State of New York, January, 1898.
- “ Prof. George Gunton, *New York City*, Oct. 23, 1901.
- “ Walter Laidlaw, Esq., Secretary of Federation of Churches, *New York City*, Oct. 21, 1901.
- Ohio.* — American Federation of Labor, Ohio State Branch, December, 1897.
- “ Trades Assembly, *Columbus*, November, 1897.
- “ Hon. William Ruhrwein, Labor Commissioner of State of Ohio.
- Pa.* — Local Assembly 4907, *Pittsburg*, June, 1897.
- “ George Hoffman, Esq., Examiner of Department of Charities, *Pittsburg*, Pa.
- Wis.* — Mrs. Ivah B. Wiltrout, Secretary Associated Charities, *Eau Claire*, Nov. 11, 1901.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary and Treasurer, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

The Present Status of the Immigration Problem.

The session of Congress just ended has furnished several forcible and interesting illustrations of the way in which a small minority of the American people can bring influence to bear on a few members of Congress, and of how these few members can absolutely prevent legislation. There is no better concrete example of this sort than the immigration bill, for while nominally a bill was enacted into law, essentially the measure was defeated. It is important to emphasize this at the outset, as the public, having no expert knowledge of the subject, is likely to be deceived and to suppose that something important has been accomplished in the way of regulating immigration.

History of Legislation.

In order to understand the present situation, it is necessary to look back and to see what has been accomplished along the lines of the proper restriction of immigration. The first general immigration act was passed in 1882 and fixed the head tax at fifty cents; the contract labor acts in 1885 and 1887; another general act in 1891; an administrative act in 1893; the head tax raised to one dollar in 1895; a general codifying act in 1903, raising the head tax to two dollars. Now immigration legislation may be divided into two parts — that defining what classes of immigrants shall be excluded, and that providing the machinery whereby the exclusion is accomplished.

Classes of Immigrants now Excluded.

Let us consider the excluded classes. (1.) The act of 1862 prohibited the importation of "coolie" labor from oriental countries, and was, therefore, broader than the later "Chinese Exclusion Acts," which have always been considered as distinct from "immigration acts," and which have superseded the coolie provisions. The act of 1875 added (2) convicts, except those guilty of political offenses, and (3) women imported for immoral purposes. The act of 1882 added (4) lunatics, (5) idiots, (6) persons unable to care for themselves without becoming public charges. The act of 1885 impliedly and the act of 1887 expressly added (7) contract laborers. The act of 1891 added (8) paupers, (9) persons suffering from loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, (10) polygamists; (11) "assisted" immigrants, *i.e.*, those whose passage has been paid for by others unless they show affirmatively that they are otherwise admissible. The act of 1903 added (12) epileptics, (13) persons who have been insane within five years previous, (14) professional beggars, (15) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force

or violence of the government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials, (16) persons attempting to bring in women for purposes of prostitution, (17) persons deported within a year previous as being contract laborers.

Present Laws not Adequate.

For a long time prior to 1891, and still more strongly after that date, there was a widespread feeling that the laws as framed were entirely inadequate to accomplish their purpose, and that not only was the machinery defective, but the material of immigration was full of undesirable elements. Numerous reports upon the matter were made by Congress and special commissions, but the enemies of restriction claimed that the trouble lay wholly with the administrative features of the law. To improve the machinery the act of 1893, a purely administrative act, was passed, and it soon became apparent that the trouble lay much deeper, and that some further additions to the excluded classes were desirable. A largely increased head tax was advocated; also a system of consular inspection of immigrants in the foreign countries. The former method never found much favor, and the latter method has long since been abandoned as impracticable by every one familiar with the subject. From a statistical and practical study of the immigrants themselves it came to be recognized that there is a close correspondence between ignorance of language and the other chief undesirable qualities. These qualities are, in general, ignorance of a trade, lack of resources, criminal tendencies, aversion to country life and the tendency to congregate in the slums of large cities, a low standard of living and lack of ambition to seek a better, lack of disposition to assimilate and to have any permanent interests in this country. The facts and statistics of these matters have been frequently published and are collected in concise form in the various documents issued by the Immigration Restriction League since 1894.

History of the Illiteracy Test.

Observing this connection between ignorance of language and other undesirable qualities, most students of the immigration problem have come to believe that the next addition to the excluded classes should be made by means of an "illiteracy" or "educational" test. In 1895 a bill to exclude illiterates was introduced into both Houses of the 54th Congress at the request of the League. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, presented the bill in the Senate, and the bill has since been generally known as the "Lodge Bill." It passed the House May 20, 1896, by a vote of 195 to 26, and the Senate Dec. 17, 1896, by a vote of 52 to 10. A conference report subsequently passed the House Feb. 9, 1897, by a vote of 217 to 37, and the Senate on Feb. 17, 1897, by a vote of 34 to 31. Unfortunately, an amendment had been tacked on to the bill in the House at the instance of Representative Corliss, of Michigan, against the protests of the friends of the bill, which was calculated to

make trouble with Canada. On March 2, 1897, the bill was vetoed by President Cleveland, largely because of this amendment.

President McKinley, in his inaugural message, strongly emphasized the need of further restriction, and the same bill, without the Corliss amendment, was promptly introduced into the 55th Congress and passed the Senate Jan. 17, 1898, by a vote of 45 to 28. Then the steamship companies caused numerous telegrams to be sent to the Representatives, stating that a vote for the bill meant defeat at the next election; and other persons interested in defeating legislation succeeded in stirring up a certain factitious opposition among certain German societies by means of false and misleading circulars. The Representatives therefore resolved not to take up the measure until after the elections. Meanwhile the Spanish War broke out, and on Dec. 14, 1898, the bill was refused present consideration in the House by a vote of 103 to 100. It is needless to add that pressure of matters arising out of the war prevented its consideration later in the session.

In the 56th Congress a similar bill was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Immigration, Jan. 15, 1900, but pressure of Philippine and other business prevented further action.

A similar bill was introduced into both Houses of the 57th Congress. President Roosevelt strongly advocated the educational test in his message to Congress. It so happened that the government was preparing at the same time a general codification of the immigration laws, embodying many desired administrative changes. This bill (H.R. 12199) was originally drafted by the United States Industrial Commission acting in consultation with the officers of the Treasury Department. Modifications were made at the suggestion of the Immigration Restriction League and of a conference of the various commissioners of immigration. The bill was reported to the House, March 18, 1902. The League's bill, embodying the illiteracy test, was added to the general bill by amendment in the House, May 22, 1902, by a vote of 86 to 7, becoming, with some additions, Section 3 of the bill. On June 23, 1902, the bill was favorably reported to the Senate. Then the same influences which are always working against this sort of legislation put in a little underground work, with the result that the bill went over till the fall session.

In his message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1902, the President renewed his recommendation for immigration legislation. On Dec. 8, 1902, the bill was further amended by the Senate sitting in Committee of the Whole. Although the bill had been reported, the Senate Committee continued its hearings, and it is most important to notice who opposed and who favored the pending bill. The only opposition which openly appeared came from the International Navigation Company, the Polish National Alliance, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. One individual opposed Section 3 of the bill. In favor of the bill arguments were made by several of the principal officials of the immigration service, the New York State Lunacy Commission,

the Washington Government Insane Hospital, the American Federation of Labor, the organized railroad employees of the United States, and the Immigration Restriction League. The League presented a list of petitions to the first session of the 57th Congress in favor of the educational test, which when printed covered fifty-seven printed pages of the report of the committee, and a further list of endorsements covering fourteen pages of the report. These endorsements included a large proportion of the Boards of Associated Charities of the principal cities of the United States; all the organizations formed to promote immigration into the Northwestern States; a large number of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade; the American Federation of Labor; the Knights of Labor; the Legislatures of Arkansas, California, Washington, and Wyoming. There were 5,082 petitions in favor of further restriction of immigration sent in to the first session of the 57th Congress, and only 22 petitions against.

Nature of the Opposition to the Test.

Everything looked favorable for the prompt passage of the bill. The steamship companies, of course, opposed the educational test, but most of the railroad companies declared their neutrality, providing the test were not applied against Canadians. Then came the deadlock over the "omnibus statehood bill"; the weeks passed rapidly, and finally, when it became evident that one or two Senators would kill the whole bill unless it were amended, the Senate Committee agreed to drop the educational test, which Senator Lodge described in debate as the "only really valuable part of the bill," and to make certain other amendments weakening its efficiency. In its emasculated form it was passed by both Houses in the closing hours of the session and became law. Two amusing incidents relieved slightly the general disappointment. The bill as passed contained no recognition of the fact that the Immigration Bureau had, during the session, been transferred to the Department of Labor and Commerce, so that a special resolution was needed to rectify the error. Also, although one chief merit of the bill was supposed to be the fact that it was a codification, for some unknown reason the contract labor provisions were taken out, leaving that matter to be governed by the preceding acts.

Now this act, while good as far as it goes, is practically futile. It is not in the least degree a fulfilment of the pledges of the Republican party for legislation along the lines of the educational test, nor of Democratic pledges to exclude the cheap labor of Europe and Asia. It is no answer to the popular demand, repeatedly and emphatically expressed for the last dozen years. No one supposes for a moment that the \$2 head tax will operate as a restrictive provision. It is singular that since 1896 bills embodying the educational test should have passed the House of Representatives four times and the Senate three times, only to be defeated from causes not affecting the merits of the proposition, — the first time, a hostile amendment; the second, the Spanish War; the third and last time, the desire to admit to statehood a few hundred thousand

people, a matter of far less consequence to the public welfare than the yearly admission of hundreds of thousands of far less desirable people into the North-ern and Eastern States.

What opposition there is to further restriction outside of a few laissez faire doctrinaires is solely that of parties interested for pecuniary gain. There are the steamship companies with almost unlimited resources, which maintain constantly a lobby at Washington. There are certain railroad corporations which want the cheapest labor they can get, although it is fair to say that most of the railroads have, openly at least, remained neutral, asking only that all be treated alike. Finally, there are some mine owners and contractors who are also indifferent to the moral and social welfare of the public if only they can get their "instruments of production," their human picks and shovels, a bit cheaper. How long are the American people going to stand dictation from this small interested minority?

It is a great piece of good fortune that President Roosevelt has given the immigration service a thorough overhauling and appointed such capable, honest, and trustworthy officials as the present Commissioner-General and the Commissioner at New York. Too much praise cannot be given to the latter for the reforms inaugurated at Ellis Island and the discovery of extensive frauds in the landing of immigrants.

Effects of Unrestricted Immigration.

Space will not suffice to give in detail the reasons why a further regulation of immigration is needed, and why the educational test is the best remedy thus far suggested for present evils. These matters have been fully set forth in the publications of the Immigration Restriction League. There is, however, one effect of immigration which has not received the attention it deserves, namely, its effect in causing what President Roosevelt has forcibly described as "racial suicide" on the part of the earlier settlers and their descendants; or, in other words, race substitution in this country.

In his report for 1902 the Commissioner at the Port of New York says:

"Last year over two thousand cases of aliens who had arrived within the past twelve months and in the meantime become destitute were reported to the outdoor poor department of the city of New York. . . . From my own observation while travelling abroad, as well as from information received, I am satisfied that much of the present immigration is not spontaneous, but assisted or encouraged. . . . It must be clear to all that had our early immigration proceeded from those portions of eastern and southern Europe which are now sending us such large numbers of aliens, this country would not enjoy its present civilization. The constantly deteriorating quality of the recent immigration is a well-established fact, and calls for the execution of existing laws in the most stringent manner. . . . The effect of [the tide of undesirable immigration], if unchecked, will be to dilute and debase the elements which in the past have made this country great."

Gen. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, explains how the immigration of inferior sorts has lowered the birth-rate of those already in this country. In his "Discussions in Economics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426, he says:

"The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . The great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States, the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population, but throughout the population of the country as a whole, including the foreigners. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a re-enforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." (See articles in "Forum," 1891, pp. 634-743; reprinted in "Discussions in Economics and Statistics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426; also article in "Atlantic Monthly," Vol. 77, p. 822, June, 1896.)

The United States Industrial Commission says in its report, p. 277: "It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population."

R. R. Kuczynski, in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" for November, 1901, and February, 1902, has shown that in Massachusetts the average number of children born to every foreign born married woman is two-thirds higher than for the natives, and the number of children living three-fifths higher. He says: "It is probable that the native population cannot hold its own. It seems to be dying out."

President Eliot, of Harvard, has recently found that of the graduates of the classes from 1872 to 1877, twenty-eight per cent. are unmarried, and the married average only two surviving children.

Undoubtedly other causes besides immigration have played their part in the lowering of the native birthrate. But, admitting the fact, is it not the strongest of reasons for using our best judgment in the artificial selection of the individuals and races which shall preserve and carry on the great traditions of our past? The immigration problem is not a question of to-day alone, but of our country long after we are dead. We are trustees of our civic ideals and institutions for the benefit of future generations. As Phillips Brooks said: "If to this particular nation there has been given the development of a certain part of God's earth for universal purposes; if the world is going to be richer for the development of a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

Immigration Figures for 1903.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1902 and 1903.

	1902.	1903.
Total immigration	648,743	857,046
Percentage of increase over 1902		32
Percentage of increase over 1901	33	76
Percentage of increase over 1899	108	175
Percentage of increase over 1898	183	274
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	5,429	9,316
Per cent. debarred and returned	0.8	1.1
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age. [See Note 1.]	165,105	189,008
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	28.7	25.0
Immigration from countries of Northern and Western Europe. [See Note 2.]	138,700	203,689
Per cent. of total immigration	21.4	23.8
Immigration from countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. [See Note 2.]	480,331	610,813
Per cent. of total immigration	74.0	71.3
Immigration from Asia	22,271	29,966
Per cent. of total immigration	3.4	3.5
Average money brought, in dollars	16	19
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	9.5	8.9
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation, including women and children	23.6	23.3
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers, or servants	60.6	57.3
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa.	67.8	65.4

NOTE 1. — Although the percentage of illiteracy shows an improvement this year over last, it should be remembered that these figures are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test recently made at New York showed that 175

immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 2.—“Northern and Western Europe” includes the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands, and Switzerland.

“Southern and Eastern Europe” includes Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan States.

GENERAL REMARKS.—Immigration has reached the high-water mark during the past year, exceeding that of the largest previous year (1882) by nearly 70,000. It is gratifying to note an increase of over one-third in the proportion of those debarred and returned, and to testify to the great improvement in the efficiency of the service since the present Commissioner-General took office. Attempts are also being made to secure an adequate inspection on the frontiers of Canada and Mexico, and steps are being now taken to ascertain definitely the aliens in our penal and charitable institutions.

On the other hand, while there has been some increase in the immigration from Northern and Western Europe, the great proportion of immigration has come as usual from the less desirable races of Southern and Eastern Europe, and there has been a considerable influx of illiterate Japanese.

Hon. William Williams, Commissioner at New York, says in his report: “Without the proper execution of [the present laws] it is safe to say that thousands of additional aliens would have come here last year. But these laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who, while not of this class, are yet generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desirous of locating almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American workman, and unfitted mentally or morally for good citizenship. It would be quite impossible to accurately state what proportion of last year’s immigration should be classed as ‘undesirable.’ I believe that at least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.”

The largest elements in recent immigration were:

	1890.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346	115,704	152,915	196,117
Polish	28,466	46,938	43,617	69,620	82,343
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952	40,277	55,780	79,347
Hebrew	37,415	60,764	58,098	57,688	76,203
German	26,632	29,682	34,742	51,686	71,782
Irish	32,345	35,607	30,404	29,001	35,366
Slovak	15,838	29,243	29,343	36,934	34,427
Croatian and Slovenian	8,632	17,184	17,928	30,233	32,907

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past four fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
Scandinavian	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.6
Scotch	—	1.2	1.2	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	3.0	1.5	1.6	1.6
English	0.2	1.8	1.9	1.6
Irish	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.8
Finnish	2.7	2.2	1.4	2.2
French	3.9	3.9	4.8	3.8
German	5.8	4.1	5.4	4.6
Dutch and Flemish	9.6	7.8	7.6	6.9
Italian (North)	11.2	15.7	14.4	12.7
Average of above	4.2	5.6	4.4	3.9
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EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).				
Spanish	—	—	—	8.9
Magyar	16.8	7.5	13.3	10.5
Roumanian	—	—	28.3	21.5
Slovak	27.9	30.7	25.9	21.6
Greek	17.1	25.9	30.0	27.7
Russian	—	—	—	31.9
Polish	31.2	37.5	38.4	32.1
Croatian and Slovenian	37.4	39.7	42.2	35.2
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	—	—	—	44.7
Lithuanian	31.7	49.8	54.1	46.6
Ruthenian	49.0	53.2	50.0	49.4
Italian (South)	54.6	59.1	56.4	51.4
Portuguese	59.9	63.8	71.6	73.2
Average of above	39.8	46.0	44.3	39.7
<hr/>				
OTHER RACES.				
Cuban	6.8	—	8.0	4.2
Chinese	—	6.9	—	12.9
Hebrew	22.9	23.6	28.6	26.5
Japanese	8.9	6.7	1.2	27.0
African (black)	—	—	—	32.5
Syrian	55.9	56.1	51.0	53.8

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League address Prescott F. Hall, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration

FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1903.

I. Character of Present Immigration.

[*Report of the Commissioner at New York, p. 70.*]

“ In what follows I am merely repeating what I have said before in other words. But there are many trite things which bear repetition, and the facts concerning the continued coming here of large numbers of aliens, many of them of an inferior type even in their own homes, is one of these things.

“(1.) The great bulk of the present immigration proceeds from Italy, Austria, and Russia, and, furthermore, from some of the most undesirable sources of population of those countries. No one would object to the better classes of Italians, Austrians, and Russians coming here in large numbers; but the point is that such better element does not come, and, furthermore, that immigration from such countries as Germany and the British Isles has fallen to a very low figure.

“(2.) The great bulk of the present immigration settles in four of the Eastern States, and most of it in the large cities of those States. Notwithstanding the well-known demand for agricultural labor in the Western States, thousands of foreigners keep pouring into our cities, declining to go where they might be wanted because they are neither physically nor mentally fitted to go to these undeveloped parts of our country and do as did the early settlers from northern Europe.

“ In view of these two propositions it is as irrelevant as it is misleading to assert that, because immigration in the past has been a source of greatness to the country, and because the great building and other industrial operations now going on in the United States require labor, therefore immigration should not be further restricted. Past immigration was good because most of it was of the right kind and went to the right place. Capital cannot, and it would not if it could, employ much of the alien material that annually passes through Ellis Island and thereafter chooses to settle in the crowded tenement districts of New York. Let it be again plainly stated that these remarks are not directed against all immigration; that the great debt which this country owes to immigration in the past is cheerfully acknowledged; and that the strong, intelligent emigrant, of which class many are still coming here, is as welcome to-day as ever he was.

“ A strict execution of our present laws makes it possible to keep out what may be termed the worst element of Europe (paupers, diseased persons, and those likely to become public charges), and to this extent these laws are most valuable. Without a proper execution of the same it is safe to say that thousands of additional aliens would have come here last year. But these laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who, while not of this class, are yet generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desirous of locating almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American wageworker, and unfitted mentally or morally for good citizenship.

It is impossible to accurately state what proportion of last year's immigration

should be classed as "undesirable." I (more) aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.

"Relying on the views generally expressed by the intelligent press throughout the country; on those expressed by nine out of ten citizens, whether native or foreign born, with whom one discusses the subject; on letters received from charitable and reformatory institutions in some of the Eastern States, and upon official observation at Ellis Island, I state without hesitation that the vast majority of American citizens wish to see steps taken to prevent these undesirable elements from landing on our shores. Attempts to take such steps will be opposed by powerful and selfish interests, and they will insist, among other things, on the value of immigration in the past to the United States and the enormous demand for labor, neither of them relevant as applicable to the particular question whether the undesirable immigrants shall be prevented from coming here.

"Throughout the discussion of this question, which is becoming of greater importance to the United States every day, it is necessary to bear in mind that Europe, like every other part of the world, has millions of undesirable people whom she would be glad to part with, and that strong agencies are constantly at work to send some of them here. To determine how to separate the desirable elements from the undesirable elements will tax the best skill of our lawmakers, but they will surely find a way to do this as soon as the American people have let it be known that it must be done.

"Aliens have no inherent right whatever to come here, and we may and should take means, however radical or drastic, to keep out all below a certain physical and economic standard of fitness and all whose presence will tend to lower our standards of living and civilization. The only apparent alternative is to allow transportation companies, largely foreign (whether by their own agents or by men to whom a commission is paid for each immigrant secured is not important), to cause eastern and southern Europe to be scoured for aliens, not whose presence here will benefit the United States, not who belong to a stock which will add to the elements on which the country in the past has grown great, not who will bring a certain amount of wealth to their new homes, but who merely happen to have enough money to purchase tickets from Europe to some place in the United States and can bring themselves within the easy requirements of the existing statutes. A too rapid filling up of any country with foreign elements is sure to be at the expense of national character when such elements belong to the poorest classes in their own respective homes."

[*Commissioner-General, Report, pp. 59, 60.*]

"The problem presented, therefore, to enlightened intelligence for solution, is how may the possibility — nay, probability — of danger from an enormous and miscellaneous influx of aliens be converted, by a wise prevision and provision, into a power for stability and security? If such a solution can be obtained, it seems the part of foolhardiness to make no effort to that end, to trust fatuously to the circumstance that, though numerically immigration was years ago nearly as large in proportion to our population as it now is, no very serious ill resulted from the failure to take any especial care in reference to it other than an inspection at the time of arrival.

"In my judgment, the smallest part of the duty to be discharged in successfully handling alien immigrants with a view to the protection of the people and institutions of this country is that part now provided for by law. Its importance, though undeniable, is relatively of secondary moment. It cannot, for example, compare in practical value with nor can it take the place of, measures to insure the distribution of the many thousand who come in ignorance of the industrial needs and opportunities of this country, and, by

hotbeds for the propagation and growth of those false ideas of political and personal freedom whose germs have been vitalized by ages of oppression under equal and partial laws, which find their first concrete expression in resistance to constituted authority, even occasionally in the assassination of the lawful agents of that authority. They are the breeding ground also of moral depravity; the centres of propagation of physical disease. Above all, they are the congested places in the industrial body which check the free circulation of labor to those parts where it is most needed and where it can be most benefited. Do away with them, and the greatest peril of immigration will be removed."

II. Needed Additions to the Excluded Classes.

(1.) Illiterates.

[*Commissioner-General, Report, p. 61.*]

"Irrespective of the effect in diminishing the number of alien arrivals, now approximating one million annually, I am impressed with the importance of still further measures to improve the quality of those admitted. Such measures would be merely additional steps in the same direction already taken in dealing with the question of immigration to this country. They would involve no new departure from a policy which has been pursued for years, and which, therefore, may now be assumed to be a fixed principle of the United States in dealing with this subject. From this point of view, it seems not unjust to require of aliens seeking admission to this country at least, so much mental training as is evidenced by the ability to read and write. This requirement, whatever arguments or illustrations may be used to establish the contrary position, will furnish alien residents of a character less likely to become burdens on public or private charity. Otherwise, it must follow that rudimentary education is a handicap in the struggle for existence, a proposition that few would attempt to maintain. It would, also, in a measure, relieve the American people of the burden now sustained by them, of educating in the free schools the ignorant of other countries."

(2.) Diseased and Physically Incapable Persons.

[*Commissioner-General, Report, p. 84.*]

"Enough, however, has been learned to convince the Bureau that the inadmissible classes of aliens should be somewhat enlarged. Thus, no diseased or physically incapable person should be admitted to the United States. The number coming is large enough to justify a rigid censorship, so as to exclude all those whose presence would be, either at the time of arrival or soon thereafter, a burden upon some community. With the same purpose in view an age limit might be presented—say, sixty years—and every alien applicant for admission who had passed that age should be refused a landing unless possessing a son or daughter in this country amply able to provide for such alien.

"It seems hardly necessary to enlarge upon the importance from this point of refusing admission to aliens suffering with disease, whether of a communicable nature or not. To meet with the physical conditions in a new and strange country, to avoid the risk of pau-perism therein, diseased aliens should at least exhibit so much prudence as to await recovery in their own homes."

[*Commissioner-General, Report, p. 120.*]

"The steadily increasing influx of aliens, now amounting approximately to 1,000,000 annually, constrains me to suggest the importance of still further enlarging the list of inadmissible aliens. It would materially diminish the risks attendant upon the amalgamation of such a large and heterogeneous mass with our own citizens to remove, as far as possible, those who are helpless from sanitary

should be lessened by excluding all those unless they have children resident here and able to provide for them. Those whose independence is endangered by ignorance might be kept within narrow bounds by exacting of all above a certain age evidence of at least a primary mental training."

(3.) Morally Unfit Persons.

[*Commissioner-General, Report, p. 120.*]

"For the same purpose, moral perverts might be excluded by requiring some evidence of their reputation for honesty and industry from the authorities in their own countries, while those in any way physically disabled, as well by non-communicable as by communicable disease, or by bodily deformity, accidental or congenital, should be denied admission, as they would become probable burdens upon this country. Such a course would deprive foreign communities of the interest they now have to encourage the departure to this country of those members whose continued residence therein constitutes a menace to the common peace, good order, health, and prosperity."

III. Much of the Present Immigration Unnaturally Stimulated by Transportation Agents.

[*Commissioner-General, Report, p. 85.*]

"Perhaps, too, it displays a somewhat childlike confidence in the innocence and the implicit respect for law of those persons who are operating the vast transportation business for the benefit of owners who approve any management that produces dividends, to assume that they will not resort, either directly or indirectly, to every known means of selling transportation. That they are inducing through agencies that spread like a vast network over all Europe, having representatives of all classes in every town, village, and hamlet, who are local centres for the distribution of enticing literature showing with all the art of the advertiser and illustrator the glories of the Eldorado on the west of the Atlantic — to which the great majority may gain entrance without hindrance, and from which even the poor, diseased, and helpless cannot always be excluded — is shown by the subjoined report of Immigrant Inspector Marcus Braun, who was detailed for the purpose of investigating thoroughly and reporting fully on the methods of inducing immigration from Europe."

[*Special Immigrant Inspector Marcus Braun, Report, p. 95.*]

"The deplorable political and financial conditions of the eastern and southern countries of Europe, coupled with the prosperous condition of the United States, creates a large natural immigration to our shores. The most convincing proof in the eyes of the people of these countries of the exceptional prosperity of our country is the large sums of money, almost unprecedented to them, which annually arrive from friends and relatives residing in the United States. Besides this natural immigration, however, we are burdened with a dangerous and most injurious unnatural immigration which from year to year assumes larger proportions. This unnatural immigration consists of paupers and assisted emigrants, and is induced and brought about by the unscrupulous and greedy activity displayed by a large number of agencies and sub-agencies having well-established connections in the United States and abroad, apparently unknown to the steamship companies, which activity manifests itself in the peddling of steamship tickets and prepaids on the installment plan, both here and abroad, the constant agitation and offers of inducements by sub-agents in Europe, occupying semi-public positions, who, in order to earn commissions, play upon the ignorance and susceptibility of the plain peasant, frequently inducing him to sell or mortgage all his belongings for the purpose of raising the necessary travelling expenses, which latter transaction is also turned to profit by such agent."

BURDENS OF RECENT IMMIGRATION

As Illustrated in the State of New York.

BY

FRANK H. AINSWORTH.

Composition of Present Immigration.

Since 1880 there has been an average annual immigration of about 474,380 persons. The greatest number of persons who came in any one year was 857,046, in the fiscal year 1902-1903. Of this number 254,668, or nearly one-third, were destined to New York State, the Italians numbering 101,226, the Hebrews, 50,945, and the Poles, 16,018. There were in all about 195,000 from eastern and southern Europe, while the remainder were from western Europe. By eastern and southern Europe is meant Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, etc., and by western Europe, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, France, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal.

The financial condition of those who came to New York may be estimated by referring to the report of the U. S. Industrial Commission, page 284, from which it appears that south Italians brought on an average \$8.84, Hebrews, \$8.67, and Poles, \$9.94 each. It must be conceded that this is not a large amount for a person to live on in New York while looking for work. Another very significant fact is that while of the total immigration last year, 71.3 per cent. came from eastern and southern Europe and 23.8 per cent. from western Europe, out of the total immigration destined to New York State nearly 80 per cent. was from eastern and southern Europe, while about 20 per cent. was from western Europe. This is unanswerable evidence that the former peoples tend to seek settled and, in many instances, overcrowded centres of population, while the latter class are more inclined to distribute themselves.

The Present Laws Inadequate.

There are few, if any, who will not agree that we should rigorously exclude criminals, paupers and those who are physically incapacitated. Laws to that effect have been on the statute books for some time. In 1875, convicts and immoral women were prohibited; in 1882, lunatics, idiots and persons unable to care for themselves; in 1891, paupers and persons suffering from loathsome and contagious disease; and in 1903, epileptics, persons who have

been insane within five years previous, professional beggars and anarchists were prohibited. It would therefore seem that there has for some time been no possibility of the admission of these three general classes of aliens, viz., criminals; paupers and those physically incapable. Yet what is the actual condition in this State? According to the New York Press, March 2, 1904, Dr. Petersen and Mr. Lockwood of the New York State Lunacy Commission appealed to the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor for aid in keeping alien insane from becoming a burden to the State. These gentlemen are reported as stating that New York is expending the enormous sum of \$10,000,000 *annually for the support of alien-born insane*; that 60 per cent. of the inmates of the insane asylums of the State were of alien birth, and that no less than 150 insane aliens *who had been inmates of foreign insane asylums* now awaited deportation. Is not this an astounding condition, and is it not sufficient ground of itself for a more severe scrutiny of incoming aliens than the present law directs? This tax of a dollar a year for each resident of New York State to maintain alien insane is by no means all of the burden. Dr. George F. Shradly writes:

“Look at the constant stream of immigrants coming to this port. Two-thirds of the patients in our hospitals are foreigners.”

There recently appeared a statement which has not been contradicted, to the effect that twenty of the principal New York City hospitals had an annual aggregate deficit of about \$450,000, and various methods were suggested by which this deficit could be met. If Dr. Shradly's statement is a fact, and an inspection of the reports of several hospitals indicates that it is, would not the solution of this problem be in this very immigration question that we are considering? Is it not manifestly the proper thing to do to see that no more such aliens come?

The Burden of Supporting Foreign Delinquents and Dependents.

In the 35th annual report of the Presbyterian Hospital, one of the best we have, it appears, page 16, that the total operating expenses were \$213,539.86, and that of 3,026 patients cared for, 1,417, or nearly half, were of alien birth. This hospital has a deficit of \$58,504.88, or about 25 per cent. of the total cost of operation. The question is, then, if there had been no applicants for free treatment, other than citizens of this city, would not this particular hospital not only be free of debt but have a surplus? Would not those who so generously maintain it have cause to congratulate themselves that all the needy were being properly cared for? The burden is increasing, because we are being deluged with a flood of weaklings from European countries whom we shall soon have to support. We are now living in the “seven years

of plenty" and contributions are freely made, but what will be the situation during a period of hard times when we shall still have the same number to care for, but with a much diminished revenue? Another illustration of the burden imposed by undesirable aliens is found in the report of the Lying-In Hospital, from which it appears that, out of 2,595 out-door patients treated, but 315 were native born, and of 696 in-door patients, 260 were born in the United States. The cost of this attendance was \$78,659.12. These figures are from the report of the 104th year of the Society. For the last year there is reported a deficit of \$88,477.63. Is it not a fair conclusion that if there were not a very large number of aliens in this city who could not support themselves, there would be but little need of this institution? There can be no more noble purpose for which wealth can be used than for the relief of suffering humanity, but there is a great danger of abuse in this matter, and there are tokens that such danger is upon us. The eminent statistician, Mr. Henry Gannett, writes:

"The evidence on record is that this country supports the greatest eleemosynary work known to history."

This would be good if it tended only to strengthen the weak and to build up character and self reliance, but if it tends to lessen thrift and industry, and encourage shiftlessness it is a menace. One of the managers of the "House of Refuge" writes:

"I notice the large number of children that are placed in charitable institutions for no crime or misdemeanor, but to relieve their parents of their support. *They are principally from southern and eastern Europe.*" [The italics are the writer's.]

Thus it is evident that the aliens who are diseased and cared for in public and private institutions are an enormous tax upon the commonwealth.

Serious Danger from Diseased Immigrants.

Trachoma.

There are many immigrants, who, although they are not supported by others, constitute a menace to the communities in which they reside, because they are afflicted with disease in primary stages which does not interfere with their ability to do certain kinds of work. The most important of these diseases are trachoma, syphilis and tuberculosis. Take, for example, the present condition of persons afflicted with trachoma, of whom there are said to be 40,000 in this city alone, where practically none existed five years ago. The Board of Education and the Board of Health have found it necessary to examine the pupils in the public schools at frequent intervals in order to check the spread of trachoma among children. This disease has been introduced and extended

almost entirely by aliens from southern and eastern Europe. The report of Special Inspector Marcus Braun, contained in the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1903, contains the following:

“In Hungary this disease [trachoma] has assumed such proportions that the government encounters great difficulty in some counties to muster the required men for military service, trachomatic people belonging to the class who are rejected for the army. To combat and, if possible, stamp out the disease, the Hungarian government maintains a special medical corps, consisting of fifty physicians who constantly travel to and fro, in certain respective districts to which they are assigned, it being the duty of every person to submit to an examination for such disease and, if found afflicted therewith, to present himself or herself for gratuitous treatment twice a week until cured. . . . Although this rule is strictly enforced, *people intending to emigrate rarely observe it* [italics are the writer's], and in order to be able to give the Department more definite information on this subject, I accompanied Dr. Simon Buchwald, one of the physicians appointed by the government of Hungary for the district of Lipto-Szt. Miklos, on one of his tours through the villages of his district, and was present at the examinations and treatment conducted by him. I succeeded in obtaining from Dr. Buchwald an extract of the official record of 35 persons of the age ranging from 17 to 42 years, *who had left the district for the United States and were afflicted with trachoma, had been treated by him, and at the time of their departure were not cured. Only four of these emigrants returned to their respective homes, having been refused at the medical examination regularly held at the control stations of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg American Lines at the Austro-Prussian border, upon the ground of this very affliction.* . . . [Italics are the writer's.] There are at least 60,000 persons in the Kingdom of Hungary suffering from trachoma. The worst conditions in this respect prevail in Russia, where at least 30 per cent. of the army are afflicted with this dread disease, who, after their discharge from the army, spread the affliction in all parts of the empire.”

On page 6 of the report of the Commissioner-General it is stated that 572,726 aliens came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, the very countries which Mr. Braun reports as being particularly affected by trachoma. The present law prohibits any person having this disease from landing. Of the number of persons deported last year, 748 were afflicted with trachoma. During the voyage from Europe these persons were in close association with their fellow passengers. How close that association is, only those who have visited the steerage quarters and seen 200 or more men, women and children in one open compartment, with no privacy, can realize. This contact is maintained from six to fifteen days, according to the time the vessel occupies on the voyage. From the nature of the case, no positive evidence can be submitted, but it is not unreasonable to say that each of the 748 inoculated at least one other person on the ship. Upon being inspected at Ellis Island,

this would not be apparent because the period of incubation is not passed. As a result, probably 748 or more cases of trachoma were introduced into our midst last year, and we have no protection against it.

Tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis is a disease that is becoming more prevalent, especially in the overcrowded portions of New York City. At the Tuberculosis Exposition held in Baltimore last January it was stated that 30,000 persons were affected in New York City; that 8,500 died from its effects last year, and 13,000 new cases were reported to the Health Department during the same period. The following statement was made at that time by Dr. Herman N. Biggs, chief bacteriologist of the Health Department, according to the press reports :

“The \$500,000 expended by the municipality each year for the care and treatment of tuberculosis patients is estimated as only 2 per cent. of the actual loss to the city from this scourge. It kills or incapacitates the young and the most useful members of society and costs the city at least \$25,000,000 each year.”

In immigrants of low vitality we have the very class of people who, by reason of their physical condition and habits of crowding in unsanitary quarters are in a position to become easy victims of consumption. Dr. Henry L. Shively, of New York, says :

“Infection from trachoma and favus is readily traced to immigrant sources; in tuberculosis the course of the disease is slow and insidious, and immediate sources of infection are less readily recognized. It is perhaps for this reason that the danger of the tuberculous immigrant to the health of the community has not been emphasized as it should be. . . . Their gregariousness causes them to herd together in thickly-populated urban communities of their own nationality, thereby lowering the standard of living among the city poor, and making their own education in the elementary principles of hygiene slow and difficult.”

Here we see the professional man and the public official pointing out almost exactly the same objectionable class from totally different view points and entirely independent of one another. Having this testimony that many immigrants seek crowded quarters let us hear what the Church Association for the Improvement of Labor has to report on the actual conditions in these quarters. Referring to some of the tenement houses this report is made :

“Under these conditions children work from early morning until late at night. Women work from morning to midnight, and on Sundays. The average wage is \$3.00 per week. Trousers are finished for less than five cents a pair and it takes two hours to make one pair. Not only 80 per cent. of the clothing sold in New York City but many other articles are made in tenement sweat shops. *One man was seen covering boxes with paper and using sputum to fasten it on. These boxes were for wedding cake.*”

Is there any language too strong to point out the danger resulting from this condition of living to which such numbers of immigrants flock? This Society goes on to state:

“Tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles, and affections of the eyes and skin are propagated in the rooms of the tenement house dweller, in which besides the family itself with an occasional lodger or two, assemble day by day, in defiance of law, as large a crowd of workers as can be packed into them. The atmosphere, already fetid enough by mere presence of those who fill it, is rendered still more oppressive and unwholesome by the heat of the stove and the irons required in the business, besides being highly seasoned by the malodorous preparations which enter into the cooking arrangements. Every piece of furniture, even the floor space, is utilized. If the children are in bed or in their cradles it makes no difference, the clothing, finished or unfinished, lies heaped up until it is taken back to the contractor. If the children have any contagious disorder it is of no consequence; the garments impregnated with disease germs go out all the same, carrying with them their seeds of sickness and death. It may be that candy or medicine boxes pass through the hands of the workers, some of whom may be afflicted with tuberculosis. It is all the same. The edges of the boxes are smeared with the germ-laden saliva and the boxes themselves are sent off to some candy or drug store, the bearers, possibly, of mortal disease to some unsuspecting victim.”

One or two cases taken from the report of the Lying-In Society may further illustrate the condition that city-destined immigrants develop.

“Seventh child: Italians; man, a laborer out of work for past four months. Woman very ill, evidently overworked; had finished clothing at home working early and late for 40 cents per day, etc.”

“Fourth child: Family two weeks in America; very destitute; man learning the trade of presser, not under wages. No clothing for baby, same not being used in Russia, etc.”

“Fifth child: Woman lying in filthy sweatshop; several girls and old woman working in room. No clothing for bed or patient, etc.”

This report goes on to state that:

“The demands on charitable institutions in this city increase from year to year, in caring for, and giving to many of these people who remain here, proper medical service.”

Is any further evidence necessary to prove that we do not want any more of this class of immigrants who are destined to the cities?

Crime and Pauperism.

In the year 1900 the foreign-born population of the city of New York was 1,270,080 out of a total of 3,437,202, or a little over one-third. During the year 1902 in the City Magistrates' Court of the first division, out of 55,125

persons held for trial or summarily tried and convicted, 27,031 were born in foreign countries. Of these, it is remarkable to note that in 1900 the total Greek population of New York is given as 1,309, while in the year 1902 1,678 Greeks were held in these courts as above described. These arrests were largely for violation of corporation ordinances, and not of a serious nature, but nevertheless it is a remarkable indication of ignorance of, or indifference to, the law. In the report of the Five Points House of Industry, Vol. XLVI., p. 12, it is stated that of 378 cases, the parents of 116, or less than one-third, were of American birth, while in 262 instances the parents were of alien birth. The report of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents (House of Refuge) for the 78th year shows that 430 children were received, of whom 135 were American (94 white and 41 colored), the remainder being of foreign birth. It might be interesting to know how many of those classified as Americans were of American-born parents. The Seventh Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor shows, that the proportions of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. This report also shows that 51.11 per cent. of the slum population of New York is from eastern and southern Europe.

The following case may also serve to illustrate the existence of undesirable aliens. Annie Ventre, 12 years old, small for her age, was found working in the Chelsea Jute Mills, Greenpoint. She had been employed upon presentation of the affidavit of her father. Her mother testified that the child was twelve years old and had been working in the mill for nearly one year. Her father, Rafael Ventre, said that he had come to this country two years before the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge (1884). Annie, he said was born in this country, but he could not remember the year.

“Did you swear that Annie was born on April 4, 1887?”

“Yes, I put my cross to it.”

“And did you know what it was?”

“I signed it after it had been drawn up and read to me in both English and Italian. I understood that it was all right. I never went to school.”

When placed on the stand a second time the father admitted that he stated that Annie was sixteen years old so that she could get work and help him to run the house. Are any such immigrants wanted?

A story is told by one of the managers of the House of Refuge who examined boys to be paroled. The person applying for the boy, of whom the story is told, was a well-dressed man who wore considerable jewelry and had a handsome overcoat with a fur collar. When asked his interest in the boy he replied that he was the father. Asked if he had any more children, stated that he had seven more, *all in public institutions where he expected to leave them until they were old enough to take care of themselves.*

A city magistrate writing on this subject says :

“I have been particularly disturbed by the growth of faginism of children on the east side. Some of these children are immigrants and some are the children born here from immigrants. It has been particularly severe in that section of the city among the Jews, Roumanians, and Poles, and I do not find it existing in any other part of the city.”

Fraudulent Naturalization.

Still another feature that is developing into alarming proportions in connection with immigration is the fraudulent naturalization of aliens. This, it has been truly said, is the fault of ourselves and of our incomplete laws on the subject. However that may be, let us briefly examine some of the results. It has been estimated that there are 50,000 fraudulent citizenship papers held in New York City alone. This is indeed difficult of verification, but the wholesale resignations from the Street Cleaning Department last year, when the matter was being investigated, give some color to the estimate. District Attorney Burnet is reported as saying that one agency in this city sold 4,000, and another 2,000 naturalization papers last year. From the testimony in the trial of J. W. E. York, former clerk in the United States Court, it appears that this man sold citizenship papers, made out in blank, and with forged signatures, at from five to ten dollars each! Giovanni Morrelli, an Italian miner from Butte, Montana, is reported to have testified before the authorities at Ellis Island that he had been in this country but three years and had full citizenship papers apparently issued by the County Court of Butte, Montana. Before United States Commissioner Shields, Morrelli swore that he knew hundreds of Italians in Butte who had full citizenship papers and had been in America two or three years. In connection with some arrests recently made it was asserted that one-fourth of the Italians in the Street Cleaning Department have obtained their positions by means of fraudulent papers. All those arrested voted last fall as citizens and declared that they were able “to get their fraudulent papers through the assistance of political ward heelers.” The Schuylkill County (Pa.) courts recently refused citizenship to a number of applicants because they did not know whether they came to this country before they were 18 years old.

If you think further regulation of immigration is needed, please communicate with the IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE, Boston, Mass.

Immigration Figures for 1904

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1903 and 1904

	1903.	1904.
Total Immigration	857,046	812,870
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing [<i>See Note 1.</i>]	9,316	8,773
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.1	1.1
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age. [<i>See Note 2.</i>]	189,008	172,856
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	25.0	24.6
Immigration from Northern and Western Europe, 1903, Teutonic and Keltic races, 1904, [<i>See Note 3.</i>]	203,689	293,922
Per cent. of total immigration	23.8	36.1
Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, 1903, Slavic and Iberic races, 1904, [<i>See Note 4.</i>]	610,813	459,003
Per cent. of total Immigration	71.3	56.5
Immigration from Asia	29,966	26,186
Per cent. of total immigration	3.5	3.2
Average money brought, in dollars	19	26
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	8.9	12.8
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation, including women and children	23.3	26.4
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers or servants	57.3	49.4
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	65.4	64.6
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the Southern and Western States		10.1

NOTE 1.—The figures for 1904 include also those immigrants returned within three years after landing, under the Act of March 3, 1903, but do not include 6856 debarred at ports on the Canadian and Mexican borders.

NOTE 2.—Although the percentage of illiteracy shows an improvement this year over last, it should be remembered that these figures are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test recently made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 3.—“Northern and Western Europe” includes the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland. This group is the same as “Teutonic and Keltic races,” with the exception that the latter group includes Northern Italians, and does not include Bohemians and Moravians.

NOTE 4.—“Southern and Eastern Europe” includes Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and the Balkan States. This group is the same as “Slavic and Iberic races,” except that the latter does not include Northern Italians, Magyars or Turks.

LARGEST ELEMENTS IN RECENT IMMIGRATION.

	1902.	1903.	1904.
Southern Italian	152,915	196,117	159,329
Hebrew	57,688	76,203	106,236
German	51,686	71,782	74,790
Polish	69,620	82,343	67,757
Scandinavian	55,780	79,347	61,029

IMMIGRATION OF 1904 BY RACIAL DIVISIONS

	Number	Per cent. of Total Immigration
Slavic	272,396	33.5
Teutonic	195,287	24.0
Iberic	186,607	22.9
Keltic	98,635	12.1
Mongolic	20,616	2.5
All others	39,329	4.8

The Burdens of Immigration.

[Compiled from Commissioner-General's Report for 1904.]

ALIEN INMATES OF PENAL, REFORMATORY AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Penal Institutions	9,825
Insane Institutions	19,764
Charitable Institutions	15,396
Total	44,985

Note that these figures include only inmates of institutions supported by the public, and do not include foreign-born citizens.

Note that of these 44,985 alien dependents and delinquents, 26,890 or more than half were found in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Although Slavic and Iberic immigration (from Southern and Eastern Europe) is of relatively recent arrival, its proportion of criminals among all alien inmates of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, and the proportion of all alien inmates for the different racial divisions was as follows:

Race Division	Proportion of all alien inmates	Proportion of alien inmates who are criminals	Proportion of alien inmates arrived within 5 years
Iberic	9	39	47
Slavic	14	25	40
Teutonic	38	17	15
Keltic	33	15	7
Average		22	21

These figures show that the recent immigration furnishes the largest proportion of criminals among its dependent and delinquent classes; also that the races constituting the bulk of the recent immigration becomes dependent and delinquent sooner than the other races.

The average cost of supporting a dependent or delinquent is not far from \$150.00 per year. At this figure our *alien* dependents and delinquents in public institutions *alone* cost us \$6,750,000 per year; and as their average expectation of life is about 12 years, their total cost, if they all remained for life in these institutions, would be about \$75,000,000. A large proportion of them will spend the rest of their lives or a considerable part of their lives in these public institutions.

Considering only the insane and charitable institutions, it appears that an alien population which is only 1.3 per cent of the total population furnishes 12 per cent of the inmates of these institutions. If we consider the foreign-born, it appears that they furnish 8 per thousand while the native-born furnish only 2 1-2 per thousand to these institutions.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past three fiscal years:

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Celtic)	1902	1903	1904
Scotch	1.2	1.2	0.6
Scandinavian	0.5	0.6	0.7
English	1.9	1.6	1.3
Bohemian and Moravian	1.6	1.6	1.8
Finnish	1.4	2.2	2.7
French	4.8	3.8	3.2
Irish	3.9	3.8	3.4
Dutch and Flemish	7.6	6.9	4.1
German	5.4	4.6	4.8
Italian (North)	14.4	12.7	12.6
Average of above	4.4	3.9	4.0

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic)

Spanish	—	8.9	9.8
Magyar	13.3	10.5	14.1
Greek	30.0	27.7	23.6
Russian	—	31.9	26.0
Slovak	25.9	21.6	27.9
Roumanian	28.3	21.5	31.7
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	—	—	35.6
Polish	38.4	32.1	35.8
Croatian and Slovenian	42.2	35.2	36.1
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	—	44.7	45.4
Lithuanian	54.1	46.6	54.1
Italian (South)	56.4	51.4	54.2
Ruthenian	50.0	49.4	58.8
Portuguese	71.6	73.2	67.5
Average of above	44.3	39.7	42.6

OTHER RACES.

Chinese	—	12.9	8.2
Cuban	8.0	4.2	8.7
Japanese	1.2	27.0	21.6
Hebrew	28.6	26.5	23.3
African (black)	—	32.5	23.7
Syrian	51.0	53.8	54.7



Japanese Immigration

AN EXPOSITION OF ITS
REAL STATUS

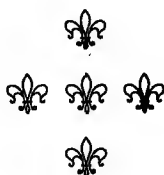
PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY

The Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest

Seattle, Washington, 1907

Japanese Immigration

AN EXPOSITION OF ITS
REAL STATUS



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Seattle, Washington, 1907



LETTERS OF ENDORSEMENT

In presenting this pamphlet to the public, the Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest, which is responsible for its publication, has the honor to call particular attention to the following two letters addressed to this Association by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the Tacoma Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, respectively, endorsing the statements contained in this publication:

LETTER FROM THE SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Seattle, Washington, Nov. 20th, 1907.

Hon. C. T. Takahashi,
President Japanese Association,
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:

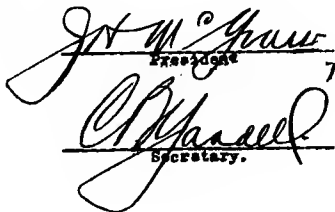
I have to advise you that the officers of this Chamber have examined the contents of the paper entitled "Japanese Immigration: An Exposition of Its Real Status," and take pleasure in informing you that, in our judgment, its contents are a fair and accurate exposition of conditions as they exist on the Pacific Coast.

I.

It is noted that the figures, which were used throughout, were taken from the statistics compiled by the Bureau of Commerce and Labour, which, in itself, is the best evidence of the desire of the author to present the facts in the case, which, when analyzed, speak for themselves.

Yours very truly,

(Signed)



J. M. Young
President

C. J. Marshall
Secretary

**LETTER FROM THE TACOMA CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE AND BOARD OF TRADE.**

Tacoma, Wash., Nov. 15th, 1907.

Hon. C. T. Takahasdi,
Chairman Japanese Association,
Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir:

The copy of the memorial prepared by you, which we understand is to be presented to Congress, was considered by a special committee of our board, and they have reported that they have gone carefully over the matter and believe the statements made therein are correct, and assure our board that in view of these statements we were warranted in passing

the resolutions that were adopted by our board on April 29th, 1907.

We would be pleased, when you have this matter in book form, to have a few of them for our organization so we may give our members as a whole the benefit of your findings.

Very truly yours,

(Signed.


President

*See Appendix II, pp. 38-40.

III.

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Japanese Immigration

AN EXPOSITION OF ITS REAL STATUS

INTRODUCTION.

1. *Object of This Pamphlet.*

In view of the fact that the exclusion of Japanese immigrants seems to be seriously considered in certain quarters in this country, the Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest has deemed it proper to make a special investigation into the real status of Japanese immigration, with a view to submitting its result to those directly concerned with the solution of this question. This course has seemed the more advisable because the question of Japanese immigration has been talked about but indiscriminately. The purpose of this pamphlet, therefore, is to set forth as plainly as possible facts and statistics relative to Japanese immigration.

* * * * *

2. *Scope of This Pamphlet.*

In order to make our statement as clear as possible, this pamphlet is divided into five parts, each part being subdivided into several items. They are as follows:

Part I. Extent of Japanese Immigration.

1. Yearly totals of Japanese immigrants.
2. Volume of Japanese immigration compared with that of European peoples.

Part II. Destinations of Japanese Immigrants.

Part III. Nature of Japanese Immigration.

1. What classes Japanese immigrants come from.
2. Financial condition of Japanese immigrants.
3. Japanese immigrants classified by age.
4. Educational condition of Japanese immigrants.

Part IV. Economic Questions Attendant Upon Japanese Immigration.

1. Effect of Japanese immigration upon the wages of American laborers.
2. Effect of Japanese immigration upon the mercantile business of the Pacific Coast.
3. Shortage of labor on the Pacific Coast.

Part V. Are Japanese Immigrants Unassimilable?

* * * * *

3. *Source of Information.*

In preparing this pamphlet, the following documents formed the principal source of information.

1. Annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
2. Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.

3. Annual Report of the Department of Commerce and Labor.
4. Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California.
5. Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Oregon.
6. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, of Washington.
7. Consular Report of the Foreign Department of Japan.

Part I.

EXTENT OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

1. Yearly Totals of Japanese Immigrants

Japanese immigration into America may be said to have begun in 1866, when there were six immigrants from Japan. In the following table the yearly totals of Japanese immigrants since 1866 are compared with those of European immigrants:

	No. European Immi- grants.	No. Japanese Immi- grants.		No. European Immi- grants.	No. Japanese Immi- grants.
1866	278,916	7	1887	482,829	229
1867	283,751	67	1888	538,131	404
1868	130,090	..	1889	434,790	640
1869	315,963	63	1890	445,680	691
1870	328,626	48	1891	546,085	1,136
1871	265,145	78	1892	608,472	1,498
1872	352,155	17	1893	488,882	1,648
1873	397,541	9	1894	303,150	1,739
1874	262,783	21	1895	271,223	489
1875	182,961	3	1896	329,067	1,110
1876	120,920	4	1897	216,397	1,526
1877	106,195	7	1898	217,786	2,230
1878	101,612	2	1899	297,349	2,844
1879	134,259	4	1900	424,700	12,635
1880	348,691	4	1901	469,237	5,269
1881	528,545	11	1902	619,068	14,270
1882	648,186	5	1903	814,507	19,968
1883	522,587	27	1904	767,933	14,264
1884	453,686	20	1905	974,273	10,331
1885	353,083	49	1906	1,018,365	13,835
1886	329,529	194			

The sudden increase of Japanese immigrants in 1900 is due to the fact that in that year Japanese immigrants to Hawaii was for the first time included in the immigration statistics of the United States, the annexation of the

Sandwich Islands having taken place in 1898. Since 1900 by far the largest portion of Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii. The following table will show the apportionment of Japanese immigrants between Hawaii and the mainland of the United States for the past five years:

Year.	Hawaii.	Mainland.	Total.
1902.....	9,125	5,330	14,455
1903.....	13,045	6,996	20,041
1904.....	6,590	7,792	14,382
1905.....	6,692	4,329	11,021
1906.....	9,051	4,192	14,243

It must be considered that a considerable number of Japanese immigrants yearly return to their native country. This number should be deducted from the totals of Japanese immigrants shown in the above table. Unfortunately, no accurate figures for these departing Japanese are yet obtainable. The Bureau of Immigration however, classifies immigrants into newcomers and those who have been in this country before, the latter class of which might well be regarded as those going back home. According to this source of information, the yearly departures among Japanese immigrants during the past four years are as follows:

Year.	Departure.
1903.....	1,365
1904.....	1,890
1905.....	1,515
1906.....	1,531

It must be conceded that these figures are considerably smaller than the actual number of yearly departures among the Japanese. This is evident from the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California. According to these reports, the single port of San Francisco registered, in the year ended September 30, 1904, the depar-

ture of 2,447 Japanese as against 1,426 arrivals from Japan, making a decrease of 1,021 in the Japanese population of California. In the succeeding year the same port recorded 2,022 departing Japanese as against 1,224 arriving Japanese, resulting in a decrease of 798 in the number of Japanese in California. It is to be regretted that we are unable to pursue our investigation along this line in regard to other states, owing to the fact that California is the only state which takes record of departures of alien immigrants.

* * * * *

2. *Volume of Japanese Immigration, Compared with that of European Peoples.*

We can comprehend the extent of Japanese immigration more clearly by comparing it with that from those European countries which furnish this country with most immigrants. This comparison will be best shown in the following table:

	1891—1900.		1901—1905		1906.	
	No. Immigrants.	Per Cent.	No. Immigrants.	Per Cent.	No. Immigrants.	Per Cent.
Japan	24,806	.67	64,102	1.7	13,835	1.3
Austria-Hungary	592,707	16.	944,239	25.	265,138	24.
Germany	505,152	14.	176,995	4.6	37,564	3.4

grants numbered, roughly speaking, only one to twenty-five compared with Austria-Hungarian immigrants; one to twenty-five compared with Italians; one to seventeen compared with Russians. Again, in the year 1906 Japanese immigration amounted to one twenty-fourth of Austria-Hungarian immigrants, one twenty-fifth of Italian immigrants, one eighteenth of Russian immigrants, and one third of Irish and German immigrants.

The number of Japanese immigrants is not increasing, as has been reported in the newspapers. Their figures for 1901 were smaller than half their total for the preceding year; then there was an increase for two years, then a falling off for two years, then a slight increase last year. The increase of Japanese immigrants for 1906 over those for 1905 was 3,504, but this increase sinks into insignificance when compared with other principal increases. This comparison is shown in the following table:

Country.	Increase, 1905-1906.
Japan	3,504
Italy	51,641
Russia	30,768
Greece	8,974
Turkey	4,068

Part II.

DESTINATIONS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS.

It is a recognized fact that the Japanese government is, as it always has been, endeavoring to restrict as much as possible the number of passports for those laborers intending to come to the mainland of the United States. Hence, more than one-half of Japanese immigrants have been destined to Hawaii, the United States proper having received a comparatively small number of immigrants from Japan. In order to show their distribution among Hawaii and the different states in the mainland, the following table is prepared:

YEAR.	Hawaii.	California.	Oregon.	Washington.	Other States.	Total.
1902	9,125	2,518	130	2,419	263	14,455
1903	13,045	4,511	329	1,820	336	20,041
1904	6,590	4,003	318	2,446	1,025	14,382
1905	6,692	2,022	279	1,200	828	11,021
1906	9,051	2,068	398	1,619	1,107	14,243

The significance of Japanese immigration to the Pacific Coast will be understood more clearly, when the proportion of the Japanese to the European immigrants

coming to that section is ascertained. We observe that the tendency on the Pacific Coast is, comparatively speaking, toward increasing the European population and decreasing the Japanese. In 1903 the proportion of the Japanese to the European immigrants for the three states on the Pacific Coast was 3 to 11.3; in 1904, 3 to 12.5; in 1905, 3 to 20.3, and in 1906 3 to 19.1. The following table gives the exact figures showing this proportion:

Year.	Washington.			Oregon.			California.		
	European Immigrants.	Japanese Immigrants.	No. Europeans to One Japanese.	European Immigrants.	Japanese Immigrants.	No. Europeans to One Japanese.	European Immigrants.	Japanese Immigrants.	No. Europeans to One Japanese.
1903	5,035	1,820	2.7	1,595	329	4.8	17,348	4,511	3.8
1904	5,780	2,446	2.3	1,754	318	5.5	19,163	4,003	4.7
1905	7,317	1,200	6.	1,620	279	5.8	17,293	2,022	8.5
1906	8,849	1,619	5.4	2,151	398	5.4	17,286	2,068	8.3

The destinations of Japanese immigrants given in the immigration statistics of the United States are merely those professed by individual immigrants upon their arrival to these shores. Hence their actual destinations are frequently different from those recorded by the immigration officials. As a matter of fact, the Japanese immigrants are more widely scattered over different parts of this country than the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration shows them to be.

Unfortunately, statistical data in respect to the actual destinations of Japanese immigrants are not adequate.

Of the official documents of the United States, the census of 1900 is the only source of information on this point, but it is at this moment entirely out of date. Perhaps the latest and best available statistics in this respect are found in the annual census of the Japanese consuls in America for the year 1906. The Foreign Department of Japan divides the United States into four consular districts:

1. The Seattle district, comprising Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Montana.

2. The San Francisco district, comprising California, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona and Utah.

3. The Chicago district, comprising Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, Michigan, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky, Mississippi and Alabama.

4. The New York district, comprising the rest of the United States.

Now, according to the said consular census, there were, at the end of 1905, 49,598 Japanese in the United States proper. Distributing this among the four consular districts, we obtain the figures in the following table:

Consular District.	No. of Japanese.
New York District.....	2,456
Chicago District	1,860
San Francisco District.....	31,092
Seattle District	14,190

This shows that the Japanese population in this country is widely scattered, not only along the entire Pacific Coast, but in other parts of the States. The most powerful argument against Chinese immigration previous to the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law in 1882 was that

they, flocking to the single state of California, were likely to jeopardize the growth and occupancy of that state by Americans. The Chinese immigrants from 1854 to 1882, inclusive, totaled 139,455, the overwhelming majority of which came to and remained in California. In view of the fact that in the seventies of the past century, when agitation for Chinese exclusion was begun, the state of California had a population of only 560,000, *including* Negroes, Indians and Chinese, the apprehension that the Chinese might hinder the wholesome development of the white community in that state was not without ground. But the conditions on the Pacific Coast have since radically changed, while other circumstances attendant upon Japanese immigration are widely different from those accompanying Chinese immigration. In 1900 the white population of California (*excluding* Negroes, Indians, Chinese and Japanese) increased to 1,402,727. In 1870 the population of Oregon was only 90,923, and that of Washington only 23,955, both *including* Negroes, Indians and Chinese; but the census of 1900 estimates the population of Oregon at 394,582, and that of Washington at 496,304, both *excluding* Negroes, Indians, Chinese and Japanese. It is needless to say that during the seven years following the taking of the last census the white population on the Pacific Coast has increased even more rapidly than in the years preceding. And the increase in the white population is merely one of many factors which solidify the American community on the Pacific Coast. It may, therefore, well be asked whether the argument advanced against Chinese immigration can reasonably be applied to the Japanese immigration of today.

Part III.

NATURE OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

1. *What Classes Japanese Immigrants Come From.*

A study of the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration will reveal the fact that the Japanese immigrants are not necessarily recruited from among the lowest classes of laborers. To call them "coolies" without discrimination is not to render them justice. During the eight years from 1899 to 1906, inclusive, the classification of Japanese immigrants by occupation is as shown in the following table:

YEAR.	Professional	Skilled.	Farmers.	Farm Laborers.	Laborers.	Merchants.	Servants.	*Miscellaneous.	§No Occupation.
1899	92	121	828	854	203	601	53	84	559
1900	563	1,793	2,521	3,855	1,977	797	223	192	707
1901	167	603	897	1,153	830	652	181	181	585
1902	222	1,047	5,212	451	1,558	1,205	173	199	4,388
1903	274	922	5,010	5,816	572	1,442	132	591	5,282
1904	373	641	121	6,775	1,474	1,184	317	253	3,244
1905	280	358	380	5,883	743	777	207	181	2,219
1906	256	329	522	8,435	835	632	195	593	2,446

*This consists of agents, bankers, hotel keepers, manufacturers and fishermen.

§This includes women and children under 14 years.

The meaning of the above table will be understood more fully when the figures for each occupation are reduced to percentage of total Japanese immigrants and compared with the figures representing each occupation of European immigrants, likewise rendered into percentage. For this purpose the following table is prepared comparing the Japanese immigrants for 1906 with those from several European countries:

People or Race.	Professional.	Skilled.	Farmers.	Farm Laborers.	Laborers.	Merchants.	Servants.
Japanese	1.79	2.16	3.66	59.22	5.86	4.43	1.36
Italian (South .....	.32	12.63	.37	30.58	29.41	.89	4.50
Italian (North)	1.13	11.15	3.25	11.08	37.94	1.24	6.82
Irish ..	1.47	11.56	2.44	5.36	24.8	.79	36.6
Hebrew ..	.71	33.26	.1	1.11	5.44	2.27	6.39
German ..	2.7	18.86	2.17	14.17	7.58	3.34	13.58
Polish .....	.19	6.19	.79	33.64	23.35	.09	16.3
Slovak .....	.07	3.79	1.41	46.17	12.31	.04	14.4
Scandinavian ..	1.45	19.11	2.42	6.45	25.82	.52	24.02

From the foregoing two tables it will be seen that the majority of Japanese immigrants are farmers and farm laborers who, in this country, are generally regarded as more desirable than common laborers. Common laborers, who are apt to crowd in the city, form a very small portion of Japanese immigrants, viz., only 5.86 per cent, as against 29 per cent from South Italy, 37 per cent from North Italy, 24 per cent from Ireland, 23 per cent from Poland and 25 per cent from Scandinavia. With the exception of Germany, Japan furnished the largest percentage of professional men. In examining these statistics it is necessary to remember that the figures given in them include those from Hawaii, which form by far the great-

est portion of Japanese immigration. The overwhelming majority of Japanese laborers given in the above table came to the Hawaiian group, and not to the mainland of this country.

* * * * *

2. *Financial Condition of Japanese Immigrants.*

It is worthy of note that the per capita of money shown by Japanese immigrants is smaller only than that produced by English and German immigrants. In the fiscal year 1905, the average amount of money brought by English and German immigrants was \$57.65 and \$43.72 per capita, respectively, while Japanese immigrants brought \$37.78 each. In 1906 English immigrants brought \$57.90 per capita, Germans \$40.87, and Japanese \$31.09.

In the following table we present a comparison of the per capita of money shown by Japanese immigrants with that produced by immigrants from various European countries in the two fiscal years 1905 and 1906:

Race or People.	1905.			1906.		
	No. Immigrants	Total Amount Money Shown.	Per Capita.	No. Immigrants.	Total Amount Money Shown.	Per Capita.
Japanese	11,021	416,395	37.78	14,243	442,909	31.09
Italian (South)	186,390	3,127,207	16.77	240,528	3,637,787	10.96
Italian (North)	39,930	1,169,980	26.79	46,286	1,237,404	26.73
Irish ..	54,266	1,421,682	26.19	40,959	1,082,332	26.42
Hebrew ..	129,910	1,824,617	14.04	153,748	2,362,125	15.36
Polish ..	102,437	1,352,230	13.20	95,835	1,103,955	11.51
Scandinavian ..	62,284	1,604,205	25.75	58,141	1,542,129	26.52
Slovak ..	52,368	818,207	15.43	38,221	526,028	13.76
Magyar ..	46,030	695,108	15.10	44,261	621,077	14.03
Croatian-Slovenian	35,104	539,337	15.36	44,272	582,503	13.15
Russian ..	3,746	133,576	35.65	5,814	159,251	25.67

Attention must also be called to the fact that a very small number of Japanese immigrants have been denied admission on the ground of being paupers or likely to become public charges. The following table shows the number of Japanese so rejected in 1906 as compared with that of European immigrants debarred for the same reason:

Race or People.	Debarred.	Race or People.	Debarred.
Japanese	84	Croatian and Slovenian....	202
Italian (South).....	2,107	Magyar	129
Italian (North)	127	Polish	385
Irish ..	149	Ruthenian	118
Hebrew ..	1,131	Scandinavian	142
Greek ..	365	Scotch	142
German ..	359	Slovak	153
English	404		

As this table shows, only 84 Japanese were rejected on the ground above mentioned. This is markedly small as compared with 2,107 South Italians and 1,131 Hebrews debarred on that account.

Naturally, only an infinitesimal portion of Japanese immigrants have been afforded aid in hospitals of this country, while European countries have yearly furnished this country with hundreds, even thousands of immigrants relieved in hospitals. In the following table the number of Japanese afforded aid in hospitals in 1905 and 1906 is compared with that of European immigrants so relieved:

Race or People.	1905.			1906.		
	No. Immigrants.	Relieved in Hospital.	Per Cent.	No. Immigrants.	Relieved in Hospital.	Per Cent.
Japanese	11,021	2	.01	14,243	1	.007
Italian (South)	186,915	1,290	.69	240,528	1,776	.73
Italian (North)	3,569	158	4.42	46,286	346	.74
Irish ..	54,266	243	.44	40,959	214	.52
Hebrew ..	129,910	1,534	1.18	153,748	2,495	1.62
Greek ..	12,144	70	.57	23,127	189	.81
German ..	82,360	747	.9	86,813	867	.99
Polish ..	102,437	991	.96	96,835	1,000	1.04
Scandinavian ..	62,284	253	.4	58,141	179	.3

We see that out of the entire Japanese immigrants for 1905 and 1906, only 3 became public charges. This rate is almost naught by the side of the enormous number of European immigrants who became public charges in the same two years.

* * * * *

3. *Japanese Immigrants Classified by Age.*

The fact that so few Japanese have become public charges in this country is due perhaps to the presence among them of a very small number of the aged and infant, as well as to their happy financial condition. Almost 98 per cent of Japanese immigrants are in the prime age of 14 to 44, leaving only 2 per cent for the aged and infant.

In the following table we classify the Japanese immigrants for the past five years, giving percentage for each class:

Year.	Total Immigrants.	Under 14.	Per Cent. of Total.	14 to 40.	Per Cent. of Total.	40 and Over.	Per Cent. of Total.
1902	14,455	630	4.36	13,685	94.67	140	.97
1903	20,041	515	2.56	19,344	96.53	182	.9
1904	14,382	190	1.32	13,832	96.17	360	2.5
1905	11,021	124	1.12	10,588	96.07	309	2.8
1906	14,243	146	1.02	13,821	97.03	276	1.23

In the five years under consideration Japanese immigrants under 14 years amounted to 2.07 per cent on the average, and those of 40 years and over 1.68 per cent. As against such a small number of aged and infant immigrants from Japan, European countries have furnished a considerable number of this class of immigrants, ranging from 33 to 10 per cent. A comparison of Japanese and European immigrants in this respect is shown in the following statement compiled from the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1906:

Race or People.	No. Immigrants.	Under 14 Years.	Per Cent. of Total.	14 to 44 Years.	Per Cent. of Total.	45 and Over.	Per Cent. of Total.
Japanese	14,243	146	1.	13,821	97.	276	1.
Italian (South)	240,528	26,546	11.	202,888	84.	11,094	4.
Italian (North)	46,286	3,993	8.	40,684	87.	1,609	3.
Irish	40,959	1,868	4.	37,232	90.	1,859	4.
Hebrew	153,748	43,620	28.	101,875	66.	8,253	5.
German	86,813	13,076	15.	68,282	78.	5,455	6.
Polish	95,835	8,941	9.	84,860	88.	2,034	2.
Scandinavian	58,141	5,290	9.	50,214	86.	2,637	4.
Slovak	38,221	3,415	8.	33,796	88.	1,010	2.
Magyar	44,261	3,974	8.	38,746	87.	1,541	3.
Croatian and Slovenian	44,272	1,674	3.	41,653	94.	945	2.

The foregoing statements are inducive to the conclusion that the Japanese immigrants are generally of sound physique, capable of engaging themselves in hard work necessary to earn their bread.

* * * * *

4. *Educational Condition of Japanese Immigrants.*

Owing to the fact that the Japanese language is radically different from the English and its kindred languages, it requires a considerable time, and labor, for a Japanese to acquire even an elementary knowledge of English. A compulsory educational system is practiced in Japan as far as primary education is concerned, but in the primary school no foreign language is taught. It is only in the high school that the English language finds its place in the studies, while French and German as well as English are taught in the "higher high school." It is, therefore, natural that many Japanese have no knowledge of English when they first arrive in this country. And yet the rate of illiteracy among Japanese immigrants, while much larger than that among English, Irish, German and Scandinavian immigrants, is considerably smaller than the rate of illiteracy among the South Italians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Polish, Croatians and Slovenians, etc. The Commissioner-General of Immigration's report for 1904 contains a very instructive chart, showing the rate of illiteracy among immigrants from the different countries. From this chart the following table is prepared, comparing the percentage of illiteracy among the Japanese with those among immigrants from European countries, which furnish this country with more than 20 per cent of illiterates:

	Race or People.	Per Cent. of Illiterates.
	Japanese	22
	Italian (South)	54
	Greek	24
	Portuguese ..	68
German Empire..	{ Polish ..	36
	{ Hebrew ..	23
	{ Hebrew ..	23
	{ Polish ..	36
	{ Slovak ..	28
Austria-Hungary..	{ Ruthenian ..	59
	{ Roumanian ..	32
	{ Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin.....	45
	{ Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian.....	36
	{ Croatian and Slovenian.....	36
	{ Hebrew ..	23
Russian Empire...	{ Russian ..	26
	{ Lithuanian ..	54
	{ Polish ..	36

According to this table 22 out of every hundred Japanese were illiterate, which formed the smallest rate of illiteracy in the list. The largest rate of illiteracy was among the Portuguese, viz., 69 per cent; the Ruthenians came next, the South Italians and Lithuanians third, the Bulgarians, Servians and Montenegrins fourth, the Polish fifth, and so on.

Part IV.

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS ATTENDANT UPON JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

1. *Effect of Japanese Immigration Upon the Wages of American Laborers.*

In view of the fact that the Japanese immigrant is charged with lowering the wages of American laborers, we have made a special inquiry into this phase of the question. As the result of the investigation we are able to state that there is no fact that substantiates such a charge. The Japanese immigrants are usually engaged in the kinds of work which the American laborers do not care to take. They do not, as a rule, underbid American labor.

The reports of the Bureaus of Labor of the United States and of the Pacific Coast states conclusively show that the wages of labor on the Pacific Coast have been increasing steadily. Within the past ten years the wages of certain classes of laborers have nearly doubled, while the wages of many laborers have increased 50 per cent in the same period.

The following table shows how the wages of American laborers in the state of Washington have increased

in four different occupations in which most Japanese laborers are engaged:

Occupation.	Year 1897.*	Year 1907.‡
Saw mill laborer (per day)	\$1.25—\$2.00	\$2.60—\$3.50
Shingle mill laborer (per day).....	1.50— 2.00	2.00— 3.25
Farm laborer (per day).....	1.50— 2.00	2.00— 3.00
Farm laborer (per month).....	45.00—55.00	60.00—75.00
Railroad laborers (per day).....	1.33	1.60— 3.00

*Report of the Bureau of Labor, State of Washington.

‡Based upon the wages paid at present.

In certain kinds of work the Japanese get less wages than are paid American laborers, but this does not mean that they sell their labor at a cheap price. On the contrary, they are getting the highest wages they can reasonably ask. In some work they cannot reasonably ask the same wages as are paid white workmen, because in physical strength they are not equal to their white fellow-workingmen. Besides, they are handicapped in many other ways, being unable to speak English or being unfamiliar with the tools they have to handle. And yet, in any kind of work, the Japanese are not getting much smaller wages than are the American laborers.

After a careful investigation, we prepared the following statements, showing the wages of Japanese laborers in the four states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana:

1. *Washington.* In the state of Washington there are at present some 12,894 Japanese, of whom 697 and 288 are independent business men and farmers, respectively. Of the remaining Japanese population we obtain the following figures:

Saw mill laborers and wood cutters.....	2,685
Railroad laborers	2,332
Farm laborers	1,234
Fishery and cannery laborers.....	904
Housework	1,204
Hotel, store and restaurant laborers.....	3,014
Miscellaneous laborers	536

The wages of these Japanese laborers are roughly as follows:

Saw mill and wood cutting.....	\$ 1.75—\$ 2.75	(day)
Railroad	1.50—	2.50 (day)
Farm labor	1.50—	1.90 (day)*
Fishery and cannery	1.30—	1.65 (day)*
Housework	15.00—	50.00 (month)*
Hotel, store and restaurant labor.....	30.00—	70.00 (month)
Hotel and restaurant cook.....	40.00—	70.00 (month)*

*With room and board.

2. *Oregon.* Oregon has some 3,790 Japanese population, of which about 155 and 39 are independent business men and farmers, respectively. The Japanese laborers in this state are roughly classified as follows:

Saw mill laborers and wood cutters.....	260
Railroad laborers	1,830
Farm laborers	220
Fishery and cannery laborers.....	320
Domestics, hotel, store and restaurant laborers..	815
Miners	120

These laborers receive wages at the following rate:

Saw mill and wood cutting	\$ 1.75—\$ 2.50	(day)
Railroad	1.50—	2.50 (day)
Farm labor	35.00—	45.00 (month)*
Fishery and cannery.....	120.00—	180.00 (season)*
Housework	15.00—	45.00 (month)*
Hotel and store labor.....	38.00—	80.00 (month)
Mining	1.75—	2.75 (day)

*With room and board.

3. *Idaho.* The Japanese population of Idaho is about 1,085, of which some 38 are engaged in independent

business and farming. Of the laboring class there are:

Railroad laborers	730
Farm laborers	800
Domestics	173

Wages received by the Japanese laborers in this state are as follows:

Housework	\$15.00—\$45.00 (month)*
Railroad	1.50— 2.50 (day)
Farm labor	35.00— 45.00 (month)*

*With room and board.

4. *Montana.* The Japanese population of Montana consists of some 1,920, comprising 13 independent business men and farmers, 1,630 railroad laborers, 139 farm laborers, 63 domestics, and hotel, store and restaurant laborers. The wages paid Japanese laborers in this state are as follows:

Housework, hotel and store labor.....	\$45.00—\$75.00 (month)
Railroad labor	1.60— 2.50 (day)
Farm labor	45.00— 55.00 (month)

That these wages of Japanese laborers are, with a few exceptions, not smaller than the wages of American laborers will be more fully understood, when the above statements are compared with the following table prepared from the report of the Bureau of Labor of Washington, showing the average wages of various kinds of labor in which most Japanese laborers are engaged:

Occupation.	Average Wages.
Section foreman (Great Northern Railroad)....	\$ 1.80—\$ 2.00 (day)
Section hand (Great Northern Railroad).....	1.35— 1.50 (day)
Section foremen (Northern Pacific).....	2.07 (day)
Section hand (Northern Pacific).....	1.47 (day)
Section foremen (Oregon Railway).....	1.91 (day)
Section hands (Oregon Railway).....	1.75 (day)
Section foremen (Columbia & Puget Sound Ry.)	2.16— 2.33 (day)
Section hand (Columbia & Puget Sound Ry.)...	1.30— 1.75 (day)

domestic. On the other hand, the Japanese imports only 11 per cent of his living requirements from his native land, the balance, or 89 per cent, being domestic. The Japanese purchases all of his clothing in the United States, amounting to 15 per cent of his articles of subsistence, while of his food, which represents 85 per cent of his living expenses, 87 per cent is domestic and 13 per cent foreign. Eighty-one per cent of the Chinaman's subsistence is food, of which proportion 75 per cent is foreign and 25 per cent domestic, and the balance, or 19 per cent, is clothing, all domestic.

This statement, while not accurate in details, is sufficient to show how different the mode of living of the Japanese is from that of the Chinese in this country. The Japanese wears American clothes, uses American furniture, subsists on American food, all purchased in this country.

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3. *Shortage of Labor on the Pacific Coast.*

It is universally recognized that the development of the Pacific Coast and its adjacent territories is being greatly hindered by insufficient supply of labor. In the summer of 1905 the Portland Chamber of Commerce addressed to President Roosevelt a memorial, stating that the conditions on the Pacific Coast have so radically changed since the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law that it "is now no more in favor of exclusion than the Middle West, the East and the South." This significant document was made public on July 12, 1905. In part it says as follows:

"Vast areas of territory on the Pacific Coast are undeveloped at the present time, and will remain so under present labor conditions; whereas, with the influx of only a tithe of the immigration that is now coming in on the

Atlantic Coast, lands would be cleared and improved, public highways would be built in regions where there is an entire absence of good roads, and railroad construction would take on a new activity. It can not be fairly claimed that the Chinese would interfere with the American laborer in this work, because the work is not now performed by American or any other labor, save in the most limited way. It remains practically undone, and the doing of it would not only fail to affect injuriously the present satisfactory status of the American laborer, but would open wider and higher fields for his activity and improvement, prepared largely by those who, under any circumstances, will always hold second place to him."

That the above statement can be applied to the present condition on the Pacific Coast even with greater weight than two years ago, is beyond question. Almost every day the newspapers on the Pacific Coast report the shortage of labor in that country. According to "The Seattle Times," "the mining camps of the North are keenly feeling the shortage of labor, despite the fact that \$4.50 a day and board is offered by the employer." "The Times" goes on to relate: "So acute is the situation that mining corporations operating in the Southeastern Alaska and the Atlin District are importing Japanese labor. Within a few days, J. M. Ruffner, general manager and treasurer of the North Columbia Gold Mining Company, one of the big concerns operating in the Atlin District, in British Columbia, will take in thirty-five Japanese laborers under contract for the season of 1907. These Japanese will draw from \$4.00 to \$4.50 a day as pipemen, shovel wielders and common laborers, and will be boarded free. As far as known, this is the highest price paid for common labor on the North Pacific Coast

Counting the board the men will earn between \$35.00 and \$40.00 per week. Mr. Ruffner said: 'Last year we were short of men, having about 40 per cent of efficiency in a working crew. Of this 40 per cent not all of the men were steady. We are simply up against it for labor in the mines of the Atlin District, and the work is easy and the wages high. In order to protect ourselves we were forced to hire Japanese.' "

Nor is it only in any one particular kind of work that the shortage in labor is so keenly felt; it is felt on all lines of work. To quote from "The Times":

"Railroad contractors and employment agencies of lines building into the Pacific Northwest have bid against each other at such a rate for workmen that common labor is now quoted here at \$3.00 per day, with promises of steady employment. The Northwest never before saw such a condition as prevails among the railroad camps in Washington as well as Alaska. H. C. Henry, contractor for the St. Paul Railroad from Idaho to the Coast, has perhaps 5,000 unskilled men at work in the grading camps, who are earning a minimum of \$2.50 per day and a maximum of \$3.00 a day. Ax men and woodchoppers get as high as \$3.50 a day, and the board is supplied by contractors who vie with each other in serving the best meals."

It is no exaggeration to say that the views of the Portland Chamber of Commerce above quoted are shared by all the Chambers of Commerce in the Pacific Northwest. Such facts as these will no doubt be carefully considered by those who are directly concerned with the solution of the question of Japanese immigration. When Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was in Seattle on the occasion of his tour of the Pacific

Coast and Hawaii last summer, he made the following significant remark to a representative of "The Post-Intelligencer":

"In the last three months the number of immigrants coming into the United States through all parts has increased ten per cent over the number coming in the corresponding period during 1906. During the same period the immigration from Japan decreased. The kind of Japanese that are now coming to this country are the most desirable class. * * * It means that the tide of immigration is turning toward Canada. They have a wonderful country up there, and the immigrants are beginning to find it out. I believe that Canada is the coming country. That is going to be one of the big problems you men on the Pacific Coast will have to face and will have to solve. The laborers will leave your country and flock to Canada."

Part V.

ARE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS UNASSIMILABLE?

This is certainly a very embarrassing question, which we do not feel at liberty to discuss. Argument for and against the Japanese on this point is naturally apt to end in mere generalizations, because there can exist no statistical data or tangible facts upon which to base such argument, so long as the Japanese is not admitted into American citizenship with the full opportunity of proving themselves to be faithful members of the Republic. Yet there are many instances which go to show that the Japanese, denied the rights of citizenship as they are, make desirable citizens, eager to imbibe American ideals and usages, and willing to join hands with their American neighbors in whatsoever that is aimed to promote the welfare of this commonwealth. But were we to set forth such instances and endeavor to defend our cause, we should necessarily be accused of immodesty. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to giving the statements of a few representative Americans, who are in a position to speak with authority on this question.

When Senator Perkins, of California, expressed the belief that "the inherent Japanese traits of patriotic impulses will make them a foreign element in any country

to which they may migrate," "The Pacific" (Honolulu), commenting upon the Senator's opinion, said as follows:

"The treatment of the Japanese by our nation has not been such as to encourage expatriation on their part. The few that have sought naturalization have been refused. Senator Perkins ought to be willing to give them an opportunity to expatriate themselves and to show, as other nationalities have had opportunity to show, that they can be as loyal to their adopted as to their native country. Certainly, so long as that has not been done, there is no justification for any dogmatic assertion that expatriation is a thing impossible to a Japanese. There was a time when it was claimed that the Germans, who came here in great numbers after the revolution of 1848, would subvert the principles of American government. And in the earlier years of our national history there were ever those who were fearful that many of those whom we received to citizenship would in a crisis prefer their native to their adopted country. Time has shown all these things to have been bugbears."

Dr. Doremus Scudder, who has had many years of experience in Hawaii, writing to "The Pacific," says as follows:

"President Roosevelt is right. He has proved himself a seer in suggesting naturalization for Japanese. The next step will be to grant this to all men upon precisely equal terms. This does not mean that we should not safeguard our citizenship. Japan will have done us an incalculable benefit, if, as an outcome of this controversy, our Government be led to require that no alien shall be naturalized before passing an English examination in American civics under the auspices of a board constituted somewhat after the manner of our Board of Civil Service Commissioners."

In refutation of the hackneyed assertion that Hawaii is today a Japanese colony, Dr. Scudder says:

“No possible statement could be further from the truth. Numerically, the people of this race predominate, but the one noticeable feature of the life of these islands is the victory of American ideals over those of Asia here. Instead of Hawaii being Japanese in civilization, it is more truly American than San Francisco has been since the era of pure government immediately succeeding the rise of the vigilantes and preceding the days of fierce anti-Chinese agitation. The test of a civilization is not found in the clothes worn or in skin color, but in the spirit which moves forward toward the realization of higher ideals.”

Governor Carter, of Hawaii, evidently shares the views of “The Pacific” and Dr. Scudder when he says:

“Fifty per cent of the population of the Hawaiian group is Japanese, and we have never had the slightest trouble with them. They are treated by the residents the same as other people, and that is practically all there is to it. They make good citizens, are unobtrusive, and never bother anybody who does not bother them.”

In an editorial entitled “Facts About Japanese Immigration” appearing in a recent issue of “The New York Post,” we find the following passage:

“The argument which has been made against Chinese immigration has little bearing when applied to the Japanese. When the latter arrive in this country, they speedily adopt American methods of dress and living. As a rule, the Japanese do not colonize in a city even to the extent that the Italians, Russians, Germans and Irish do; but instead, endeavor to establish independent homes of their own for the purpose of bringing themselves quickly into touch with the native population. For this reason the Japanese immigrant, after a year in this country, in his acquaintance with the English language and in his knowledge of American usages is ordinarily much more nearly in harmony with our social system than the aver-

age immigrant from Hungary or Russia, after a similar experience of American living.”

In his address before the Men’s Club of Trinity Parish Church of Seattle, on the evening of October 20th, Mayor Moore, of that city, incidentally paid tribute to the Japanese residents of the municipality. Among other things he said :

“We have had as little trouble, if not less, in this administration with the Japanese as with our own people. They have not only obeyed the laws of the community, but have given assistance in enforcing the laws.* * * In fact we have in our community no more intelligent citizenship than the Japanese. I must admit that in my administration we have had more difficulty with the white element than with the foreign.”

It will be alike impossible and unnecessary to cite all such statements ; suffice it to say that these are only a few of a great number of similar examples.

APPENDIX

I.

Resolution of Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Adopted March 20, 1907.

According to the report of the Associated Press dispatches from Washington, the settlement of the question involving the right of Japanese children to attend the public school of San Francisco is to draw after it the negotiation of a new immigration treaty with Japan.

It is the opinion of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce that a majority of the people of the Pacific Coast are not in favor of any immigration law that will treat the people of Japan differently from the way in which we treat the people of any European country. We recognize that the United States and the Empire of Japan are bound together by the ties of trade, commerce and old friendship, which in the past have proved of great advantage to both countries, and if preserved, contain a sure pledge of still greater benefits for the future. We believe that any immigration treaty which would discriminate against Japan by denying to the people of the country ordinary rights or privileges granted to the people of other civilized nations, would be uncalled for and would be detrimental to the trade and commerce of the Pacific Coast, and, by checking the growth, development and prosperity of this section, would tend directly to narrow the field of employment for our own people and decrease the demand for our own labor. It would injure the Pacific Coast farmers by barring the way to a large and profitable market for flour and other food stuffs. It would strike directly at those manufacturing industries throughout the country which are now supplying steel rails, machinery, food and other appliances for the development of Japan, Corea and Man-

churia. It would practically close Japan, Corea and Manchuria to American capital and to the use of American skilled labor that would otherwise be largely employed in the development of the resources of those countries.

Moreover, as the enforcement of the terms of any new immigration treaty putting Japan on a different footing from that of other nations or any law or regulation made pursuant to such a treaty, would necessarily be in the hands of bureau officials, its administration would, in our opinion, be almost certain to sow the seeds of disagreements, dissension and strife between the two countries.

Therefore, be it resolved that in the opinion of this Chamber it would be against the best interests of the Pacific Coast and of the whole country to conclude any treaty or enact any law, the effect of which would be to treat the people of Japan in a manner different from the treatment accorded to the people of other civilized powers.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President and the Secretary of State.

II.

Resolution of Tacoma Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, Adopted April 29, 1907.

The commercial interests of the Pacific Coast demand a close friendship with the commercial interests of Japan and the trans-Pacific countries. Anything, which tends to separate these interests or engender the spirit of antagonism toward a closer union of our commercial relation with these countries, should be viewed with disfavor and subjected to searching criticism by the commercial bodies of the Western Coast.

This is particularly true of Tacoma, whose friendly attitude to Japan and Japanese interests is evidenced by her constantly increasing trade with the ports of that country.

The recent agitation against the attendance of Japanese children to the public schools of San Francisco seems to threaten a new immigration treaty with Japan,

which shall contain some stringent measures tending to place Japanese immigration on a different basis from that of other foreign countries.

There seems no good reason why such a treaty should be contemplated. The United States has never suffered from Japanese immigration, and the opportunities for the development of a large and mutually profitable trade between our country and Japan demand that no unreasonable prejudice be permitted to establish an unfriendly attitude on Japan's part toward the United States or her commercial prestige in Japanese waters.

Therefore the Board of Trustees of the Tacoma Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade hereby resolves :

That there is no occasion for the formulating of any immigration treaty with Japan, which shall discriminate against the Japanese and place them upon any different footing than are the people of any European country. The friendly relations between the two countries should be preserved and increased. Any disruption of those friendly relations would work to the serious detriment of the commercial interests of the Pacific Coast and would greatly check the growth and prosperity of this section of our country, thus narrowing our markets and curtailing the field of our laboring people, decreasing the demand for labor and lowering the rate of wages.

It would curtail the market for our wheat and flour, and have a direct and damaging effect upon the farming interests of the entire West. It would have a far-reaching effect upon the shipments of steel rails, machinery and other manufactured materials by practically closing the ports of Japan, Corea and Manchuria to these shipments, and the employment of American capital and skilled labor in the wide field now offered by Japan for American enterprise and ingenuity.

Furthermore, the inauguration and enforcement of any such treaty discriminating against the Japanese must of necessity be left with Bureau officials, unfamiliar with the commercial relation now existing between the two countries, and unable through ignorance of these

conditions to treat either Japanese or Pacific Coast interests fairly and wisely.

Therefore, in the opinion of this board, no interests of the Pacific Coast or of the United States at large will be served by any such treaty, while the commercial interests will be greatly and permanently damaged by any treaty action, which breaks the feeling of good will and mutual respect now prevailing between the two countries, and which is resulting in a large and mutually profitable trade between them.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President and the Secretary of State.

III.

Resolution of Portland Chamber of Commerce, Adopted April 16, 1907.

According to the report of the Associated Press dispatches from Washington, the settlement of the question involving the right of Japanese children to attend the public school of San Francisco is to draw after it the negotiation of a new immigration treaty with Japan.

It is the opinion of the Portland Chamber of Commerce that a majority of the people of the Pacific Coast are not in favor of any immigration law that will treat the people of Japan differently from the way in which we treat the people of any European country. We recognize that the United States and the Empire of Japan are bound together by the ties of trade, commerce and old friendship, which in the past have proved of great advantage to both countries, and if preserved, contain a sure pledge of still greater benefits for the future. We believe that any immigration treaty, which would discriminate against Japan by denying to the people of that country ordinary rights or privileges granted to the people of other civilized nations, would be uncalled for and would be detrimental to the trade and commerce of the Pacific Coast, and by checking the growth, development and prosperity of this section, would tend directly

to narrow the field of employment for our own people and decrease the demand for our own labor. It would injure the Pacific Coast farmers by barring the way to a large and profitable market for flour and other food-stuffs. It would strike directly at those manufacturing industries throughout the country, which are now supplying steel rails, machinery, food and other appliances for the development of Japan, Corea and Manchuria. It would practically close Japan, Corea and Manchuria to American capital and to the use of American skilled labor that would otherwise be largely employed in the development of the resources of these countries.

Moreover, as the enforcement of the terms of any new immigration treaty putting Japan on a different footing from that of other nations or any law or regulation made pursuant to such a treaty, would necessarily be in the hands of bureau officials, its administration would, in our opinion, be almost certain to sow the seeds of disagreements, dissension and strife between the two countries.

Therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this Chamber it would be against the best interests of the Pacific Coast and of the whole country to conclude any treaty or enact any law, the effect of which would be to treat the people of Japan in a manner different from the treatment accorded to the people of other civilized powers.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President and Secretary of State.

IV.

A Letter Addressed by San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to Japanese Association of America.

San Francisco, Cal., July 11th, 1907.

Japanese Association of America,
San Francisco, California.

Gentlemen:

The Trustees of the Chamber of Commerce beg to

acknowledge your very courteous letter of the 8th inst. and to reciprocate its kind expressions.

We wish further to express our appreciation of the resolution you have passed, correcting the statement made by the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, in which it appeared that the Japanese children are denied equal privilege in the public schools of San Francisco. Such frank expressions at this time, when there may be causes for irritation, are magnanimous and increase the respect and confidence of all fair-minded people.

It is our conviction that there should be no unreasonable restrictions placed upon the immigration of Japanese to this country, not merely because of the commercial benefits mutually derived, but because of the traditional friendship, which has existed between our country and the Empire of Japan, and which should be an important factor in the development of all countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

The Trustees are therefore sending a copy of this letter to the President and Secretary of State, hoping thereby to assure the authorities of the friendly disposition of our merchants to the Japanese people, and at the same time, bring about a better understanding and a more friendly feeling with the Japanese residents of our city.

With assurances of esteem, we remain,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) C. H. BENTLEY,
President.

V.

*Resolution of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce,
Adopted February 4, 1907.*

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce believes that the public sentiment of the State of California, and especially of

Southern California, upon the question of the exclusion of the Japanese from the general public school system of the State, has been to some extent misrepresented and is largely misunderstood; and as representing the commercial and business interests of the second city of the State, and in view of the national importance which the question has assumed, the Board feels impelled to correct such misapprehension, so far as it is in its power to do.

In the first place it would seem that the question is one of principle, or of sentiment, or of practical politics, rather than of immediate vital importance so far as it affects the welfare of the children of our public schools.

The Board is reliably informed that when the question was first agitated, the total number of Japanese in the public schools of San Francisco was 93, of which 28 were girls and 68 boys. Thirty-four of the boys were under sixteen years of age; of the thirty-one who were sixteen years and older only six were in the primary schools, the eldest being nineteen years old. There are about the same number of Japanese in the public schools of Los Angeles, and it is reported on good authority, both from San Francisco and Los Angeles, that no complaint of bad conduct on the part of Japanese scholars has ever come to the knowledge of the School Superintendent of either of these cities.

This Board is convinced that the sentiment of the whole State is unanimously against the mingling in the primary grades of our schools of adults and adolescents of whatever race or nationality, with the younger children.

Upon the main question, whatever may be the diversity of opinion upon the constitutional and legal phases, this Board is assured that the general trend of public opinion in Southern California is decidedly adverse to any discrimination against the Japanese as a people in matters of public school privileges, and they believe that this opinion is based upon considerations of equity and justice, and is held altogether independently of any attitude which the Japanese government has assumed or may assume in regard to the question.

VI.

*A Joint Appeal Addressed by Chambers of Commerce of
Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe, to the
Principal Chambers of Commerce in the
United States Dated June 29, 1907.*

It has always been a matter of profound satisfaction to the people of Japan to witness the constant growth of cordial relations between our two countries and of our community interests in the fields of trade and commerce, but since last year the people in a section of your country have unfortunately acted in a manner calculated to prejudice the legitimate rights of the Japanese, who have been frequently subjected to unjust treatment at the hands of a lawless element prevailing there.

The right of education has been denied them; their houses have repeatedly been attacked and their property destroyed without the least cause or provocation, with the result that not only have the treaty rights of the Japanese been wantonly disregarded, but their persons and property also have been exposed to serious danger.

It is to be extremely regretted that such unfortunate incidents should be allowed to occur so frequently, as it is feared that unless they are speedily stopped, the ill-feeling our countrymen are now prone to harbor will be heightened, and that the attitude of the people of a single section of America may eventually have an unhappy effect upon the development of the commercial relations between the two nations, for while the United States is a good customer for our natural products, Japan is also increasing her demand for American goods, and promises to become one of the most important markets for your ever-expanding and prosperous industries.

Should the progress of trade and commerce between the two countries become obstructed as a result of the unwarrantable action of a small section of your population, the loss sustained by the two countries would be incalculable. We, therefore, venture to address you and express our views on the situation, confident in the hope

that they will be shared by you, and that you will, considering the matter on the right principles of national intercourse and the mutual advantages of trade relations, do your best to speedily eliminate the present causes of discord and to insure our common prosperity for the future.

Yours respectfully,

B. NAKANO,
President of Tokyo Chamber of Commerce.

M. DOI,
President of Osaka Chamber of Commerce.

J. NISHIMURA,
President of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce.

K. ONO,
President of Yokohama Chamber of Commerce.

T. KISHIMOTO,
President of Kobe Chamber of Commerce.

VII.

Reply of Seattle Chamber of Commerce to the Same.

To The

Tokyo Chamber of Commerce,
Osaka Chamber of Commerce,
Kyoto Chamber of Commerce,
Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, and
Kobe Chamber of Commerce:

Sirs:

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 29th in relation to certain disturbances in San Francisco affecting some of your countrymen dwelling there.

The disturbances mentioned in your letter are purely local. They have been greatly magnified and we should infer from your letter that the reports of the occurrences which reached Japan are out of all proportion to the actual facts. This is usual in such cases. Reports from a long distance are generally apt to magnify the event

many times. Nevertheless all good citizens here deplore all such disturbances, however small. We believe that you will find, upon inquiry amongst your fellow countrymen here, that in Seattle the Japanese are treated with as much consideration as the people of any other country. On the other hand, it gives us pleasure to be able to say that we have always found them to be industrious, law-abiding and loyal residents of the Republic, and in Seattle we have uniformly treated them accordingly. We beg to enclose herewith a resolution of this Chamber of Commerce which was adopted before your letter was written and which clearly shows our attitude toward your countrymen.

In the future, as in the past, Seattle will always be found standing for justice and fair play for the Japanese as well as for all other nationalities within her borders. For more than ten years Seattle has been the American home port of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the great Japanese Steamship Company. This company has been a pioneer in opening up a profitable and friendly trade between the two countries. Commerce in our day is the most powerful and persuasive ambassador of peace and good will among nations. It brings the people of the world closer together, removes prejudices and promotes national friendships. Not the least important mission of Chambers of Commerce—the spokesmen, so to speak, of the commerce of their respective countries—is to cooperate with one another in smoothing away and composing the differences that inevitably arise from time to time between the peoples of different countries, as between communities in the same country. In this spirit, and with this end in view, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce extends to the Chambers of Commerce of the cities of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Yokohama and Kobe its most friendly consideration and trusts that the good relations which have existed so long between our cities as between our two countries, and with such manifest advantage to both, may continue unbroken into the far future.

Yours very respectfully,

C. B. YANDELL,
July 30, 1907. Secretary.

JOHN H. MCGRAW,
President.

VIII.

Reply of Chambers of Commerce of Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe to the Above.

Tokyo, Japan, Oct. 15, 1907.

Seattle Chamber of Commerce,
Washington, U. S. A.

Gentlemen: .

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 30th July, in reply to ours of June 29th last. It is a source of profound satisfaction to note that our appeal has been received with so high sense of justice and equity, and that you are prepared to direct your efforts for the maintenance of the relations of perfect understanding between the United States and Japan and for the promotion of the common interests by which the two nations are closely united. We are convinced that the friendly assurances contained in your letter under acknowledgement have produced the best impression in the public mind in this country. In thanking you sincerely for such a frank and candid exposition of your views, we venture to express the hope that hereafter a similar exchange of views and mutual co-operation may be had between our respective Chambers of Commerce with reference to matters affecting the common interests of both countries, as occasion presents itself, with a view to safeguard those interests and thereby to assure the relations of good correspondence between the two nations.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) B. NAKANO,
President of Tokyo Chamber of Commerce.
M. DOI,
President of Osaka Chamber of Commerce.
J. NISHIMURA,
President of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce.
K. ONO,
President of Yokohama Chamber of Commerce.
T. KISHIMOTO,
President of Kobe Chamber of Commerce.

IX.

*A Joint Appeal Addressed by the Chambers of Commerce
of Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe,
to President Roosevelt, June 29, 1907.*

We have watched with profound satisfaction the growing strength of the bonds of traditional friendship between America and Japan, coupled with the steady progress of the commerce between the two nations. It is, therefore, a source of deep regret and concern to learn of the actions frequently reported since last year of a section of the community in San Francisco against Japanese residents there, whose persons and property have thus been exposed to serious danger. While highly appreciating your unremitting efforts in the cause of justice, we humbly think that if such abuses are allowed to continue, the development of commerce, based upon the friendly relations of the two nations, may be eventually retarded.

We, the undersigned, representatives of Chambers of Commerce, taking special interest in the promotion of our mutual economic relations, are unable to remain silent spectators of this state of affairs. We accordingly have addressed the principal Chambers of Commerce in America, inviting them to exert their best efforts for the amelioration of the situation, relying at the same time upon your personality and wisdom for a speedy and satisfactory solution of existing difficulties, and we respectfully appeal to you for your friendly spirit.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) B. NAKANO,
President of Tokyo Chamber of Commerce.
M. DOI,
President of Osaka Chamber of Commerce.
J. NISHIMURA,
President of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce.
K. ONO,
President of Yokohama Chamber of Commerce.
T. KISHIMOTO,
President of Kobe Chamber of Commerce.

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION OCCUPATIONS, WAGES, ETC.

COMPILED FROM

U. S. Government Reports

AND

Reports of California Bureau of Labor Statistics

PUBLISHED BY

JAPANESE AND KOREAN EXCLUSION LEAGUE

JANUARY 1, 1907



ORGANIZED LABOR
212 LEAVENWORTH ST.

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The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League at a general meeting held Sunday, December 2nd, decided to tabulate and print the information concerning subjects herewith enumerated:

- 1st. Number of Japanese and Koreans in the United States.
- 2nd. Increase during the past ten years.
- 3rd. Number of arrivals monthly during the past twelve months.
- 4th. Number of departures monthly during the past twelve months.
- 5th. Net increase in number of arrivals during last twelve months.
- 6th. List of employments invaded by Japanese and Koreans.
- 7th. Average wages paid as compared to the wages of white labor.
- 8th. Comparative figures of Japanese, Korean and other immigration.

The tables following were obtained from the various Government Reports, Federal and State, and may be considered absolutely reliable. During the past twenty-five years Japanese immigration, as shown by the accompanying table, has increased to an alarming extent, and had it not been for the vigilance displayed by the workmen of California since 1890, it is safe to say that the number of Japanese in California and the United States would be double what it is today.

Japanese Immigration to United States, 1880-1906.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1880	86	1895	1150
1881	92	1896	1110
1882	50	1897	1526
1883	82	1898	2230
1884	231	1899	2844
1885	176	1900	12,365
1886	277	1901	5296
1887	605	1902	14,270
1888	817	1903	19,968
1889	1607	1904	14,382
1890	2732	1905	11,021
1891	4842	1906	14,000
1892	no record		
1893	1380		
1894	1931		
		Total	115,170

The number of Japanese in Hawaii at the time of annexation, in 1898, as stated by the Island authorities, was 30,000. At the taking of the United States Census in 1900, the number had increased to 61,111, or a little more than 100 per cent.

That the total of the immigration table represents the number of Japanese in the United States cannot be considered for one moment. If, for instance, we estimate the number of departures up to the year 1900 and subtract that number from the number of arrivals we fall far short of the 86,000 given by the Census Report of that year. The legitimate arrivals since the taking of the Census of 1900 aggregate 91,302.

For many years the number of Japanese surreptitiously entering the United States from British Columbia fully equaled the number entering through the custom house. For this information we are indebted to the Reports of the California State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894-1898. The annexation of Hawaii put a stop to that method of admission and transferred it to the Mexican border. We are confident that if a census were

taken today fully 150,000 Japanese would be found in the United States and Hawaii.

Mr. Yamawalki, the Japanese Secretary of the Interior, made a report to his Government a few years ago and gave the following figures, as to the number of Japanese emigrating to the United States and possessions during 1900, classifying them as follows:

Officials	52
Students	554
Merchants	2,851
Laborers	86,689
Total	90,146

It is possible that the report should be read as referring to the total emigration up to and including 1900; even so, the figures justify the speculations made as to how these people arrive and successfully evade record and supervision.

NUMBER OF JAPANESE AND KOREANS IN THE UNITED STATES AND HAWAII.

	Year	Number	Increase in 10-year periods
Census Report	1880	148	
"	1890	14,399	14,251
"	1900	86,000	71,601
"	1906	150,000	64,000

In 1890 there were 12,360 Japanese in Hawaii and 2039 in the United States. At the time of annexation there were 30,000 in Hawaii, and in 1900 the number had more than doubled, i. e., 61,111, making the number for the mainland of the United States 24,889.

From 1900 to 1906, both inclusive, 91,300 Japanese have immigrated into the United States, or since the annexation of Hawaii 96,610. Deducting 3 per cent for decrease by death, we still find 150,000 in the United States and Hawaii.

These figures are very conservative, for if they were based upon the ratio of increase and decrease as shown by the Report of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics they would reach nearly 200,000. Of late years a great many Japanese women have come into the United States, and owing to the high birth rate and low death rate of the race they are raising up large families.

In the near future—1910-1920—the native-born Japanese will have become a factor in San Francisco and Hawaiian politics. In 1900 there were 4881 native-born Japanese in the Territory of Hawaii, all of whom were born since 1885; today the number of native-born Japanese is estimated at 10,000; this, of course, includes the mainland. If we take into consideration that there are over 4000 native-born Chinese in Hawaii and on the mainland, it is a sure thing that the Mongolian vote must be reckoned with.

KOREANS.

In 1904 there were 1906 admitted; in 1905, 4929; in 1906, 5000; total 11,835!

JAPANESE IN HAWAII.

Census Reports of 1890 and 1900.

	1890	1900	Increase in ten years
Hawaii	5,939	23,381	17,542
Kauai and Nihau	2,627	10,822	8,195
Lauai and Nani	2,514	11,070	8,556
Molokai	13	412	399
Oahu	1,267	15,418	14,151
	12,360	61,103	48,843

It is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the number of Japanese in the territory at this time. The number which came to California from the Islands is known through the courtesy of the State Labor Commissioner, who receives his information from the steamship companies, but of the numbers who reach the Sound via Honolulu we have no record.

In the early part of 1906 a partial census was taken by the Hawaiian officials, which showed a falling off in the numbers of Japanese in the Islands. During the last few months, however, immigration to the Territory has greatly increased. Any losses that Hawaii has sustained may be credited to California and Washington. Few Japanese leave the islands for the Orient except the merchants who return on a visit to replenish their merchandise.

There are now in round numbers 150,000 Japs in the United States, 50,000 or 55,000 of whom are in California and 60,000 in Hawaii, the remainder scattered throughout the Pacific Coast and many western States with a small sprinkling in the East.

INCREASE OF JAPANESE AND KOREANS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS.

In 1900 there were 86,000 Japanese in the United States, an increase of 71,601 over the number given by the Census of 1890. In 1906 the estimate is 150,000, an increase of 64,000.

Increase from 1890-1900	71,601
Increase from 1900-1906	64,000

KOREANS.

There is no evidence of the presence of large numbers of Koreans previous to the Immigration Report for 1904. During that year there were admitted:

Year	Number
In 1904	1906
1905	4929
1906	5000
	11,835

INCREASE OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA SINCE THE CENSUS OF 1880.

Census of	Year	No.	Increase
" of	1880	86	.....
" "	1890	1,147	1,161
" "	1900	10,151	9,004
" "	1906	50,000	39,849

A study of these figures naturally leads to the question how were they obtained? The reports of the State Bureau of Labor have been ransacked for information and in conjunction with the reports of the officers of 36 of the 57 counties of the State give us the above result.

From the taking of the Census of 1900 up to September 30, 1904, there came to California from Japan 10,524 immigrants. During 20 months preceding September, 1904, we received 7270 from Hawaii, and 672 from Victoria. These figures do not cover the arrivals from Victoria for three years ending December 31, 1903, nor from Hawaii for the two years preceding December 31, 1902. Approximating the arrivals during the missing periods at 5000, it would make the number of Japanese immigrants during that time total 23,466. Add 10,151 of the Census Report to the 7942 from Hawaii and Victoria with 5000 for the missing period, and 10,524 coming direct from Japan, and we have a total of 33,617 Japanese in California on October 1, 1904.

In these figures due allowance has been made for deaths and departures, and also for births, and for arrivals via Oregon and Mexico; one offsetting the other.

The following table from the Report of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics is an interesting one, and throws much light upon the methods of obtaining information:

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES SEPT. 30, 1904, TO SEPT. 30, 1906.

Asia.				
Year	Arrivals	Deptrs.	Decrease	
1905	1426	2447	1021	
1906	1224	2022	799	
	<u>2650</u>	<u>4469</u>	<u>1820</u>	
Hawaii.				
Year	Arrivals	Deptrs.	Incr.	Net Incr.
1905	6348	77	6721	5250
1906	9320	114	9206	8408
	<u>15,668</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>15,927</u>	<u>13,658</u>

Here we see that notwithstanding the number of departures to the Orient of Japanese who have been here the three years called for by their contract, the influx from Hawaii still gives us a net increase of 13,658 for the two years preceding October 1, 1906. This number added to the result up to and including September 30, 1904, gives 47,275 Japanese in California. Figures previously quoted place the Japanese population of California at 50,000. How can the apparent contradiction be reconciled? The Labor Commissioner has not taken into consideration the two other sources of immigra-

tion—overland via Oregon and Mexico. We have placed the arrivals from these sources at 3000 which, of course, is only conjectural, but a gentleman whose duties call him to Seattle occasionally reports that carloads of Japanese laborers from Washington and Oregon are dumped into the Sacramento Valley during the summer months and it is rarely that any of them return North. As to Mexico, a recent dispatch stated that 300 Japanese had crossed the border into the United States during the month of November, 1906.

That these figures may be relied upon is certain. The Labor Commissioner, in an interview given Mr. Fullerton, Staff Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, estimated the number of Japs in California to be 55,000. That he has not used this estimate in his report is because he will leave no room for criticism or objection, though quite satisfied of its correctness.

The following table gives the arrivals and departures monthly to and from California and in conjunction with the previous one furnishes complete proof that California is being slowly invaded by the Japanese via Hawaii:

Note—The figures given for 1906 are approximations based upon Japanese immigration during the past three years. The Immigration Report for 1906 has not yet been received.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES MONTHLY OCT. 1, '05-SEPT. 30, '06.

		Asia				Hawaii			
		Ar.	Dptrs.	Incr.	Decr.	Ar.	Dptrs.	Incr.	Net In.
1905									
Oct.,	Nov., Dec.	345	951	...	606	544	36	508	98
1906									
Jan.,	Feb., Mch.	499	356	143	....	2038	15	2023	2166
Apr.	.....	38	...	38	...	1493	11	1482	1520
May	.....	113	82	31	.....	1246	12	1234	1265
June	.....	22	143	...	121	948	6	942	821
July	.....	68	200	...	132	950	25	925	793
Aug.	.....	82	110	...	28	1458	..	1458	1430
Sept.	.....	57	180	...	123	643	9	634	511
									8506

These figures are furnished monthly by the various steamship companies, at the request of the Bureau of Labor, and their correctness can not be questioned, and in any event there is no other source of information, as the United States Bureau of Immigration gathers no statistics relative to the arrivals and departures of immigrants to and from domestic territory.

Before leaving the subject matter of California we would state that during the summer of 1905 the Exclusion League communicated with the various county officers of the State, soliciting information as to the numbers of Japanese in the respective counties. Replies were received from 36 counties; the information obtained compiled and placed side by side with statistics taken from the last Census Reports.

	1905.	1900.	1890.	1880.
Alameda	4000	1149	184	16
Alpine	..	..	..	..
Amador	..	..	3	..
Butte	500	365	3	..
Calaveras	35	4	3	..
Colusa	250	53	5	..
Contra Costa	500	276	11	..

Del Norte	...	...	2	..
El Dorado	...	30	2	5
Fresno	1200	598	12	1
Glenn	...	14	...	..
Humboldt	60	...	1	..
Inyo	20	...	...	..
Kern	750	48	3	..
Kings	500	156	...	..
Lake	...	3	...	..
Lassen	...	2	...	..
Los Angeles	3500	204	36	1
Madera	40	17	...	..
Mariposa	...	...	...	..
Marin	300	52	24	7
Mendocino	125	23	1	..
Merced	250	43	...	..
Modoc	2	...	...	..
Mono	1	1	...	..
Monterey	1000	710	1	..
Napa	350	6	6	2
Nevada	...	15	5	2
Orange	...	3	...	..
Placer	500	13	6	..
Plumas	...	...	...	..
Riverside	200	97	...	..
Sacramento	2000	1209	51	1
San Benito	...	15	...	..
San Bernardino	300	148	2	..
San Diego	...	25	13	..
San Francisco	8000	1781	590	45
San Joaquin	800	313	10	..
San Luis Obispo	...	16	2	..
San Mateo	5000	46	9	..
Santa Barbara	250	114	5	..
Santa Clara	2000	284	27	..
Santa Cruz	2500	235	19	..
Shasta	...	20	2	1
Sierra	10	1	...	..
Siskiyou	...	8	...	..
Solano	2000	870	26	2
Sonoma	300	148	74	..
Stanislaus	...	5	...	..
Sutter	400	155	...	..
Tehama	150	143	...	..
Trinity	...	1	...	..
Tulare	...	48	2	2
Tuolumne	8	2	...	..
Ventura	...	94	1	..
Yolo	800	410	5	..
Yuba	...	56	1	..
	34,901	10,151	1,147	86

To the student fond of digging to the bottom of things, the foregoing offers a very good field. If one should take the ratio of increase from the 1880 column and bring it down to the present, the resulting figures would be

somewhat interesting. The 1905 column contains the figures received from the officials of 36 counties, and they are believed to be conservative. Some of the counties did not reply to the request for information, while the reply of others was in such a shape that it could not be used. One official informed us that there was no information available in his office, when later it was discovered that he had more than 100 Japanese working on his large ranch.

The difficulty in obtaining data relative to the Japanese may be attributed to indifference or lack of sympathy and a lack of knowledge. Indications are now favorable for investigation and discussion of the subject, and to that end the preceding tables and those to follow are submitted.

EMPLOYMENTS INVADED BY JAPANESE AND KOREANS, WITH COMPARISON OF WAGES PAID.

The Koreans, so far as can be learned, have not yet made themselves felt in the industrial life of California. According to the Immigration Report, 95 per cent of these are agricultural laborers and are, we presume, employed chiefly in the cane-fields of Hawaii. During the past two years they have made themselves acquainted with the opportunities of obtaining increased wages in California, and in consequence many of them are now to be found on the ranches of the southern section of the State.

The Japanese are engaged in every occupation from banking to peddling. In Hawaii they have virtually driven the white laborer out of the country, with the exception of a few building mechanics and the men engaged in the iron trade industries.

The "Third Report on Hawaii (U. S. Bulletin of Labor, No. 66)," issued last September, devotes 150 pages of very interesting reading concerning the Orientalization of Hawaii by the Japanese. Every line of every page is an arraignment of the policy which has permitted the industrial and economic conquest of our "Outpost in the Pacific," and every statement is supported by statistical tabulations which will convince the most skeptical advocate of the Japanese that any further influx of that race into California will result most disastrously to all the industries of the State.

The following list shows the occupations in which the Japanese are engaged in San Francisco and throughout California:

* 1	Gardeners.	21	Waiters.
2	Florists.	22	Employment offices.
* 3	Farmers.	23	Hotel keepers.
* 4	Overseers.	24	Restaurant keepers.
* 5	Farm laborers.	*25	Powder works.
6	Laundry workers.	*26	Soda works.
7	Wholesale merchants.	27	Billiard parlors.
8	Retail merchants.	28	Bath houses.
9	Merchandise brokers.	29	Physicians.
*10	Watchmakers, jewelers.	30	Lawyers.
*11	Lumbering.	31	Clergymen.
12	Saloon keepers.	32	Bankers.
13	Barbers.	33	Steamship agents.
14	Bartenders.	34	Railroad agents.
15	Bootblacks.	35	Gas and water agents.
16	Lunchmen.	36	Office boys.
17	Porters.	37	Sale clerks.
18	Servants.	38	Janitors.
19	Stewards.	39	Shoe workers.
20	Cooks.	40	Shoe stores.

*41 Tannery workers.	52 Journalists.
42 Tailors.	53 Printers.
43 Cigarette makers.	54 Architects.
44 Teamsters.	*55 Engineers (Sta.).
*45 Fishermen.	56 Renovatories.
*46 Quarrymen.	57 Furriers.
*47 Miners.	58 Bamboo furniture.
*48 Section hands.	59 Sailors.
*49 Salt works.	60 Marine firemen.
*50 Orchardists.	61 Machinists.
51 Photographers.	62 Transfer companies.

And every one of the building trades.

The occupations marked with a star are confined solely to the country districts; all others are to be found in San Francisco and other cities. So far as the mechanical trades are concerned, the Japanese are doing all their own work from the excavation to the shingling. The industries invaded to the greatest extent are those classed as the domestic occupations, and shoe workers, cooks, waiters, house servants, janitors and laundry workers are the principal sufferers among the journeymen, while the white proprietors of laundries, restaurants, barber shops, and cheap clothing stores are the first of the tradesmen to feel Japanese competition.

The following is the rate of wages paid in several Oriental establishments covering 133 employes. Several of the proprietors were doing their own work, and, of course, could give no rate of wages. Sufficient data, however, were gathered to show the difference between Japanese and white labor:

- One bookkeeper at \$1.25 per month.
- Three carpenters at \$3.50 per day.
- Forty clerks from \$5.00 to \$10.00 per week and \$20.00 to \$40.00 per month.
- A few of them receive from \$50.00 to \$85.00 per month, but without board.
- Thirteen cooks from \$25.00 to \$70.00 per month.
- Six dishwashers, \$30.00 to \$35.00.
- Fourteen housecleaners, 25c per hour.
- Thirteen ironers, \$20.00 to \$40.00 per month.
- Five laundry mangles, \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.
- Four porters, \$20.00 to \$45.00 per month.
- Four shoe repairers, \$1.00 and \$1.25 per day.
- Five tailors at \$3.00 per day and two at \$11.00 per week.
- Thirteen waiters at \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.
- Thirteen laundry washers from \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.

Some time ago a few Japanese were employed at stove-making, wages \$12.00 per week, but their work was so inferior that the management had to re-engage white molders.

Not alone in wages does the Japanese competition affect white labor, but in the number of hours employed. The white laundry workers receive from \$1.00 to \$3.00 per day and work 9 hours, while the Japanese work from 12 to 14.

The 3,000 Japanese employed as cooks, waiters and lunchmen work from 10 to 14 hours for 7 days a week, while the white man in the same occupations work only 6 days at a vastly increased wage. White cooks receive from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per week; waiters from \$12.00 to \$15.00; helpers from \$8.00 to \$10.00, the Japanese receiving from 40 to 50 per cent less wages for their labor, the white laborers' minimum being greater than the Japanese maximum.

The competition of the Japanese shoemaker with white labor is of the keenest kind. Previous to the fire there were 306 Japanese shoe repair shops

in San Francisco; many of them dividing their time with housecleaning, thus running two kinds of business under one roof—a roof sheltering from 6 to 10 Japanese, which would be scorned by the poorest white laborer and his wife, even if they had no children.

Count Hirokichi Mutsu, at one time Japanese Consul in San Francisco, writing in the *Overland Monthly* about 1898, and speaking of the special trades among his countrymen in San Francisco, very candidly enumerates some 220 business houses among which are to be found shoemakers, watchmen, photographers and barbers—in fact, every occupation previously enumerated in this report. Sixty-four professional men are mentioned—bankers, teachers and physicians. There were also 14 religious establishments throughout the State for the purpose of cultivating and conserving the patriotism and loyalty of the Japanese towards the Mikado.

Mr. Kawakami, a distinguished graduate of the Tokio College of Law, writing in a late issue of the *Independent*, of the wonderful progress made by his people, triumphantly points to the following figures and says: "A considerable Japanese farming population in California exceeds the mark of 10,000 by many hundreds. Classifying the farms cultivated by Japanese according to their size, we find 8 farms of over 400 acres each, 14 of over 300 acres, 75 of over 200 acres, 204 of over 100 acres, 123 of over 50 acres, 235 of over 20 acres, and 341 under 20 acres each, a total of 989 farms with an aggregate average of 61,859 acres. The discrepancy between the number of farms and the number of Japanese farmers is due to the fact that some of these farms are owned or rented by a company of several farmers."

In corroboration of the statement made by Mr. Kawakami, we quote from the Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Commissioner says that in Vacaville, about 3000 Japanese are employed during the summer and about 1200 during the winter. There are about 900 permanent Japanese residents in Vacaville, 150 of whom are engaged in mercantile pursuits. Five of them own fruit farms containing some 200 acres each. Sixty lease ranches and one man leases no less than three. The statement closes with the remark, "There is no business for the white merchant because the Japanese patronizes his own countrymen." Fresno during the busy season of 1906 had about 3000 Japanese employed. In this town about 50 are engaged in general merchandise, 25 own their own farms, none of which are less than 20 acres; one of them has 320 acres and there are two of 160 acres each. Twenty-five Japs lease vineyards with an average of 60 acres in each. Within the last three or four years they have gained complete control of the country around Fresno and they are virtually the dictators and arbiters in all matters pertaining to the cultivation and harvesting of the raisin crop. Watsonville, the central point of the Pajaro Valley, has a Japanese colony of 700 permanent residents, 500 of whom are engaged in berry culture, to the exclusion of the white farmer. These three localities are but typical of many others in the Central and Southern part of California and tend to show the inroads that are being made in every direction by the studious and ubiquitous "little brown man."

Shortly after San Francisco had commenced her rehabilitation it was discovered that the Japanese had invaded one of the most select of the residence districts of the city. An investigation was undertaken by the police authorities with the following startling results:

In the district bounded by Van Ness avenue, Steiner street, Market street and the Bay, Officers Cottle and Rohl found as follows:

Residing in boarding houses, missions, etc., and whose occupations can not be ascertained..... 651

Occupations Ascertained.

Bazaars	64
Shoemakers	30
Housecleaners	15
Restaurants	33
Doctors	2
Fruit stores	19
Barbers	23
Groceries	8
Bankers	17
Tailors	21
Billiard parlors	9
Furnishing goods	11
Stationers	4
Employment offices	25
Laundries	10
Tin stores	3
Florists	2
Jewelry stores	3
Bath houses	10
Bakeries	11
Carpenters	2
Real Estate	9

331

Total number residing in district.....982

In the district west of Steiner, from Haight north to Pacific avenue, thence to the ocean, Officers Judge, Johnson, King, Rice, Miller, Wedekind, Boudette and Ceinar reported:

Laundries	2
House cleaners	13
Shoemakers	9
Employment agents	3
Florists	1
Curio stores	11
Restaurants	1
General merchandise	1
Porters	1
Employed at Chutes	4
No occupation	13

59

Total number obtained.....1041.

This report was submitted on July 27, 1906, or three months after the great fire, and the wonder is how could these people so quickly rehabilitate themselves when today, December 15th, thousands of our people are virtually homeless and poverty-stricken? The police in obtaining their information met with the same difficulties that have attended all attempts to acquire data as to the numbers, habits, occupations, etc., of the Japanese. People who employ them resent any inquiries as to the number employed and wages paid; some even denying that they employ Japanese, when it is known that they do so.

A COMPARISON OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA AND HAWAII WITH THAT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TEUTONIC RACE.

"That the Territory of Hawaii is becoming Mongolic, rather than white, has been apparent for some time. The question now before us is, "Shall California become Mongolic?"

The comparisons made in the following table between the immigrants of Caucasian and of Mongolic stock is not assuring to the former. It is true that thousands of immigrants are coming into the State from other States of the Union, and it is also true that thousands of Mongolians are also coming into California from Mexico and the States to the north of us. The Japanese population of Hawaii has decreased, if anything, since the last Census (1900), but California has received the surplus. The natural increase by birth would keep the Japanese population of the Islands at its present figure (60,000) without any immigration from Japan, and if the same policy is followed in California as has been maintained in Hawaii during the past twenty years, California is destined to become practically a colony of Japan. Nothing short of a drastic and prohibitive Exclusion Act can prevent this result. During the three years ending June 30, 1905, there came into California by immigration 22,664 persons of the Teutonic stock, which, in the table below, are segregated into the various divisions of that great race. These, when placed in comparison with the number of Japanese coming into California, with the ratio of increase of the immigration of that race, as shown by previous tables, are indicative of the short period which will elapse before the parent stock of the American people will be outnumbered and overwhelmed by the Mongolian race.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII AND CALIFORNIA BY RACE DIVISIONS.

Nationality—	Teutonic.			
	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Dutch	71	101	109	281
English	2,663	2,960	2,468	8,091
German	1,513	1,709	1,583	4,805
Irish	729	966	994	2,689
Scandinavian	1,643	1,416	1,582	4,641
Scotch	266	464	601	1,331
Welsh	29	49	55	133
Teutons to Hawaii	340	188	165	693
Total	7,254	7,853	7,557	22,664
Nationality—	Latin.			
	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
French	827	1,139	1,021	2,987
Italian (North)	5,534	5,945	4,628	16,107
Italian (South)	1,208	1,020	1,081	3,309
Mexican	299	134	69	502
Portuguese	1,057	1,028	901	2,986
Spanish	169	395	399	963
Spanish-American	212	202	201	615
Latins to Hawaii	33	20	15	68
Total	9,339	9,883	8,315	27,537

Slavic.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Bohemians and Moravians	31	28	39	98
Bulgarians, Servians & Montenegrins	200	131	67	398
Croatians and Slavonians	385	412	224	1,021
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzgovinians	204	367	301	872
Finnish	348	278	316	942
Polish	41	45	65	151
Roumanian	4	3	8	15
Russian	138	98	431	667
Ruthenian (Rusniak) .....	...	10	2	12
Slovak	36	40	27	103
Slavs to Hawaii	40	8	...	48
Total	1,427	1,420	1,480	4,327

Semitic and Hamitic.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Armenian	36	35	59	130
Hebrew	223	311	341	875
Syrian	57	6	20	83
Turkish	4	17	10	31
To Hawaii	0	0	0	0
Total	320	369	430	1,119

Mongolic.

To Hawaii.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Chinese	573	415	205	1,193
Koreans	515	1,884	4,892	7,291
Japanese	13,045	6,590	6,692	26,327
Total	14,133	8,889	11,789	34,811

To California.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Chinese	1	2,447	1,016	3,464
Koreans	38	8	22	68
Japanese	4,571	4,003	2,022	10,596
Total	4,610	6,458	3,060	14,128
Total Mongolic, 48,939.				

The foregoing tables represent the total immigration into the Territory of Hawaii and California for a period of three years and are classified by

face into the various families or divisions of the Caucasian race for the purpose of comparison.

Teutonic peoples	22,664
Latin peoples	27,537
Slavic peoples	4,327
Semitic and Hamitic	1,119
Mongolic	48,939
Grand total	104,576

Of this total the Mongolic division furnishes 48,939, or 48 per cent. California and Hawaii have been classified together because to all intent and purpose the Japanese immigration into Hawaii is but preliminary to that of the mainland.

The above figures represent the Japanese coming into the United States from the Orient only. Great numbers emigrate from Japan to Mexico and British Columbia who by various devious methods ultimately find their way into the United States.

The number of Mongolian immigrants (48,939) into California and Hawaii is double that of the dominant peoples (Teutons, 22,654) making up the population of this territory. The "Third Report on Hawaii," contained in United States Bulletin of Labor No. 66, furnishes convincing proof that the Caucasian peoples cannot and will not try to compete with Mongolians in their struggle for existence. What has happened in Hawaii will occur in California if Mongolian, especially Japanese, immigration be not checked. The Teutonic peoples will be the first to retreat before the advancing tide of Orientalism, next the Latin, to be followed later by the Slavic and Semitic families, though it is possible that the latter peoples will mix and be absorbed by the invaders.

The Chinese Exclusion Act is a recognition of the principle that the public welfare, at this stage of the world's development, demands the intervention of the law-making branch of the Government to prevent the unrestricted eruption of elements hostile to our institutions and who by reason of their mental characteristics are incapable of comprehending them. The fact that 86 per cent of all immigration into Hawaii is Japanese and that the same people greatly exceed all the immigrants of the Teutonic race entering California adds to the gravity of the problem.

SUMMARY.

Number of Japanese and Koreans in the United States:

Japanese	150,000-200,000
Koreans	11,835

Increase during past ten years:

Japanese	64,000
Koreans	11,835

Number of Japanese arrivals monthly during the past 12 months: An average of 895; this applies only to the port of San Francisco.

Number of departures monthly for same period: Average 260 for port of San Francisco.

Net increase in number of arrivals during past 12 months: 8408, for port of San Francisco only.

List of employments invaded by Japanese and Koreans: All employments except Master Mariner, Marine Engineers, Steam and Street Railway Employes, and officials of State and Municipal Governments invaded by the Japanese. Koreans are employed chiefly as farm laborers in the southern section of the State with a few in domestic service.

Average wages paid to Japanese as compared with whites: 40 to 50 per cent less.

Comparative figures of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and white immigrants to California and Hawaii: Mongolians form 48 per cent of total immigration, and exceeds the immigration of peoples of the Teutonic race by more than 100 per cent.

Restriction of Japanese Immigration.



A REPLY:

BY

HERBERT B. JOHNSON,

Superintendent Pacific Japanese Mission,
Methodist Episcopal Church.

1905.

OUTLINE.

Object of this Pamphlet.

The Origin of this Agitation.

The Voice of Organized Labor against the Japanese :—

The Building Trades Council ;

The San Francisco Labor Council ;

The American Federation of Labor ;

Japanese and Korean Exclusion League ;

Pacific Coast Branches ;

The Wider Movement.

Boycott of Japanese.

How the Japanese Live.

The Character of the Japanese.

Able Pacific Coast Papers not in Sympathy :—

Los Angeles Herald ;

The Argonaut ;

The San Francisco Call.

Position of leading Eastern Papers :—

New York Tribune ;

Philadelphia Press.

Methods of Dealing with the Question.

Opinion of President Harriman.

The Real Problem.

Comparative size of the Japanese Menace.

America's High Ideals of Justice and Right.

Refutation of Charges by Special Committee :—

Crime and Wages ;

Japan and the Japanese Friendly ;

Agitation ill-timed ;

Restriction, but not Discrimination ;

An Economic and Moral Question.

C. W. Gordon, Printer, 595 Mission Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Restriction of Japanese Immigration.

OBJECT OF THIS PAMPHLET.

Knowing that an organized effort is being made to present to Congress, from a wrong standpoint, the question of restricting Japanese and Korean immigration, appreciating the evil influence of the printed matter used in the agitation, and believing that no greater calamity could overtake our country at the present time than that resulting from hasty and inconsiderate action on this question, I feel constrained to shed such light as I am able. Having spent nearly two years on the Pacific Coast in careful study of the problem as it exists, from Canada to Mexico and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and with a knowledge of Japan and the Japanese gained by eighteen years of residence in various parts of the Japanese empire, it would seem that my knowledge ought to be of value in the settlement of the question. The object of this pamphlet is to show the origin and animus of the movement which is made to appear as very general, to indicate the real conditions existing among the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, and to point out a better way of dealing with the problem than that suggested.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT.

Much to the surprise of everybody, save a few union labor leaders and politicians, the *San Francisco Chronicle* began, late in February last, a most untimely and unjust agitation against Japanese and Korean immigration. The worst that had ever been said concerning the coming of the Chinese was repeated and enlarged upon.

The unscrupulous articles and editorials continued considerably more than a month under such headings as the following: "Crime and Poverty Go Hand in Hand With Asiatic Labor," "Brown Men Are an Evil in the Public Schools," "Japanese a Menace to American Women," "Japs Throttle Progress in the Rich Fruit Section," "Brown Asiatics Steal Brains of Whites,"

“How the Japanese Immigration Companies Override Our Laws,” “Big Immigration May Be Japanese Policy,” etc., etc. Employers of Asiatic labor were severely condemned, and the doctrine was proclaimed that it would be better to allow fruit to rot in the orchards and grain to remain unharvested in the fields than to employ Asiatic labor. The boycott of Japanese places of business was advocated and begun. An effort was made to have the Japanese children excluded from the public schools. Anti-Japanese and Korean Leagues were organized in San Francisco and Oakland, and the articles above referred to were reprinted and scattered broadcast.

On the first of March last, just one week from the publication of the first article, the State Senate adopted a resolution, which was concurred in the following day by the Assembly, requesting and demanding that action be taken, without delay, by treaty or otherwise, tending within reasonable bounds to limit and diminish the further immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States, and arrangements were made to bring the matter to the attention of the President and the Department of State. The surprise of the people was indescribable. Everybody wondered what could be underneath a movement that seemed to be so spontaneous and so general. Soon the question was repeated again and again, “Are the labor leaders using the politicians or the politicians the labor leaders?”

ORGANIZED LABOR AGAINST JAPANESE.

The articles had been running but two or three days when Secretary Tveitmoe, of the Building Trades Council, in an interview said:

“This question was taken up four years ago by Organized Labor, *the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, and the San Francisco Labor Council*. We recognized at that time the imminent danger to our State and our country from Japanese immigration, and the agitation resulted in a mass meeting, which was held in the Metropolitan Temple, where Dr. A. E. Ross, Cleveland L. Dam and others made strong addresses showing how the Japanese immigration tended to deteriorate and injure the State of California both from a political and sociological standpoint.”

A few days later Mr. Tveitmoe, at a largely attended meeting

of the Building Trades Council, offered a resolution which was adopted, "renewing the protest of the Council against the national policy, laws and treaties which allow the Japanese to enter our ports in unlimited numbers, to the great detriment of our citizenship, our standard of living, and the progress of American civilization." It was further resolved to endorse the action of the California State Legislature, and to send copies of the resolution to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hay, and to the local representatives in Congress. A day or two later the *San Francisco Labor Council* took up the question, and through its law and legislative committee prepared an appeal "from the people of the Pacific Coast to the people of the whole United States, the President, members of Congress and all legislative, judicial and executive members of the Government."

It will be noticed here that an effort was to be made to make the movement appear general, as an appeal was to be prepared from the people of the Pacific Coast to the people of the whole United States, etc. This was in keeping with the plan of a year ago, when the *American Federation of Labor* met in San Francisco. That body adopted, after a long preamble, the following:

"*Resolved*, That the terms of the Chinese exclusion act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Coreans other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; further

Resolved, That these resolutions be submitted, through proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body."

The Federation sent a commissioner to Japan to study the labor problem, and his report was ready when the scurrilous articles began to appear.

JAPANESE AND KOREAN EXCLUSION LEAGUE.

The next step was the organization of the *Japanese and Korean Exclusion League* in San Francisco, which, through various committees, has been carrying on a vigorous campaign in the various labor organizations of the country. The effort has been made to secure the endorsement of as many different unions in as

many parts of the country as possible, and when we consider the character of the literature sent out—filled with misrepresentations—it is not strange that so many have given approval. There are unions in the East which have adopted resolutions that in the very nature of the case could have had no personal knowledge of the Japanese nor experience with them. What a pity that they have not had safer leaders!

Note the following, as reported in the *Chronicle* of August 14:

“Your committee has been and is now furnishing the American Federation of Labor with plenty of statistical matter and data regarding the Asiatics in our vicinity,” the report stated. “The result of this work brought many expressions from the press of the interior on the subject. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has personally taken up the question, and no doubt will accomplish a great deal of good work among our Eastern friends, where it is most needed.”

The same paper gives the steps in the organization of branches all over the *Pacific Coast States*. One of the members commented caustically upon the non-committal nature of the communications received from the State Senators and Representatives, and said: “If our Congressional delegation does not talk any more definitely to Congress than it talks to us, all that we can do will amount to nothing. The only way to bring the Congressmen into sympathy with the movement,” he said, “is to *make it dangerous for them to neglect it.*” He urged the formation of strong branches of the league all over the State and in all the Western States, to brace up the members of the delegation, and the action was taken unanimously.

THE WIDER MOVEMENT.

At a meeting of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League held in San Francisco Sunday, October 22, as reported by the *San Francisco Call*, A. E. Yoell, the secretary, submitted the report of the executive board. It contained the following statements:

“That many replies had been received to the letters of the committee on publicity and statistics regarding the number of Japanese at various places; that wide publicity had been obtained, with the result that twenty-seven of the largest labor exchanges in the East had taken up the subject of exclusion; that

resolutions on exclusion adopted by the league on May 14 had been adopted by the Ancient Order of Foresters, International Association of Machinists, International Association of Elevator Constructors, American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, International Association of Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Association of Photo-Engravers, International Association of Electrical Workers—representing 377,500 citizens; that the resolutions had obtained the unanimous indorsement of the Building Trades Councils of California, numbering 33,500 artisans; that a total of 219 communications had been received from as many organizations, representing 11,970 members, indorsing the resolutions; that the San Francisco Labor Council, representing about 40,000 members, had also given its indorsement; that up to date the movement had received the indorsement of 82,470 citizens of this state and 377,500 outside the state, these numbers being continually on the increase; that the committee on publicity and statistics had been instructed to communicate with the editors of the principal labor journals relative to the publication of matter relative to exclusion; that the secretary had been instructed to submit something every week to the various labor exchanges to keep the matter constantly before the public; that the committee on organization had added nineteen to the number of affiliated organizations; that the monthly income of the league had reached \$219; that Congressman Gillett had announced squarely that he was in favor of applying the Chinese exclusion law to the Japanese and Koreans; that Congressman McKinlay had written that he was heartily in accord with any movement along the line under which the league was working; that Congressman Needham had written that the resolutions of the league would be given careful consideration by him, and that he hoped his stand when the matter came up in Congress would be satisfactory.' ”

BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE.

One of the strong methods advocated is the boycott. It is again and again referred to in the reports of the meetings of the various labor organizations, and the *Chronicle* came out openly and advocated it. In an editorial we read: “*The Chronicle* is seeking to convince all classes of our citizens that they ought not to employ Japanese. If they are not employed they will go away. But in no case should more be admitted. We cannot too quickly prohibit the immigration of Japanese coolies.” Is it any wonder that the Waiters’ Union has begun a war upon Japanese restaurants? We read: “Pickets have been placed in front of the Japanese eating joints and an effort will be made to secure the name of every union man entering. The attention of the

union of which the patronizer is a member will then be directed to his case." This is only one of the many cases that have appeared in the papers. Though *The Chronicle* would certainly not openly advocate it, reference has several times been made in that paper to the possibility of bloodshed. To their honor, be it said, the Japanese all through this unjust agitation have been quiet and discreet. No people could be more patient.

Recently one of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries in San Francisco was refused entertainment for a prominent Christian Japanese by several of the first and second-class hotels of the city. To what lengths will not race prejudice carry us? A high-born, well-bred Japanese, honored by being sent to Europe as a delegate to an International Y. M. C. A. convention, treated there and in the Eastern states with marked courtesy, and turned down in San Francisco, the center of this agitation, because he was a Japanese, just as a common negro would be excluded from certain hotels in the South. And the statement was added, in one instance, that no Japanese, not even the personal representative of the Emperor, would be received. And this is Japan, the leading nation in the Orient, which a few years ago was admitted into the sisterhood of civilized nations, and more recently by treaty twice into alliance with Great Britain.

HOW THE JAPANESE LIVE.

It is stated in the articles circulated that the Asiatic immigrant intends at all costs to preserve his old standards and to herd with his mates, but this is precisely what the Japanese do not do nearly so much as the great mass of immigrants that come from Europe. In the great cities of the East, and of the West as well, there are quarters set apart for the various nationalities. This has been true of the Chinese, which fact had its influence in the anti-Chinese discussions and riots a few years ago. But with rare exceptions it is not true of the Japanese. Certain Japanese, it is true, in many of our cities flock to Chinatown, but the great mass do not. They live in various parts, dress in American style, live in American homes, use American furniture, and almost without exception eat our food. They do not save, as do the Chinese, but far too many of them spend as they go. There are places where they do not mix with white people, namely, at the race-track and prize-fights, and in the saloons and prisons. But, as far as

allowed, they attend our schools; and one reason why so many are engaged as domestics is that they wish to learn our ways. This is noticeable not only here but in Japan also.

Of children of school age in Japan who are in attendance at school, the percentage is considerably over 92 for the whole empire. What European nation from which we are receiving immigrants has so good a record? There are no anarchists nor nihilists swarming to our country from Japan as from Europe. Compared with the average immigrant, the Japanese is republican in ideas, and, though not permitted to become a citizen, is loyal to our flag and our institutions. In their rejoicing over victories, the sons of Dai Nippon have nearly always a banzai (hurrah) for President Roosevelt. At Riverside, this State, in celebrating the fall of Port Arthur, they several times sent up day fireworks which opened out into large American flags. After more than seventeen years of residence in Japan, I am glad to endorse Dr. Griffis' opinion concerning the characteristics of the Japanese as given in "The Mikado's Empire," one of the very best books ever written on Japan. He says: "In moral character, the average Japanese is frank, honest, faithful, kind, gentle, courteous, confiding, affectionate, filial, loyal." Can this be said of the average citizens of the various European countries whose representatives are coming to America by the thousands each week?

PACIFIC COAST PAPERS ARE OUT OF SYMPATHY
WITH THE MOVEMENT.

The Los Angeles Herald of September 30th, in an editorial, puts the responsibility where it belongs. It shows that San Francisco is the storm center of the agitation, that all this opposition to Japanese immigration emanates from professional labor leaders, whose motives are questioned, and it contends that there is no real danger. I give an extract:

"The agitation against Japanese immigration to California, which has been going on since the early part of this year, started afresh after the end of the Russian-Japanese war. San Francisco is the storm center of the talk, but strong evidence of it is seen in some other northern cities and to some extent in those of Southern California. The argument is adduced that the prosperity of the Japanese in this state will attract vast numbers of

their countrymen who are now in the army. Hence the picture is drawn of a swarm of Japanese cheap workers in California elbowing Americans out of the labor market.

“All this opposition to Japanese immigration emanates from professional labor leaders, mostly those of San Francisco. The purpose is to maintain a shortage of labor, such as has been witnessed this year in harvesting the fruit crops. With a demand greatly exceeding the supply, as was the case a few months ago in the orange belt, the labor leaders find it an easy matter to enforce demands concerning wages and work hours.

“There has been no real danger, and there can be none, of a great inflow of Japanese to California. No more will come, in any case, than are needed to supply the deficiency in the market. And those who may come, like those already here, will be industrious workers, not the kind who make a pretense of looking for work while praying that they may not find it.”

The Argonaut criticises severely the inconsiderate action of the State Legislature and shows that it will be sure to be interpreted as “subserviency to the ignorant demagogues of labor.” A part of its language is:

“We warn the Legislature of the State of California, which this week adopted a concurrent resolution urging upon the national government the passage of a law or negotiation of a treaty looking to the restriction of Japanese immigration, that it will be regarded by the press of the United States with marked disfavor. The great majority of the journals of the East will, as with a single voice, characterize our Legislature’s action as ‘subserviency to the ignorant demagogues of labor.’ Scornfully they will inquire: ‘Are our national policies to be dictated again by the voice from the sand-lot? Does another Dennis Kearney dominate the California Senate and Assembly?’”

The same paper ridicules the method of exaggeration followed by the *Chronicle* in the articles which are the basis of the pamphlet issued by the Exclusion League. It says editorially:

“*The Chronicle* will effect nothing for its cause by talking, when referring to the Japanese, of the ‘manners and customs of the slave pen.’ Such exaggeration hurts rather than helps, for we all know that the ordinary Jap is a neat, clean, personally pleasing little fellow.”

The *San Francisco Call* opposes the position of these agitators in two particulars—concerning the legal aspect and the undesirability of the Japanese as compared with immigrants from Europe.

Concerning the former, it says editorially:

“That language puts Japanese in this country upon an exact equality with immigrants from any other country, and bestows upon Americans in Japan a like quality. Instead of meaning that either nation may exclude the people of the other, while admitting the people of all other nations, it means that Japanese in the United States shall be upon a perfect equality with other foreigners under our laws, and that Americans in Japan shall enjoy the same equality there.

“When it was conceived that Chinese immigration was harmful to us we made several ineffective attempts at exclusion, which were voided by the courts. Finally the Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion written by Mr. Justice Field, pointed out that exclusion legislation must be based upon an amendment to the treaty. We sent a special embassy to China and secured the desired amendment, and exclusion legislation followed. If we want to exclude the Japanese we must take the same course. The Japanese government has already let it be known that it will not assent to any treatment of its subjects different from that given to the people of other nations. In other words, it adheres to the equality of treatment secured in the clause of the treaty above quoted. To advise that we proceed against Japan with that treaty in existence is to advise mischief.”

The Call is equally emphatic in its statement as to the desirability of Japanese immigrants as compared with those coming to us from Europe.

“The race question aside, we are receiving at the rate of 5,000 a day foreign immigrants that are no more desirable than the Japanese. When our Chinese population was at its highest figure its effect upon wages was imperceptible compared with what is sure to follow the coming of the millions of immigrants that are flocking here from Europe. So the effect of the few thousand Japanese that are here is inconsiderable compared to that produced by the Southern and Southeastern Europeans. If we put Japanese exclusion upon the wage question, and close the door to them while leaving it open to Europeans, we are stopping the spigot only and leaving the bung open. One needs only to visit the immigrant quarters in the large Eastern cities to discover that the Japanese and even the Chinese do not suffer in comparison with their fellow immigrants from Europe in any of the respects in which immigrants are to be studied in the light of their economic effect upon the country.”

POSITION OF THE LEADING EASTERN PAPERS.

Space will not permit extended extracts from many papers. One or two must suffice. The *New York Tribune* said, editorially, April 26:

“There have been few, if any, things more ill timed and less in harmony with the general spirit of the American people at present than the agitation against Japanese immigration. At a time when Japanese arms and statesmanship are commanding the admiration of the world these agitators are doing all in their power to make an enemy instead of a friend of the greatest Asiatic power, a power worthy of the best treatment accorded to a European nation, and one whose friendship and self-respect America in particular, which introduced Japan into the ways of modern thought and life, should of all nations thoroughly respect. Judging from the achievements of the Japanese, both in peace and in war, they would form a desirable element in America's material life—much more desirable, in fact, than many elements against which no special protest has been made.

“There can be no danger from a wave of Japanese immigration, such as has been feared and provided against in the case of China. As a result of the present war in the Far East, Japan will soon have an outlet for its energies and its surplus population in Corea, and possibly in Manchuria, which, in addition to the work it is carrying forward in Formosa, will abundantly provide for practically all the population it can spare for many years. The Japanese who have already made America their home fit in admirably with American customs and ways, and conform in dress and standards of living to American ideas, in which respects they differ radically from the Chinese, against whom America discriminates through the instinct of preservation of national ideals and characteristics.”

The *Philadelphia Press*, April 20, said editorially:

“San Francisco has never been an example of moderation to all men; therefore its recent outburst against the immigration of Japanese should not cause serious disturbance. Led by one of the papers of the city, a considerable sentiment has been awakened against the admission of Japanese to this country, and the State Legislature has even taken action in consonance with the agitation of this particular journal. So serious a local issue has the subject become that the Methodist Ministers' Meeting—they have religion with a spine out West—appointed a committee of three to investigate the subject.

“Their findings have recently reached the East. The paper is

a model of careful, thorough, clear-cut statement. The committee appreciated the gravity of the charges, to the effect that the Japanese in this country are an undesirable element of the population, and that in their own country they are inspired by sentiments of bitter hatred against Americans. The worst that was ever said against Chinese immigration has been repeated in San Francisco with added force and made to apply to the little brown men from Japan.

“The ministers take up these charges in detail. They show that the Japanese residents of California are clean in habit and character, quick to learn the best that America has to teach, conspicuously law-abiding and inclined to place the highest valuation upon their labor. The ministers adduce a mass of incontrovertible evidence to show that the charges of a certain newspaper correspondent concerning discrimination in Japan against Americans are wholly unfounded, as is also the charge that the Japanese Government is systematically planning to deluge America with cheap labor.

“All this would seem, to the average American, to go without saying. Its proof has been in all recent periodicals and literature. The defense entered by the ministers is timely, temperate and manly; but most worthy of praise is the spirited plea made for American sympathy in behalf of Japan at this time, when the nation is fighting for its life, and for those ideals which have their best exemplification beneath the Stars and Stripes.

“The demagoguery of certain Western papers was never more unwisely directed than in this instance, and it is altogether to the credit of the San Francisco preachers that they take up the cudgel so valiantly in behalf of a people who are commonly regarded as heathen—though in Japan it would be impossible for any nation to be treated in the fashion which the element complained of is treating the Japanese in San Francisco.”

So important is this document to a full understanding of the situation that, in place of the extract, I give the paper in full in another place and bespeak for it a careful reading.

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM.

The position of the *Chronicle* and the action of the Labor Organizations contemplate exclusion laws. The joint resolution of the State Legislature, on the other hand, requests action by the President and the State Department rather than by Congress. By entering into any such treaty the Japanese Government would declare before the world the inferiority of her people to

the masses of immigrants who are coming from Europe by the hundreds of thousands. It is only recently that Japan, after an awful struggle, succeeded in getting relief from a treaty which discriminated against her. I refer to that which limited the amount of import duty which she could collect and exempted foreigners residing in Japan from the action of the laws of that country. Then the exemption existed both in China and Japan, and it still exists in the former. Japan is to-day a member of the sisterhood of civilized nations and an ally of Great Britain. Those who suppose that she is going to forget the awful struggle and to step from this pedestal and take her place along with China, as she was twenty years ago, or even as she is to-day, have not yet awakened to the situation. And in writing thus I do not refer to Japan's great military and naval strength and to her power to enforce her rights. Some there are who fear and have given expression to their fears, but there is no "yellow peril" of this kind so long as we hold steadily to our best American traditions.

OPINION OF PRESIDENT HARRIMAN.

President E. H. Harriman of the Southern Pacific system said, on his return from the Orient, concerning his treatment in Japan and the Japanese being the dominant factor in eastern Asia:

"I was interviewed when last in San Francisco and either misquoted or misunderstood, and therefore request that you will publish this statement in the exact language in which I give it.

"Our visit to the Orient has been one not only of much pleasure to us all, but interesting and instructive. We were treated by all classes, especially in Japan, with the utmost courtesy and consideration.

"Japan is working out her own destiny. Her people are intelligent and active, the government is well organized and alive to the interests and working in close alliance with the people, and will continue developing the commercial welfare of the whole country.

"My opinion is that the Japanese are the dominant factor in the Orient and that there will be a large future development, though not immediate, and if the United States is to participate therein to any extent it will have to be by co-operation between its statesmen and those representing its business interests and by close commercial alliance with the Japanese."

VICE-PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

Schwerin, who accompanied Mr. Harriman, added that the anti-American boycott in China is still a very real danger, and said:

“It is smoldering now, but the sooner America realizes that the fire has not by any means been extinguished the better. This is the first and only time that the people of China were ever as one on a single issue. The feeling is intense, the movement popular. The Chinese government, able for the present to hold the boycott in check, would be helpless to control it unless the people are satisfied by this government that the privileged classes of Chinese travelers will be treated at our ports with the same courtesy extended to other foreigners. And it will take more than promises to satisfy the people of China. Something must be done, and soon, for it will take very little breeze to fan the smoldering embers into a blaze in which America’s hopes of trade with China will be very thoroughly cremated.”

THE REAL PROBLEM.

Unrestricted immigration of undesirable immigrants, from whatever country, is a national question and a pressing one.

The Commissioner General of Immigration in his report for last year presents the statistics in such a manner as to impress the casual reader with the fact that unrestricted immigration is a national problem. For every one that came from Asia there were twenty-nine from Europe. The Japanese numbered only one to ten compared with Russian immigrants, one to thirteen compared with Austrian, and one to fourteen compared with Italian. I present a few figures. There were 26,189 immigrants from Japan as compared with 767,933 from Europe. There were 500,000 from the three countries above named, and what sane man will assert that on the average these are more desirable than the immigrants from Asia? Japan furnished 14,264, a decrease of 5,704; China 4,309, double the number of the preceding year; and Korea 1,900. There were rejected as paupers, or likely to become so, 158 from Japan as against 1,396 from Southern Italy. Of the Russians, 119 only were professionals against 373 Japanese, and of the latter 44 were clergymen. Of immigrants over 45 years of age, there were only 380 Japanese as against 9,443 from Southern Italy. Of those debarred reported as relieved in hospitals, there were only four Japanese

as against 1698 from Southern Italy. The comparative size of the Japanese menace may be seen at a glance in the following:

COMPARATIVE SIZE OF THE JAPANESE MENACE.

Italian Immigrants, 193,296. 14 to 1.

Austrian Immigrants, 177,156. 13 to 1.

Russian Immigrants, 145,141. 10 to 1.

Japanese Immigrants, 14,264.

The proposed action to restrict the immigration of Japanese only is not calculated to accomplish its purpose when looked at from Japan's standpoint or from ours.

In this discussion we should be true to America's high ideals of justice and right, and, whatever the temporary embarrassment while the broader question is being considered and a satisfactory conclusion reached, our amicable relations with Japan must continue. Representative Drew, in the State Assembly, voiced the sentiments both of America and of Japan when he said: "Our relations with Japan are at present amicable, and it is our desire that they should so continue." The Japanese will suffer long before they will do anything to break these pleasant relations, but the Japanese government will not be a party to any treaty that even implies a discrimination against her people. I am glad to believe that neither will President Roosevelt nor the Congress of the United States.

REFUTATION OF CHARGES BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

Report of H. B. Johnson, Geo. B. Smith, and W. S. Matthew, a committee appointed to investigate the charges made against the Japanese in the United States and the Japanese Government by one of the leading papers of San Francisco in its campaign to secure the prohibition of the immigration of Japanese into this country, adopted unanimously by the Methodist Preachers' Meeting of San Francisco and vicinity.

"The contention of the long series of articles and editorials hitherto published, is that the Japanese in this country form an

undesirable element of our population, and that the Japanese in their own country are inspired by sentiments of bitter hatred against Americans. To prove the first, it is said that the Japanese work for starvation wages, are responsible for the increase of crime in California, that they intend at all costs to preserve their old standards of living, and are utterly hostile to our institutions and laws. There is not one of these charges which can be substantiated. There is no more law abiding class of immigrants on the Pacific Coast than the Japanese.

CRIME AND WAGES.

In their neatness and cleanliness, in their adaptability and desire to learn the best that we have to teach, in their freedom from crime and their desire to faithfully obey both in letter and spirit our laws, they are models whom we may well hold up for the imitation of many of the European immigrants who are flocking to this Coast. The prevalence of crime throughout the State, and the condition of San Francisco with its vile brothels, its open gambling, its infamous race tracks, and its more than 3000 saloons; these and many other things of which everybody knows, are not due to the presence of the Japanese among us.

The Japanese do not work for starvation wages, as every man who employs them knows. They sell their labor at the highest price. They do not, as a rule, underbid American labor. Where they compete with white labor at all, they do so in competition with Italians and Russians and other European immigrants who have no more right here than the Japanese, and whose labor is not one whit more valuable. "The American Workman" is a phrase which covers in the articles referred to a multitude of aliens, good, bad, and indifferent in character. The charge that Japanese exert an "unclean" influence on American women and children in our schools is baseless and absurd.

JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE FRIENDLY.

As to the second charge, that the Japanese are inspired by sentiments of hatred against the Americans, a returned correspondent, named James F. J. Archibald, is quoted as saying that all Americans have been dismissed from their positions as instructors in the schools, universities and military colleges in Japan, and that the Japanese Government has enacted laws which are in every sense of the word exclusion acts directed against American and German subjects, which legislation prohibits any foreigner from holding land, from entering into any business, from practicing any profession, and from teaching in any school or university. These statements are absolutely false.

There are scores of Americans, many of them Californians, now teaching in Japanese Government schools. Many foreign physicians with Government licenses are practicing medicine. In the matter of leasing and selling land, the Japanese Government is becoming steadily more liberal. For purposes of residence, travel, trade, and religious work, the country is thrown wide open.

To those who would learn how the Japanese feel toward Americans, we would recommend a reading of the extracts from Japanese papers in the March number of "Review of Reviews." To those who know the facts, this is not necessary. The Perry Monument at the entrance to the Bay of Tokyo, the Grant Monument at Nagasaki, and the recent great meeting in Tokyo to commemorate the signing of the first treaty with America, are the everlasting answer to the unjust critics of every nationality and every description who represent Japan as ungrateful or hostile to the American people. Were the Japanese people what the recent statements of the newspaper referred to would make them, we should not now be witnesses of the honor and righteousness manifested in all their diplomatic and other relations, and in their conduct of the present war, which have surprised the Western world.

We regard the charge against the Japanese Government of systematically planning to deluge us with cheap labor, as most unjust. On the contrary, it has exercised, and does exercise, a commendable supervision over the coming of its subjects to Pacific Coast ports. Only graduates of the Government Academies are permitted to leave Japan for Pacific Coast ports, and even they are obliged to certify that they do not come as laborers. The peasant laborers who are arriving on the Coast come by way of Honolulu, and most of them were in the Islands before Hawaii became an American possession.

AGITATION ILL-TIMED.

For the reasons above mentioned and because of the influence of the agitation in stirring up race prejudice on this Coast and in Japan, and because of its deterrent effect upon the highest American interests in the Orient, we do most emphatically protest against the publication referred to, and particularly at the moment when Japanese people are engaged in a life and death struggle with a great world power. We believe this agitation ill-timed, unwise, and unjust.

FAVOR RESTRICTION BUT NOT DISCRIMINATION.

The question of undesirable immigration, from whatever land,

is one that deserves careful consideration by the American people. We are strongly in favor of such restriction of immigration from Japan and every other country as will secure adequate protection for American labor. The danger at the Golden Gate is no greater than that which presses upon us at Castle Garden. America cannot afford to even appear to discriminate against a nation with which for over fifty years we have been on such friendly terms, and which, in the Providence of God, we have had so honorable a share in encouraging to take its stand in the great sisterhood of civilized nations.

AN ECONOMIC AND MORAL QUESTION.

Finally, we hold the course of the publications which have fomented this agitation, and the hurried and inconsiderate action of the State Legislature in harmony therewith, to be unworthy, un-American, and un-Christian. Americans, of all people in the world, should stand by a nation, whatsoever its color, which is struggling for a chance to live, and is fighting for the preservation and extension in the Orient of the civilization for which America stands. Let us act as Christians. We cannot believe that the American people will accept the dictum that the only morality to guide us in the decision of such a question as this is that of the savage at bay or the brute in trouble. We cannot for a moment accept the doctrine that in the struggle for existence ethical considerations have no place. Every economic question is fundamentally a moral question. Nothing can be economically right which is ethically wrong. Let us not forget our own history. Let us not be false to American traditions and American honor. Let us be faithful forever to the highest ideals and the noblest life."

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

A REVIEW OF THE
REAL SITUATION



BY HERBERT B. JOHNSON, D. D.

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION
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INTRODUCTION



The author of this little book, Rev. Herbert B. Johnson, is a wise, patriotic, and devoted American citizen. He has lived many years in Japan. He is thoroughly familiar with all phases of fact and opinion connected with the residence of Japanese people in California and of American people in Japan. He has endeavored in these pages to give a just account of certain recent occurrences in San Francisco which affect our relations with Japan.

I commend this book to those who are interested in having our country maintain a just, dignified, and peaceful attitude in its relations with other nations and with other peoples.

"Our country right or wrong," is a popular motto, attributed to Stephen Decatur. But the essence of true patriotism is to keep our country right, and to see that her word is as good as the bond of any other nation.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

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GEORGE WASHINGTON ON DISCRIMINATION



Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind a magnanimous and, too, novel example of a People always guarded by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it. Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that rooted antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.

—George Washington in his Farewell Address.

Discrimination Against Japanese in California



A National and an International Issue.

The message of President Roosevelt and the Report of Secretary Metcalf* which followed have given the Japanese Question in California special prominence, though it was the action of the Board of Education of San Francisco and the agitation underlying it which have made it a national and an international issue.

So many misleading statements have appeared in the daily press and so harmful are they in their effects that they should not be allowed to pass without refutation. This is impossible through the daily press of San Francisco.

The Object of This Pamphlet.

The object of this pamphlet is to give the gist of the question in all its bearings in as little space as possible; to embalm current literature upon the subject; to furnish proof of the real nature of the campaign, laying stress upon the fact that large and influential classes in California have no sympathy with the movement against the Japanese; and to point out the only satisfactory solution to the problem.

Twenty years of close contact with the Japanese in their own country and on the Pacific Coast, and a careful study of the California Problem, on the ground and at first hand, should enable the writer to shed valuable light upon the questions that have aroused the peoples of the two nations, if not of the world.

Embalming Current Literature.

A great deal of literature is available on the subject, some of which it seems well to "embalm" for future reference, as well as for present use. As will be seen by the following quotation, others also are engaged in embalming:

"We reproduce this to give our readers an idea of the intolerant attitude of some of our Eastern critics," says the San Francisco Chronicle of December 30, 1906, in commenting upon an editorial in the Journal of Commerce of New York, "and to embalm it so that it may be resurrected in the near future, when the whole country comes to the same conclusion we have reached." Unless all signs fail, this will not be soon.

*For text see Appendix.

CHAPTER I.

A Campaign of Extravagance and Misrepresentation**The Chronicle Fears that the East
May Learn the Real Situation.**

Just before Christmas, 1906, a so-called citizens' meeting in San Francisco, arranged and managed by the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League and the Labor Organizations affiliated with it, and addressed by Mayor Schmitz and others, was the occasion of fears which are well expressed in the Chronicle. The Mayor took occasion to refer to his unfortunate situation as an indicted man before a Judge whom he detests, and from whose jurisdiction he has, by various means, sought to escape. The object of the meeting was to condemn President Roosevelt for his attitude on the Japanese question in his Message to Congress. Most of the speeches were extravagant, but were confined to the question at issue. The Mayor's break and its result can best be described in the language of the Chronicle:

"In a speech the other evening to a meeting which he should never have been permitted to address, Mayor Schmitz lugged in an attempted defense of himself which was utterly out of place, and in the course of his remarks he said: 'I find myself against a bottled-up Judge.' A conditions of affairs under which an indicted criminal presumes to thus attack the Judge before whom he is to be tried, is outrageous. That he should assume that the audience whom he was addressing would patiently listen to such an attack on a Judge of the Superior Court, will tend to make the people of the East, whom we are trying to convince of the wisdom of the exclusion of all Asiatic coolies, more consistent than ever in their assertion that the opposition to Japanese immigration is promoted by 'the scum of the earth.' Some of the Eastern journals do not hesitate to say that, and worse, and that the same meeting which listened approvingly to resolutions favoring the exclusion of Asiatic coolies was made the occasion for an open attack on the judiciary will make it very hard to change their opinions. And however vigorously we here may protest and resolve, we cannot exclude Asiatic coolies until we convince the people of the East that it is desirable to do so."

Eastern Opinion Reflected.

The opinions of the Eastern Press, which are so much feared in the above editorial in the Chronicle, are well reflected in the editorial department of the Review of Reviews for January, 1907. The editor, in referring to the Japanese question, says:

"Secretary Metcalf's last piece of work before his transfer to the Navy Department was his investigation of the condition of the Japanese in California. President Roosevelt sent in Mr. Metcalf's report on December 18, accompanying it with a brief message of his own to Congress. As the facts have now come to be clearly known, it is not easy to find language strong enough to characterize fitly the absurd behavior of the school authorities of San Francisco.

They have allowed the merest trifle to assume such dimensions that it is now under serious discussion in every newspaper of every

civilized country of the entire world. The facts seem to be that about ninety Japanese were at one time attending San Francisco schools. Of these perhaps half* were young men above the age of sixteen who were trying to learn English and had to be taught with little children in the primary grades. The other half were bright, clean, well-behaved children against whom no possible complaint could be made. The San Francisco School Board could easily have adopted a simple age rule for primary classes which would have admitted the handful of small Japanese children and kept out the young men. Nobody would have objected to such an arrangement, and the famous international controversy would have been avoided. The result would have been about forty Japanese children scattered through the schools of a great city, with an average of not more than one to each large school building.

"But it is evident that the San Francisco school authorities intentionally voided the adoption of a common-sense rule regarding the age of children in primary classes, in order to seem to have a complaint against the Japanese and an excuse for shutting them out of the ordinary schools and assigning them to the so-called Oriental school, so placed in the burnt district that small children could not get to it. Now that the facts are known, there is only one state of mind that the country can as a whole properly adopt with respect to the San Francisco school authorities, and that is one of derision. Foolish and fanatical labor leaders had worked up a strong feeling in favor of the exclusion of the Japanese. And the School Board of San Francisco was too cowardly to act with ordinary common sense, and was guilty of conduct that seems scarcely short of imbecility. The solution of the question was perfectly simple. As a matter of course, the grown-up Japanese should not have been allowed for a moment to enter the grades with white children. Equally as a matter of course, the few scattered Japanese children should have been taken care of—as the teachers would have been glad to manage them—without the interference of a political school board governed by demagogues. The young men who wished to learn English could have gone to the Oriental school or could have been taught English in night classes. Happily, the great Japanese nation is now well aware of the friendly sentiments of the American people."

BITTERNESS TOWARD DEFENDERS OF FEDERAL POLICY.

Without exception, every man who has stood up publicly and defended the position of the Federal Authorities and of the Japanese has been the object of attack on the part of the city press. The situation is well revealed in an editorial in *The Pacific** of January 24, 1907. This paper says:

"Some of the newspaper attacks on President Jordan of Stanford, because of his position and utterances on the Japanese question, have been a disgrace to journalism. He has been called a liar, a hypocrite, a moral pervert, and epithet has been piled on epithet in the frenzy of the writers who seem entirely unaware that in so doing they injure themselves and their papers far more than they injure Dr. Jordan. Not many of the persons who have stood for what they regard the right, in this controversy, have escaped the venom of the persons who write with the same savagery with which men are clubbed and shot

*About one-third.—Editor.

to death by other elements of our society who cannot tolerate any opposition to their aims. Our daily papers, and some of the weeklies also, need to learn that what the public wants at this and all other times are facts and arguments, not abuse."

*The organ of the Congregational Church on the Pacific Coast.

Attack on President Jordan.

A sensational article appeared in the Call of January 22, 1907, headed "Anti-Japanese Order Issued by Jordan: Orientals Segregated in Stanford Dormitory and Quartered in Basement: Practice Belies Recent Preaching: Strict Rule Denies Right of Mongolians to Occupy Comfortable Apartments." The article says: "This has been a rule of the institution almost since the day it opened its doors. As Dr. Jordan has jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the dormitory, it is presumed that the law is of his own framing. At any rate, he enforces it to the letter. . . . In the basement—poorly ventilated, ill-furnished, and with floor of cement—the Japanese, Negro and Chinese students are quartered."

A few days after this appeared, the writer visited the Japanese Students' Club at Stanford, and not one present knew of such discrimination. Neither did several others with whom he spoke. The fact that the janitors occupy the quarters in the basement seems to be the only basis for this attack upon President Jordan.

President Wheeler of the University of California returned from the East about the time that the President's Message was made public, and immediately became the target at which the shafts of the papers were fired. Great interest was manifested as to who influenced the President, and President Wheeler was openly charged with underhandedness and advised to attend to his own business in the University.

The President and Secretary Metcalf.

Secretary Metcalf and President Roosevelt naturally came in for their share. In an editorial in The Chronicle, January 18, 1907, we read under the title "Secretary Metcalf Forgot His Duty to the Nation": "The Pasadena News says that the San Francisco critics have been unjust to Secretary Metcalf, 'who had a duty to perform not as a citizen of a state but as a representative of the nation.' San Franciscans find fault with Metcalf because of his desire to please the President caused him to neglect his duty to the nation by sending in an utterly misleading report, which represented a condition as existing here totally different from that which really does exist." In another place he is advised to seek political preferment from the President, as he need expect no further honors from California.

Equally bold have been the accusations of the President. Considerable space has been given to reports of the Exclusion League and Labor Organizations in their attacks upon the President, and the subject has also received due notice editorially. These are too insult-

ing to reproduce. Some of the editorial comments of The Chronicle will be noted.

LACK OF CONSIDERATION AND TACT: THE EXCLUSION LEAGUE.

President O. A. Tveitmoe of The Japanese and Corean Exclusion League, at a public meeting held in San Francisco while Mayor Schmitz and the Board of Education were en route to Washington, and after a request had been made from Washington to cease agitation in order to make possible diplomatic success, said, as reported in The Chronicle of February 4, 1907:

"You have no doubt noticed in the daily press some dispatches which might lead us to believe that this meeting should adjourn sine die at the command of President Roosevelt. The talk of war all over the world as a result of this school question was for a purpose. I do not believe that there is any possibility of war with Japan. But rumors of war have a perceptible effect upon the stock markets, you know. . . . President Roosevelt saw fit to heap insults upon the people of California, but he was not honest in his expressions. He has now summoned our School Board to Washington to try and induce them to yield the stand it has taken under the state law—to shake the big stick in its face. He wants us to stop the exclusion agitation. He would have exclusion by treaty, but exclusion by treaty never excludes. Roosevelt and Root may hedge and scheme and try to throw dust in the eyes of the people of the Pacific Coast, but we know what the Oriental invasion means."

Pressure in the Settlement.

After the Mayor's party arrived in Washington and it was reported in the Press that the Californians might yield, hundreds of telegrams were sent to the Capitol, it is said, exhorting the Mayor and School Board not to yield. One from President Tveitmoe of the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League will be of interest. Mayor Schmitz replied: "I am a Californian and trying to do my duty to my State. Cannot succeed if hampered by hostile press of San Francisco." The telegram of Mr. Tveitmoe is as follows:

"Hon. Eugene E. Schmitz, Washington, D. C.: Morning papers announce, in big headlines that 'Mayor Schmitz Deserts Labor for Japs—Mayor and School Board Make Complete Surrender.' We can not and will not believe it. Exclusion League endorses City Attorney's telegram of yesterday, and demands exclusion by act of Congress. Treaty will not exclude. Sovereign rights must not be bartered away for promises, and should not be basis for compromise. We will not yield one iota of our rights as a sovereign people, regardless of cost or consequence. If President wants to humiliate American flag, let him tell California's Governor and Legislature to repeal the law, but he cannot coerce free Californians to bow in submission to the will of the Mikado. Roosevelt's power will not make one white man out of all the Japs in the Nipponese Empire. California is the white man's country, and not the Caucasian graveyard."—The Call, February 11, 1907.

It is easily seen from the above that the exclusion leaders are

very determined and that they are bitter toward the defenders of the National Policy. More will appear under the chapters treating of the "Real Issues" and of the "Relation of Organized Labor to the Broader Question of Immigration."

Loss of Memory or Lack of Sensitiveness.

"Since it is formally announced that the President is endeavoring to satisfactorily adjust our relations with Japan," says The San Francisco Chronicle of February 1, 1907, editorially, "no patriotic American—and no Americans are more patriotic than those of California—will by word or deed knowingly make the situation more difficult. It must be remembered that, so far as the expressions of press or organized bodies in California are concerned, there has never been one word that we now recall of which the most sensitive people could complain."

The reader can draw his own conclusions, after completing this chapter, whether there has been a loss of memory or a lack of sensitiveness. For the edification of those who have not been permitted to see the daily papers of the Coast, during these months of excitement, we will give some brief quotations from The Chronicle and from other papers.

EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE CHRONICLE

What shall be said of the tolerance or temperance of a paper that asserts that the President is evidently insincere, and that he is detested by both The Chronicle and by Congress? The quotations follow:

The President Insincere and Detested.

"We care nothing whatever for Mr. Roosevelt, but we do desire at all times to speak with respect of the President of the United States. It is necessary, however, to say that the President has degraded his position by assertions which are untrue, assumptions which have no basis in fact, recommendations which can only excite ridicule, implied threats which he has no power to execute, all presented in a tone calculated to arouse national and international passion, and the worst of all is that he is evidently insincere."—Chronicle, Editorial, December 5, 1906.

"We have not the slightest ill-will to Congress, for we know that it detests the President as heartily as we do, and is as ready to snub him if he steps outside his authority on the Japanese question as it was in respect to his attempt to dictate the Government's official spelling."—The Chronicle, Editorial, January 17, 1907.

The Chronicle and Justice.

"If the case goes up, it will be interesting to see what view the Supreme Court takes. There is no Judge, however exalted, whose views of the law are not affected by his views of public policy, which in turn are affected by the prevailing sentiments of the day. The discussion inspired by the Federal assault on State control of its own schools is setting men to thinking. . . . We in California cannot pretend to have either a good or a strong government. It can do nothing with our great corporations, and we permit notorious criminals to

badger our courts of justice.”—Chronicle, Editorial, January 2, 1907.

“It is hard to conceive of the folly of those who stirred up this question in the first place. It is still harder to understand how any sane person could be so destitute of reason as to persist in pressing it. Even if a legal victory could be won, it would be a barren victory. No sensible Japanese parent would permit his child to enter one of our schools upon a court order. The only result of the unspeakable stupidity of our Federal authorities in this matter will be to stir up international hatred and make it difficult, if not impossible to, settle the matter in a reasonable way.”—Chronicle, Editorial, December 1, 1906.

This Paper Is the Leader in the Campaign Against the Japanese.

This is the paper that has been leading in the opposition to the Japanese upon the Coast. This extravagance has been recognized since The Chronicle began its campaign in the spring of 1905, with such glaring headlines as the following: Crime and Poverty go Hand in Hand with Asiatic Labor; Brown Men Are an Evil in the Public Schools; Japanese a Menace to American Women; Brown Asiatics Steal Brains of Whites; Big Immigration may be Japanese Policy, etc.

It is no wonder that so strong a paper as The Argonaut, in criticizing this method, should then say editorially: “The Chronicle will effect nothing for its cause by talking, when referring to the Japanese, of the ‘manners and customs of the slave pen.’ Such exaggeration hurts rather than helps, for we all know that the ordinary Jap is a neat, clean, personally pleasing little fellow.”

The Contention of The Chronicle.

The following quotation from an editorial of The Chronicle of November 30, 1906, is laughable in view of the violent language which it has so frequently used during the two years’ discussion of this whole question. Think of the editor sitting down and talking over, in a friendly way with representative Japanese, these matters with any hope of a satisfactory adjustment! The quotation reads:

“The objection of our people is simply to the establishment of Oriental forms of civilization in the United States. We particularly object to a Japanese invasion, because, as the Japanese are the most virile of Oriental peoples, their lodgment on our shores is by so much the more dangerous. We recognize that Asiatic peoples are entitled to maintain such forms of civilization and such a standard of life as they prefer in their own country, and to exclude, if they so desire, and as they certainly did once desire, the people of Western countries. So far as we are concerned they are quite welcome, as they have the right, under existing treaties to exclude all American manual workers from Japan. We claim the same right, and demand that it be exercised.

“We have more hopes of convincing the Japanese statesmen of the wisdom of keeping the races apart than of convincing Eastern manufacturers and fool sentimentalists. We should be delighted to sit down and talk it over in a friendly way with representative Japanese not concerned with ocean transportation nor with contracts for coolies.”

The question as to the establishment of Oriental forms of civilization in the United States will be considered in the next chapter, under the heading of Assimilation.

OTHER SAN FRANCISCO PAPERS.

Brief extracts from *The Argonaut*, *The Bulletin*, and *The Call* will be given, and in the following section it will be shown that the Pacific Coast is not solid, the papers in the Northwest and in Los Angeles refusing to join in the outcry against the Japanese, and the Christian press being decidedly opposed to the movement.

The Argonaut: Passive Resistance.

It must not be inferred from the above quotation from *The Argonaut* that it is in sympathy with the Japanese. It has been equally zealous in its opposition, but for the most part more sober. It has taken a strong position on the question of State Rights, but recognizes the strength of the East in the matter of restricting immigration. In an editorial, December 1, 1906, on California and the Japanese, this paper said:

"California has a law which makes it obligatory on her school board to provide separate schoolhouses for children of Indian, Chinese or Mongolian blood. That law still stands on the statute books. It is a duty of the school board to enforce it. They are enforcing it. They will continue to do so. That law, we beg to assure our Eastern friends, will be enforced until it has been set aside by the Supreme Court of the United States. . . . Some of the Eastern journals consider it odd that California and Californians should seem at this juncture so extremely placid. The reason that we in California are calm in the presence of this crisis is: First, because we know we are right; second, because we hope to convince our countrymen that we are right; third, that if we fail to so convince them, we will, whatever they do or say, do what we know to be right."

In a subsequent editorial, entitled "Passive Resistance," in reply to a criticism of *The Commercial Advertiser*, *The Argonaut* says:

"The statement means simply that in this public school question we in California will do what we know to be right. By that we mean that we will educate our own children in our own way. We will not permit adult males—whether white, yellow, black or brown—to be intimately associated with white girls of tender age in the schoolroom. We will not permit the Federal Government, the Japanese Government, Theodore Roosevelt, the Mikado, or anybody else to dictate to us in this regard."

It will be noted in the above that *The Argonaut* assumes that the State law is mandatory, that the only question is concerning adults, and that the segregation of Japanese students of all ages is the only solution. These questions will be taken up later.

The Bulletin: Adults in the Schools.

In the following quotation from *The Bulletin*, emphasis is placed upon the objection to adults in the schools, and the editor suggests

that the reference of the whole question to the courts would be welcomed. We read:

"Whatever may be the report of Secretary Metcalf, the stubborn fact remains that the citizens of San Francisco object to having Japanese men taught in the same classes with American children. They do not object to giving the Japanese all the educational advantages enjoyed by the San Francisco children, but as to the conditions under which this instruction is to be given, the California people claim the right to decide a local matter, even if it involves international issues. The President's desire to submit the matter to the Supreme Court for decision will not be obnoxious to the people of California, who feel that this whole affair is overemphasized. There may be some difficulty in enforcing the mandate of the Supreme Court."—Editorial, December 3, 1906.

The Call and the President.

In an editorial entitled "An Extraordinary and Unpleasant Situation," The Call of February 2, 1907, in referring to the President's request for two members of the San Francisco Board of Education to proceed to Washington for conference, says:

"Officially the President has not exposed the reasons behind his urgent request that San Francisco and California back down in the matter of the segregation of Japanese and white children in the public schools of this city. In the usual left-handed manner, known as semi-official, it is made to appear, however, that if the present request be not heeded Japan will be angered to the point of a resort to arms. . . . It is an extraordinary request, an extraordinary and unpleasant situation. The President's reasons for his urgency need to be strong reasons. President Roosevelt asks us to take a great deal on trust, and apparently he still misconceives the attitude of Californians on this matter. . . . California has no angry or malignant feeling in the matter. As citizens of the commonwealth, we neither like nor dislike the Japanese, but are irrevocably apposed to permitting them to come here in such numbers as to make this an Asiatic colony."

In Chapter V., under "The Broader Question of Immigration," this question will be taken up and discussed at length. As the statistics show, there is no ground for such a fear, and the reason for the agitation must be found elsewhere.

THE PACIFIC COAST NOT SOLID.

The attitude of certain Seattle, Tacoma, and Los Angeles papers is given in a review of the Pacific Coast Press in the Literary Digest of January 12, 1907, which says:

Seattle News.

"A canvass of the Pacific Coast Press, prompted by statements of The Seattle News to the effect that the majority of the thoughtful people of California are not in sympathy with the agitation of the demagogues of the cities against the Japanese, and that 'no part of the State of Washington or Oregon, which exceed in area and population the State of California, have any sympathy with the foolish agitation of the San Francisco people,' leaves us between the horns of a

dilemma. It seems that we must either believe that the thoughtful people of the Pacific Coast are not represented by the press of that section, or that The News is mistaken in its diagnosis of public opinion."

The Tacoma Daily News.

The Digest continues: "The Tacoma Daily News, it is true, protested that it has not shown sympathy with any demagogic agitation against the Japanese. But it adds that it is not convinced that the disturbance in California is due to demagogic agitation. The Pacific Coast, it asserts, will not close the doors to the Japanese nor drive them from the country. Nevertheless, we are assured it does and will refuse to set this people on any pedestal—a determination which no presidential order shall change."

Los Angeles Times.

Still quoting The Digest, "The Los Angeles Times also refuses to join the hue and cry against the Japanese, taking a rap instead at Mayor Schmitz. Alluding to the latter's declaration that he would, if necessary, lay down his life in battle against the Japanese, The Times remarks: 'It is a notable fact that his Honor has never laid down anything of value. His promise, however, would almost reconcile anyone to a war with Japan. His Honor has probably merely discovered some place in Japan that the extradition treaty doesn't cover, and is willing to go for that purpose.' It claims, moreover, that 'California could utilize the services of 100,000 Chinese and Japanese at the present time more easily than 10,000 twenty years ago.' And adds that we need the Japanese as workers, but not as voters.

In justice to The Literary Digest, the following should be added:

"In a canvass of fifty leading Coast papers, however, these three are the only ones we find expressing such views. Most of the Coast press display uncompromising antipathy against Japanese aggression and competition, against the President, and against Secretary Metcalf for his 'disloyal' report. The latter is admonished by one paper to 'stick by the President, who can give him a job, because he could get nothing from the people of his own State.'"

The editor of the above had doubtless not seen several other Coast papers. Extracts will be given from The Los Angeles Express, which places the responsibility for the agitation upon union labor; also from the Christian press.

Los Angeles Express Fixes Responsibility.

The following quotation from the Los Angeles Express is taken from The Pacific, January 3, 1907, the organ of the Congregational Churches on the Pacific Coast:

"The Los Angeles Express declares that nothing less than the hanging of Japanese by the toes would satisfy some of the anti-Japanese agitators in San Francisco. With a desire to ascertain the sentiment as to Japanese exclusion, the Secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles has sent out a letter to the members of the Association. The Secretary himself says: 'We believe the gist of all this agitation is to be found in the action of the labor union leaders at San Francisco, and that they are trying to involve the entire State in their own little controversy.' And the Secretary says further: 'If the Japanese labor were cut off from Southern California many interests would suffer.' In the days of the

Sand Lot agitation Denis Kearney ended every one of his speeches with the words, 'And whatever happens, the Chinese must go.' There are among us now persons who are saying practically, 'whatever happens, the Japanese must go.' No matter if local industries are greatly damaged, no matter if we do lose influence and trade in the Orient, no matter if we do transgress the laws of human brotherhood, 'the Japanese must go.' But fortunately California is only a small part of this great nation, and fortunately also only a small part of our population has this deadly hostility to the Japanese.

"We have had some interest recently in a glance backward to the days of Kearneyism in California. Bryce, in 'The American Commonwealth,' says concerning Denis Kearney, out on the sand lot: 'At first he had mostly vagabonds to listen to him, but one of the two great newspapers took him up. These two, The Chronicle and The Call, were in keen rivalry, and the former, seeing in this movement a chance of going ahead, filling its columns with sensational matter and increasing its sale among workmen, went in hot and strong for the Sand Lot party. One of its reporters has been credited with dressing up Kearney's speeches into something approaching literary form, for the orator was a half educated man, with ideas chiefly gathered from the daily press.' In one way and another Kearneyism became ere long quite an influence, and, says Bryce, 'The Call had now followed the lead of The Chronicle, trying to outbid it for the support of the workman.' We wondered when the representative of one of the leading daily papers of San Francisco called the other day, with the offer of various trinkets as an inducement to subscribe, to what length San Francisco dailies will go at this time when Japanese exclusion bids fair to become a burning question hereabouts. As a general thing nowadays daily papers do not try to mold public sentiment. They cater to it in that direction in which it is strongest. Daily papers are money-making concerns, or are meant to be such. They want circulation, and trim their sails accordingly."

The Coast Christian Press:

Another quotation from The Pacific will be found in Chapter III., under the general heading of "Defense by Influential Classes in California."

The California Christian Advocate.

The California Christian Advocate, the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Coast, has taken a strong position in several editorials, one of which will be quoted here (November 8, 1906):

"There has been for forty years a growing and intensifying agitation against the Chinese and Japanese dwellers upon the Pacific Coast. This agitation found but little support beyond the circle of the professional agitators of the Denis Kearney and sand-lot variety. It becomes active just before elections, and usually quiets down in the intervals. It is well known on the Coast that the Japanese who come to America come for an education. They are students. They work as domestics, or in the fields picking fruit; but they are nearly all eager to acquire an English education. These agitators, all of them foreigners, led by a foreigner, have from time to time been before the school boards seeking to exclude the Japanese from the public schools.

The race-hating agitator is a sheer demagogue. The politicians are afraid of him, and yield to his clamor, fearing that his appeal to prejudice will control the balance of power and defeat his candidacy

and his party. This anti-Asiatic agitation has been for forty years an absolute despot on the Pacific Coast. We do not belong to that company who predict international conflict. The sensible nine-tenths of the people on the Pacific Coast believe in according the Japanese and Chinese their full rights under the treaty under which they are admitted to the country."

Opposing the idea of discrimination, and calling attention to the fact that the agitation largely centers in the influence of foreigners, The Advocate expresses the hope that Federal interference will put the whole matter on a proper basis. The language is as follows:

"There is need of exclusion in case of Chinese and Japanese, but that exclusion should apply to all nationalities alike, and in accord with the national treaty existing between these nations and our own. The Japanese and the Chinese have the same right to exclude the Swedes and Norwegians and Italians from the public schools as these foreigners have to exclude the Chinese and Japanese. It has come to a ridiculous pass when a dozen foreign agitators can intimidate a foreign school board and exclude the children of a foreign people from the public schools, taught by foreigners, and thereby provoke a foreign nation to an attitude of hostility. It is about time Uncle Sam should take a hand. We devoutly hope that this Federal interference will put the whole matter on a different basis."

FOREIGNERS AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

In illustration of the above assertion, if proof is necessary, that this is largely a campaign of foreigners against foreigners, the following resolutions are reprinted from The Chronicle of December 20, 1906:

"Whereas, By resolution, dated October 11, 1906, the Board of Education of this City and County, acting under the authority of Section 1662 of the Political Code of the State of California, established the Oriental school for the instruction of Chinese and Japanese, and directed principals to transfer forthwith such Japanese as were enrolled in their respective schools to the Oriental school, be it

"Resolved, That the German-American League of California, in regular meeting assembled, cordially endorse the sentiments and action of the said Board of Education, believing that the welfare and wishes of the people of the commonwealth are alike served by this procedure;

"Resolved, That copies of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the German-American Alliance of the United States, the Board of Education, the press, and to the President of the United States."

CHAPTER II.

Charges Refuted

Among the statements constantly recurring in the press are several which seem very plausible to those who have not carefully investigated the matter, to the effect that the School Board was compelled to exclude the Japanese under the State law; that the Japanese pupils were segregated because of their being adults, and because their influence is bad upon white children; that equal rights are given

them in the education provided for them in the separate school; that we cannot assimilate the Japanese, and that Americans are discriminated against in Japan. These statements will be considered in the present chapter sufficiently in full to indicate that they are not well founded, though our space will not permit an exhaustive treatment.

STATE LAW MANDATORY.

The school law of California, 1903, Page 37, Article 10, "Primary and Grammar Schools," Section 1662, says:

"Trustees shall have the power to exclude all children of filthy or vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children, and for the children of Mongolian or Chinese descent. When such separate schools are established, Indian, Chinese or Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other schools."

It is generally admitted that so far as the organization of the school is concerned, the language is permissive rather than mandatory. After such separate school is established, children of the parentage indicated must not be admitted into other schools.

Three facts are of interest in this discussion: The law as originally made is about thirty years old, and when made there were few, if any, Japanese in the country; until the resolution of the Board of Education, October 11, 1906, the law was interpreted as applying to the Chinese, the Japanese being permitted in the public schools; and authorities are divided as to whether the Japanese can properly be classed as Mongolians. Before this order was finally made by the Board of Education, that body was warned by the writer and by others that the matter, if carried out, would be contested. However, as the Japanese were to be put upon the defensive, the course seemed an easy one to the Board of Education. The tables are now turned, and the Board of Education is on the defensive.

The Chronicle Gracefully Surrenders.

The Chronicle, which has led in this fight against the Japanese, now finds itself in a dilemma. In an editorial, January 19, 1907, this paper says:

"We do not think it can be proved that the Japanese are Mongolians. The origin of the Japanese is not known even to themselves. As the burden of proof of origin, so far as we rely on the State law, apparently rests on us, we should fortify ourselves by a new law covering by name, and geographical expressions, all the races of Asiatic origin. We certainly cannot prove the Japanese to be Mongolians, and the authority for the segregation of the Japanese pupils must rest on the discretion of our Board of Education."

Proposed New State Law.

As a further proof that there was no authority for the action of the Board of Education, not to speak of their action being mandatory, on January 21, 1907, the State Senate introduced the following amend-

ment, which later was reported from the committee with recommendation to pass:

"Section 1. Section 1662 of the Political Code of the State of California is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Section 1662. Every school, unless otherwise provided by law, must be open for the admission of all children between 6 and 21 years of age, residing in the district, and the Board of School Trustees, or City Board of Education, have power to admit adults and children not residing in the district, whenever good reasons exist therefor. Trustees shall have the power to exclude children of filthy or vicious habits or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children, Chinese children, Malay children, Corean children, Japanese children, and all children of the Mongolian race.

"When such separate schools are established, Indian children, Chinese children, Malay children, Corean children, Japanese children, and all Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other school; provided, that in cities and towns in which the kindergarten has been adopted or may hereafter be adopted as a part of the public primary school, children may be admitted to such kindergarten classes at the age of four years; and provided further, that in cities or school districts in which separate classes have not been or may hereafter be established, for the instruction of the deaf, children may be admitted to such classes at the age of three years.

"This act shall take effect immediately upon its passage."

After the Japanese were segregated, under the law which provides that Mongolians may be excluded, and after both *The Chronicle* and the State Senate have admitted that it cannot be proven that the Japanese are Mongolians, *The Chronicle* says editorially, January 29, 1907: "It shows a bad animus that the Federal Government should have raised the technical question of whether the Japanese are, or are not, Mongolians. *The Chronicle* has already expressed the belief that it would not be possible for the State to affirmatively prove that as an ethnological proposition." Under these circumstances it certainly seems absurd for the Board of Education to continue its assumption that it was compelled, under the State law, to segregate the Japanese.

SEGREGATED BECAUSE ADULTS AND BECAUSE INFLUENCE BAD.

One would suppose, from constantly recurring statements in the papers, that all of the Japanese students in the public schools were adults. In an editorial, *The Call* of December 6, 1906, says:

"All this outburst of august and Jovian wrath takes its rise in the fact that San Francisco, proceeding under the State law, has segregated Asiatic students in special schools because it is deemed inexpedient that adults should associate with little children in the intimate relations of school life."

The illustrations in the papers, from day to day, have laid emphasis upon the fact that there was a great disparity in ages, one showing little white girls walking to school with Japanese young men, another picturing Japanese young men sitting in the same seats with small

American girls, etc. All of this has been for effect.

In a letter from the Pacific Coast appearing in a Boston paper, in December, we read:

"The children are frequently young men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, who are brought into close association with little girls in the grammar grades. I have learned by personal conference with teachers themselves of the unseemly conduct of these young men of Japan toward the little girls, and even toward the young ladies who are teaching in the grammar grades. In one school it was found that of the ninety-three Japanese in attendance, two were over twenty years of age, four were nineteen, six were eighteen, twelve were seventeen, nine were sixteen, and ten were fifteen."

In Chapter III., under "Defense by Influential Classes in California," the testimony of educators, Christian bodies, etc., is presented in full. A strong challenge, printed in a leading daily paper, and testimonials from school men in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles are given to which the reader is respectfully directed. The questions of number and adults will here be considered.

Important Facts and Figures.

Secretary Metcalf secured a list of pupils attending the schools, giving the name of each pupil, name of school, age of pupil, grade, place of birth, and sex, which will be found in his report to the President in the Appendix. In brief, the figures are as follows,—There were ninety-three Japanese children attending twenty-three different schools, not one school, as per above quotation. There was a total of sixty-eight, twenty-five of whom were born in this country. There were sixty-five boys and twenty-eight girls. Seven were seven years of age or under, nine eight, three nine, seven ten, five eleven, eight twelve, seven thirteen, four fourteen, ten fifteen, nine sixteen, twelve seventeen, six eighteen, four nineteen, and two twenty. Nearly all of the so-called adults were in the upper grades. Of the five in the first grade, all were eight and under, except one who was eleven; of the ten in the second grade, none was above twelve; of the eleven in the third grade only two were above twelve, one being fifteen and one sixteen; of the seventeen in the fourth grade only five were thirteen; and of the ten in the fifth grade only three were above fourteen. Most of the adults were in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, though here also there were several Japanese children who averaged in ages with American children.

A Strong Challenge.

Colonel John P. Irish, a former San Francisco editor, a politician of great influence, and at present Naval Officer at San Francisco, presented a strong challenge in The Oakland Tribune of January 20, 1907, which was not answered, and a part of which I quote:

"I state as a fact that no teacher nor school principal ever protested against the Japanese pupils in the San Francisco schools. I state as a fact that no oral or written protest was ever made against

the Japanese pupils by the parents of white pupils in those schools. I state as a fact that no Japanese pupil in those schools was ever under the slightest suspicion of immoral or disorderly conduct. I state as a fact that the Japanese pupils were obedient to discipline, studious, honest and unobtrusive. I state as a fact that they were exceptionally cleanly in their habits and neat in their dress. I state as a fact that they were frequently an aid to their teachers in creating by their good example a proper moral atmosphere in the school-rooms. I state as a fact that they did not crowd white children out of the schools. The policy of isolating them is the policy of the present municipal government of San Francisco, endorsed by the head of that government in a public speech. It was entered upon without popular demand or suggestion. It affects the international policy of the United States, and is an attempt to formulate that policy, not by the government of the United States, but by the government of San Francisco."

A Remedy Previously Suggested.

The above is not only the opinion of a man who has been very prominent on the Coast for many years, but is endorsed by many influential men whose testimonies are found in a subsequent chapter. That the Board of Education was prompted, not by a congestion in the schools but by other motives, is seen in the following resolution of the Board of Education passed May 6, 1905, immediately after the Methodist Preachers' Meeting had sent a protest against discrimination. The action of the Preachers' Meeting called attention to the fact that there was no immediate need of the action proposed, as the Japanese had already taken steps to remove their young men from the grades. They suggested as a remedy the establishment of a separate school for backward children of whatever nationality, and heartily protested against discrimination. The resolution in reply is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Board of Education is determined in its efforts to effect the establishment of separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, not only for the purpose of relieving the congestion at present prevailing in our schools, but also for the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with pupils of the Mongolian race."

THE CLAIM OF EQUAL PRIVILEGES

The article from the Pacific Coast in a Boston paper, quoted above, reiterates what has frequently been claimed—that the privileges afforded in the Oriental school are equal. The writer says: "The educational facilities provided for Japanese and Chinese in San Francisco have been in every respect equal to those offered white children, and the charge of exclusion is therefore false and misleading."

A Remarkable Letter.

To bolster up this theory, a letter of a fourteen year old Japanese boy was published in *The Chronicle* of December 15, 1906. It is a

very remarkable letter, and indicates that Japanese boys are specially bright, or that he was coached by someone interested in maintaining the theory indicated. The letter is addressed to Theodore Roosevelt, President, and is signed by Frank Kobayashi, the only Japanese student in attendance at the new Oriental school. It is of so much interest that it is here reproduced in full:

"Oriental Public School, San Francisco, Dec. 10, 1906.—Sir: As I think it quite interesting, I would like to tell you my opinion about the Oriental Public School which was built for the Oriental children here. I was a member of the Hamilton Grammar School until October 15, but, complying with the order of the Board of Education, I was transferred to this school, where I am now attending the eighth grade, skipping one whole year, and am going to the high school at the beginning of the next term. I am the only Japanese pupil who came to this school, and am enjoying my lessons very much. I have been educated among American children and am unable to understand why other Japanese do not come here. It is as good as any other public school in San Francisco. The teachers give the same instruction under the rules of the Board of Education.

"The Japanese seem dissatisfied with this school without knowing its worth. Of course, I myself did not know what kind of a school it was, but after attending a few days I knew that this was the best school for Oriental children, especially for Japanese who do not understand very much English or are over the limit of the school age. There are several reasons why I say this is the best school for them when I think I am the only Japanese in San Francisco who comes to the Oriental school. In the few months since I came here I have received fifty per cent more knowledge than I had when I entered. I can declare this to the public. I am a pupil of the graduating class and have knowledge enough to say this. I am very thankful to Mrs. Newhall and Mrs. Greer, the principal and teacher of the Oriental school, who have taught me so kindly and patiently.

"Yours very truly,

Frank Kobayashi.

"Theodore Roosevelt, President."

Discrimination and Practical Exclusion.

It is not simply a question of instruction, which may be as good or even better in the new Oriental school as in the ordinary public schools. It is a question of discrimination. The Oriental school is located in the old Chinatown district, in the heart of the burned district, far removed from the principal center of Japanese population and miles from the remote sections where many Japanese live. Unlike the Chinese, who herd together in one quarter, the Japanese for the most part, in all of our cities and towns in the West, are quite widely scattered. Concerning this question of inaccessibility, Secretary Metcalf, in his report, says:

"An examination of the map attached hereto will at once clearly show that it will be absolutely impossible for children residing in the remote sections of the city to attend the Oriental school. The conditions in San Francisco are such, owing to the great conflagration, that it would not be possible even for grown children living at remote distances to attend this school. If the action of the Board stands,

and if no schools are provided in addition to the one mentioned, it seems that a number of Japanese children will be prevented from attending the public schools, and will have to resort to private instruction."

It will thus been seen that the action of the Board of Education in compelling the Japanese children who have been attending twenty-three different schools, in widely scattered sections of the city, to assemble in one school is practically prohibitive, as many of them are of tender years.

The School Board recognized the injustice of its action in a letter to Hon. K. Uyeno, Consul for Japan, in reply to his protest against the order for discrimination. The letter, in part, is as follows:

"As almost the entire Japanese quarter is in a locality easy of access to this Oriental school, and is situated practically the same as the other schools in the city where children are required to walk several blocks, ofttimes in the burned district, it was thought that no hardships whatever would be placed on any Japanese student. Since making the order alluded to, the Board of Education has ascertained that there are some fifty very small children that would be affected thereby, and the Board has under advisement a plan to accommodate these tots at a school much nearer their place of abode than the Oriental school."—The Call, October 23, 1906.

THE BUGABOO OF NON-ASSIMILATION.

No statement is more frequently made by those who are striving for a restriction of Asiatic immigration than that it is impossible to assimilate the Asiatics, and no distinction is made between the Chinese and the Japanese. The Call of December 6, 1906, says editorially: "The National body politic can assimilate the European of whatever grade, but never the Asiatic. They are aliens always, no matter what their civil status. The proposition to naturalize them is preposterous." This extract is fairly representative of the Coast press.

Intermarriage and Assimilation.

In reply, several things are to be noted. First, it is assumed that intermarriage is essential to assimilation. But is it not strange that these enthusiastic defenders of our Anglo-Saxon civilization, who are so loud in their assertions that we can assimilate the European, have never thought that we do not assimilate the Hebrew by intermarriage? In a later chapter, when Immigration is under consideration, reference will be made to the enormous increase of Jews in this country, especially from Russia, during the last few years. The papers on the Pacific Coast, as is seen from the following quotation, are not troubling themselves about immigration from Europe. The Chronicle says, in an editorial entitled "Japanese and Others," April 15, 1905:

"Another reason why we confine ourselves to the Japanese question is that The Chronicle is published in San Francisco and not in New York. We are doubtless getting some very undesirable people from Southern Europe, but comparatively few of that class reach

California. The class that fills the Eastern sweatshops land in New York, and nine-tenths of them remain in Eastern cities. That is particularly a problem for the East to take up, while Japanese immigration for the present is a question for the Pacific Coast. We doubt whether they will consent to the exclusion of Europeans, and so in the exercise of our sound common sense we are asking for what we think we can get."

Japanese Versus Chinese.

Again, the Japanese differ greatly from the Chinese. In Chapter V., in the discussion of the Broader Question of Immigration, reference will be made to the agitation against that people, which finally resulted in the passage of an exclusion act. While there was much ground for the various criticisms, it is clear that there was much unjust treatment. From the beginning of that agitation until the present time, it has been urged that the Asiatic immigrant preserves his old standard of living and herds with his mates. Visitors to the various Chinatowns on this Coast have seen much to confirm them in this opinion. While in all Chinese settlements there will be found some Japanese, it is not true that the Japanese herd together. See the discussion referred to.

The Japanese Scattered: Our Customs Adopted.

The fact brought out in Secretary Metcalf's report that Japanese were scattered all over the City of San Francisco, their children attending twenty-three different schools, should be sufficient proof of this fact. Unlike the Chinaman, the Japanese adopts our clothing and, so far as possible, our methods of living. They do not herd together nearly so much as do the great mass of immigrants that come to us from Europe. As is well known in the great cities of the East, and of the West as well, there are quarters set apart for the various nationalities. The Japanese live in various parts of our cities and towns, unless restricted by city or town ordinance, as in one or two cases, dress in American style, live in American homes, use American furniture, and very largely adopt our food and methods of serving it. Soon after the beginning of the agitation against the Japanese, nearly two years ago, the Methodist Preachers' Meeting of San Francisco, through a strong committee, made a careful investigation and published an exhaustive report. In this it is said concerning the Japanese who live on the Pacific Coast:

"In their neatness and cleanliness, in their adaptability and desire to learn the best that we have to teach, in their freedom from crime and their desire to faithfully obey both in letter and spirit our laws, they are models whom we may well hold up for the imitation of many of the European immigrants who are flocking to this Coast."

Conversion From Thorough Inspection.

After the great earthquake and fire in San Francisco, when the Japanese, in common with others, were seeking new locations, some of them rented vacated homes in the Western Addition, not being so

terrified with earthquakes as the people who had moved out. Soon after, an agitation was started against them, and an effort made on the part of the leaders of this general campaign to prevent them securing leases of houses. Public meetings were held and fiery speeches made. Among others, a Protestant preacher was reported in the newspapers as saying that the landlords who would rent to the Japanese ought to be treated with a coat of tar and feathers. The writer called upon him and asked him his objections. After a conversation of an hour it was agreed that they should visit the various parts of said Japanese district at once, without notifying anybody of their intentions, in order that things might be found in normal condition. The preacher was asked to select the places to be visited. We went to a hotel in which it had been reported that upwards of seventy were nightly accommodated, and found the rooms nicely furnished, the beds all in order, and everything neat and clean. There were no more beds in the house than would ordinarily be found in an American house of similar size. At his request we visited the Buddhist Mission, private residences and various places of business, including several fruit stores. These latter were found especially neat. At his request we visited the narrowest streets and lanes in the quarter, and he was greatly surprised not to find the odors that had been described. I reminded him that we were neither in Chinatown nor in the quarters of certain immigrants from Europe, but in the Japanese section. He expressed his great surprise, and gladly opened his church afterward, several times, for large Japanese gatherings.

When he was in San Francisco, Secretary Metcalf visited this same section, and took occasion to speak in the highest terms of what he saw. The so-called Japanese quarter of San Francisco will compare very favorably with most parts of the city, and is decidedly superior to many parts occupied by immigrants from Europe.

Japanese Assimilate Our Civilization: The President's Message.

The fact that Japan has made such marvelous progress in the last few years, and taken on our civilization to such an extent, should be a strong proof of the adaptability of the Japanese to take on the best that we have to give them. If in their own land, under circumstances not altogether favorable, they can assimilate our civilization, we certainly in our own country can assimilate the few thousands that come here.

In his Message to Congress President Roosevelt took occasion in one paragraph to outline the marvelous changes that have taken place there, and his terse statement is universally endorsed by all who know the facts. I quote the paragraph:

"But fifty years ago Japan's development was still that of the Middle Ages. During that fifty years the progress of the country in every walk of life has been a marvel to mankind, and she now stands

as one of the greatest of civilized nations; great in the arts of war and in the arts of peace; great in military, in industrial, in artistic development and achievement. Japanese soldiers and sailors have shown themselves equal in combat to any of whom history makes note. She has produced Generals and mighty Admirals; her fighting men, afloat and ashore, show all the heroic courage, the unquestioning, unfaltering loyalty, the splendid indifference to hardship and death, which marked the Loyal Ronins; and they show also that they possess the highest ideal of patriotism. Japanese artists of every kind see their products eagerly sought for in all lands. The industrial and commercial development of Japan has been phenomenal; greater than that of any other country during the same period. At the same time the advance in science and philosophy is no less marked. The admirable management of the Japanese Red Cross during the late war, the efficiency and humanity of the Japanese officials, nurses and doctors, won the respectful admiration of all acquainted with the facts. Through the Red Cross the Japanese people sent over \$100,000 to the sufferers of San Francisco, and the gift was accepted with gratitude by our people. The courtesy of the Japanese, nationally and individually, has become proverbial. To no other country has there been such an increasing number of visitors from this land as to Japan. In return, Japanese have come here in great numbers. They are welcome, socially and intellectually, in all our colleges and institutions of higher learning, in all our professional and social bodies. The Japanese have won in a single generation the right to stand abreast of the foremost and most enlightened people of Europe and America; they have won on their own merits and by their own exertions the right to treatment on a basis of full and frank equality."

Christian Civilization and the Japanese.

It is generally admitted that the Christian religion, through the faithful efforts of Protestant missionaries, has been a prime factor in bringing about the notable changes outlined above. Many there are who boldly assert that Japan is already Christian in Spirit. It is also true that those who come to us from Japan come with sympathy toward and interest in the generally recognized basis of our Christian civilization.

To be sure, there are peasant classes in Japan, and there are those in middle life today who have not been greatly influenced by the modern school system in Japan. Some of these have been finding their way to our shores through Hawaii, and are to be found on the railways, in the orchards, on the ranches, and in the sugar beet fields.

Various Classes Among Us.

A large portion of those who serve as servants in our homes represent the student class, and are here primarily to secure an education. They serve us for the double object of learning our ways and of securing money to complete their studies in our schools. That there are in our larger cities undesirable Japanese, both men and women, no one would attempt to deny. But that they are here in greater numbers, or that their influence is worse, than many peoples who come from Europe, no sane person would attempt to assert. There are many instances of Japanese of the so-called lower classes

among us having become progressive and prosperous, and many of them are active and influential Christian workers. Those who claim that we cannot assimilate the Japanese who come to us are either prejudiced against them or have not carefully investigated all the conditions.

Japanese Women.

Under this question of assimilation, two other phases need to be noticed,—Japanese women and Japanese patriotism. Some are so unfortunate as to form their opinions of Japanese women from the tales of travelers concerning the social evils in Japan, or from what they have seen or heard of the Japanese whom unscrupulous Americans and Chinese of the baser sort have induced to come here for gain. When the complete history of this dreadful iniquity is written, it will be found that scores of innocent women and girls have been victimized. The female population among the Japanese residents in the cities of the Coast and in other places is increasing, and Japanese women by the hundreds may now be met who in every way are worthy to associate with our most intelligent and cultivated American women.

The Japanese and Patriotism.

Because our laws do not permit the naturalization of the Japanese people resident in the United States, it is assumed by some that they are not interested in things American, and that their patriotism is confined to Japan. Nothing could be further from the truth. Patriotism is more than noise and show on a great national holiday. It is more than going to the front in time of war. Patriotism is an intelligent interest in the institutions of the country, and willing and glad obedience to its laws. Patriotism is unselfish devotion to the welfare of one's country. That the Japanese are patriotic in the highest sense is gladly admitted by all who know them. Those who know them best freely testify that their patriotism is not confined to their own country, but extends to the one in which they reside, even though denied the privilege of citizenship. In the Autumn of 1905, the present writer delivered an address at the National Immigration Congress, in New York City, in which he said that the Japanese, if allowed to become citizens of this land, would fight as loyally for the flag as they had been fighting in the East under the Japanese flag, and the statement was received with tremendous applause. This address will be reproduced in the latter part of this pamphlet as a part of the discussion of the Immigration question.

JAPANESE TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS.

A very significant statement appeared in The New York Herald on the 30th of December, 1906, which has been very widely quoted in California. Concerning this The Chronicle says editorially, in its issue of January 7, 1907:

"The New York Herald of December 30th printed a letter from an American citizen doing business in Japan, in which he mentioned some of the drawbacks experienced by himself and other foreigners in that country. Among other things, he stated Americans are not allowed to own real property in Japan; they are only privileged to buy a certain class of securities; they cannot hold Japanese on certain sorts of mortgages; they are not allowed to attend Japanese schools, old or young; they are only permitted to reside in certain sections set aside for them; they are not permitted to sail in a private pleasure boat; they cannot leave a treaty port without a permit, and it is next to impossible to obtain one; they cannot enter any port of Japan (except the regular open ports) from the water front; at the theaters they are charged more than double what the Japanese pay for the same accommodations, and hotel charges are on a similar basis; they cannot obtain justice in the lower courts, every case in which a foreigner is involved must be carried up before justice is given; they pay double the rate of taxes paid by Japanese. The Chronicle knows that most of these assertions are true; they probably are all true."

It is impossible to understand how a great paper like The New York Herald, which is generally careful, should allow itself to be imposed upon in this way. A greater number of outright falsehoods is seldom seen anywhere in equal space. We are not dependent upon the above summary, but have the full text before us. It is significant that this so-called business man is nameless. He asserts there would be more letters of a similar nature sent from Japan to the United States if it were not for the constant espionage which foreigners resident in Japan have to endure.

Revenge of War Correspondents.

This identifies this writer with the campaign of certain war correspondents who for very wise reasons were held up in Japan and not permitted all the privileges at the front which they desired when they left this country. A book has recently appeared by one of these correspondents, in which an effort is made to correct what he claims to be false impressions concerning Japan and the Japanese. It is clear, in the language of the streets, that he "has it in" for Japan. And he is not the only one. It is well known that at the present time a systematic effort is being made to alienate the sympathy of the American people, which has hitherto been with the Japanese.

Absurdity of Charges.

These charges of this so-called resident in Japan are absurd on their face. Some of them contain partial truth, and some of them were true years before the treaties were revised. Almost without exception in their present form, and at the present time, they are absolutely false. Americans can and do own real property in Japan, but not as individuals. The thing required is that ownership shall come under the law of corporations, and that they shall not have foreign connections. For example, the Japanese have been wise enough to prevent the necessity of suing for insurance in the courts of Germany, as has recently been necessary by losers in the recent San Francisco fire. Property which was formerly held in trust by

Japanese, for various Foreign Missionary Societies, is now held by foreign missionaries residing in Japan who have incorporated themselves according to Japanese law. The ownership is real. So far as the individual is concerned, an unlimited lease is possible and actual, which for all practical purposes is real ownership.

Japanese Schools and Foreigners .

The Japanese schools are open to foreign children. My own children were offered the privileges of Japanese schools, and some Americans of my acquaintance have availed themselves of this privilege. The reason why Americans and English people do not send their children to the Japanese schools is that the basis of the work is in the Chinese character and the Japanese colloquial. Two Stanford graduates, Messrs. D. B. Spooner and J. F. Abbott, are now studying in the Imperial University, Tokyo. Thousands of Chinese students are attending school in Japan today, and those who are qualified to enter the courses in the Japanese schools are permitted to do so, separate schools being provided for those finding it necessary to study elsewhere. That foreigners living in Japan are not prejudiced against the Japanese schools because of the associations is clear from the fact that the children of Americans and other residents in Japan frequently and quite habitually play with Japanese children.

Freedom of Residence and Travel.

The assertion that Americans are permitted to reside only in certain sections set aside for them, is decidedly out of date. Even before the treaties were revised, which years ago opened the entire country to residence, Americans and other foreign residents were permitted not only to occupy homes outside of the foreign concessions, but in various parts of the interior. It was my privilege to live for several years in an interior city and in a Japanese house.

One needs only to go to Japan to see hundreds of private sailing boats flying American flags and occupied by American people. The statements concerning leaving treaty ports without a permit, and not entering any except the regular ports from the water front is absurd. Thousands of travelers who have visited Japan in recent years can testify that they are free to go where they wish.

Overcharging in Japan.

As to double charges in theaters and hotels and in tax rates, reputable residents in Japan by the score and hundred will gladly testify that it is pure nonsense. Strangers in Japan, as in America and in other countries, are not infrequently overcharged because of their ignorance. My business required extensive travel in various parts of Japan, and where I was willing to put up with accommodations furnished to Japanese I paid the same prices. Because foreigners generally require more service and do not give the customary tips for tea money in the hotels, the custom has grown up of making a distinction in certain parts of Japan.

If space permitted, it would be possible to take up each one of these statements in detail and show its falsity. As indicated above, some of them contain partial truth, and some of them were true years ago, before the treaties were revised. But almost without exception at the present time and in their present form they are absolutely false.

CHAPTER III.

Defense by Influential Classes in California

An effort has been made to make it appear that the entire Pacific Coast is at one on this Japanese question, including the segregation of pupils from the public schools and the restriction of immigration of the laboring classes. In the present chapter it will be shown that large and influential classes are entirely out of sympathy with this continued agitation. The testimony of prominent educators, including principals and superintendents of schools, or both, of San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles, is given, commending Japanese pupils most highly; also the opinion of President Jordan of Stanford University and of Governor Carter of Hawaii. Prominent Christian bodies, including the Oakland Interdenominational Missionary Conference, The Congregational Preachers' Meeting, The Methodist Preachers' Meeting and the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are quoted as sustaining the same view; also the two strongest Christian papers published on the Pacific Coast. The opinion of Farmers and Fruit Growers is also given touching the need of the very immigration that it is proposed to restrict. The present chapter will be devoted almost entirely to the educational question, the question of immigration being reserved for later consideration.

EDUCATORS:

Opinion of an Experienced San Francisco Principal.

Through the courtesy of Colonel Irish, Naval Officer at San Francisco, I am permitted to use a letter to him from an experienced principal in San Francisco, which he read at a recent banquet of the Unitarian Club in San Francisco. It speaks for itself:

"First. I have had ample opportunities, in over twenty years' experience with Japanese students, to know whereof I speak, in all its bearings.

"Second. No considerable part of these students are adults. Had the adult pupils ever reached as large a proportion as twenty per cent, there would, years ago, have been protests from teachers and principals, and Japanese adults could and would have been excluded from elementary day schools, just as other adults, without friction or objection.

"Third. Japanese students do not crowd 'white' children out of the schools. The San Francisco schools are not overcrowded. They never have been overcrowded, during the past twenty years, except in a few spots, and that for causes entirely outside this matter.

"Fourth. The statement that the influence of the Japanese, in our schools, has had a tendency towards immorality, is false and abso-

lutely without foundation. From all I have ever heard in conference with other school men, as well as from my own continuous and careful observation, there has never been the slightest cause for a shadow of suspicion affecting the conduct of one of these Japanese pupils. On the contrary, I have found that they have furnished examples of industry, patience, unobtrusiveness, obedience and honesty in their work, which have greatly helped many efficient teachers to create the proper moral atmosphere for their class rooms.

"Fifth. Japanese and American children have always been on good terms in my class rooms, and in others concerning which I am informed. They work side by side, without interference or friction, and often some Japanese student would be a great favorite among his American classmates.

"Sixth. In all my years of experience, there has never come to me, orally or in writing, from the parents whose children have attended my school, one hint or complaint or dissatisfaction, concerning the instruction of their children in the same school, or the same rooms, with Japanese. Nor has there ever been complaint or protest from teachers in regard to this coeducation."

Testimony of Leading Educators of Oakland.

Upon the authority of the Rev. Miles Fisher of Oakland, a prominent pastor, I am permitted to give an extract from a paper which he read before the Congregational Ministers of his City, in which he said:

"Curious to know the experience of educators, I inquired of Mr. Keyes, the Principal of one of our Oakland schools of eleven hundred pupils, and he said he had never had the least knowledge of any morally reprehensible conduct on the part of Japanese students. I talked with Mr. J. H. Pond, the Principal of the High School, and out of experience both in Oakland and Sacramento, where he has had many scores of Japanese students, he has no knowledge of any immoral conduct on their part, but much which leads him to esteem them as pupils. I talked with Mr. M. C. Clymonds, Superintendent of the Oakland schools; he has never had any improper conduct reported of any Japanese. Similar testimony was given by Mr. Crawford, County Superintendent of Schools."

The Superintendent of Los Angeles Schools.

Professor E. C. Moore, Superintendent of the Los Angeles City Schools, one of the best-known educators in California, says, in a reply to a letter from Mr. Frank L. Browne, traveling in Japan, and printed in the Japan Mail of December 22, 1906:

"Replying to your inquiry as to the status of Japanese pupils in the schools of Los Angeles, I beg to say that during all the time that I have been in the office of Superintendent of Schools here I have not heard a single word of protest against them. They are given every opportunity to attend school that American boys and girls have. We find them quiet and industrious in their school work, and such good students that our principals and teachers believe them to have a most helpful influence upon the other pupils with whom they associate. As a California school man I bitterly regret the action of the San Francisco school authorities. It was wholly unnecessary, in my view, and is, I am glad to say, not representative of public opinion in California."

Convention of School Superintendents.

The California Christian Advocate is responsible for the following statement (November 29, 1906):

"The State Convention of School Superintendents, which has just closed at San Diego, turned down Mr. Roncovieri's resolution favoring separate schools for Chinese, Japanese, and Coreans. The San Francisco Board of Education is finding itself very lonesome in its position on that question. That such a mean and narrow policy could be accepted by educated Christian gentlemen is not possible. There are a good many demagogues to the square yard in California, but, to the credit of the State School Superintendents, they did not lend themselves to this narrow, this small and contemptible foreign policy."

In the light of the above, it is not strange that there has been no reply to the challenge of Colonel Irish, already quoted. My duties take me up and down the Pacific Coast several times each year, from Seattle and Spokane to Los Angeles and Riverside. I have taken occasion to interview a large number of educators in these three great states of the West, and the testimony, without exception, has been in line with that furnished above.

Views of President Jordan of Stanford University.

In a letter to The Boston Evening Transcript, December 29, 1906, entitled "Japan in California," Dr. David Starr Jordan treats the questions at issue very broadly, showing that grown boys are not the source of trouble, giving the pro and con of immigration, indicating the high rank of the Japanese, setting forth why the Japanese are criticised, outlining the best method of restriction, revealing the situation in Hawaii, showing the ambition of the Japanese, and reviewing Japan's admiration for Americans. Concerning grown boys not being the source of trouble, Dr. Jordan says:

"Various ex post facto reasons for the Board's action have been suggested. Among the Japanese are a few grown boys who try to learn English in the grammar grades. It might be well to shut out these, but, as a matter of fact, their occasional presence has made no trouble of any consequence. Neither have the Japanese children been the source of any friction. They are intelligent, docile and clean—more so than the average children of most European immigrants—and no patrons of the schools have complained of their presence. The School Board may have very good reasons for their action, but these reasons have not appeared. That their action was legal is not likely; the weak point is in their acting on racial grounds alone. . . . The school question is a side issue of the greater one of immigration."

Governor Carter of Hawaii Endorses Federal Position.

In a telegram from Honolulu, published in The San Francisco Call, November 21, 1906, we read:

"That an entirely different view is taken in Hawaii on the subject of the education of the Japanese children from the view that has been adopted in San Francisco is evident from the remarks of Governor Carter, who says: "There is nothing to deplore in the increase of Japanese children. The Japanese are here probably in large proportion to remain. Their natural increase has been very great,

and as eight years have elapsed since annexation, a large number of the Japanese children now crowding into our schools have been born under the American flag. When these reach maturity they will have the right of claiming American citizenship. It is therefore most important that they should have full opportunity of becoming equipped with the knowledge and habits of thought requisite to good American citizenship. Apart from that consideration it must be conceded that it is the inalienable privilege of every child under protection of the flag to enjoy the benefits of that public school system which is one of the chief glories of the American commonwealth and which, moreover, Hawaii took as an ideal long before admission and continues, as a part of the Union, with best endeavors to maintain."

In a later telegram the Governor puts himself strongly in favor of the naturalization of the Japanese. In view of the large number of Japanese children and the large experience of the Governor in the Islands, this opinion should have great weight. The figures are as follows: Out of a total of 21,358 pupils in all the schools of the Territory there are 4,845 Hawaiians, 3,522 part Hawaiians, 4,472 Portugesc, 4,297 Japanese, 2,092 Chinese, and 6,527 of all other nationalities.

ACTION OF CHRISTIAN BODIES:

The San Francisco Methodist Preachers' Meeting.

The Methodist Preachers' Meeting of San Francisco and other Bay cities, at a meeting held Jan. 28, 1907, unanimously adopted the following paper dealing with the broad ethical principles involved in the Japanese Immigration and School Question:

"We stand as we have ever stood for the Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man, and we use that phrase not as a mellifluous catchword to be mouthed without meaning, preached but not practiced, but we use it as the expression of one of the most vital truths of Christianity. God hath made of one blood all the nations of men, hence to oppress or ostracise men on account of their race or color is high treason against God and humanity, and they who today judge manhood by the color of the skin, have got into the wrong century and the wrong country.

We recognize that while God hath made of one blood all the nations of men, He hath also appointed the bounds of their habitation, and equal rights does not mean that all national boundaries are to be wiped out. We do not deem it wise or expedient to land on our shores a vast number of the lower classes of immigrants either from Asia or from Europe, convinced as we are that such unrestricted immigration must inevitably lower the standards of American life and American manhood, and must degrade American labor.

So far, however, as Japanese immigration is concerned, we have it on the very highest authority that the Japanese government is opposed to the immigration of unskilled Japanese laborers to the United States directly or indirectly, and has, as a matter of fact, for the last six years prohibited their immigration here, and we express our firm conviction that it can be and should be left to the diplomacy of the two nations now on such amicable terms to adjust the whole matter in a manner satisfactory to both nations.

With regard to the segregation of Japanese and other Oriental

pupils from the lower grades of the regular public schools, we waive all discussion of the legal questions involved and agree that there should be no objections to the exclusion of all adults or adolescent pupils of whatever nationality from the lower grades of our schools or to the establishment of a language test admitting no pupils who cannot speak English, nor to the establishment of a Cosmopolitan school for all aliens. But we submit that as an ethical proposition nay as a matter of Anglo Saxon fair play to say nothing of treaty rights, it is un-American as well as un-Christian to discriminate against a single race on race grounds alone, while other nationalities are freely admitted. It is quite natural and wholly creditable to the Japanese people that they object to the establishment of separate schools for their children, thus placing upon them the ban and brand of race inferiority.

Finally, we counsel patience and moderation at this crisis when efforts are being made to inflame public sentiment and enkindle race antagonisms. This question will be settled by civilized and lawful methods and not by demagogism, denunciation or violence."

Oakland Interdenominational Missionary Conference.

The following Statement was unanimously adopted by the Interdenominational Missionary Conference, composed of nearly two thousand delegates and representing a large section of the State of California, in session at the First Presbyterian Church in Oakland, October 15-18, 1906. This was only four days after the order of segregation was made by the Board of Education. The paper concludes: "We desire that these resolutions be given the widest publication possible, in order that the people of our own land and the people of Eastern Asia may know our sentiments on this question." The paper follows:

"Whereas, the authorities of the City and County of San Francisco, in harmony with recommendations made by the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League, have recently decided to segregate all Oriental pupils of the primary and grammar grades, and have established a separate school for children of Mongolian parentage, near the old Chinese settlement, in the heart of the burned district.

"Resolved, That we deplore said action and place ourselves on record as disfavoring it, for the following reasons,—

"IT IS UNAMERICAN: While we do not favor the mingling of young men of any nationality with little children in the lower grades of our public schools, we are strongly of the opinion that the success of our national institutions requires the intermingling, in our schools, of the children of the various nationalities represented here.

"IT IS UNJUST. Nothing could be more so than to compel the little children of any race, scattered throughout the various parts of a great city, to attend school in one place, particularly if very inconvenient for the majority and positively dangerous for all, as is the case at the present time. The transfer of nearly one hundred Japanese who have been attending our public schools, and who desire to assimilate our civilization, practically excludes most of them from school privileges altogether and makes necessary the establishment of Japanese schools in this country by our Japanese residents, a course which is not calculated to Americanize the children.

"IT IS UNTIMELY. Following so closely upon the great disaster, when the eyes of all are turned upon San Francisco, its city

officials cannot afford to take an action of this kind, particularly in view of the splendid conduct of the Japanese following the great calamity, and the generous gift of the Emperor of Japan of \$100,000 to the San Francisco Relief Committee, not one-tenth of which, we are informed, was needed or used for Japanese, the remainder being at the disposal of the General Relief Committee.

"THE ACTION IS UNWISE, whether considered from the standpoint of commerce or of missions. Such discrimination now will seriously jar the cordial relations that have existed for half a century between the United States and Japan, the leader in the Orient. It will further be felt in China, Corea, and other Eastern Asian countries, whose spirit and power are becoming more and more manifest.

"IT IS UNCHRISTIAN. Nothing could be more contrary to the teachings of Christ, which require us to do to others as we would wish them to do to us. While far too few of our people and officials are governed by Christian principles, the United States is rightfully regarded as a Christian nation. As a great Christian Assembly, representing all Protestant denominations and all sections of the State of California, we can ill afford, even by silence, to sanction an action so un-American, unjust, and un-Christian.

"SUCH PLAN IS IRREVOCABLE when fully established. The laws of certain States, pertaining to education, discriminate against Negroes and Indians. The law of California goes further and makes possible the segregation of Mongolians, providing that when separate schools are established such children will thereafter be excluded from the public schools. The new action may now be regarded as in its experimental stage. The new school is located in an unpopulated district and in a temporary building. When the policy has been fully entered upon, and a permanent building is erected, the city authorities are required to adhere to the plan.

"We therefore disfavor the plan and respectfully request and entreat the Board of Education and the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco to reconsider their action and to continue to allow children of Asiatic parentage to attend our public schools."

Congregational Preachers' Meeting.

An extract has already been printed from the Paper of Rev. Miles Fisher, of Oakland, giving the opinions of prominent educators. This Paper, as will be seen from the following editorial in *The Pacific* of January 17, 1907, was practically adopted unimously by the Congregational Ministers' Meeting. The editorial says:

"The Congregational Ministers of San Francisco and vicinity discussed the Japanese question last Monday. The subject was introduced by the Rev. Miles Fisher of Oakland in an able paper which left little to be added. Mr. Fisher's positions were in all essential particulars those taken by *The Pacific*, and he fortified them by an array of what seemed to nearly everyone in attendance at the meeting incontrovertible facts. Only one person of at least thirty-five in attendance made any objection to his statements or took exceptions to conclusions, and all gave expression to their sentiments.

"Several persons expressed the wish that Mr. Fisher's paper be sent to *The Congregationalist* for publication, so as to correct the impression given by a recent article in that paper. A motion was made to this effect, but it was not carried, for the reason that it was stated by Mr. Fisher that an article by Professor Nash of Pacific Theological Seminary had already been sent, and for the further

reason that the paper of Monday was regarded as too lengthy for acceptance by *The Congregationalist*."

The section concerning the morals and conduct of Japanese pupils is found above. Two Americans who had lived in Japan from seventeen to twenty years, respectively, were quoted as having said in substance, "While among the lower classes in Japan laxness is more common than with us, among the middle and upper classes such safeguards are thrown about both men and women as to present a degree of social purity quite the equal of ours." This has an important bearing, in view of the fact brought out by Mr. Fisher that almost without exception the student body in our schools in California is recruited from the middle and upper classes, where fair standards prevail. Two additional paragraphs of the Paper will be of interest. Referring to the action of the State Convention of Superintendents of Education recently in session in San Diego, he said:

"It appears that resolutions were drafted in San Francisco and given publicity in the press endorsing the action of the School Board, and giving this moral reason among others for such action. These resolutions were announced as intended for the consideration of the Superintendents then in session, who would beyond all doubt endorse them. But they did not. When the testimony of the Superintendents was in, so I am informed, there was no warrant for the position taken in the resolutions, and they were not issued."

As to the matter of assimilation, the Paper says: "We have the charge that the Japanese are hard to assimilate, only less difficult than the Chinese. Well, what wonder when he has no franchise! I am not advocating the franchise. But I say, what wonder? If then we shall compel the Japanese by this affront to maintain his own Japanese school, we might write all over this hopeless problem of assimilation, what wonder? It is our national safeguard to imbue every alien who comes to our shores with American ideas, standards and feelings. Our public schools have been our great boast as we have watched the deluge of immigrants pour in upon us. By their leveling and reforming influences we have been sanguine of a happy outcome."

Strong Position of General Missionary Committee.

The General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, composed of all the Bishops and representative preachers and laymen from all parts of the Church, at the annual meeting in November, 1906, took the following action with reference to the discrimination against Japanese children in the public schools of San Francisco:

"With a sense of shame as Americans, and a feeling of sorrow as Christians, we have heard from time to time of the indignities, insults, and even violence, inflicted upon the natives of China, Japan, and Corea, by certain classes of persons who resent the presence of these particular foreigners on American soil.

"The sentiment of humanity, not to speak of international hospitality, or of the higher obligation of a great people to those whom they deem less favored, should ever protect such strangers as are found to be lawfully within our gates, even in the absence of the obligations imposed by the solemn compacts of international treaties. But where

right sentiment is wanting or fails of its wholesome ends, and the safety of the stranger, visiting or resident, depends solely or mainly upon the fidelity of government to its treaty pledges, we hold that the obligation of the nation determines the duty of the citizen and that any class of persons in any part of our country who openly and clamorously repudiate the pledges of our government, show themselves unworthy of the respect and sympathy of all loyal citizens; and, as well, of the protection of the government they have thus discredited.

"That such irresponsible classes of our population, many of whom are themselves citizens by the grace of adoption only, should ever be able to dictate the policy of any great municipality, and even to send advocates and defenders of their prejudices to the National Congress, is one of those monstrous facts that are at once a disgrace to American politics, and a challenge to Christian civilization.

"We particularly deplore at this time the reported municipal action of San Francisco, which discriminates against the subjects of a great and friendly power—action which, if rightly interpreted by our government, is in violation of our treaty obligations, and the more to our discredit because directed against a people who have shown themselves humane even to their foes; a people in whose hearts there has been for decades a growing regard for the American nation, and under the strong protection of whose government Americans have found favor and safety.

"We are confident that we represent the entire communion of our Church—three millions of Methodist Episcopalians—in our hearty approval of the prompt measures taken by President Roosevelt to make good the treaty pledges of the nation, and to relieve our people at large from any appearance of complicity in or sympathy with the conduct complained of, by which subjects of Japan, while under protection of our government, have been humiliated—and this in the land that first bade their country to rise and be strong in the presence of the nations of the earth.

"For the sake of the many thousands of our loyal and courageous fellow-countrymen, who by reason of awful calamity need at this juncture, as never before, the sympathetic consideration of the whole country, and of all the world: and in the hope, cherished by every true American, that San Francisco may speedily rise from her ruins in new splendor and with increased power, we sincerely trust that every sign of hostility to any and all her inhabitants of foreign birth may be quickly suppressed and disappear forever."

THE CHRISTIAN PRESS:

The Pacific on Assimilation.

The Pacific, the organ of the Congregational Church on the Pacific Coast, in reviewing ex-Governor Pardee's assertion that both Europeans and Americans have lived in Japan and China, yet there is no intermingling of races even there, no intermarriage, says:

"The facts are that there have been several intermarriages. Captain Brinkley, a retired British Army Officer, a resident of Japan for more than a third of a century, and editor of The Japan Mail, married a Japanese woman, and they have a family of several children. Professor John Milne of England, one of the world's most famous seismologists, long connected with the Imperial University of Tokyo, took a Japanese bride back to England with him a few years ago. Sir Edwin Arnold, who has been termed "a connoisseur in femininity," when in Japan several years ago took a Japanese woman as a wife,

and, taking her with him to his old English home, raised her to the British peerage. Other such unions can be named. (We take the liberty of adding that Viscount Aoki, the Ambassador of Japan to Washington, has a German wife, and the late Mr. Hearne, the famous writer on Japan, not only married a Japanese wife but became a Japanese subject.—Editor.) If Mr. Pardee had looked about a little he could have found here in California both Japanese and Chinese, beyond intelligent question, with just as good material in them today for American citizenship as one-half of those persons who are already citizens. No unprejudiced person can come in contact with these Asiatics and not so conclude in a very short time. In saying this we are not arguing for the franchise for them; we are merely stating a fact. And there is every reason for the belief that if this nation had treated European immigrants as it has treated the Asiatics there would not have been any large assimilation of Europeans."

The California Christian Advocate:

State Rights and Ethics.

The California Christian Advocate, after quoting the State law permitting Trustees to exclude children of filthy or vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children and for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent, says:

"The unfortunate association of this paragraph with filthy and vicious and diseased and repellant conditions carries an impression which in no sense can lie against the Japanese. It is conceded by all that the Japanese are in every way neat, clean, obedient, and apt in their studies. This section, 1662 of the Political Code, was originally section 1669, and read as follows: "The education of children of African descent and Indian children must be provided for in separate schools, provided that if the directors fail to provide such separate schools, then such children must be admitted in the schools for white children."

"The origin and flavor of the law carries with it a repellent, not to say a repulsive flavor. It arouses a strong feeling in the minds of the Japanese. No one can admit the intent and purpose of the law without the conviction that it is a discrimination. We cannot hide in the meshes of States' rights the plain intent of this law. If the courts rule that the State has the technical right to make such a law, the ethics of applying such a law remains, and in the last analysis determines the status of the law in its bearings on the international question involved. The Japanese consider themselves in every sense one of the great nations of the earth, and no one can blame them for resenting an application of a law to them which on its face is intended for defective and abnormal conditions. We believe that the Japanese children are entirely competent to enter our public schools, and that the application of this law, which is plainly intended to meet abnormal conditions, was a part of a deep laid political scheme based upon race prejudice."

FARMERS and FRUIT GROWERS.

Though bearing but indirectly upon the question of education, the side of the employers of labor will here be given, though strictly the subject should be classed in the chapter on Immigration. As already indicated, these two questions are really inseparable.

Letter From a Fruit Grower.

The following is a part of a letter from a Fresno fruit grower to *The Chronicle*, and appears, with editorial comments, in the issue of January 2, 1907. The editor says: "As our readers may suppose, *The Chronicle* gets many letters on the Japanese question, some commendatory of its course, some abusive. We have no space to print either, unless they contain some new statement of fact, which they seldom do—never in the case of the abusive letters." Most letters that are not commendatory must be abusive for, almost without exception, only one side appears. As noted in a previous chapter, this has been a one-sided campaign. The letter is as follows:

"I write of conditions as they are here, and they do not differ greatly from those in other parts of the State. We assert that the farmers do not want to exclude Japanese labor until such time as they can secure substitutes for them. You ask why? Because we are wholly dependent upon their labor. If they are excluded, we shall have to give up our farms and go out of business. That is reason enough. It is not a question with us of white labor or brown labor, because we cannot get white labor and we can get brown labor. Again, the Japanese and Chinese do a class of labor that white men can not do, and will not do at any price. It is not a question of cheap labor, or efficient labor, but of laborers of any kind at any price."

Fruit Growers' State Convention.

The Fresno Republican, commenting upon an editorial in *The Seattle News*: "The majority of the thoughtful people of California are not in sympathy with the agitation of the demagogues of the cities against the Japanese. . . . No part of the States of Washington or Oregon, which exceed in area and population the State of California, have any sympathy with the foolish agitation of the San Francisco people."—Quoted in *The Berkeley Reporter*, December 25, 1906.

"If by 'thoughtful people' is meant farmers, as the context would indicate, it is of course true that there is a strong sentiment among the farmers of California in favor of Japanese, or still better, Chinese laborers. The Fruit Growers' State Convention at Hanford the other day formally adopted resolutions to this effect, and the sentiment expressed is quite general."

Orchardists Oppose Idea of Exclusion.

In a special dispatch from San Jose to *The Chronicle*, October 9, 1906, it is stated that the orchardists at Saratoga and Cupertino strongly opposed the stand of Congressman E. A. Hayes on the question of Japanese exclusion. The dispatch says:

"Congressman E. A. Hayes addressed a meeting of orchardists tonight at Saratoga. On Thursday night last week he met the orchardists at Cupertino, and at the conclusion of his address asked for questions as to his action in the matter of Japanese exclusion. The farmers at Saratoga tonight, as well as at Cupertino, took the stand that to exclude the Japanese would be equivalent to pauperizing them. Hayes' arguments were firmly combatted by the orchardists, some of whom claimed that if they employed white labor there would soon be a prune pickers' union."

Thus it is seen in the two great valleys of California, San Joaquin and Santa Clara, the farmers and fruit growers take a strong position in favor of the unrestricted immigration of Japanese. In both of these sections, as well as in other parts of California, Japanese children and youths are in the public schools, and there is no opposition whatever against this course.

CHAPTER IV.

The Real Issues.

The real issues have been hinted at and referred to indirectly in the preceding discussion. The resolution of the Board of Education, segregating Japanese children, and the State law upon which said action is based are given in Chapter II.

QUESTIONS FOR INTERPRETATION.

In order to secure a more complete understanding of the situation, in the present chapter an extract of the Federal Constitution and that part of the Treaty with Japan which is involved will be quoted; the cablegram from Secretary Root to Japan will be given; the position of the Government, as outlined by United States District Attorney Devlin, will be furnished, together with a statement by Secretary of State Root. The Japanese position will be outlined, the opinions of several leading men being given; and the position of the Central Government against the City of San Francisco and the State of California quoted, which will involve the question of State rights. It has been well said that the test case of the Japanese pupil, Aoki, is destined to take its place among the famous actions of the century—through the Supreme Court of California and thence, for final decision, to the Supreme Court of the United States, unless the matter is satisfactorily adjusted by diplomacy.

The Federal Constitution.

The Federal Constitution, Article VII., says:

"All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Treaty Between the United States and Japan.

The following extracts from the Treaty of November 22, 1894, between the United States and Japan, cover the questions at issue:

"The citizens or subjects of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the territories of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.

"In whatever relates to rights of residence and travel; to the possession of goods and effects of any kind; to the succession of

personal estate, by will or otherwise, and the disposal of property of any sort and in any manner whatsoever, which they may lawfully acquire, the citizens and subjects of each contracting party shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same privileges, liberties, and rights, and shall be subject to no higher imposts or charges than native citizens or subjects of the most favored nation.

The high contracting parties agree that in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either high contracting power has actually granted to any other power shall be granted to each as to the most favored nation."

EXPLANATIONS AND PROTESTS:

Prompt Action of the State Department.

In view of a cablegram from Ambassador Wright, at Tokyo, calling attention to the views of the Japanese newspapers concerning the segregation, and to acquaint the Japanese Government with the views of the Federal Authorities, Secretary of State Root sent the following telegram to Ambassador Wright, October 23, 1906, as published in *The San Francisco Call* of October 28, 1906:

"October 23.—To Wright, Tokyo: Troubles your dispatch of 21st are so entirely local and confined to San Francisco that this Government was not aware of their existence until the publication in our newspapers of what had happened in Tokyo. The best information we have been able to obtain indicated that there is nothing even in San Francisco but an ordinary local labor controversy, excited by the abnormal conditions resulting from the earthquake and fire. We cannot prevent men desirous of a labor vote from making speeches in favor of excluding any kind of competition. This does not seem to have gone beyond irresponsible agitation, to which no attention can be paid by each Government, or should be by the people of Japan. The trouble about schools appears to have arisen from the fact that the schools which the Japanese attended were destroyed by the earthquake and have not yet been replaced.

"You may assure the Government of Japan in most positive terms that the United States will not for a moment entertain the idea of any treatment toward the Japanese people other than that accorded to the people of the most friendly European nations, and that there is no reason to suppose that the people of the United States desire our Government to take any different course.

"The President has directed the Department of Justice to make immediate and full investigation, and take such steps as the facts call for to maintain all treaty rights of Japanese subjects in the spirit of the friendship and respect which our people have so long entertained. The purely local and occasional nature of the San Francisco school question should be appreciated when the Japanese remember that the Japanese students are welcome in the hundreds of schools and colleges all over the country.

ROOT."

As a sidelight on the above, an interview with Mr. G. Ikeda, Secretary of the Japanese Association of America and one of the prime movers in the Japanese school controversy, as published in *The Call* of February 1, 1907, will be of interest. Secretary Ikeda is reported as saying:

"In the school controversy we are depending on the United States Government to do the right thing. I made a protest against excluding the Japanese children from the public schools. My protest

was not accepted, and I sent word to all the papers throughout Japan. The news of the controversy was published, came to the attention of the Japanese Government, and was in turn presented to the Government of the United States."

Hon. K. Uyeno, the Consul for Japan in San Francisco, made a protest in the name of his Government, and the writer and other Americans protested to the school authorities.

Statement by Secretary Root.

A Washington telegram, published in *The San Francisco Call*, February 1, 1907, quotes Secretary Root as saying to a California Congressman:

"Japan has been wounded in her tenderest spot—her national pride. The Japanese regard themselves as the equals of any other people on earth. They believe themselves to be superior, intellectually, morally and in every other way, to the Chinese. Anything which tends to place them on a level with the Chinese before the world is degrading and humiliating to them, and they will resent it. It is most important that tact should be exercised immediately to remove the impression on the part of Japan that the United States is not willing to treat her as one of the most favored nations."

BASIS OF ACTION IN THE COURTS.

In a communication of the Board of Education to the Hon. K. Uyeno, Consul of Japan, is the following, indicating that the Board of Education welcomed an action in the Courts:

"The Board of Education regrets that it cannot comply with the request you have communicated in your letter—i. e., that the order made on the 11th inst. be rescinded. In conversation with your Secretary (not the Secretary of the Consul, but of the Japanese Association.—Editor), the feasibility of having the State law tested in the Federal Courts has been discussed, and such a disposition of the matter would be highly agreeable to this department. We can but refer you again to that section of the State law under which the order was made, and express regret that you have found cause for protest in the application of the same."

The San Francisco papers expressed the same view, but it is quite clear that it was expected that the Japanese would be on the defense, rather than the Board of Education.

Government's Position Outlined.

The Federal Government brought two actions in the Courts, January 17, 1907, designed to compel the San Francisco Board of Education to accord the Japanese school children the same rights that are given to children of American or European parentage,—one in the Supreme Court of the State, and a bill of equity in the Federal Circuit Court. In the latter, an injunction was asked for restraining the municipal authorities from excluding the Japanese pupils from the public schools of the city which they attended before the famous order of segregation was issued. *The Chronicle* gives the following summary:

Summary of Suits.

"It is alleged that the United States Government partly supports the schools of the State, having made a grant of public lands for this purpose, with the understanding that all the schools and institutions benefited thereby should be conducted in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, and all treaties made by the authority of the United States. It is denied that the Japanese are in any sense Mongolians, but are a separate and distinct race, and cannot be properly included among those affected by the provisions of the State code requiring the segregation of all pupils of Indian or Mongolian descent. It is alleged that the segregation of the Japanese children is a violation of the existing treaty rights of Japan, who, it is alleged, are entitled to the same treatment as the most favored nations. It is contended that the law of California does not justify any such action as the Board of Education has taken in respect to the Japanese school children, and that, if it does, then it is null and void."

To make this historic case still more clear to those who are not in a position to consult the legal records, extracts from a statement issued by United States Attorney Devlin setting forth the legal actions instituted by the Federal Government, are given. The first shows the relation of the Japanese child, Aoki, to the case. Mr. Devlin says:

"The United States began two suits today (January 17, 1907) in San Francisco for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of the treaty with Japan giving to the Japanese equal school advantages. One of these actions is brought in the Supreme Court of the State of California in the name of a Japanese child, for the purpose of obtaining a writ of mandamus to compel his admission to one of the public schools, from which he is excluded by the action of the Board of Education. The proceeding in this action is against the Principal of the school in the name of a Japanese child, but to this petition is appended a request, signed by the Attorney-General of the United States, to the effect that the United States be bade a party to the record for the purpose of enforcing its treaty obligations with Japan, or, if such cannot be done in accordance with the practice of the Court, that it be permitted to appear by its proper law officers and be heard to urge the granting of the relief prayed for in the petition.

"The second suit is a very comprehensive bill in equity, filed by the United States in the Federal Circuit Court, in which the members of the Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools and all the Principals of the various primary and grammar schools of San Francisco are made defendants. The allegations in both proceedings are substantially the same, but in the bill in equity filed by the Government the various facts upon which the Government relies are set out at greater length."

The Treaty the Basis.

The treaty between Japan and the United States is the basis of action in both cases. Continuing, Mr. Devlin says:

"In both proceedings the Government alleges the execution of the treaty with Japan in 1895, which provides that 'in whatever relates to the rights of residence and travel,' the subjects of each party to the treaty shall enjoy in the territories of the other 'the same privileges, liberties and rights as citizens or subjects of the most favored nation.' The State of California having expressly provided that every school in a district must be open to all children of school age resident within the said district, the privilege of such attendance is alleged to be clearly one of the said 'rights of residence' for Japanese children

resident in that State, to be enjoyed on the footing of the most favored nation.

History of School Law.

After outlining the claim of the Government to partial support of the schools of California, in view of grants of public lands for that purpose, which grants could only have been made with the understanding and intent that all schools or other institutions to be benefited thereby would be conducted in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and with all treaties made by the authority of the United States, which constitutes the Supreme Law of the land, Mr. Devlin outlines the history of the school law, which has an important bearing on the case. He says:

"The school system of California, it is alleged, forms a continuous chain of educational establishments, from the primary school to the university, and California has at various times prescribed the qualifications for admission to her public schools. In the bill in equity it is set out that formerly separate schools were provided in California for native born white and colored children; that afterward the word 'white' was stricken from the statute, and in a case brought in California it was held that Chinese children born in California were entitled to admission to all the public schools. For the purpose of preventing this, the section was amended by declaring that the Board of Education might provide separate schools for children of 'Mongolian or Chinese' descent. At that time there were few Japanese children in California, and this amendment was made only to prevent the admission of Chinese children to the schools."

Japanese Not Mongolians.

"The bill alleges," Mr. Devlin continues, "that the Japanese are not in any sense 'Mongolians,' but form a separate and distinct race, and it is asserted that for more than twenty years, and until recently, the authorities in California have conceded that the Japanese are not included in the term 'Mongolian,' and have admitted them to all the public schools."

Hardship and Discrimination.

"It is further shown in these suits," says Mr. Devlin, "that the conflagration which prevailed in San Francisco on April 18, and several days following, impaired the means of transportation and made it more difficult than it had previously been for the pupils to attend schools a long distance from their respective residences. A map is attached to the various pleadings, showing the location of the Oriental school and the other schools of San Francisco, and the residences of the Japanese pupils.

"The resolution providing for sending Japanese children to the Oriental school was passed on October 11, 1906. At that date there were ninety-three pupils attending primary and grammar schools of San Francisco, of whom twenty-five were born in the United States and sixty-eight in Japan. Only those born in Japan are claimed to be protected by the provisions of the treaty. . . . The Government claims and charges that to compel all of the children of Japanese descent thus to attend a single school, without regard to the places of their respective residences or to their convenience, solely by reason of their race or descent, is a hardship and discrimination against all of them, and violates their legal rights under the said treaty; and the Government also sets out that Japanese pupils are allowed to attend

the high schools and schools other than those of the primary and grammar grades without discrimination, and that no such discrimination is exercised against German, French, Italian, or various other foreign children, so that the Japanese are not treated as the most favored nation. It is claimed by the Government that these acts constitute a flagrant violation of the treaty between the United States and Japan; that, properly construed, the law of California does not justify them, and that, if it does, it is null and void."

The Subject of the Test Case.

Preparatory to the action brought in the Courts, a statement of facts was agreed upon at a conference of the President of the Board of Education, the City Attorney and the United States District Attorney. This is a long document, covering many points, only one of which is here quoted:

"Fifth. That Kei Kichi Aoki was born in the Empire of Japan, and is a subject thereof; that the said infant is of the age of ten years and three months, and is a resident of the City and County of San Francisco, and, with the exception of being of Japanese descent, has the qualifications provided by the laws of the State of California for admission to the public schools. That Michitsuki Aoki is his father; that said father was born in the Empire of Japan, is not a naturalized subject of the United States, and is a subject of the Empire of Japan, but is a resident and taxpayer of the City and County of San Francisco. That the above-named infant, prior to the adoption of the resolution of the Board of Education above quoted, attended one of the regular public schools of the City and County of San Francisco, known as the Redding Primary School, to which American children and children of other nationalities were admitted, and after the passage of said resolution was prevented from attending said Redding Primary School, and was permitted to attend no other public school than the said Oriental school."

THE POWERS OF THE STATE.

In another communication to the press, Mr. Devlin makes a very important distinction as to the rights of a State in the matter of establishing and maintaining public schools. He says:

"The question is not involved whether California may or may not establish a free school system, as it may be conceded that such a matter is entirely within the discretion of the States; but if the State Constitution does require the maintenance of a free public school system, and does maintain such a system for the children of residents without regard to citizenship, and admits to its schools children of subjects or citizens of France, Germany, Russia or any other European country, the question is: Is the right of education in the public schools of the State not a right secured by the treaty provision with Japan; and is a segregation of Japanese children based on no other consideration than they are Japanese not a denial of equal treatment with the subjects of the most favored nation?"—Chronicle, December 7, 1906.

Two Views of State Rights.

The views of two very prominent men are here given, representing two sides of the vexed question of State rights—Secretary

of State Root and Governor Pardee. The opinion of the latter is found in his last message to the State Legislature after the Japanese question became a National one; the views of Secretary Root are from his noted New York speech on "The Growth of National Power," in which he insisted that State lines are obliterated by the Nation's needs, and that States must rise to duty. The extract from Governor Pardee's message is as follows:

Gov. Pardee: The State Is Sovereign.

"The State of California, a sovereign State of the United States of America, has no quarrel with the Government of either Japan or China. On the contrary, California has the greatest respect for these two countries, and deprecates equally any indignities which may be put upon Americans in Japan or China, or upon Japanese or Chinese subjects in this country. But, nevertheless, until the Courts of this country shall have declared that California has no right to do so, this State reserves to itself the prerogative and privilege of conducting, under law, State, National and Treaty, its schools in such manner as seems best to us; and this without the slightest disrespect toward the Government of the United States or the subjects of any foreign nation."

Secretary Root: States Must Rise to Duty.

Secretary Root, as the guest of honor at the annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Society of New York, December 12, 1906, delivered an address which was heard not only by the five hundred present, but by the millions in all parts of the world where the English language is read. He said, in part:

"I submit to your judgment, and I desire to impress upon you the earnestness I feel, that there is but one way in which the States of the Union can maintain their power and authority under the conditions which are now before us, and that way is by an awakening on the part of the States to the real question of their own duties to the country at large. Under conditions which now exist, no State can live unto itself alone and regulate its affairs with sole reference to its own treasury, its own convenience, its own special interests. Every State is bound to frame its own legislation and its own administration with reference not only to its own special affairs, but with reference to the effect upon all its sister States. Every individual is bound to regulate his conduct with some reference to its effect upon his neighbors, and the more populous the community and the closer the individuals are brought together, the greater becomes the necessity which constrains and limits individual conduct. It is useless for the advocates of State rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of control where the States themselves fail in the performance of their duty. The instinct for self-government among the people of the United States is too strong to permit them long to respect any one's right to exercise a power which he fails to exercise."

Criticisms of the California State Legislature.

Two years ago the State Legislature surprised the people of the entire nation by an action which called forth the following criticism from The Argonaut:

"We warn the Legislature of the State of California, which this

week adopted a concurrent resolution urging upon the National Government the passage of a law or negotiation of a treaty looking to the restriction of Japanese immigration, that it will be regarded by the press of the United States with marked disfavor. The great majority of the journals of the East will, as with a single voice, characterize our Legislature's action as 'subserviency to the ignorant demagogues of labor.' Scornfully will they inquire: 'Are our National policies to be dictated again by the voice from the sand lot? Does another Denis Kearney dominate the California State and Assembly?'"

In an editorial entitled "Our Weak State Government," December 24, 1906, in reviewing the New York speech of Secretary Root, the San Francisco Chronicle says:

"The weakness of the Government of California is shown every day in the year. We do not control our corporations. There is no disposition to do so. We rejoice at the Federal prosecution of offenders against the Interstate Commerce Act, but when the same act, word for word, is introduced into the Legislature as a State law, it is smothered in committee, and not a word of protest is uttered. No Governor has ever referred to it in his message. No organization of citizens has ever asked for it."

In an editorial in this same paper, January 17, 1907, printed in conspicuous type, we read the following concerning the present Legislature, and the San Francisco representatives in particular:

"The obvious intent of the (proposed) law is to enable the indicted boodlers of this City to select the Judge who shall try them, to set aside all that has thus far been done to get them before a jury and have their cases retried from the beginning.

"Nothing more atrocious was ever proposed in any Legislature. The people of this City in their folly have sent to the Legislature as vicious a gang as was ever got together for such a purpose. The decent people of San Francisco have relied upon the people of the State to save them from the corrupt machine which has its grip on the City, and this is what we get. Instead of a law putting an end to the gross abuses which have characterized the trial of these boodlers, we have bills whose object is to put us permanently in the hands of the robbers."

The Legislature and the Japanese Question.

It would be very improper to infer that all the members of the Senate and Assembly are unworthy. Many of them are superior in ability and very conscientious. But that they are not in control is seen in the failure to pass the anti-racetrack bill and the one providing for a weekly rest day. The Assembly passed the Sabbath law, but it was killed in the Senate. The latter body also killed the anti-prize fight bill, two to one. In order not to complicate matters in Washington, and to make possible a peaceful solution, the California delegation telegraphed to Governor Gillett to use his influence to keep matters quiet in the State Capitol, and a special message of the Governor was the result. We have already noticed that, in spite of this request, the Japanese Exclusion League held its regular meeting in San Francisco while the School Board and the Mayor were en route to Washington. But it is surprising that the representatives of the State in Sacramento should follow suit.

In a special dispatch to The Chronicle, dated Sacramento, Feb-

ruary 6, 1907, under the heading "Japanese Bills Can't Be Kept Down," we read:

"The best endeavors of the pacific element in the Senate were unable today to keep the Japanese question any longer below the surface of legislation. In the first place, the Committee of Education, of which Caminetti is a leading spirit, recommended Keane's school bill for passage. This bill adds the word 'Japanese' to that of 'Mongolian' in describing the classes of pupils for whom special schools may be provided."

The same dispatch refers to the presentation of a joint resolution which was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. The preamble reviews the entire field of controversy between this country and Japan, and calls upon the California lawmakers at Washington to oppose any treaty which does not insure the exclusion of Japanese laborers, and guarantee to every State the right to regulate its own schools. The dispatch adds: "The Black resolution is the most thorough-going anti-Japanese measure yet introduced." And this was all while negotiations looking toward a peaceful settlement were going on at Washington.

The last day of February, the Assembly passed a bill limiting the titles passed to Japanese, with only one dissenting vote. It provides that no alien shall hold title to real property for more than five years, and forbids leasing to aliens for more than a year. The bill is generally understood to be aimed at the Japanese. It compels aliens owning property to become citizens after five years residence, which no Japanese is permitted to do.

Under the lash of certain labor leaders of San Francisco, who have been lobbying at the Capitol, two other measures may be passed,—one providing for a referendum on the immigration question, and the Keane bill, above referred to, which provides for segregating the Japanese children in the public schools. The constant reference in the papers to these indefatigable workers for exclusion, and to their plans, are not calculated to help matters after the return of Mayor Schmitz and party. Concerning this The Call says:

"City Attorney Burke feels confident that the amendment will be adopted. He will urge that the rules be suspended and that the bill be passed at once in each branch of the Legislature. If his plans materialize, Mayor Schmitz and the Board of Education will find the law in force by the time they arrive from the East." Associated with Attorney Burke are Messrs. McArthur and Tveitmo.

JAPANESE VIEWS OF THE CASE.

It is important to gain a clear view not only of the attitude of the Japanese Government, but the views of the press and leading men as well. Hence, an interpretation of Japanese views by a veteran missionary now in Japan, by the leading Japanese paper and the leading English paper in Japan are given; also interviews of representatives of Japan in this country showing their patience and

tactfulness. Writing on the San Francisco School Question in the Mission News of Kyoto, Rev. Dr. D. C. Green says:

"No responsible Japanese would object to any suitably framed resolution which would exclude Japanese of practically adult age from the lower grades of the schools intended for children. Neither would any object to the strictness of regulations framed for the purpose of segregating individuals whose presence might reasonably be supposed to have an unfavorable influence upon the morals of the pupils of the public schools. The claim of the Japanese is simply this, that the existing treaty requires that no such educational or other laws and regulations shall subject their countrymen to different treatment from that accorded to other foreigners. They feel, and feel strongly, that special legislation like that which the San Francisco Board of Education has put in force is not only in flagrant violation of the existing treaty between Japan and the United States, but is an indignity to which they cannot be expected to submit. Perhaps no other form of indignity would wound the amor propre of the Japanese nation more than this plan of segregating the children of their representatives. Smooth it over as one may attempt to do, the Japanese are bound to regard the regulation as tantamount to saying, 'Your children are not fit to associate with ours.'"

The Jiji Shimpō: Leading Japanese Daily.

The Japanese today proudly boast of many daily papers, some of which can truly be called great. None have had a greater and wider influence than The Jiji Shimpō, founded by the late Mr. Fukuzawa, who also established a great private university. This leading daily, as translated by the Japan Mail, says that in view of recent reports and publications, the Government has considered it advisable to invite the attention of Washington to three points:

"The first relates to the question raised in some quarters as to whether Japanese are to be classified as Mongolians, and thus come within the purview of the California Exclusion Act. Japan desires it to be clearly understood that her claims are preferred as Japanese claims, and not as claims of any other nationality whatsoever. As Japan, she has a certain treaty with the United States, and as Japan she expects to receive the usage guaranteed by that treaty. The racial question is a matter entirely apart.

"The second point is this: It is true that an explicit reference is contained in the treaty as to residential rights only, and that nothing is definitely stated with regard to educational rights, but it is quite evident that unless a resident can obtain for his children the same educational privileges as those enjoyed by other residents, his residential rights are essentially imperfect. Japanese subjects, residing in California, pay exactly the same taxes as those imposed on native citizens, or on the subjects and citizens of other nationalities, and to discriminate against the Japanese in the matter of location would be to manifestly impair their residential rights.

"In the third place, it is observable that a question is raised with regard to the relations existing between the several States of the Union and the Federal Government. Japan wishes to point out that such question, being purely a matter of domestic administration, has no conventional concern for her. She knows only Federal Government in the matter. Her treaty is with the Federal Government, and she looks solely to the Federal Government for the just enforcement of her rights.

"At the same time, being full convinced of the friendly and honor-

able intentions of that Government, she does not wish to embarrass it in any way by importunity, and she is prepared to await patiently till such machinery as the United States authorities desire to employ for the purposes of domestic accommodation shall have been set in motion."

The Japan Mail: Leading English Daily.

There are several daily papers published in Japan and edited by foreigners, one being owned and operated by the Japanese themselves. One of the oldest, and by far the most representative, of these English dailies is *The Japan Mail*, edited by Captain Brinkley, who, as noted above, is an old resident of Japan. Until the establishment of *The Japan Times* by the Japanese, *The Japan Mail* was understood to have a semi-official relation to the Government. And it is quite clear, to those who have watched its course during the two great wars in which Japan has been engaged, that Captain Brinkley, the editor, must have had access to inside information. Printed in Japan and edited by an Englishman, this great paper suggests for Americans a way out of the dilemma, as follows:

"No thoughtful Japanese could fail to approve of a rule which forbade adults or adolescents attending the lower grades of the public schools. Such a rule would be founded on practical universal experience. Neither would they object to the introduction of a language test for all applicants for admission to the public schools. A certain standard of efficiency in the use of the English language might very wisely be established, the attainment of which should be essential to admission to any but special schools. Furthermore, no one could object to the segregation of any and all pupils who might show themselves morally unworthy.

"There is a right and a wrong way in all such cases, and it seems to the writer's Japanese friends that the people of San Francisco have more or less deliberately chosen the wrong."

Tact of Japanese Representatives.

The San Francisco papers have on various occasions commended the course of Mr. K. Uyeno, the Consul for Japan in San Francisco, for his diplomatic way in dealing with this and other vexed questions. A gentleman by birth and training, and realizing the gravity of the situation, Mr. Uyeno, though fearless in doing his duty, has managed the whole affair with great discretion.

Great interest has been taken in the public utterances of Viscount Aoki, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington. On the 17th of December last he was the guest of honor at the annual dinner of The American Asiatic Association, held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, other prominent guests being present. Viscount Aoki, in responding to a toast, said:

Ambassador Aoki at Banquet.

"I am aware that the sense of this Association in regard to the relations between Japan and the United States, which has so often found fitting expression on former occasions, is based on the recognition of the broad principle that the interests of the United States and the Empire of Japan are identical, and that therefore the best of

reasons exist for the most cordial friendship between the two countries. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a parallel case in the history of mankind in which better reasons existed for the maintenance of the most amicable relations between any two nations, whether viewed from historical, commercial or moral points of view.

"Historically speaking, it was the United States that rapped at the door of the seclusion within which Japan, in her ancient isolation, cherished her own science, literature and art, which were the products of a civilization entirely distinct in type from yours. It was the United States that half a century ago offered to Japan the right hand of fellowship and introduced her into the intercourse of nations, which has in turn brought into the Empire all the benefits of what is known as the Western civilization.

"Since then, not a year has passed but has witnessed some incidents that have vividly recalled to the minds of the two peoples the existence of weighty reasons which form the basis of their mutual sentiment of respect, love and admiration. The fact naturally was never more eloquently brought home to us than in that hour of gigantic struggle from which it has pleased providence to see us emerge as a power of some consequence. It was a struggle in which our very existence was at stake. . . . The people of Japan are fully alive to the magnitude of the everlasting service which was thus rendered by the people of this country in the cause of Japan, and the memory of that support, liberally given, will continue to be a living monument of the cordial friendship which cements the two nations."

Viscount Aoki then turned to the commercial aspect of the question, to the maintenance of the principle of the "open door" in the natural markets of Asia, and said: "You may rest assured that there is the best of commercial reasons for the resolute defense and maintenance by Japan of that principle with which the name of John Hay is honorably connected."

Anglo-Saxon and Japanese Fair Play.

Turning to the moral reasons which should draw the two nations closer and closer together, Ambassador Aoki said:

"It should be observed that, while the political institutions of the two countries widely differ in form, yet that high sense of liberty, equality and justice which forms the ideal of the American national life is also the guiding principle of Japan's political life. The love of fair play, which is often referred to as a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon characteristic, I am proud to say, is also found in the blood of the Japanese people. It is, therefore, safe to say that so long as the moral character of the two peoples does not change, the commercial activities of the two peoples will be characterized by that sense of fairness which is after all the best guarantee of peace in the intercourse of nations, no less than in the intercourse of individuals."

Patience of Japanese.

Nothing has been more remarkable, during this entire agitation of two years, than the patience of the Japanese. Naturally proud as a people, and having recently come to a consciousness of their great power, the Japanese, both as a nation and as individuals, have shown a spirit which has been commendable. The Japanese Press of San Francisco has been thoughtful and moderate, notwithstanding frequent and, at times, great provocation. Secretary Metcalf's report, which

may be found in full in the Appendix, contains many references to attacks of various kinds upon the Japanese. He speaks particularly of the assault upon Professor Omori and his party when here, in behalf of his Government, examining earthquake conditions. This will be referred to again in connection with the discussion of the agitation looking toward restriction of Japanese immigration. It is not simply by physical attack, but rather by little, petty annoyances and by constantly keeping the questions at issue before the public in their most undesirable form, that the Japanese are almost daily humiliated. But for the open attacks upon the visiting scientists, the public at large would hardly have heard of the many things which the more humble Japanese have been compelled to endure daily. Acquainted as I am with the remarkable self-control of the Japanese people, their patience through all these troubles has been to me a cause of astonishment.

Attitude or Viewpoint of the Chronicle Changed.

In an editorial entitled "A Modus Vivendi," The Chronicle, February 5, 1907, made the following suggestions:

"The Chronicle's program for making everybody happy is this: 1st, the Government suit against the Board of Education of this city to be dismissed; 2nd, the repeal of the order compelling Japanese pupils to attend the Oriental school; 3rd, by mutual understanding the United States and Japan to each enact a law excluding the manual workers of the other nation; 4th, the enactment by our Legislature of a general law by which aliens shall not be allowed to acquire title in fee simple to land in this State, unless that privilege is expressly granted to them by a treaty. Japan certainly cannot complain of that, because no alien can acquire title, except leasehold, to land in Japan—which is a most excellent law for Japan or any other country."

It will be noticed that this is a decided change from the program of The Chronicle as originally announced. Of course so radical a change could not be made without an excuse, and one which seems sufficient to the editor is given. The idea is certainly novel of the President expiating his fault by condescending to invite the Mayor of San Francisco to a personal conference. The language of the editorial is of interest:

President Expiating His Fault.

"The situation has been complicated by the unwarranted and improper language used by the President of the United States in referring to the people of this State. This language, which from its nature was entirely personal, and in no sense official, because it was no part of his duty to pass judgment on our morals, when injected into what should have been a dignified State paper, inevitably, human nature being what it is, aroused deep and just resentment in this State. There is no occasion, however, to pursue that further. The President has fully expiated his fault by condescending to invite to a personal conference an official person, who is doubtless the lawful representative of this City, but whom the President knows to have accumulated wealth in association with a corrupt politician who has confessed to receiving money for a disgraceful service—the official being now under

indictment, on which he is striving to escape trial, for conspiring to compel that payment, and presumably receiving some part of it. The humiliation of appealing to such a person, whom we have made our lawful representative, but whom the President would not, socially, touch with a pair of tongs, is ample reparation for the wrong done to our people, and The Chronicle suggests that we consider the incident closed."

Successful Termination of Conference Anticipated.

It is to be hoped that the conference of the President with Mayor Schmitz and the Board of Education may result in the reopening of the doors of the San Francisco schools to Japanese children of suitable age. Also that this adjustment may open the way for the Japanese Government to take such steps as it may deem best to restrict the immigration of laborers to the United States by way of Hawaii as efficiently as it has already done in the case of those bound directly for Pacific Coast ports. The broader question of Immigration will now be taken up. In view of the publication of a separate pamphlet about a year ago, on this question, and of the many references to immigration in the former part of the pamphlet, the subject will not receive as full treatment as would otherwise seem necessary.

CHAPTER V.

The Broader Question of Immigration

Views of President Jordan.

In an able article from the pen of Dr. David Starr Jordan, published in The Boston Evening Transcript, December 29 last, we find this significant statement:

"The school question is a side issue of the greater one of immigration. There are, in general, three points of view in California concerning Japanese immigration. The fruit growers, the farmers, the railroad builders and the capitalists generally would welcome a much larger influx of Japanese and Chinese. California is suffering for want of common laborers. There are not men enough to till the fields, to gather the fruit, to build roads and railroads, or to properly attend to the coarser needs of civilization. A large body of Oriental laborers would mean a great increase of the wealth of the State.

"Opposed to this, the labor unions, and laboring men generally, are jealous of competition, and especially of Oriental competition, for that would mean lower wages and a general reduction of the standard of living. The same arguments are urged against the admission of unskilled Japanese laborers that used to be urged against the Chinese. The name 'coolie,' which has here no meaning at all, is applied to all competing Orientals. . . .

"The attitude of the average man on the street, in California, towards the Japanese is one neither of welcome nor of antipathy. Some Japanese house servants and most Japanese students make themselves beloved within the circle of their acquaintance. The struggles of some of these penniless but ambitious young men to secure an American education, and to fit themselves for professional usefulness in Japan, has few parallels in the history of education. The future professor, the future admiral, the future general works in

a California kitchen, not because he wishes to spy out the land, but because through daily work lies his only means of securing an education."

National Immigration Congress.

In November, 1905, a National Immigration Congress was held in New York City for three days, composed of 500 members representing all parts of the United States and practically all organizations interested in the question of immigration. The first day, after the organization, was spent in a visit to Ellis Island, where opportunities were afforded the delegates of inspecting two shiploads of immigrants fresh from Europe. The next day was given to the consideration of European immigration, and specially to the distribution of immigrants coming from the various countries across the Atlantic. The third and last day was occupied in considering the various phases of Asiatic immigration. It was the privilege of the author to be present as a member and to deliver an address, Mr. Walter MacArthur of the Japanese and Corean League taking the other side of the question. It seems best, for various reasons, to lay before the readers the address delivered on that occasion just as it came from the mind and lips of the speaker in the earnestness of debate. The address is a reply to Mr. MacArthur and others who had spoken in favor of extending the Chinese Exclusion Law to cover Japanese, Coreans and others coming from across the Pacific. The address follows exactly as it was delivered, the introduction only being omitted.

ADDRESS OF THE AUTHOR.

In my work last year, I traveled 15,000 miles, without coming east of the Rocky Mountains, and made a very careful examination of the Japanese conditions, both in the church and out of it; so I think that what I have to say today may receive the confidence of those who are present. And first, I want to say that I am very, very glad, indeed, that this conference had the good sense to endorse the position of our noble President in the able paper which he presented to Congress a few days ago, in which, as you will remember, he stated that he was opposed to discrimination and that he would not consent to discriminate against races, naming a large number, in which he included the Japanese.

Which the Greater Menace?

One question before us today, in connection with this subject, is whether the agitation on the Pacific Coast against the Japanese and the Coreans is not a greater menace to our people and to our institutions than the immigration that it is proposed to do away with, or at least to restrict; an agitation which began at a moment when the Japanese people were in a life and death struggle with the great northern foe; an agitation which has been continued during the time of the serious boycott in China, which has stirred not only the Chinese

people but all the peoples of the world; continued at a time when Japan today sits as the mistress of the entire East. So that if we have any regard for the friendship of a nation which is bound to influence more and more not only Eastern Asia but a large part of the civilized world, it behooves us well to think twice before we allow these agitators to have their way. (Applause.)

Pacific Coast Divided.

It was stated here this morning, from this platform, that this is a great movement, and that the people of the Pacific Coast are united in the matter. I wish I had time to read to you from this little pamphlet, which I circulated this morning, several extracts indicating that that statement is not founded in truth. For example, The Los Angeles Herald says: "All this opposition to Japanese immigration emanates from professional labor leaders, mostly those of San Francisco. The purpose is to maintain a shortage of labor, such as has been witnessed this year in harvesting the fruit crop. With a demand greatly exceeding the supply, as was the case a few months ago in the orange belt, the labor leaders find it an easy matter to enforce laws concerning wages and work hours." The extract is quite a long one, and indicates that The Los Angeles Herald has no sympathy with this agitation.

Former Methods Revived.

The Argonaut, one of the ablest papers published in the West, has been up to quite recently in line with an agitation against Japanese immigration, favoring restriction to a certain extent; but so unwise have been these leaders that The Argonaut, in an editorial after the action of the State Legislature of California, said: "We warn the Legislature of the State of California, which this week adopted a concurrent resolution urging upon the National Government the passage of a law or negotiation of a treaty looking to the restriction of Japanese immigration, that it will be regarded by the press of the United States with marked disfavor. The great majority of the journals of the East will, as with a single voice, characterize our Legislature's action as 'subserviency to the ignorant demagogues of labor.' Scornfully will they inquire, 'Are our national policies to be dictated again by a voice from the sand lot? Does another Denis Kearney dominate the California Senate and Assembly?'" And then, a little further on, The Argonaut continues: "The Chronicle will effect nothing for its cause by talking, when referring to the Japanese, of the 'manners and customs of the slave pen.' Such exaggeration hurts rather than helps, for we all know that the ordinary Jap is a neat, clean, personally pleasing little fellow." This from a paper which is really in favor of restriction; yet so unwise have been the agitators, in the opinion of The Argonaut, that it expresses itself in the strong language I have read to you. And The San Francisco Call, one of the strong papers

of the Pacific Coast, in equally strong language condemns the agitation. (The Call has since changed its position and its editorial staff as well.—Editor.)

Investigation in San Francisco.

And what shall I say of the Christian press, and what shall I say of the various religious bodies? The Methodist Preachers' Meeting, in the City of San Francisco, regarding the agitation as not only untimely but unjust and wicked in the extreme, appointed a committee to make a thorough investigation of the matter, the committee consisting of Dr. George B. Smyth, one of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society; Dr. W. S. Matthew, the Presiding Elder of the San Francisco district, who has charge of our Missionary interests in the city, including a large number of our missions, and therefore particularly qualified to look into this question, and the present speaker. We went into the matter most carefully, and the result of our investigation was that we found, as stated in the last few pages of this little pamphlet, that a very decided sentiment on the Pacific Coast is opposed to this agitation. When the statement is made here in public that the whole West is in favor of it, I want to declare to you in unmistakable language that that statement is not founded in truth.

What Corrupts San Francisco?

We heard this morning that the Chinaman comes here to corrupt us and destroy our manhood. I would like to have you ask yourselves for just a moment, you who have traveled in the West and have investigated the conditions as they are to be found there, whether the notably open San Francisco is the result of Chinatown being in it; whether the 3,000 or more saloons that are there, the public and notable houses of prostitution, the racetrack gambling, the prize-fights and bull-fights and other things that take place in San Francisco, whether they are due to the influence of the Chinese who live in Chinatown. It is not necessary for me to say that they are not. The influences which are injuring San Francisco and other cities of the great West do not come from across the Pacific.

Agitation and Peace.

It was also stated here this morning that we are pursuing a policy destined to preserve peace between ourselves and other nations. I confess I cannot understand the position of the speaker of the morning, or of those who are in sympathy with him, for it seems to me that that policy pursued will result in just the opposite. It has, as we know, resulted in the stirring up of tremendous race feeling in China, and it certainly will result in the stirring up of race prejudice not only in China but in Japan and Corea, and among the various peoples in Hawaii. It will result in exactly the opposite of what the speaker of the morning indicated was the intention.

Self-Protection in California.

It was further said that the people of the Pacific Coast will be compelled to protect themselves, indicating, as you know, that certain strong and rash measures must be followed unless the people of the East endorse the measures that have been proposed from the West. I was exceedingly sorry to hear, from a public platform this morning, any suggestion as to what possibly might take place if we here in this deliberative body do not find ourselves in a place where we can endorse the position of the speaker of the morning. (Applause.) Certainly such statements are not calculated to produce good feeling and to aid in the settlement of a question which ought to be settled on broad, humanitarian lines.

The East and the West.

Another speaker of the morning called our attention to the fact that the Chinatowns of Portland and San Francisco ought to be transferred bodily to Boston and to Harvard College, in order that the people of the East may know something of the conditions of the West. Here let me say to you that the Chinatown visited by tourists from the East is not the true Chinatown. There are certain things gotten up to please, to astonish the innocent from the East, and I can state this on the very best of authority. But I want you to note the fact that the Chinese are to be distinguished from the Japanese, both in their home land and in this country, and I am not here to say one single word for or against the Chinese. I think China was well defended this morning by one of her own nationality who spoke to you from this platform. (Applause.)

Progress in China and Japan.

But I do say that the people of Japan have made a progress which is as yet unknown to China; that the conditions which prevail in Japan are not those which prevail in China, and are conditions which will probably not prevail there for ten, twenty or even fifty years. Therefore, when we think of people coming to us from Japan, we ought to distinguish very carefully between them and those who are coming to us from China.

Differences Also Here on the Coast.

Then again, we ought to note the differences as they exist here on this Coast. As has been indicated, the Chinese do to a certain extent gather themselves together and live in a class in their Chinatowns in San Francisco and Portland and Seattle and Los Angeles and other cities. The Japanese do nothing of the kind. They dress in American clothes, and they are dressed well when you see them on the street; they eat American food; they associate as far as possible with American people; they attend, to the full extent of the privileges which are given them, our American schools and learn our language;

and were they allowed to become citizens of this land, they would fight as loyally for our flag as they have been fighting in the East under the Japanese flag. (Applause.)

No Danger from Numbers.

Another thing that we must note is that there is not the danger from numbers in the Japanese that there is in the Chinese. Our attention was called this morning to the fact that there are about 400,000,000 of Chinese and, therefore, there is a great menace growing out of this fact. There are less than 50,000,000 of Japanese altogether; and when we take into consideration their land, with the opportunities of expansion in the North, and in Formosa in the South, and particularly in Corea and Manchuria, the danger is exceedingly small of large numbers of the Japanese ever even wishing to come to this country for labor.

Immigration from Europe and Japan Compared.

I think it will be well for us, in our thinking, to discriminate very carefully between the Japanese and the Europeans, some of whom are coming to this country. Now let us just for a moment look at some of the statistics. There were last year less than 15,000 Japanese who came to this country, 5,000 less than the year before. Are the Japanese increasing? I say last year, I mean for 1904, 5,000 less than came to us in 1903. And, as I have just indicated, as a result of the war and the opportunities opened in Eastern Asia, the Japanese are going to decrease rather than increase, and, therefore, there is no great fear. (Later figures will be found on subsequent pages, showing a still greater dropping off.—Editor.) There were rejected as paupers, or likely to become so, 158 from Japan last year, as against 1,396 from one of the lands of Europe, namely, from Southern Italy. Nearly 1,400 rejected from one country of Southern Europe, as against 158 from Japan!

The Japanese Comparatively Young.

Another thing I notice is that the Japanese are young. Last year there landed from Southern Italy nearly 10,000 over forty-five years of age; there landed from Japan last year of the same age only 380, all the others being young men, very many of whom, I think I can safely say most of whom, have come here for educational advantages, directly or indirectly. Last year, of those debarred, reported as relieved in hospitals, there were only four Japanese. Think of it! While from Southern Italy alone there were 1,698—in round numbers, 1,700.

A voice: What are the percentages?

Dr. Johnson: Well, it is not very difficult to figure out the percentages when there are only four from Japan as against 1,700 from another country.

The voice: Very difficult if you do not know the number.

Dr. Johnson: I hope I will not be interrupted. Now, another point, concerning the Japanese as desirable immigrants. First, with reference to their intelligence. Ninety-two per cent of the children of school age are in the schools of Japan today. Is there another country from which we are receiving immigrants that has any such proportion?

A voice: Yes.

Dr. Johnson: Ninety-two percent? There are very few countries, if there are any. How many States are there within this Union in which ninety-two per cent of the children of our own people are in attendance in the public schools?

Restriction by the Japanese Government.

And furthermore, the Japanese Government itself has so restricted immigration that it provides that no young man or woman can enter one of our ports here until he or she has passed through the High School in Japan and received public recognition of the fact. To be sure, there are those of the other classes who are coming into Hawaii simply because they have been invited to come, and the Japanese Government has been of the opinion that they are desired there. And I notice in this proposed law which this Japanese and Korean Exclusion League has prepared for Congress, that they themselves make an exception in the case of Hawaii.

Embarrassment Through Hawaii.

One of the great difficulties is that there is no protection now from this class of people coming to our Coast from Hawaii. That is the great evil that needs to be corrected, and I want to say to you that I am not in favor of unlimited immigration to this country. I favor restriction. I believe that there ought to be restriction along the line I have just indicated, but I do not believe there ought to be any discrimination, particularly against a nation like Japan, which has been admitted into the sisterhood of civilized nations and which today stands as the peer of England, being recognized as an ally of that great country.

Ideas of Government.

Another thought as to their desirability grows out of the ideas which they have of Government. The Japanese are a progressive people. They are a people who live under a constitutional form of Government. They are a people who have respect for law. There is not a nihilist nor an anarchist among them, not one. And as I said before, if allowed to become citizens of this country, they would love our flag as well as they love their own. That is a matter which is of the utmost importance to us in considering this proposition.

Poverty and Crime.

Another thought concerns their relations to poverty and crime. I have already called your attention to some statistics concerning poverty, and I now say, without the possibility of successful contradiction, that Japanese names are remarkably rare upon our court records on the Pacific Coast.

(Here the gavel fell.)

LATE STATISTICS.

A thought-provoking book entitled "Aliens or Americans?" by Howard B. Grose, recently published, reviews the meeting of the National Immigration Congress, where the above address was delivered, and makes some interesting comparisons based on the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for 1905. The author of this book says:

"A million a year and more is the rate at which immigrants are now coming into the United States. . . . Gather these immigrants by nationality, and you would have in round numbers twenty-two Italian cities of 10,000 people, or massed together, a purely Italian city as large as Minneapolis with its 220,000. The various peoples of Austria-Hungary—Bohemians, Magyars, Jews and Slavs—would fill twenty-seven and one-half towns; or a single city nearly as large as Detroit. The Jews, Poles and other races fleeing from persecution in Russia would people eighteen and one-half towns, or a city the size of Providence. For the remainder we should have four German cities of 10,000 people, six of Scandinavians, one of French, one of Greeks, one of Japanese, six and a half of English, five of Irish, and nearly two of Scotch and Welsh. Then we should have six towns of between four and five thousand each peopled respectively by Belgians, Dutch, Portuguese, Roumanians, Swiss, and European Turks; while Asian Turks would fill another town of six thousand."

There are smaller groups of Servians, Bulgarians, Spaniards, Chinese, etc. The author calls attention to the fact that the illiterates alone would make a city as large as Jersey City or Kansas City, with a population of 230,000. Concerning this he says: "Divide this city of ignorance by nationalities into wards, and there would be an Italian ward of 100,000, far outnumbering all others; in other words, the Italian illiterates landed in America in a year equal the population of Albany, the capital of the Empire State. The other leading wards would be: Polish, 33,000; Hebrew, 22,000, indicating the low conditions whence they came; Slavs, 36,000; Magyar and Lithuanian, 12,000; Syrian and Turkish, 3,000. These regiments of non-readers and writers come almost exclusively from the South and East of Europe." Mr. Grose points out that of the total of 1,026,499 who came, 780,000 were unskilled laborers. He shows that the immigration of one year equaled the combined population of Alaska, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah, with 37,000 to spare.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION.

Concerning the change of racial type, Mr. Grose says:

"So great has been the change in the racial character of immigration within the last ten years that the term 'new immigration' has been used to distinguish the present prevailing type from that of former years. By new immigration we mean broadly all the aliens from Southeastern Europe—the Italians, Hungarians, Slavs, Hebrews, Greeks, and Syrians—as distinguished from the Northwestern Europeans—English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, French, Germans, and Scandinavians."

He further says, concerning undesirability: "These people come out of conditions of oppression and depression, illiteracy and poverty. Far more important than this, they have had no contact with Anglo-Saxon ideas of government. They are consequently almost wholly ignorant of American ideals or standards."

The author of this striking book, in pointing out the remarkable shifting of the sources of our immigration, says concerning two or three of the countries from which we get the largest number:

"The immigration from Italy did not reach 10,000 (annually) until 1880, and passed the 100,000 mark first in 1900. In the past five years nearly a million Italians—or one-half of the entire Italian immigration—have entered the country, and the number in 1906 promises to exceed a quarter of a million more. . . . The immigration from Russia, consisting chiefly of Jews, did not become appreciable until 1887, when it reached 30,766. It passed 100,000 in 1892; and from 1900 to 1905 the total arrivals were 748,522, or just about one-half the entire number of Jews in the United States. The same is true of the Hungarian and Slav immigration. Its prominence has come since 1890."

Illustrations Which Illustrate.

The Report of the Commission of Immigration for 1906, if possible, makes a still more impressive showing. During the year there were over 1,100,000 immigrant aliens admitted into the United States, and nearly 66,000 non-immigrant aliens. Sixty-seven per cent were from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia Minor; 14 per cent were Hebrews, most ly from Russia; 22 per cent from Southern Italy alone; less than 8 per cent were Germans; less than 10 per cent English, Scotch and Irish; 5 per cent were Scandinavians; and 1¼ per cent ONLY were Japanese.

Those who are so insistent concerning the preservation of our Anglo-Saxon civilization against the coming of the Asiatic hordes should take note of the following:

The immigrants for 1906, as per races, were: Slavic, 408,903, 37 per cent, of whom over 150,000 were Hebrews and nearly 96,000 Poles; Iberic, 283,540, 28 per cent, of whom over 23,000 were Greeks and 240,528 from Southern Italy; Teutonic, 213,904, 19 per cent, the Germans leading and the Scandinavians, English, and Dutch following in order; Keltic, 116,454, or 11 per cent; Mongolic, 16,139, of whom 13,835 were Japanese; all others, 61,795, including Turks, Bulgarians, Magyars, Armenians and other living in Southern Europe and Western Asia.

SILENCE OF PACIFIC COAST SIGNIFICANT.

As was noticed in Chapter II., the papers of the Pacific Coast are not troubling themselves about immigration from Europe. An editorial in *The Chronicle*, in 1905, is significant:

"Another reason why we confine ourselves to the Japanese question is that *The Chronicle* is published in San Francisco, and not in New York. We doubtless are getting some very undesirable people from Southern Europe, but comparatively few of that class reach California. The class that fills the Eastern sweatshops land in New York, and nine-tenths of them remain in Eastern cities. That is particularly a problem for the East to take up, while Japanese immigration for the present is a question for the Pacific Coast. We doubt whether they will consent to the exclusion of Europeans, and so, in the exercise of our sound common sense, we are asking for what we think we can get."

There were aided in hospitals, as per the report of the Commissioner, 2,495 Hebrews, 2,121 Italians, 1,000 Poles, 867 Germans, and 2,817 others, including ONE JAPANESE ONLY.

Japanese Versus Jews.

There was an increase of 3,504 Japanese; and the other principal increases were 51,641 Italians; 30,768 from Russia, mostly Hebrews; 4,968 from Turkey in Europe; 3,489 from Portugal; 8,974 Greeks, and 2,623 Bulgarians.

Corresponding Decrease of Japanese.

What is an increase of three thousand Japanese, compared with the hundreds of thousands pouring in from Russia and Southern Europe? Instead of a rapid increase, as in the case of the European countries, the figures for Japanese immigration since 1900 are significant. There is a decrease, then an increase to 1903, when nearly 20,000 were admitted, then a falling off for two years to nearly 10,000, and then a slight increase last year. The figures are as follows: 1900, 12,635; 1901, 5,269; 1902, 14,270; 1903, 19,968; 1904, 14,264; 1905, 10,331; 1906, 13,835. And this is the wonderful increase that we read so much about.

It will be seen that there were about half as many in 1905 as in 1903—two years before. This includes the so-called undesirable immigration through Hawaii. It is not probable that there will be much of a further increase. If this aggravating agitation can cease, it is not unlikely that the Japanese Government will arrange matters to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. In another chapter, the question of Methods of Dealing with the Problem, will be considered, where suggestions made by the writer two years ago will be quoted, and others offered.

We have just seen how the Jews are very rapidly increasing, and in Chapter II., under Intermarriage and Assimilation, it was shown that non-intermarriage is not a bar to assimilation in the case of the Hebrew. A most interesting and instructive article on "The Great Jewish Invasion," by Burton J. Hendrick, appears in McClure's

Magazine for January, 1907. It is in recognition of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews on Manhattan Island. Mr. Hendricks says:

"The twenty-seven Portuguese Jews who obtained a scant asylum in 1655 have multiplied into a colony of 800,000 souls. This is the greatest Jewish community ever assembled, in ancient or modern times, in any one place. Jerusalem itself, at its period of greatest development, sheltered not one-sixth as many Jews. Warsaw, the largest Jewish city except New York, contains 300,000; Lodz, 120,000, and Vilna, 100,000. In the whole United States there are 1,400,000; thus, in New York City three-fifths of our total Jewish population is found. In the greater city one man in every five is a Jew; on Manhattan Island, one man in every four." He further says concerning the sources of this immigration:

"New York, the headquarters of American wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, seems destined to become overwhelmingly a Jewish town. More remarkable still, the great mass of its Jews are not what are commonly regarded as the most enlightened of their race. They are not drawn from Germany, from France, from Austria, and England—countries in which the Jew has been practically Europeanized—but from Hungary, from Poland, from Roumania, from Galatia, above all, from the Russian Empire. . . . When they land at Ellis Island they are to a large extent ignorant, unable to read or write; personally uncleanly; without professions or skilled trades; inevitably with a suspicious hatred of governmental authority. Their only capital stock is an intellect which has not been stunted by centuries of privation, and an industry that falters at no task, however poorly paid. In spite of all these drawbacks, the Russian Jew has advanced in practically every direction."

This remarkable article describes at length the great advance made, refuting the idea that the Jew is congenially a money-changer, a trader, and not a workman, a manufacturer, a natural producer of wealth; it discusses his securing control of the clothing industry, where 175,000 craftsmen are employed, and his successful entry into real estate transactions, where, it is said, he has outdistanced all competition.

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

Every objection that has been urged against the Japanese on the Pacific Coast can be urged equally, and with greater force, against the Jew in New York City, and yet I would be among the last to suggest that we cannot assimilate the Hebrew, or that his coming, on the whole, is not a benefit to America.

Those who condemn the Japanese—especially of the laboring classes—for coming to America forget the great benefits that they have conferred in redeeming and developing waste lands, in cultivating the fields and harvesting the crops, in encouraging new railroad enterprises, in developing trade with the Orient, and in various ways that cannot be outlined here.

Movements Toward Distribution.

In the book, "Aliens or Americans," already quoted, the author further says:

"No phase of the immigration question is receiving more attention at present than that of distribution. There is a common opinion that if the proper distribution can be made, the chief evils of the tremendous influx would disappear. We are told that it is the congestion of aliens in already crowded centers of population that creates the menace to civilization; that there is land enough to be cultivated; and that vast enterprises are under way calling for the unskilled labor that is coming in. But the puzzling problem is how to get the immigrants where they are wanted and needed, and can be of value."

This question was seriously discussed at the National Immigration Congress, which has resulted in certain of our Southern States taking up the matter and encouraging immigration and migration to their sections.

The Japanese in large measure have arranged this themselves, which is commendable. The Japanese population in California is increasing very little, if any. The Pacific Northwest finds employment for many on the railways, and the Japanese are moving eastward into Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Colorado. There are Japanese centers now at Missoula, Pocatello, Ogden, Denver and Pueblo, though the settlements in these centers are not so large as in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. There was a scattering of the Japanese at the time of the earthquake, and it will be a long time before the population of San Francisco is what it was before.

Resourcefulness of Japanese After the Fire.

Because of their spirit of self-help, and by the aid of the Japanese Relief Committee, which was promptly organized, the Japanese got out of the bread-line almost at once, and the promptness and efficiency of their relief organization caused wide and very favorable comment. The Japanese in the outer districts sent prompt aid to the relief of the sufferers and opened the way for them to go to the country districts. It is a sad fact that, nine months after the earthquake, hundreds, if not thousands, of European immigrants are receiving aid in San Francisco from the Relief Committee. This is in part explained by the fact that to a greater extent than the Japanese they live in families, but this explains it only in part. The Japanese are very resourceful and self-helpful.

Japanese and Others in California.

The percentages for California for the past eight years are as follows: Teutonic, 27 per cent, quite equally divided between Germans, Scandinavians, and English, the latter being largest; Keltic, 32 per cent, two-thirds Italian, the others being Irish and French; Iberic, 13 per cent, about half Italians; Slavic, 6 per cent; Mongolic, 18 per cent, largely Japanese; and all others, 4 per cent.

The Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1905 contains some very striking figures as to immigration into California. The races or peoples and the percentages are as follows: North Italian, 22 per cent; South Italian, 5; Japanese, 19; English, 11;

Scandinavian, 6; German, 6; Irish, 4; French, 4. This is 77 per cent of the whole. There is quite a movement of Russians and Finns into California. It will thus be seen that the Japanese invasion is not as great as has been made to appear.

A RACE QUESTION.

That this is a race question, in all of its bearings, is readily seen from what has already appeared and from two or three additional quotations that are here given:

"The Board of Education is determined in its efforts to effect the establishment of separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, not only for the purpose of relieving the congestion at present prevailing in our schools, but also for the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with pupils of Mongolian races."—Action of San Francisco Board of Education, May 6, 1905.

"The National body politic can assimilate the Europeans of whatever grade, but never the Asiatic. They are aliens, always, no matter what their civil status."—The San Francisco Call.

"The whole thing is based upon theoretical race prejudice. There are thousands of foreign children in the San Francisco public schools—Italians, Portuguese, Russians, Irish, and all the rest. None of them is neater, cleaner, more obedient and charming than the Japanese. There is no concrete or real objection to these children at all. The whole movement is based upon a theoretical race hatred, and utterly unworthy of any Board of Education."—The California Christian Advocate.

"If the Japanese should continue to come in as they are coming now, there is unfortunately no doubt whatever of ultimate race warfare, which might become bloody, and which all the powers of the United States could not prevent."—San Francisco Chronicle.

"In many States the white and colored races are taught in separate schools. If the Southern States can segregate the races in its schools, why may not the Californians do so?"—The Argonaut.

In the next chapter, reference will be made to several attacks and assaults upon Japanese which have no other explanation. They were attacked because they were Japanese, and an agitation had been started against them.

CHAPTER VI.

The Activity of the Japanese-Corean Exclusion League and of Organized Labor

The campaign against the Japanese really began with a series of sensational articles published in The San Francisco Chronicle, February 23, 1905, and continued for about a month without intermission. From time to time, articles of a similar sensational nature have appeared since, especially in connection with the famous action of the School Board in segregating Japanese children, and in relation to the broader question of immigration. A few days after the first article was published, namely, March 4, a report appeared in the papers of a meeting of the Building Trades Council, which passed a resolution

presented by the Secretary, O. A. Tveitmoe. This protested against "the national policy, laws, and treaties which allow Japanese to enter our ports, to the great detriment of our citizenship, our standard of living, and the progress of American civilization."

The First Anti-Japanese Convention.

Sunday, May 7, 1905, in Lyric Hall, San Francisco, the first Anti-Japanese Convention was held. The Chronicle of that morning said:

"The meeting of the Anti-Japanese Convention at Lyric Hall this afternoon will mark an important epoch in the history of San Francisco, of California, and, in fact, of the whole country. No movement of recent years has been more important to the vital interests of the country than the agitation against the unrestricted immigration of a non-assimilative horde of Asiatics. While the labor unions, the wage-earners of California, have taken the initiative in the movement, the question is one which affects every American, irrespective of occupation or affiliation."

The following day The Chronicle said editorially: "The Anti-Japanese Convention, which met in this city on Sunday, although mainly composed of delegates from organized bodies of manual workers, desires to be considered, and is entitled to be considered, as a representative body of American citizens, and not the representatives of any particular class." However, those who have kept track of the agitation, during these two years, have had no difficulty in observing that it has been a movement pure and simple of organized labor.

The speakers at this first meeting were Messrs. O. A. Tveitmoe, Walter McArthur, Andrew Furuseth, W. J. French, E. I. Wolf, and Mayor E. E. Schmitz.

Principal Agents in the Agitation.

A paragraph concerning these speakers, who have been the principal agitators during these two years, may be of interest. Mr. Tveitmoe is the Secretary of the Building Trades Council, the President of the Exclusion League, and has recently been appointed one of the Supervisors of San Francisco by Mayor Schmitz. This latter appointment is understood to be a reward for his work in the Labor Party, which elected Mayor Schmitz, and also a recognition of his work in connection with the Exclusion League. In The Call of February 10, 1907, it is stated that while Mayor Schmitz and party were in Washington attempting to settle the Japanese question, and while the State Legislature was expected to be silent upon the question, Mr. Tveitmoe planned a trip to Sacramento, the State Capital, to resurrect the proposed laws which had been pigeon-holed for the time being. The Sacramento correspondent of The Call said concerning the proposed visit: "The arrival home of Senator Lukens from the Orient, and the coming here early in the week of O. A. Tveitmoe are expected to lend new incidents to the Japanese question in the Legislature. Tveitmoe, coming to the Capitol in his capacity as President of the

Japanese and Corean Exclusion League, is not expected to experience great difficulty in bringing from the committee some of the anti-Japanese measures now in hibernation." This will give a clear idea of the zeal and methods of Mr. Tveitmoe, as well as his lack of tact, which was referred to at the close of Chapter I. Mr. Tveitmoe has been specially active in this campaign from the beginning.

Other Active Workers.

Walter McArthur, prominently connected with the Coast Seaman's Union, is another prominent Union Labor man. As noted above, he was one of the speakers at the National Immigration Congress; and at the State Federation of Labor Convention at Stockton in January, 1907, he was chosen as representative to the American Federation of Labor. It is significant that, in reporting the Convention, the statement was made that San Francisco had about two-thirds of the votes of the Convention.

Andrew Furuseh is also connected with the Coast Seaman's Union, and was the principal factor in the strike on the Coast steamers which was so embarrassing, immediately following the fire.

Mr. E. I. Wolfe is a State Senator from San Francisco. He is a Hebrew, and is the one who caused such a sensation in requesting the Chaplain of the Senate to omit the reference to Jesus Christ in his prayers.

Mayor Schmitz has been so much in the public eye of late that reference to him seems unnecessary.

A Former Meeting.

At the meeting of the first Anti-Japanese Convention, referred to above, Mr. Tveitmoe, on taking the chair, said that five years before a meeting was held in the Metropolitan Temple, at which an address upon the subject of Japanese Exclusion was delivered by Dr. Ross. Organized Labor, the organ of organized labor, said that this was "printed in the columns of Organized Labor and has since been reprinted by nearly every labor paper, magazine, and periodical of any standing published in the English language."

Concerning this former meeting, Secretary Tveitmoe, in an interview published in *The Chronicle*, said:

"This question was taken up four years ago by organized labor, the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, and the San Francisco Labor Council. We recognized at that time the imminent danger to our State and country from Japanese immigration, and the agitation resulted in a mass meeting, which was held in the Metropolitan Temple, where Dr. E. A. Ross and others made strong addresses showing how the Japanese immigration tended to deteriorate and injure the State of California, both from a political and sociological standpoint."

American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor which met in San Francisco

in 1904, after a long preamble, adopted the following: "Resolved, that the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Koreans other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; further, that these resolutions be submitted, through proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body."

The Federation sent a commissioner to Japan to study the labor problem, and his report was ready when the above named articles began to appear in *The Chronicle*.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EXCLUSION LEAGUE.

The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League was then organized in San Francisco, which can be said to be Organized Labor directing itself toward the restriction of Japanese and Korean immigration. One of the early reports of the League, published in *The Chronicle*, August 14, 1905, outlined the activity of the League and indicated the personal interest of President Gompers in the movement. It said:

"Your committee has been and is now furnishing the American Federation of Labor with plenty of statistical matter and data regarding the Asiatics in our vicinity. The result of this work brought many expressions from the press of the interior on the subject. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has personally taken up the question, and no doubt will accomplish a great deal of good work among our Eastern friends, where it is most needed."

The same paper speaks of the organization of branches of the Exclusion League all over the Pacific Coast States. Later reports refer to its growth and influence in various parts of the country, especially in the labor organizations. The articles in *The Chronicle* were reprinted in pamphlet form and sent broadcast throughout the country. It is significant that, this year, the State Federation of Labor and the Exclusion League both met at Stockton, where they were in close touch with each other.

Tactics of the League.

President Tveitmo, of the Japanese Exclusion League, made public through *The Call* of January 28, 1907, the plans of the League. These are of great interest in showing how public sentiment is created and as giving basis for the statement so oft repeated that the Pacific Coast is a unit on the question. The article says:

"It is through the Legislature that the League hopes to acquire efficiency, and numerous bills will be presented to the lawmakers at the present session. To secure the co-operation of the people of the Coast and Western States, a bill will be introduced at Sacramento requesting the formation of a committee of the Legislature which shall confer with the Legislatures or committees of the Legislatures of Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and the people of California. The need of the exclusion movement in this part of the country is deemed obvious by the League officials, but to insure against any misunderstanding, additional pamphlets will be

issued. More than 20,000 copies have already been distributed on the Coast."

The League and Congressmen.

At an Executive Board meeting of the Korean Exclusion League, reported in *The Chronicle*, September 30, 1906, Secretary Yoell stated that, "in compliance with instructions from the board, he was compiling a record of the attitude of all representatives in Congress on the exclusion question, which, when completed, would be sent to all central labor organizations through the United States, for the guidance of voters at the coming election."

Citizens' Mass Meeting.

As another illustration of the method of manufacturing public sentiment and creating the impression that the Pacific Coast is united on this question, reference to the preparations for a Citizens' Mass Meeting, held in San Francisco, will be of interest. *The Chronicle* of December 8, 1906, says: "The San Francisco Labor Council, at the meeting held last evening, accepted the invitation from the Japanese and Korean League to participate in the mass meeting of citizens to be held under the auspices of the League next Monday evening, in the Dreamland Pavilion, to protest against that part of President Roosevelt's Message referring to the Japanese in California." This is the famous meeting at which Mayor Schmitz spoke, to which reference was made in a previous chapter.

State Organizer of Labor Takes a Hand.

In further illustration of the relation of organized labor to this movement, I note that one of the daily papers in reporting the organization of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League in Alameda County, California, states: "George K. Smith, State Organizer of the Federation of Labor, took a prominent part in the proceedings, and assisted greatly in the work of organization." This is the meeting that passed resolutions condemning Secretary Taft for his utterances concerning the "unjust prejudice" of the people of the West to Chinese, another illustration of the statement previously made that no one can lift his head publicly in defense of the Oriental without attack by some of these leaders or bodies.

Punishment of Opposers.

It is well known in San Francisco that members of the various Labor Unions are expected to discriminate against the Asiatics. In *The Chronicle* of December 1, 1906, there is a report of a meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council in which Supervisor Lonergan was accused of "violating one of the fundamental principles of the Trades Union movement in harboring Mongolians, to the exclusion of Caucasians," the offense being that he rented houses which were occupied by Chinese. Secretary Metcalf's report refers to the boycott of Japa-

nese restaurants, and a few days since a member of a Trade Union who lost his purse in a restaurant was told that he deserved the punishment because he patronized Orientals.

In the first chapter, it was pointed out that the persons and papers agitating against the Japanese are very bitter toward the defenders of the Japanese, and of the Federal policy, several illustrations being given.

THE AGITATION AND VIOLENCE.

It would be miraculous for an agitation of this kind to be kept up for several months, not to speak of years, without violence resulting. That more has been noticeable since the fire than before is due to the longer period covered by the agitation, and to the unsettled conditions after the fire.

Two days after the fire was extinguished, a meeting of the Exclusion League was held, and the report published in *The Chronicle*, April 23, said: "It would take more than a fire or shake to put the Japanese-Corean League out of business."

About a month later plans were made and published for a meeting of the League and its sympathizers, on the first Sunday in June, and it is significant that this meeting was held and reports of it published only a few days before the unfortunate attack upon the noted Japanese scientists, Professors Omori and Nakamura.

Attack on Noted Scientists.

Professor George Davidson of the University of California is the author of the following letter, which was published in several of the city papers:

"Your attention is respectfully directed to a condition of affairs which, I feel certain, will call forth not only your earnest protest, but that of every fair minded citizen who loves the good name of his city. I refer to the repeated insults which have been heaped upon the party of Japanese scientists, at present visiting this city, by boys and hoodlum gangs in the streets. Dr. F. Omori of the Imperial University of Tokio, and one of the greatest living authorities in Seismography, was especially sent here by the Japanese Government to make a study of the recent disaster. He is accompanied by Dr. T. Nakamura, Professor of Architecture in the same institution; and the two are assisted by Mr. R. Sano and Mr. M. Noguchi. These gentlemen, in the pursuit of their investigations, have had occasion to visit all quarters of the city to make numerous notes and photographs.

"It has been while so engaged that the annoyances to which your attention is drawn, have taken place. On Saturday afternoon last, Dr. Omori, while taking certain photographs on Mission Street, near the Post Office, was attacked by a gang of boys and young men, some of them wearing the livery of the Postal Service, and his hat was crushed in by a stone as large as an egg. On Tuesday last, Dr. Nakamura was assaulted in a similar manner while making an examination in the ruined district, and sand and dust were thrown over him and his assistants. Insults of a similar kind, but varying in degree, have been suffered by these gentlemen not less than a dozen times since they began their work in this city.

"They are naturally surprised that such treatment should be extended to friendly strangers, more especially in view of the extreme

courtesy and kindness with which they have been received by the official scientists and representative men of this community. While I recognize the fact that acts of this kind are not countenanced by the better element of the people, and that it is extremely difficult to control the acts of irresponsible hoodlums, I believe that something may and should be done to create a public sentiment which will frown down the rougher element which, in this vicious way, brings disgrace upon the community."

Vicious Report in The Call.

Under the heading, "Tells How Omori's Dignity and Hat Were Jarred," and under the picture of the guilty lad, The San Francisco Call published the following report:

"Bouncing a tomato can off the head of science with sufficient force to stir nations, and even receiving more or less questionable notice from no less a personage than the President of these United States, has left a far less lasting and gratifying impression upon Sydney Marks, late special delivery messenger, than has the manner in which he escaped the ignominy of the label of falsehood disgracing the metaphorical can his escapade attached to himself.

"Marks is the lad who mussed Professor Omori's silk hat and dignity by shying a tomato can at the distinguished Japanese seismologist gathering photographic data on the effect of the earthquake behind the Post Office last summer. The professor's complaints were so vigorous that they reached the ear of President Roosevelt, and to show the Japanese Government our national regret over a most unfortunate occurrence, Sydney was separated from the Government Service."

The report continues, in the language of young Marks:

"Well, it was this way. There was a bunch of us out behind the Post Office, when one of the gang yells, 'Pipe the Skipple under the dicer. Let's soak 'im.' The Jap was squinting through his photograph machine when we let loose for fair; me to be the lucky boy. I bounced a can off his sky-piece. He was sure sore. But we sent him down the alley after the naughty boy who did him wrong."

The report continues for several inches in similar style and language and, indeed, is a disgrace to journalism. The facts are that it was a stone and not a tomato can; a derby and not a silk hat; and Professor Omori made no complaint whatever. On the other hand, he greatly regretted the incident, and desired that no notice be taken of it. But an incident which called forth an apology from the Mayor and Governor naturally reached the President through Secretary Metcalf. It was quite unlikely that the boys knew who they were throwing at. Dr. Omori was attacked because he was a Japanese, and not because he was a prominent man. It is an illustration of what was taking place almost daily among the humbler Japanese of the city, and illustrates the harmful influence of a hostile press.

Second Attack Due to Strike.

That the second attack upon Professor Omori, while he was visiting the city of Eureka, was due to the strike on the Coast Steamship lines, is clear from the letter addressed to Dr. Omori by Mayor Torrey, a part of which is as follows:

"As the representative of the Executive Authorities of the City of

Discrimination Against Japanese in California.

Eureka, and with full confidence that he is representing the undivided and unanimous sentiment of the citizens of the city, the undersigned begs to deplore the ruffianly and inexcusable assault committed upon your person last evening in this city.

"That this assault was the result of unfortunate mistake, due to the labor troubles now prevailing on this Coast, does not in any wise excuse its heinousness and brutality."

The Daily Humboldt Times, Eureka, in reporting the unfortunate occurrence, under the heading, "Unfortunately Taken for a Strike Breaker and Assaulted on the Street," said, in part:

"The accoster thereupon struck the Doctor upon the jaw, knocking him down, and planting a No. 10 on the seat of his trousers, to the astonishment of the seismic specialist, who immediately sought the hotel and postponed any further sight-seeing. When he arrived at the hotel and a Times man explained the circumstances at the present time, and what prompted the attack, he took the affair quite good-naturedly, and considered that the joke was on him, although his face was swollen and gave him much pain."

Though there may be no connection between the two, the leader of this strike, who is reported to have been before the Courts for complicity in it, was Mr. Furuseth, one of the prime movers in the organization of the Japanese-Corean Exclusion League. The Japanese have too much sense to engage as strike-breakers, and it is strange that Dr. Omori was taken for one. Being a Japanese, it is not strange that he was severely dealt with.

Other Assaults.

It is not my purpose to burden this pamphlet with reports of assaults upon Japanese. Secretary Metcalf's Report contained many which he deemed of sufficient importance to report to the President. Two will be noticed here, and they will be referred to in the language of the press dispatches:

"A small riot, insignificant in itself, but which may be the first of a series of events to strain the relations between Japan and America at the breaking point, occurred late this afternoon in the Japanese quarter on Geary street. A young man, Ed Mell, employed in a stable at 1535 Geary street, precipitated the disturbance with a vicious swing which landed on the jaw of Tokuchika, a Japanese delivery driver. In an instant a hundred angry Japanese and a score of young Americans had collected. There was a general move of the Orientals toward Mell. 'Come on, all of you,' he cried. 'I'll lick every d—d Jap in the crowd.'"—Special to The Oregonian, December 13, 1906.

Prompt action on the part of the police prevented further trouble, the aggressor being arrested.

"Clark, who was attacked by the Japanese, is not seriously hurt. He was somewhat bruised and received a bad cut on his head. The trouble had its origin in the strong feeling growing out of the San Francisco school trouble and the Anti-Japanese sentiment in the community."—Portersville special dispatch to The San Francisco Chronicle, January 4, 1907.

These attacks and many others are clearly due to the agitation against the Japanese on the Coast.

CHAPTER VII.

Solution of the Problem

It is most natural that in a problem so many-sided as the present one there should be a diversity of views as to the best means of solution. In the present chapter, the demands of the Exclusion League, as endorsed by *The Chronicle*, will be given, together with my own views and the views of others, including certain prominent Japanese. At the close of the chapter the question of Naturalization will be considered, particularly in relation to its effect upon the cessation of this agitation.

DEMANDS OF THE EXCLUSION LEAGUE.

The Japanese and Corean Exclusion League has from the beginning demanded an exclusion law. At a meeting of the League, as reported in *The Call* of November 27, 1905, the following proposed bill to be passed upon by Congress was unanimously adopted, and the League has done its utmost to have this bill, at least in substance, passed through the Congress of the United States:

"A bill to prohibit the coming into, and to regulate the residence within, the United States, its Territories and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Japanese persons and persons of Japanese descent, and Corean persons and persons of Corean descent:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent into the territory of the United States or the territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and the residence of such persons therein, be, and the same are hereby, made to apply to Japanese persons and persons of Japanese descent and Corean persons and persons of Corean descent, with the same force and effect as to Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent; and that wherever in such laws mention is made of the officers, territory or Government of China, or the officers of the United States in China, such mention shall be deemed, in the case of Japanese persons and persons of Japanese descent, to be mention of the officers, territory, or Government of Japan, or officers of the United States in Japan, and in the case of Corean persons and persons of Corean descent, to be mention of the officers, territory, or Government of Corea, or of officers of the United States in Corea."

The bill further provides that, as to all of the continental territory of the United States, Hawaii included, there shall be in the case of Japanese or Corean laborers a like registration and certification as in the case of Chinese laborers to take effect six months after the passage of the act. And a further provision is made that, as in all of the insular territory of the United States, Hawaii excepted, there shall be a like registration and certification as in the case of Chinese laborers, to take effect nine months after the passage of the act.

It will thus be seen that the proposition is to restrict Japanese immigration by act of Congress; and to apply the same law to the Japanese and Coreans which has been so offensive to the Chinese, a

law which excludes all except classes specially exempt.

Endorsed by The Chronicle.

The San Francisco Chronicle has, from the first, taken the position that the United States has the right, without the revision of the present treaty, to exclude Japanese laborers who desire to enter the United States and its possessions. Its position is clearly shown in an editorial of February 13, 1907, a portion of which reads as follows:

"What we want is the exclusion of Japanese manual workers, and that not by 'treaty,' which may imply that Japan has a voice in the matter, but by national statute. Nevertheless, this should be with all due courtesy and in pursuance of a diplomatic understanding, possibly reduced to writing, in which each nation recognizes the complete sovereignty of the other over its own territory."

Opposed by The Call.

The San Francisco Call said editorially during the early stages of the discussion, in commenting on the language of the treaty:

"When it was conceived that Chinese immigration was harmful to us, we made several ineffective attempts at exclusion, which were voided by the Courts. Finally, the Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion written by Mr. Justice Field, pointed out that exclusion legislation must be based upon an amendment to the treaty. We sent a special embassy to China and secured the desired amendment, and exclusion legislation followed. If we want to exclude the Japanese, we must take the same course. The Japanese Government has already let it be known that it will not assent to any treatment of its subjects different from that given to the people of any other nation. In other words, it adheres to the equality of treatment secured in the treaty above quoted. To advise that we proceed against Japan, with that treaty in existence, is to advise mischief."

RECOMMENDATIONS IN MY FORMER PAMPHLET.

In a brief discussion of this question in a pamphlet entitled "Restriction of Japanese Immigration," published in 1905, the present author expressed his views as follows:

"The position of The Chronicle and the action of Labor Organizations contemplates exclusion laws. The joint resolution of the State Legislature, on the other hand, requests action by the President and the State Department rather than by Congress. By entering into any such treaty the Japanese Government would declare before the world the inferiority of her people to the masses of immigrants who are coming from Europe by the hundreds of thousands.

It is only recently that Japan, after an awful struggle, succeeded in getting relief from a treaty which discriminated against her. I refer to that which limited the amount of import duty which she could collect, and exempted foreigners residing in Japan from the action of the laws of that country. Then the exemption existed both in China and Japan, and it still exists in the former. Japan is today a member of the sisterhood of civilized nations, and an ally of Great Britain. Those who suppose that she is going to forget the awful struggle and step from this pedestal and take her place along with

China, as China was twenty years ago, or even as she is today, have not yet awakened to the situation. And in writing thus I do not refer to Japan's great military and naval strength and to her power to enforce her rights. Some there are who fear, and who have given expression to their fears, but there is no 'yellow peril' of this kind so long as we hold steadily to our best American traditions."

This position, taken two years ago, the author finds no reason for changing today. That certain adjustments are necessary, all who have studied the question will admit. It must also be admitted that the United States has rights which Japan, like all other nations, is bound to respect. Still, Japan has rights under the treaty which we are bound to respect. And the adjustment, however important and urgent in the opinion of some, must be made to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. What is needed to day is a plan that will restrict undesirable immigration from whatever country, and that will apply to European nations as well as to Japan.

VIEWS OF OTHERS.

In view of their wide acquaintance with matters in the East, as well as in this country, and of the high standing and great influence of each, I present the views of President Jordan of Stanford University, Mr. George Kennen, the noted correspondent, and Hon. John Barrett, so well known in American diplomacy.

President Jordan.

The views of this prominent educator and writer are given in the article previously quoted. I am permitted to present an extract from a letter by Dr. Jordan to a prominent citizen of Los Angeles, which tersely expresses his opinion on the question. He says:

"In 1900, the Government of Japan prohibited the direct emigration of this class (laborers) to the United States. This was in the belief that they made a bad impression on Americans, and that the higher interests of the Empire might be imperiled by their presence in America. I do not know who took the initiative in this suggestion. I was in Japan at the time. I was freely told that Japan wanted the good will of America, that she would do whatever America might wish in emigration matters, but that in whatever action might seem best she must take the leading part. She had then just escaped, through the good offices of America, from the national humiliation of the outside consular jurisdiction in her treaty ports (Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, and Hakodate). Such humiliation she would not again endure, and her dependence was on America, a nation which had always been her friend, and from which her people as well as her national aspirations had always received justice.

"As Japan has checked direct immigration to the United States, so will she check indirect immigration through Hawaii, Canada, or Mexico, if we politely and diplomatically ask her to do so. This request cannot come from exclusion leagues, newspapers, State legislatures, nor yet from Congress. It can be received only through the President of the United, and the Department of State."

Mr. George Kennan.

Mr. George Kennan, the distinguished war correspondent and

author, spent several weeks in personal study of this Japanese question in preparation for a series of articles which will appear shortly in certain of our leading magazines. Because of this investigation, as well as his thorough acquaintance with things Japanese growing out of his relation to the Japanese Government during the late war, he is particularly qualified to speak wisely upon this most difficult subject. In an interview published in *The Call* of December 6, 1906, Mr. Kennen said:

"I am here as a student of the situation, and am not ready to express myself in this regard (possible clash at arms). But if the Pacific Coast, and California especially, desire to escape being overrun by Japanese, the only proper court to pursue would be to request the Government at Washington to open negotiations with Japan looking toward restrictions being placed by Japan herself upon the class and quantity of emigrants leaving that country for these shores. That would be the wiser course, instead of putting up the bars against them on this side."

Hon. John Barrett.

At a dinner given in his honor at Portland, under the auspices of the Commercial Club, Hon. John Barrett delivered a remarkable address touching our relations to the East and to South America, as reported in *The Oregonian* of December 18, 1906. He is United States Minister to Colombia, and spent several years as a representative of our country in the East during a very critical time. He said in part:

"The present situation in California is indeed serious and unfortunate, and the problem is no easy one to solve, but the solution will be reached. It will be reached with honor and satisfaction to all, provided one thing is borne in mind: that it is studied patiently and impartially, with a view to the interests of all concerned.

"The greatest desideratum to California seems to be the restriction of the entry of Japanese coolie labor. This can be brought about in only two friendly ways: either by treaty stipulations or by statutory enactment acceptable to both nations. There must be harmony of action. We cannot force Japan to sign a treaty that is not approved by the Japanese Government and people, and we cannot pass a law prohibiting Japanese coolie immigration without either revising the present treaty or, in order to avoid offending against the law of nations and precedents of international comity to the extent of precipitating a grave situation, depending upon Japan itself to restrict by law or order such emigration to the United States.

"Now it stands to reason that whatever Japan does she will be persuaded to do through our respectful consideration of her rights and honorable diplomatic treatment. Without for a moment discussing the pros and cons of the particular school issue in San Francisco, let us hope that there will be temperate judgment, patient discussion, an avoidance of rioting, rough treatment and untoward incidents pending the sincere efforts of the President, who, despite some public criticism, is deeply concerned in the progress and prosperity of the Pacific Coast, to conduct negotiations with Japan that will solve the problem in a way pleasing to all, satisfy alike the claims of California and the prestige of Japan, protect our commerce with the Far East, do away with all talk of war, and make the United States and Japan allies forever in maintaining pacific conditions on the Pacific Ocean."

JAPANESE VIEWS:**Professor Mitsukuri.**

The Chronicle of January 20, 1907, printed a remarkable letter from Professor Kakichi Mitsukuri, Dean of the College of Science of the Imperial University of Tokyo, to President David Starr Jordan, written in September, 1900. At that time there was a demand for a law prohibiting the landing of Japanese in America, which inspired the letter, a portion of which follows. Dr. Mitsukuri reviewed the history of the international relations between the United States and Japan, mentioned several reasons why the Japanese are grateful to America, and said that, take it all in all, there is no country which is regarded by the largest mass of the Japanese in so friendly and cordial a manner as America. Touching the methods of restricting Japanese immigration into America, he said:

"It is, therefore, with a sort of incredulity that we receive the news that some sections of the American people are clamoring to have a law passed prohibiting the landing of Japanese in America. It is easily conceivable to the intelligent Japanese that there may be some undesirable elements among the low class Japanese who emigrate to the Pacific Coast, and if such proves to be the case, after a due investigation by the proper authorities, the remedy might be sought, it appears to us, by coming to a diplomatic understanding on the matter and by eliminating the objectionable feature. The Japanese Government would, without doubt, be open to reason. But to pass a law condemning the Japanese wholesale for no other reason than that they are Japanese, would be striking a blow at Japan in her most sensitive point. The unfriendly act will be felt more keenly than almost anything conceivable. An open declaration of war will not be resented as much.

"The reason is not far to seek. Japan has had a long struggle in recovering those rights of an independent state which she was forced to surrender to foreign nations at the beginning of the intercourse with them and in obtaining a standing in the civilized world. And if, now that the goal is within the measurable distance, her old friend, who may be said in some sense to be almost responsible for having started her in this career, should turn her back on her and say she will no longer associate with her on equal terms, the resentment must necessarily be very bitter."

SOLUTION IN NATURALIZATION.

With the vision of a statesman, President Roosevelt, in his Message to Congress, introduced one sentence which has been the occasion of world-wide comment. The historic statement is: "I recommend to the Congress that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens." As is most natural, there is great diversity of opinion as to the wisdom of the proposed legislation.

Reasons for Naturalization.

Naturalization is a recognition of equality, and the extension of this privilege to the Japanese would result in a cessation of the agitation against them on the basis of race prejudice growing out of fancied inequality. The politicians look very differently upon immi-

grants who have not the rights of franchise from what they do upon those whose votes they think they can use. It is a sad fact that one great difficulty in securing the passage of a law restricting immigration from Europe is in the effect that such restriction would have upon the voting power of certain classes of naturalized citizens. On the other hand, talk as we may about equality, the Japanese are shrewd enough to see that they are not recognized as equal so long as they are not permitted to enjoy the privilege conferred upon certain classes of immigrants.

The Japanese people who have been recognized as the equal of various civilized peoples, by treaties of equality with the most advanced nations, and by a special treaty with Great Britain, naturally resent any discrimination against them in the different treatment of their children in the schools and in proposed exclusion laws. Neither the people of Japan nor the people of America can truly recognize an equality so long as there is different treatment.

The Japanese are in every way worthy of such full recognition. This has been seen in the discussion of the question of assimilation. To offset the charge made in the French papers that Japan is still barbarian, Professor Miwa, of the University of Kioto, has recently contributed an article in *La Revue* of Paris to show that the Japanese savants are contributing largely to the scientific knowledge of the world. These, he says, are only a few of the things which Japanese scientists have done of late years for the benefit of their country and the world at large. He tells "of the work on the multiplication of the elliptical functions by Professor Fuji, in the mathematical line, of Professor Nagaoka's study of the relation between magnetism and torsion; of Professor Sakiya's instrument to give ocular demonstrations of seismic disturbances, in physical science; of Professor Yoshida's varnish to keep the bottoms of vessels from fouling; of Professor Muabara's tubular boilers, now used exclusively in the Japanese Navy; of Professor Shimose's high explosive, which exerts more power than lyddite; of Professor Shimoyama's successful experiments in the treatment of camphor, which have made the export of that gum possible from Formosa; and of the work of Professor Nagai, which enables Japan to export indigo." The Japanese are generally recognized as among the most advanced in medical science. These only illustrate that there is an equality which the American people have not recognized.

Conservative as the Japanese nation has been compelled to be, she has opened her doors of citizenship to the peoples of other countries. The late Dr. Verbeck, whose distinguished services to Japan are a matter of common knowledge, after years of residence in Japan, found himself without a country, having left his home in Holland for America before he became of age, and having left this country for Japan without being naturalized. Before naturalization laws in Japan made possible any such recognition, the Japanese Government magnanimously extended special privileges to Dr. Verbeck, practically

recognizing him as a citizen. Still later, Mr. Hearne, the distinguished writer, became a Japanese subject, and others followed his example.

Japanese Expatriation.

A recent Washington dispatch reports Senator Perkins as having said: "The inherent Japanese traits of patriotic impulses will make them a foreign element in any country to which they may migrate. The Japanese, wherever distributed, will remain a considerable unit in the aspirations of the Japanese race; and, however distant their residence from the throne of the Mikado, will still constitute an element of strength in the unity of the Empire. Naturalization in any country to which they might migrate will not eliminate this racial instinct." Concerning this, *The Pacific*, in its issue of February 7, 1907, says:

"The treatment of the Japanese by our nation has not been such as to encourage expatriation on their part. The few that have sought naturalization have been refused. Senator Perkins ought to be willing to give them an opportunity to expatriate themselves and to show, as other nationalities have had opportunity to show, that they can be as loyal to their adopted as to their native country. Certainly, so long as that has not been done, there is no justification for any dogmatic assertion that expatriation is a thing impossible to a Japanese. There was a time when it was claimed that the Germans, who came here in great numbers after the revolution of 1848, would subvert the principles of American Government. And in the earlier years of our national history there were ever those who were fearful that many of those whom we received to citizenship would in a crisis prefer their native to their adopted country. Time has shown all these things to have been bugbears."

Should Open the Way for Further Legislation.

Not only will the granting of naturalization privileges to Japanese, who come here intending to become American citizens, aid in the settlement of these vexed questions which seem of special importance to the Pacific Coast, but it will further aid in the correction of abuses in European immigration and in the settlement of the broader question of elevating the standard of American citizenship. Rev. Dr. Doremus Scudder, who has had many years of experience in Hawaii, writes to *The Pacific*:

"President Roosevelt is right. He has proved himself a seer in suggesting naturalization for Japanese. The next step will be to grant this to all men upon precisely equal terms. This does not mean that we should not safeguard our citizenship. Japan will have done us an incalculable benefit if as an outcome of this controversy our Government be led to require that no alien shall be naturalized before passing an English examination in American civics under the auspices of a board constituted somewhat after the manner of our Board of Civil Service Commissioners. With such a safeguard we can afford to admit men of any race to our citizenship."

In refutation of the oft-repeated assertion that Hawaii is today a Japanese colony, Dr. Scudder says:

"No possible statement could be further from the truth. Numerically, the people of this race predominate, but the one noticeable feature of the life of these islands is the victory of American ideals over those of Asia here. Instead of Hawaii being Japanese in civili-

zation, it is more truly American than San Francisco has been since the era of pure government immediately succeeding the rise of the vigilantes and preceding the days of fierce anti-Chinese agitation. The test of a civilization is not found in the clothes worn or in skin color, but in the spirit which moves forward toward the realization of higher ideals."

Governor Carter of Hawaii is doubtless in accord with these views, for he advocates the admission of Japanese children to the public schools, as noted in Chapter III., and, as reported in a Honolulu telegram, December 8, 1906, he expresses his approval of the naturalization of Japanese as advocated by President Roosevelt in his Message to Congress.

It will require keen insight on the part of our statesmen, and sufficient courage as well, to overcome the opposition of Organized Labor in bringing about the passage of a naturalization law as recommended by the President. But the frank recognition of perfect equality, including our belief in the genuine patriotism of the Japanese people, not to speak of the benefit that will accrue to us as a nation, should lead to the passage of the proposed law.

COMPROMISE DANGEROUS.

It is important that the questions at issue should be settled in a way which will commend itself to all parties concerned. An adjustment secured in haste and without that sense of justice which has been characteristic of our Republic from the beginning would prove a great calamity. The love of fair play is both an American and a Japanese trait. In discussing the moral reasons which should draw the United States and Japan closer and closer together, Ambassador Aoki, in an address, a part of which has already been quoted, said:

"It should be observed that, while the political institutions of the two countries widely differ in form, yet that high sense of liberty, equality and justice which forms the ideal of the American national life is also the guiding principle of Japan's political life. The love of fair play, which is often referred to as a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon characteristic, I am proud to say, is also found in the blood of the Japanese people. It is, therefore, safe to say that, so long as the two peoples do not change, the commercial activities of the two peoples will be characterized by that sense of fairness which is after all the best guarantee of peace in the intercourse of nations, no less than in the intercourse of individuals."

Temporary Settlement.

Just as this pamphlet is being handed to the printer, the telegrams from Washington indicate that a temporary settlement has been arranged. A statement issued by Mayor Schmitz, which is reported to have the endorsement of the President, is, in part, as follows:

"We have every reason to believe that the administration now shares, and that it will share, our way of looking at the problem, and that the result we desire—the cessation of the immigration of Japanese laborers, skilled and unskilled, to this country, will speedily be achieved. A striking proof of the administration's attitude is shown by the passage of the immigration bill which will bar out Japanese coming hither by way of Hawaii, Mexico, Canada and the canal zone

by enforcing limitations which Japan voluntarily puts into the passports issued by her Government.

"In view of our numerous interviews with the President and our understanding thereof, we feel that the question whether the right at issue was or was not given by treaty has been passed and has been absolutely eliminated from this controversy, and the proposition involved is one of comity and public policy. Such being the case, we are fully in accord with the view of the administration to the effect that the attainment of the exclusion of all Japanese laborers, skilled or unskilled, should not be complicated with or endangered by the exercise of right of segregation by the School Board, authorized by Section 1662 of the Political Code of the State of California.

"As a condition to the modification of the resolution we respectfully insist that the legal proceedings heretofore instituted be dismissed forthwith, and that it is expressly understood that we have not conceded, and do not concede, or intend to concede, that our action was in violation of any of the stipulations of the treaty between the United States and Japan, but on the contrary, we do claim and assert that if any stipulation contained in said treaty is inconsistent or conflicts with the power and authority given by Section 1662 of the political Code of the State of California, then so far as said treaty attempts to circumscribe or prevent the Board of Education from regulating its own school affairs, as an exercise of local police power, such provisions in said treaty are nugatory and void."

It is impossible to believe in a satisfactory settlement on the basis indicated. The great questions at issue between Japan and the United States and between the United States and the State of California would seem to be still open and liable to cause even greater trouble in the future than in the past. The Japanese were excluded from the schools of California on the ground that they are Mongolians, and the editor of *The Chronicle*, the City Attorney of San Francisco and the Senate of the State of California have acknowledged that the Board had no ground to stand on. It is not surprising then, that the telegrams from Japan indicate dissatisfaction with the settlement. Their children of proper school age, under certain conditions, are to return to the San Francisco public schools, and in return their laborers, skilled and unskilled, are not permitted to pass from Hawaii to the mainland. This seems to be a settlement that will be cause for endless friction and even more serious international complications.

Proposed Settlement of School Question.

The statement of Mayor Schmitz, above referred to, contains the following substitute for the order segregating the Japanese children from the public schools of San Francisco:

"It is therefore proposed by the Board of Education of San Francisco to modify the order segregating the Japanese public school children of San Francisco heretofore made by amending the resolution to read as follows:

"Section 1. Children of alien races who speak the English language, in order to determine the proper grade in which they may be enrolled, must first be examined as to their educational qualifications by the principal of the school where their application for enrollment shall have been made.

"Section 2. That no child of alien birth over the ages of 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, or 16 years shall be enrolled in any of the first, second

third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grades, respectively.

"Section 3. If said alien children shall be found deficient in their ability to speak, or deficient in the elements of the English language, or unable to attend the grades mentioned in Section 2 by reason of the restrictions mentioned therein, such children shall be enrolled in special schools or in special classes established exclusively for such children as and in the manner the Board of Education shall deem proper and most expedient."

The Chronicle of February 20, 1907, in an editorial entitled "The Compromise," says, in part:

"We have caused the acceptance of the principle that Oriental manual workers are to be kept out of the United States. That has been virtually accepted by the United States Government, and is said to have been conceded by the Japanese. Another thing has happened, and that is that we have agreed to recognize the authority of a foreign sovereign to prohibit his subjects from entering our territory or to permit them to do so. If a Japanese immigrant is stopped under the law, it is because his sovereign has not given him permission to come here. If his passport shows that he has received permission to enter, we are powerless. That may do as a temporary *modus vivendi*, but for nothing more. It is not satisfactory.

"Finally, as a result of the school trouble, the cause of exclusion has been put forward to a point which its most ardent advocates could not have dreamed of reaching in so short a time. The active discussion has been going on for but two years, and exclusion is in sight."

The Broader Adjustment.

This adjustment would have been impossible but for the fact that there was pending in conference committee of the Senate and House of Representatives a general immigration bill, which was held up by the members of the upper house, who insisted on an educational test, to which the lower house would not assent.

The Senators finally yielded to the House committee in the matter of excluding illiterates, a new clause being inserted empowering the President to deny admission to aliens without proper passports. No nationality is directly mentioned, but the new law is understood to apply specially to the Japanese, as that government does not allow laborers to leave Japan without passports, and not directly for the United States. It is hoped in this way to restrict migration of Japanese from Hawaii to the mainland, to adjust the general immigration question thus tied up in the committee, and to solve the San Francisco school problem.

Difficulties of Further Negotiations.

The present settlement is understood to be temporary, and contemplates further negotiations with the Japanese Government. It certainly would have been easier to conduct these and reach a satisfactory conclusion had it not been for this agitation covering two full years, for the unjust and untimely order of segregation, and for this recognized compromise in the settlement. The President has won, but a large element in California and in Japan will regard themselves as losers. The Californians lost in the school decision and have not secured what they deem important in the matter of restricting immigration. The Japanese lost in the segregation of pupils over sixteen years of age, which they deem entirely proper, but especially in the recent act of Congress, unless it was taken at the request of the Japa-

nese Government. If we now turn back Japanese arriving in this country without passports issued for coast ports by their Government, while admitting immigrants from various European countries, we are discriminating against them, and it will be so interpreted. If the Japanese Government has requested such policing of its subjects, all is well, and there is no fear of complications so far as they are concerned.

The Agitation Will Continue.

A bad feature, at present, is the dissatisfaction of the people in California.

A certain element in San Francisco expresses its willingness to trust neither the Emperor of Japan nor the President, but clamors for absolute restriction by law and treaty. This view is voiced in a special dispatch from San Francisco to *The Berkeley Independent*, February 20, 1907, as follows:

"About the only thing discussed in the city now is the news from Washington, and it is very safe to say that the result of the conference between the Mayor and the President is going to have a very decided effect upon politics hereabout. That people here will not be satisfied with the simple amendment to the treaty allowing the President to enforce exclusion or not, as he chooses, goes without saying.

"At best it means that the agitation will be prolonged indefinitely, and that the ultimate result will be much ill feeling and possibly riots and trouble of a very serious character before it is over. Possibly, if absolute exclusion were granted, the school question could be easily settled, but no one believes that absolute exclusion for Japanese coolies has been secured, and the President has shown such a decided leaning towards the Japanese that there is a lack of confidence in the method that he will enforce the law. Most people seem to think that it means a club placed in his hands to coerce Californians to do as he wants, that hurts the President's prestige here, instead of strengthening it."

It seems clear, then, that the agitation will continue in California until the promoters of this agitation secure something that fully satisfies them. Absolute exclusion by act of Congress, or even by treaty, is a long way off.

The Exclusion League on Further Agitation.

The Japanese-Korean Exclusion League, at a convention held Monday, March 10, as reported in the *Chronicle* the following day, decided unanimously to continue the agitation in the following resolution,—

"Resolved—That in view of the unsatisfactory condition of the immigration law recently enacted by Congress with reference to the exclusion of Japanese and Koreans, this League hereby asserts its determination to continue the agitation for the enactment of an act by Congress for the complete exclusion of Japanese and Koreans."

According to the report, opinions in the convention were very much divided as to whether the Mayor and School Board merited praise or censure, but there was but one opinion as to the amended immigration law which gives option to the President to exclude

Japanese coming to the coast from Hawaii and other insular possessions. Nothing short of an absolute exclusion law will satisfy the Exclusion League.

Mr. MacArthur Again.

As a side light concerning the safety of Mr. MacArthur as a leader in the agitation against the Japanese, it is well to note that he was a prominent speaker at the Defense League's First Assembly, Sunday, March 3, 1907, as reported in *The Chronicle* the following day. The headlines are significant: "Hiss Old Glory at Mass Meeting—Unseemly Demonstration at the Defense League's First Assembly—Capitalists Threatened—Union Labor Leaders Intimate that Force May Be Used." The article began thus:

"The hissing of the flag of the United States, and the lowering of the national emblem in response to demands of frenzied partisans, the singing of the 'Marseillaise' by a great crowd in the street outside the place of assembly, and the impassioned declarations of labor leaders, that force should be resorted to, if necessary, to free Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood and George A. Pettibone, were incidents of the first mass meeting of the Miners' Defense League, held at Walton's Pavilion yesterday afternoon, and attended by over 4000 union labor men."

The first speaker was Mr. George Tracy, president of the State Federation of Labor. He was followed by Mr. Walter MacArthur, who announced that he represented the San Francisco Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor.

The correspondent of *The Chronicle* says that MacArthur, after speaking most highly of the three men, and stating that Former Governor Steunenberg of Idaho deserved all the contempt that union labor bestowed upon him, and after reciting the incident of the kidnaping of the union leaders, severely criticised the decision of the United States Supreme Court in upholding the action of the Idaho authorities. The resolution as adopted, as printed in *The Chronicle*, contains these sentences: "At last comes the decision of the United States Supreme Court (the supreme guessing machine), handing down the decision that it makes no difference how our brothers were taken to jail, they are there to remain. Thus, in the language of Justice McKenna, 'kidnaping is legalized.' . . . Further, we demand an immediate trial before a jury of their peers. And in asking for a jury trial we would also remind the Mine Owners' Association and the capitalist class in general, 'If you pack the jury and attempt to judicially murder our brothers, we will help pack —— full of you.'"

In nothing that appears in this chapter or elsewhere in this pamphlet is there any intention of striking at Organized Labor. The author recognizes that Trades Unions have a legitimate field, and that in the present state of society combination seems to be necessary for self-protection. The utmost wisdom is essential, however, in the

management of these unions, especially as they increase in number and power. What is capable of being a great blessing may, under the dictation of unwise leaders, become the opposite. The object in the present publication is to give the facts. The readers must draw their own conclusions as to whether the various labor organizations in San Francisco are an unmixed blessing.

LATER DEVELOPEMENTS.

Measures Before the Legislature.

In view of the activity of the Exclusion League at the State Capital and the evident desire of many members of both Houses of the State Legislature to pass something during the closing days of the session that would satisfy the agitators, the printer's forms were held open for a few days in order to give the readers the very latest information. Several measures were pending, viz: Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 (Sanford) against extending the elective franchise to aliens, in opposition to the recommendation of President Roosevelt; Senate Joint Resolution No. 11 (Black), a most radical measure to which reference is made elsewhere, favoring a national exclusion treaty against Japanese; Senate Bill 805 (Caminetti) intended as a rebuke to Mayor Schmitz and the School Board for their surrender in Washington, and providing that the Japanese are among those for whom separate schools are provided and that the abolition of said schools be left to the people in the districts in which they may be located; Senate Amendment (Wolfe) providing for an age limit for admission into the regular schools, giving school officials discretion in the matter of the age of pupils in the primary grade, and providing for the education of other Japanese in separate schools; Senate Bill 930 (Keane) asking for the submission of the Asiatic question to a vote of the people of California in 1908; Assembly Bills 404 and 527 (Drew) providing that no alien shall hold property for more than five years without becoming naturalized which is not allowed in the case of Japanese, and further providing that leases be limited to one year; and one or two other measures. While some of these do not mention the Japanese, it is understood that they are all anti-Japanese.

Vigorous Action of the President.

Realizing the danger of any action whatever on the Japanese question on the part of the State Legislature, and of further delay on the part of the school board in keeping its pledge to rescind the famous resolution of October 11, 1906, President Roosevelt sent a telegram to Governor Gillett making known his views. His special Message contains the latter's telegram of inquiry and the reply of the President in full. It is as follows:

"To the Assembly of the State of California: I have the honor to advise your honorable body that yesterday I forwarded to the President of the United States a telegram of which the following is a copy:

“SACRAMENTO (Cal.) March 11, 1907—Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.: A bill is now pending in our Legislature to submit to the voters two years from now the question as to whether or not Japanese labor shall be excluded from this country. Will the passage of this bill interfere with any of your plans or make it more difficult for you to accomplish what you have undertaken to do in the way of Japanese exclusion? Please answer at once, as our Legislature is desirous of knowing concerning it.

(Signed) “JAMES N. GILLETT,
“Governor of California.”

“In reply to this telegram I received from the President the following message:

“Hon. James N. Gillett, Governor of California: I thank you for your kind and prompt attention to my request. Passage of a bill for submission to voters of California whether Japanese laborers shall be excluded will interfere with my plans and make it more difficult for me to accomplish through the national government what I am trying to do in the matter of Japanese labor exclusion.

“The assumption of power by the voters of California to settle this question, if assented by the national government, would immediately end all my negotiations with Japan for friendly adjustment, because to negotiate a settlement we must have power to settle, while on the other hand California cannot negotiate a treaty under the constitution.

“It is, however, perfectly clear that under the Constitution only the national government can settle the question of exclusion, and such a vote of California as is proposed would have to be treated as entirely nugatory, while it would probably be regarded by those opposed to exclusion as a threat to ignore the constitutional power of the United States and exclude Japanese in defiance of their treaty rights to come in.

“I earnestly deprecate the passage of any legislation affecting the Japanese. The National Government now has the matter in hand, and can in all human probability secure the results that California desires, while at the same time preserving unbroken and friendly relations between the United States and Japan.

“I have the interest of California most deeply at heart. I shall strive to accomplish for California, as for other State or sections of this country, everything that can conserve its honor and its interest. Any such action as that you mention would merely hamper the National Government in the effort to secure for California what only the National Government can secure.

(Signed) “THEODORE ROOSEVELT.”

“I understand it is not the intention of the Legislature to pass at this session any measure whatever affecting the Japanese. I believe this to be excellent judgment on the part of the Legislature, because to do so, as suggested by the President, might interfere with and hamper the national government in making proper treaties with Japan and bringing about the result which California desires, to wit: Japanese exclusion.

“I forward this message of the President to you because I desire that you shall know before adjourning, the views entertained by him at this time upon this all-important question.

(Signed) “J. N. GILLETT,”
Governor of California.

Revised Action of the Board of Education.

It was the evident desire of the School Board to have the case in the courts dropped before taking any action, but the Presi-

dent would not have it so. The Mayor then sent the following telegram to the President:

"At a regular meeting of the Board of Education tomorrow, resolutions agreed upon will be adopted. Would suggest notice of dismissal of suit by you same day. Will live up to the spirit and letter of the agreement. E. E. SCHMITZ, Mayor."

The President replied congratulating the people of the United States, and especially the people of California, on the outcome and stated that he had directed the dismissal of the suit to take place immediately upon the adoption of the resolution by the Board of Education. The following day, March 13, the Board rescinded its resolution of October 11, 1906, and adopted an alternative resolution as agreed upon. United States District Attorney Devlin thereupon dismissed the case of the Japanese boy, Aoki, in the United States Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of California. The action of the Board is as follows:

"Resolved and ordered, That the following resolution, adopted by the Board of Education October 11, 1906, be and the same is hereby repealed, excepting insofar as it applies to Chinese and Korean children;

"Resolved, That in accordance with article X, section 1662, of the school law of California principals are hereby directed to send all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children to the Oriental Public School, situated on the south side of Clay street, between Powell and Mason, on and after Monday, Oct. 15, 1906.

"Resolved, Section 1. Children of all alien races who speak the English language, in order to determine the proper grade to which they may be entitled to be enrolled, must first be examined as to their educational qualifications by the principal of the school where the application for enrollment shall have been made.

"Section 2. That no child of alien birth over the ages of 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 years shall be enrolled in any of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grades, respectively. Section 3. If said alien children shall be found deficient in their ability to speak, or deficient in the elements of the English language, or unable to attend the grades mentioned in section 2 by reason of the restrictions mentioned therein, such children shall be enrolled in special schools or in special classes established exclusively for such children as in the manner the Board of Education shall deem proper and most expedient."

Executive Order Concerning Exclusion of Japanese.

An order which is destined to be even more historic than that of the School Board recently rescinded is thus referred to in a special dispatch to the San Francisco Chronicle. It is the first real step toward the exclusion of Japanese from this country. The question of discrimination depends solely upon the understanding with Japan and upon what it is proposed to do concerning the hordes that are pouring in from Europe at the rate of 20,000 per week. The dispatch, including the order, is as follows:

WASHINGTON, March 14.—President Roosevelt today issued an executive order directing that Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled and unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico or Canada or Hawaii, and come from there, be refused to enter

the continental territory.

Authority to refuse permission to the classes of persons cited by the President to enter the continental territory of the United States is contained in the immigration bill approved February 25th. It was incorporated in that measure at the request of the President and in fulfillment of a promise he made to Mayor Schmitz and the School Board of San Francisco during their negotiations at the White House if the San Francisco authorities would rescind their action on the school question.

The President's order follows:

"Whereas, By the act entitled 'An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States,' approved February 25, 1907, whenever the President is satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any other country than the United States, or any insular possession of the United States, or to the canals being used for the purpose of enabling the immigrants coming to the United States, it is recommended that such persons be refused citizenship to the United States or such insular possessions or the canal zone.

"And whereas, upon sufficient evidence, produced before me by the Department of Commerce and Labor, I am satisfied that passports issued by the Government of Japan to citizens of that country or Korea, and who are laborers, skilled or unskilled, to go to Mexico, Canada and to Hawaii, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders thereof to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor therein,

"I hereby order that such citizens of Japan or Korea, to wit, Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled and unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada or Hawaii and come therefrom, be refused admission to the continental territory of the United States.

"It is further ordered that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and he is hereby directed to take through the bureau of immigration and naturalization such measures and to make and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry this order into effect.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Coincident with this order, the President has directed dismissal of the two suits filed in San Francisco, at the direction of the Department of Justice, which had in view the testing of the question of treaty rights of Japanese children to enter the white schools. This step the President had promised to take when the School Board rescinded its original action barring Japanese children from the white schools.

Concluding Words.

The object in putting out this pamphlet, as stated at the outset, has been to give the gist of the question in all its bearings, in as little space as possible; to embalm current literature upon the subject; to furnish proof of the real nature of the campaign, laying stress upon the fact that a large and influential class in California have no sympathy with the movement against the Japanese; and to point out the only satisfactory solution to the problems.

The school question has been settled for the present, and let us hope for all time. It would be a great pity to have it break out again in San Francisco or in some of the other cities of the State, as a result

of further agitation and in consequence of the cases being withdrawn from the courts.

The permanent settlement of the greater question—that of immigration—will depend upon careful restriction arranged and enforced by the Japanese Government, and upon the door being opened by the United States, under proper restrictions, for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens.

APPENDIX--A

Extract from President Roosevelt's Message to Congress Concerning the Japanese Question

It is a mistake, and it betrays a spirit of foolish cynicism, to maintain that all international governmental action is, and must ever be, based upon mere selfishness, and that to advance ethical reasons for such action is always a sign of hypocrisy. This is no more necessarily true of the action of governments than of the action of individuals. It is a sure sign of a base nature always to ascribe base motives for the actions of others. Unquestionably no nation can afford to disregard proper considerations of self-interest, any more than a private individual can do so. But it is equally true that the average private individual in any really decent community does many actions with reference to other men in which he is guided, not by self interest, but by public spirit, by regard for the rights of others, by a disinterested purpose to do good to others, and to raise the tone of the community as a whole. Similarly, a really great nation must often act, and as a matter of fact, does act, toward other nations in a spirit not in the least of mere self-interest, but paying heed chiefly to ethical reasons; and as the centuries go by this disinterestedness in international action, this tendency of the individuals comprising a nation to require that nation to act with justice toward its neighbors, steadily grows and strengthens. It is neither wise nor right for a nation to disregard its own needs, and it is foolish—and may be wicked—to think that other nations will disregard theirs. But it is wicked for a nation only to regard its own interest, and foolish to believe that such is the sole motive that actuates any other nation. It should be our steady aim to raise the ethical standard of natural action, just as we strive to raise the ethical standard of individual action.

Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or gentile; whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbors and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is, of course, peculiarly incumbent on every Government official, whether of the Nation or of the several States.

I am prompted to say this by the attitude of hostility here and there assumed toward the Japanese in this country. This hostility is

sporadic, and is limited to a very few places. Nevertheless, it is most discreditable to us as a people, and it may be fraught with the gravest consequences to the nation. The friendship between the United States and Japan has been continuous since the time, over half a century ago, when Commodore Perry, by his expedition to Japan, first opened the islands to Western civilization. Since then the growth of Japan has been literally astounding. There is not only nothing to parallel it, but nothing to approach it in the history of civilized mankind. Japan has a glorious and ancient past. Her civilization is older than that of the nations of Northern Europe—the nations from whom the people of the United States have chiefly sprung.

But fifty years ago Japan's development was still that of the middle ages. During that fifty years the progress of the country in every walk in life has been a marvel to mankind, and she now stands as one of the greatest of civilized nations; great in the arts of war and in the arts of peace; great in military, in industrial, in artistic development and achievement. Japanese soldiers and sailors have shown themselves equal in combat to any of whom history makes note. She has produced great generals and mighty admirals; her fighting men, afloat and ashore, show all the heroic courage, the unquestioning, unflinching loyalty, the splendid indifference to hardship and death, which marked the loyal Ronins; and they show also that they possess the highest ideal of patriotism. Japanese artists of every kind see their products eagerly sought for in all lands. The industrial and commercial development of Japan has been phenomenal—greater than that of any other country during the same period. At the same time, the advance in science and philosophy is no less marked. The admirable management of the Japanese Red Cross during the late war, the efficiency and humanity of the Japanese officials, nurses and doctors, won the respectful admiration of all acquainted with the facts.

Through the Red Cross the Japanese people sent over \$100,000 to the sufferers of San Francisco, and the gift was accepted with gratitude by our people. The courtesy of the Japanese, nationally and individually, has become proverbial. To no other country has there been such an increasing number of visitors from the land as to Japan. In return, Japanese have come here in great numbers. They are welcome, socially and intellectually, in all our colleges and institutions of higher learning, in all our professional and social bodies. The Japanese have won in a single generation the right to stand abreast of the foremost and most enlightened peoples of Europe and America; they have won on their own merits and by their own exertions the right to treatment on a basis of full and frank equality.

The overwhelming mass of our people cherish a lively regard and respect for the people of Japan, and in almost every quarter of the Union the stranger from Japan is treated as he deserves—that is, he is treated as the stranger from any part of civilized Europe is and deserves to be treated. But here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese—the feeling that has been shown in shutting them out from the common schools in San Francisco, and in mutterings against them in one or two other places because of their efficiency as workers.

To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity, when there are no first-class colleges in the land, including the universities and colleges of California, which do not gladly welcome Japanese students and on which Japanese students do not reflect credit. We have as much to learn from Japan as Japan has to learn from us, and no nation is fit to teach unless it is also willing to learn. Throughout Japan Americans are well treated, and any failure on the part of Americans at home to treat the Japanese with a like courtesy and

consideration is by just so much a confession of inferiority in our own civilization.

Our nation fronts on the Pacific, just as it fronts on the Atlantic. We hope to play a constantly growing part in the great ocean of the Orient. We wish, as we ought to wish, for a great commercial development in our dealings with Asia, and it is out of the question that we should permanently have such development unless we freely and gladly extend to other nations the same measure of justice and good treatment, that we expect to receive in return. It is only a very small body of our citizens that act badly. Where the Federal Government has power it will deal summarily with any such. Where the several States have power, I earnestly ask that they also deal wisely and promptly with such conduct, or else this small body of wrongdoers may bring shame upon the great mass of their innocent and right-thinking fellows—that is, upon our nation as a whole. Good manners should be an international no less than an individual attribute. I ask fair treatment for the Japanese as I would ask fair treatment for Germans or Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians or Italians. I ask it as due to humanity and civilization. I ask it as due to ourselves because we must act uprightly toward all men.

I recommend to the Congress that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens. One of the great embarrassments attending the performance of our national obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the National Government ample power, through United States Courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. Even as the law now is, something can be done by the Federal Government toward this end, and in the matter now before me affecting the Japanese, everything that it is in my power to do will be done, and all of the forces, military and civil, of the United States, which I may lawfully employ will be so employed. There should, however, be no particle of doubt as to the power of the National Government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this Government it would never venture the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government be limited, not to preventing the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrongdoing.

B.—THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND MESSAGE AND SECRETARY METCALF'S REPORT.

(Reprinted from The Oakland Tribune, December 18, 1907.)
 WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—President Roosevelt's special message

on the Japanese situation in San Francisco, accompanying Secretary Metcalf's report, was sent to Congress today. The message and report follow:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I inclose herewith for your information the final report made to me personally by Secretary Metcalf on the situation affecting the Japanese in San Francisco. The report deals with three matters of controversy—first, the exclusion of the Japanese children from the San Francisco schools; second, the boycotting of Japanese restaurants, and, third, acts of violence committed against the Japanese.

As to the first matter, I call your especial attention to the very small number of Japanese children who attend school, to the testimony as to the brightness, cleanliness and good behavior of these Japanese children in the schools, and to the fact that, owing to their being scattered throughout the city, the requirement for them all to go to one special school is impossible of fulfillment and means that they cannot have school facilities. Let me point out further that there would be no objection whatever to excluding from the schools any Japanese on the score of age. It is obviously not desirable that young men should go to school with children. The only point is the exclusion of the children themselves. The number of Japanese children attending the public schools in San Francisco is very small. The Government has already directed that suit be brought to test the constitutionality of the act in question; but my very earnest hope is that such suit will not be necessary, and that as a matter of comity the citizens of San Francisco will refuse to deprive these young Japanese children of education and will permit them to go to the schools.

The question as to the violence against the Japanese is most admirably put by Secretary Metcalf, and I have nothing to add to his statement. I am entirely confident that, as Secretary Metcalf says, the overwhelming sentiment of the State of California is for law and order and for the protection of the Japanese in their persons and property. Both the Chief of Police and the acting Mayor of San Francisco assured Secretary Metcalf that everything possible would be done to protect the Japanese in the city. I authorized and directed Secretary Metcalf to state that if there was failure to protect persons and property, then the entire power of the Federal Government within the limits of the constitution would be used promptly and vigorously to enforce the observance of our treaty, the supreme law of the land, which treaty guaranteed to Japanese residents everywhere in the Union full and perfect protection for their persons and property; and to this end everything in my power would be done, and all the forces of the United States, both civil and military, which I could lawfully employ, would be employed. I call special attention to the concluding sentence of Secretary Metcalf's report of November 26, 1906.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The White House, December 18, 1906.

SECRETARY METCALF'S REPORT IN FULL.

The President:

I have the honor to submit the following:

In my previous report I said nothing as to the causes leading up to the action of the School Board in passing the resolution of October 11, and the effect of such action upon Japanese children, residents of the City of San Francisco, desiring to attend the public schools of that city. A report on this matter will now be made, therefore; and after describing the local public sentiment concerning the recent disturbances with regard to the Japanese, an account will be given, first,

of the boycott maintained by the Cooks and Waiters Union of San Francisco against Japanese restaurants doing business in that city, and, second, of the several cases of assault or injury inflicted upon the persons or property of Japanese residents.

It seems that for several years the Board of Education of San Francisco has been considering the advisability of establishing separate schools for Chinese, Japanese and Korean children, and on May 6, 1905, passed the following resolution:

Resolution of Board.

"Resolved, That the Board of Education is determined in its efforts to effect the establishment of separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, not only for the purpose of relieving the congestion at present prevailing in our schools, but also for the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with pupils of the Mongolian race."

And on October 11 the Board passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in accordance with Article X, Section 1662, of the School Law of California, principals are hereby directed to send all Chinese, Japanese or Korean children to the Oriental public school, situated on the south side of Clay street, between Powell and Mason streets, on and after Monday, October 15, 1906."

The action of the Board in the passage of the resolutions of May 6, 1905, and October 11, 1906, was undoubtedly largely influenced by the activity of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, an organization formed for the purpose of securing the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a law extending the provisions of the existing Chinese exclusion act so as to exclude Japanese and Koreans. The League claims a membership in the State of California of 78,500, three-fourths of which membership is said to be in the City of San Francisco. The membership is composed almost entirely of members of labor organizations. Section 2, Article 2, of the constitution of the league is as follows:

"The league as such shall not adopt any measures or discrimination against any Chinese, Japanese or Koreans now or hereafter lawfully resident in the United States."

Yet, on October 22, 1905, at a meeting of the league held in San Francisco, as reported in *The San Francisco Chronicle* of October 23, 1905, a resolution was adopted by the league instructing its executive committee to appear before the Board of Education and petition for separate schools for the Mongolian children of San Francisco.

Prior to the action of the league, the Board of Education, as I am informed, received many protests from citizens of San Francisco, whose children were attending the public schools, against Japanese being permitted to attend those schools. These protests were mainly against Japanese boys and men ranging from 16 to 22, 23 and 24 years of age attending the primary grades and sitting beside little girls and boys of seven and eight years of age. When these complaints became known to Japanese residents, I am informed that some of the older pupils left the primary grades.

Number of Japanese Pupils.

On the day when the order of October 11 went into effect, viz., October 15, there were attending the public schools of the City of San Francisco ninety-three Japanese pupils. These pupils were distributed among twenty-three schools of the primary grades. There are eight grades in the public schools of San Francisco, the first grade being the lowest and the eighth the highest—graduates of the eighth grade going into the High School. Of this total of ninety-three pupils, sixty-eight were born in Japan and twenty-five in the United States.

Those born in the United States would, of course, under Section I, Article XIV. of the Constitution of the United States, be citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside, and as such subject to the laws of the Nation as well as of the State.

The ages of the pupils attending the public schools on the day when the order went into effect ranged from seven to twenty years. A list of pupils attending the schools, which list gives the name of each pupil, name of school, age of pupil, grade, place of birth, and sex, is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit A." It will be observed that those born in the United States occupy about the same position in the different grades as American children of the same age, while those born in Japan are very much older. It will be noted that the Japanese students were distributed among the grades as follows:

		Japan born		Native born				Japan born		Native born	
Grade.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	Grade.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.		
Eighth	1	20	1	14	Fourth	1	11	...	...
	1	19	...	...		2	19	1	13
	2	18	...	...		1	18	1	11
	5	17	...	...		1	17	1	10
	3	16	...	...		1	15	1	9
Seventh	3	15	...	...	3	13	...	...	
	1	14	...	...	2	12	...	...	
	2	17	0	0	1	11	...	...	
	3	16	...	...	2	10	...	...	
	2	15	...	...	1	16	2	10	
Sixth	1	20	1	13	Third	1	15	1	8		
	1	18	...	...		2	12	1	7
	1	19	1	12		2	8	...	...
	4	17	...	...		1	1	...	...
	2	16	...	...		1	10	1	12
Fifth	2	15	...	...	1	9	1	10	
	1	14	...	...	..	...	1	9	
	2	18	1	11	..	...	4	8	
	1	17	...	...	..	...	1	7	
	1	14	...	...	First	1	11	1	8
2	13	...	...	1		8	2	7	
2	12	...	...	..		...	2	6	

The number of schools in San Francisco prior to April 18 was 76. Of this number 28 primary or grammar schools and two high schools were destroyed by fire, and one high school was destroyed by earthquake, leaving 45 schools. Since April 18 twenty-seven temporary structures have been erected, making the total number of school buildings at the present time 72. A map showing the location of the public schools in San Francisco attended by Japanese pupils up to the time the order of the board went into effect as herewith submitted, and marked "Exhibit B." The portion of the map marked off with red ink indicates the burned section of San Francisco.

Oriental School.

The Oriental School, the school set apart for the Chinese, Japanese and Korean children, is in the burned section. There is only one Japanese student attending this school at the present time, and there are no Japanese children attending any of the other public schools. I visited the Oriental School in company with the Japanese Consul, and found it to compare favorably with many of the new temporary structures erected in the city. The course of instruction is exactly the same as at the other public schools, and competent teachers are assigned for duty in this school. Nearly all of the pupils attending this school have to be taught the English language.

Children Cannot Attend.

An examination of the map attached hereto will at once clearly show that it will be absolutely impossible for children residing in the remote sections of the city to attend the Oriental School. The conditions in San Francisco are such, owing to the great conflagration, that it would not be possible even for grown children living at remote distances to attend this school. If the action of the Board stands, then, and if no schools are provided in addition to the one mentioned, it seems that a number of Japanese children will be prevented from attending the public schools and will have to resort to private instruction.

I found the sentiment of the State very strong against Japanese young men attending the primary grades. Many of the people were outspoken in their condemnation of this course, saying that they would take exactly the same stand against American young men of similar ages attending the primary grades. I am frank to say this objection seems to me a most reasonable one. All of the political parties in the State have inserted in their platforms, planks in favor of Japanese and Corean exclusion, and on March 7, 1905, the State Legislature passed a joint resolution urging that action be taken by treaty or otherwise to limit and diminish the further immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States.

Press Is Hostile.

The press of San Francisco pretty generally upholds the action of the Board of Education. Of the attitude of the more violent and radical newspapers it is unnecessary to speak further than to say that their tone is the usual tone of hostility to "Mongol hordes," and the burden of their claim is that Japanese are not better than Chinese, and that the same reasons which dictated the exclusion of the Chinese call for the exclusion of the Japanese as well.

The temper and tone of the more conservative newspapers may better be illustrated by an epitome of their argument upon the public school question. That argument practically is as follows: The public schools of California are a State and not a Federal institution. The State has the power to abolish these schools entirely, and the Federal Government would have no right to lift its voice in protest. Upon the other hand, the State may extend the privileges of its schools to aliens upon such terms as it, the State, may elect, and the Federal Government has no right to question its action in this regard. Primarily and essentially the public schools are designed for the education of its own citizens alone. It would not for a moment maintain this expensive institution to educate foreigners and aliens who would carry to their countries the fruits of such education. Therefore, if it would be held that there was a discrimination operating in violation of the treaty with Japan in the State's treatment of Japanese children, or even if a new treaty with Japan should be framed, which would contain on behalf of Japanese subjects the "most favored nation" clause, this could and would be met by the State, which would then exclude from the use of its public schools all alien children of every nation, and limit the rights of free education to children of its own citizens, for whom the system is primarily designed and maintained, and if the State should do this the Federal Government could not complain, since no treaty right could be violated when the children of Japanese were treated precisely as the children of all foreign nations.

The feeling in the State is further intensified, especially in labor circles, by the report on the conditions in the Hawaiian Islands as contained in Bulletin 66 of the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor. The claim is made that white labor has been

almost entirely driven from the Hawaiian Islands, and that the Japanese are gradually forcing even the small white traders out of business.

Prominent Educators.

Many of the foremost educators in the State, on the other hand, are strongly opposed to the action of the San Francisco Board of Education. Japanese are admitted to the University of California, an institution maintained and supported by the State. They are also admitted to, and gladly welcomed at, Stanford University. San Francisco, so far as known, is the only city which has discriminated against Japanese children. I talked with a number of prominent labor men, and they all said that they had no objection to Japanese children attending the primary grades; that they wanted Japanese children now in the United States to have the same school privileges as children of other nations, but that they were unalterably opposed to Japanese young men attending the primary grades.

The objection to Japanese men attending the primary grades could very readily be met by a simple rule limiting the ages of all children attending those grades. All of the teachers with whom I talked while in San Francisco spoke in the highest terms of the Japanese children, saying that they were among the very best of their pupils, cleanly in their persons, well behaved, studious, and remarkably bright.

The Board of Education of San Francisco declined to rescind its resolution of October 11, claiming that, having established a separate school for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children, the provisions of Section 1662 of the Political Code became mandatory.

Boycott Maintained.

A boycott was maintained in San Francisco from October 3 to October 24 by members of the Cooks and Waiters' Union against Japanese restaurants doing business in that city. Nearly all of the leaders of labor organizations in San Francisco, interviewed on this subject, disclaimed any knowledge of any formal action being taken for the boycotting of these restaurants. They admitted, however, that there was a decided sentiment in the unions against patronizing Japanese restaurants, and that that sentiment was created and fostered by speeches in union meetings and by personal action of the different members, with the object of not only preventing union labor men, but the public as well, from patronizing these restaurants.

The secretary, as also the business agent, of the Waiters' Union, Local No. 30, headquarters at 1195 Scott street, San Francisco, said that no resolution against Japanese restaurants had been passed by their union, but that it was urged in their meetings and by different members of the union to themselves refrain, and to keep the public as well, from patronizing such restaurants; that for three weeks in the early part of October men were employed by the Cooks and Waiters' Union to stand in front of Japanese restaurants on Third street and distribute match boxes on which was pasted a label, as follows: "White men and women, patronize your own race"; that this was not, strictly speaking, a boycott, as a boycott must be instituted through the Labor Council.

Perhaps a better idea of the feeling in labor organizations against the Japanese restaurants, and the methods that were resorted to for the purpose of preventing white people from patronizing those restaurants, can be gained by reading the following extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Board of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, as reported in The San Francisco Chronicle of June 25, 1906:

To Send Protest to Union Labor.

"The Executive Board of the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League at the meeting held Saturday evening listened to complaints that many wage earners, laborers and mechanics patronize Japanese restaurants, while eating houses conducted by white persons are as easy of access and more inviting than those of the Mongolians. Secretary Yoell was instructed to communicate with all central labor bodies in this city, informing them of the fact that among the patrons of Japanese restaurants are supposed to be men who hold membership in unions affiliated with central councils.

"The league requests the councils to urge upon all affiliated unions to enforce the penalties imposed by their laws for patronizing Japanese or Chinese. The league also offers to supply proof of the flagrant violations complained of, and proposes to have the offenders photographed in order to submit copies of the photographs to the central councils, and through them to their affiliated unions. In this way the league hopes to accomplish a double purpose—to deter union men from patronizing Asiatics, or establish the fact that the offenders are not union men, and thus refute what is said to be a persistent slander against union men.

"The attention of councils and unions is also to be directed to the fact that many berries sold in San Francisco are grown and shipped to market by Japanese and Chinese, and wage-earners are to be cautioned against the danger to their health and that of their health and that of their families in eating berries picked and packed by unclean and unhealthy Asiatics.

"The plans for holding a series of mass meetings in coast and interior towns in California were discussed at length, but final arrangements were deferred until the project shall be approved by the league, which will hold its next convention on Sunday, July 1."

Boycott of Japanese Restaurants, and Results.

As a matter of fact, a most effective boycott was maintained against nearly all of the Japanese restaurants located in San Francisco for a period of at least three weeks. Pickets were stationed in front of these restaurants, and every effort was made to prevent people from patronizing them. At times stones were thrown and windows broken, and in one or two instances the proprietors of the restaurants were struck by these stones.

I personally interviewed the restaurant-keepers and took down their statements. George Sugihara, a restaurant keeper at 177 Third street, stated that the boycott commenced on October 3 and continued until October 24; that on the first day the boycotters distributed match boxes on which was written: "White men and women, patronize your own race"; that at about noon of the second day a large number of men came to his place of business and asked the people who were about to enter his restaurant not to patronize the Japanese restaurants; that customers attempting to enter his place of business were sometimes restrained by force, and that blows were also struck; that on or about the 10th or 15th of the month the boycotters came three times a day—morning, noon and evening; that sometimes they threw bricks and stones into his place; that one of the waiters asked them the reason why they did these things and they replied, "Ask the policeman"; that it was very seldom that a policeman was seen on the scene; that he complained to the policeman on the beat; that sometimes the policeman spoke to the boycotters and appeared to be friendly with them; that whenever a policeman appeared who was unfriendly to the boycotters, the boycotters left; that on one occasion when he asked the boycotters how long they intended to keep up the boycott, they replied: "Until the end—until the Japanese give up

their business, pack up their goods, and return to the place whence they came."

Agreement to Pay Boycotters.

Mr. Sugihara also said that there was an agreement to pay the boycotters for the purpose of declaring the boycott off; that all the acts were known to Mr. S. Imura, president of the Japanese Union, and that the proposition to pay cash to the Cooks and Waiters' Union was made by Mr. Imura, representing the Japanese Union, and that the amount to be paid was \$350; that he, Sugihara, did not know the name of the person to whom the money was to be paid; that he was present on October 25 or 26, when \$100 of the \$350 was paid; that he saw the money paid; that it was paid by Imura, as president of the Japanese Union; that he did not know the name of the man to whom the money was paid, but would recognize him if he saw him again.

The windows of the Golden Gate Restaurant, H. Sugiyama proprietor, 256 Third street, were broken on October 17 or 18. Mr. Sugiyama stated that whenever any customers left his place the boycotters threw stones at them, and struck them as well; that his customers were all white people; that it was impossible for him to stand at the cash register near his window, as they broke his windows; that one of the stones struck him on the side; that on the first day of the boycott he went to the Japanese Consul and applied for assistance, and that the Consul said he would write a letter to the Chief of Police; that on the second day he went to police headquarters, at the corner of Pine and Larkin streets; that he did not remember the name of the officer whom he saw, but that he was directed by that officer to go to the Southern station; that three or four days after his visit to the police station a special policeman and the regular policeman on the beat came to his place at the noon hour and remained from 12 to 1 and watched the place; that there was no violence after the policemen came, but that the men with the match boxes were always there; that when the policemen came there were five or six of the boycotters present at the noon hour.

Japanese Restaurant Keepers Corroborate Each Other.

S. Imura, proprietor of the White Star Restaurant, corroborated the statements made by George Sugihara and H. Sugiyama as to the breaking of windows and assaulting of customers. Y. Kobayashi, restaurant keeper at 20 Ellis street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for three days only. I. Kawai, restaurant keeper at 1213 Folsom street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for twenty-one days. M. Shigeawa, of 336 Third street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for three weeks. Y. Noda, of 1905 Geary street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for about a month. G. Nishi, of 1625 O'Farrell street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for four days. R. Tamura, of 705 Larkin street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for two days, and O. Matsumodo, of 1469 Ellis street, stated that his restaurant was boycotted for two days.

These restaurant keepers were all examined by me at the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. They all said that they were not assaulted by the boycotters, but that the efforts of the boycotters were mainly directed toward preventing customers from entering their places of business. The restaurant keeper who was struck with the stone said that he did not think the stone was thrown at him, but that it was thrown for the purpose of smashing the windows and rightening his customers.

They Have a Union.

It appears that the Japanese restaurant keepers of San Francisco have a union of their own, of which S. Imura is president. They made application, so they say, to the Cooks and Waiters' Union of

San Francisco for admission to membership in that union, but their application was denied. After the boycott had been maintained for a few days the Japanese restaurant keepers held a meeting for the purpose of discussing the boycott and of devising some way of stopping it. They discussed first the obtaining of an injunction, and appointed a committee. This committee visited the Japanese-American Association located in San Francisco and asked the association to consult a lawyer. They were informed that a test case would cost \$500, and that if the test case failed it would cost each restaurant keeper \$200 for each case tried.

A second meeting of the Japanese restaurant keepers was then held, at which the matter was again discussed. The impression seemed to prevail that even if an injunction was obtained it would take too long, cost too much money and be ineffective. They then determined to pay money to the boycotters, and appointed a committee for that purpose. The committee consisted of S. Imura, G. Sugihara, Y. Kobayashi, and Mr. Nakashima. The sum of \$350 was collected by this committee from the restaurant keepers, in amounts ranging from \$17.50 to \$25. An arrangement was entered into with the leaders of the boycotters, whose name was only known to S. Imura, for the payment of the sum of \$350 for the purpose of declaring the boycott off. Imura declined to give the name of the man to whom the money was paid, claiming that he had promised not to do so, but if necessary he would furnish the name to the Japanese Consul.

Before leaving San Francisco the Consul informed me that W. S. Stevenson was the man to whom the money was paid. One hundred dollars was paid by check at the Japanese-American Bank on Sutter street in San Francisco, the check being made payable to the order of W. S. Stevenson. There were present at the time this check was paid, S. Imura, G. Sugihara, and some members, so Imura said, of the bank, probably clerks. The balance of \$250 agreed upon was to have been paid on Monday, October 29, but the man Stevenson did not call for the money, and I was informed that it had not been paid up to the time of my departure from San Francisco. The boycott stopped with the payment of the money.

Business Fell Off.

All of the restaurant keepers united in stating that their business had fallen off at least two-thirds during the period of the boycott. The correspondence between the Japanese Consul and the Chief of Police is here to attached and marked "Exhibit D."

There have been a number of boycotts of white restaurants in San Francisco, Oakland and other cities in California in the past five or six years, growing out of labor disputes. These boycotts have been maintained for weeks at a time, and during their maintenance threats have been made and acts of violence have been committed. Pickets have been stationed in front of the restaurants, and the names even of customers entering the restaurants have been taken down and reported.

I saw the Chief of Police, as also H. H. Colby, Captain of Police in charge of the district in which most of the Japanese restaurants are located, and was informed by both of these officers that as soon as their attention was called to the disturbances on Third street, officers were detailed at each of the Japanese restaurants at each meal hour, and that the officers were instructed to arrest if any violation of the law was committed, and that after the officers were so stationed there were no disturbances or violations of the law.

The Chief of Police assured me that every effort would be made by him to protect the Japanese restaurants in San Francisco, and that

violators of the law would be promptly arrested and punished. The acting Mayor of San Francisco also assured me that he would cooperate with the police department of the city and would see that everything possible was done to protect Japanese subjects and prevent violations of law.

I am satisfied, from inquiries made by me and from statements made to me by the Japanese restaurant keepers, that the throwing of stones and breaking of windows was not done by the men picketing the restaurants, but by boys who had gathered in front of the restaurants as soon as the boycott was instituted.

Japanese Are Often Assaulted.

Assaults have from time to time been made upon Japanese subjects resident in the city of San Francisco. I was informed by the Chief of Police that upon receipt of a communication from the Japanese Consul he at once instructed Captains of Police to make every effort to stop these assaults, and, if necessary, to assign men in citizens' clothes to accomplish the purpose. The correspondence between the Japanese Consul and the Chief of Police and the acting Mayor of the city is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit E."

I deemed it best, in order to get at the exact facts, to take the statements of the Japanese who claimed to have been assaulted. These statements were taken at the Japanese consulate in San Francisco, by Mr. J. S. McD. Gardner, interpreter in the immigration office at San Francisco, and Mr. K. Kawasaki, a Japanese student in the senior class of the University of California. Since these statements are in the words of the victims themselves, and show as nothing else could, such grounds as there are upon which to found a complaint of violence, they are here given in full:

Violence Given in Full.

S. Inatsu, 121 Haight street. I am a student and a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. On October 28, at 7:15 p. m., I was attacked at the corner of Laguna and Haight streets by eight young men, from 15 to 20 years of age; they rushed up behind me and struck me in the face, and then ran away. I looked around for a policeman, but could not find one. I went to the Y. M. C. A. and was treated by a doctor there. I made complaint about the matter to the Japanese Association, but not to the police department.

T. Kadono, 121 Haight street. I am a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. On the fifth day of August, 1906, on Laguna street, between Haight and Page streets, at 10:40 a. m., on my way to church, I was attacked by about thirty people, men ranging from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. They followed me down the street and beat me over the head and face with their fists. I tried to resist them, but they were too strong for me. They made my nose bleed. I went to St. Thomas Hospital for medical treatment. I complained to the superintendent of the Japanese Presbyterian Mission, and was advised by him not to make any complaint to the police. I was laid up for a week on account of this attack. I have the blood-stained shirt, which I can produce if necessary.

C. Obata, 1823 Sutter Street. I am an artist. On September 20, 1906, at about 1:45 p. m., on Sutter street, between Pierce and Steiner, in front of the skating rink, as I was making my way home, I was attacked by about twelve young men, ranging from 16 to 20 years of age. They beat me and threw bricks and stones at me. I picked up my stick and started to go for them, and then they ran away, three of them falling down as they ran. A special policeman came along at that time, and the people told him that I knocked three people over; he took me to the Police Court, where I was dismissed. This

finished the case. I was released on bail, as I had been arrested for disturbing the peace.

I. Ikeda, 1608 Geary street. I have a fruit store. About a month ago—October 5, 1906—some bad boys came to my store and stole fruit and threw stones into the store. On September 2, 1906, down in the wholesale district (I do not know the name of the street), as I was driving my wagon, some men started to throw fruit at me, then pieces of brick, hitting my back. The reins of my rig got loose, and I was obliged to stop and get down to fix them. I had no sooner gotten down than somebody came up and hit me in the face, and gave me a black eye. I made complaint about this to the Japanese Association. I could identify the man who hit me.

K. Kai, 1815 Sutter street. I have a provision store, Masu & Co. On September 6, 1906, about twenty young men, from 18 to 21 years of age, came to my store and stole a bunch of bananas. My clerk, S. Ichishita, ran after them and asked them what they were doing. Whereupon some of them turned on him and beat him so badly that he was laid up in bed for two days. On the 8th of September, 1906, as a white person was buying fruit in my store, someone threw a stone into the store, which hit my wife on the leg and hurt her quite badly. I made complaint about this to the Japanese Association.

S. Ikusa, 578 Cedar avenue. I am a restaurant keeper. On August 29, 1906, about 8 p. m., some children, about sixteen of them, stood in front of my restaurant and broke the windows; they then pulled down my sign and ran away with it. I made complaint about this to the Japanese Association.

Y. Sasaki, 121 Haight street. I am a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. and a student. On August 8 or 9, at 4 p. m., at the corner of Steiner and Sutter streets, I was attacked by about ten young men, ranging from 16 to 20 years of age, who were playing baseball. They called me bad names, and when I paid no attention to them they threw the baseball at me, but missed me. They then ran after me and beat me over the head and on the face, causing my nose to bleed and stunning me. Then they ran away. I looked for a policeman, but could not find any, so returned home. I made no official complaint of this to anyone.

Y. Fuiita, 121 Haight street. I am a student and a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. On August 18, 1906, at about 11:30 a. m., on the corner of Haight and Lyon streets, about eight young men, ranging from 18 to 22 years of age, threw stones at me, but missed me. They then ran after me and beat me on the head, knocking me down. Some people on the street saw this and offered to help me. When the young fellows saw this they ran away. I met a policeman and complained to him. I do not remember the policeman's number, but he told me that he would help me, and took my name and address; but as the young man had run away he let the matter drop.

K. Kimura, 121 Haight street. I am a student and a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. On September 6, 1906, at 11:30 a. m., on Webster street, between Haight and Walla streets, as I was walking along, five young men, about 18 years of age, stuck a big stick, about six or seven feet long, between my legs and lifted me up, throwing me on my face and cutting my mouth badly. After I had fallen they ran away. I made no official complaint of this to anyone.

R. Koba, 1274 O'Farrell street. I am secretary of the Japanese Association of San Francisco. On August 16, 1906, at 9 p. m., as I was walking up Post street and had turned into Laguna street, three unknown men jumped out of the darkness of Cedar avenue and hit me on the neck from behind two or three times. I stopped, and started to fight them back. One of them tried to hit me in the face,

missed; then one of them drew a revolver and threatened me. At this time some friends of mine came along, and the three ran away. I reported this attack to the Chief of Police next morning, and he told me that he was very sorry, and would try his best hereafter to protect the Japanese.

Y. Shinohara, corner Eleventh avenue and Fulton street. I work in a saloon. On September 15, 1906, at 10 p. m., on Sutter street, near Webster, three men, ranging from 26 to 30 years of age, grabbed me and knocked me down, and then ran away. I was not badly hurt, so I went home and went to bed. I did not make any complaint about this matter to anyone.

N. Akagi, 115 Church street. I have a furniture store. On October 20, 1906, at 7 o'clock p. m., on Page street, between Steiner and Pierce streets, as I was delivering goods to my customers, two young men, about 17 or 18 years of age, knocked the merchandise out of my hands and slapped my face. I took no action, and did not report this case to the police.

On October 20 I applied to Weidental & Goslinger, electrical workers, 151 Church street, to make electrical connections at my residence. On November 3 the manager of the establishment flatly refused, saying that he was a member of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League and could not work in a Japanese establishment; otherwise he said he would be fined \$50 by the league. On this account my store is still without electrical connections.

I. Takayama, 1401 Scott street. I am a laundryman. On September 12, 1906, as I was on my route delivering, at the corner of Laguna and Eddy streets, about 11 a. m., four men, aged from 27 to 30 years, with gaspikes about four feet long, accosted me, and struck my wagon with such force that two holes, about three by four inches, were made in my wagon. They threatened me with bodily violence and I hurried away.

About a month ago, as I was delivering laundry work on Scott street, seventy or eighty school children threw stones at my wagon, and several holes were made. So continuous was the attack on the part of the school children that I desisted from calling on that section of the city, thereby losing seven or eight customers.

September 9, on O'Farrell street, near Laguna, several hoodlums attacked my person, as well as Mr. Kawasaki, of the Japanese Association. This was about 2:30 p. m. The matter was reported to the police department. For the last three or four weeks they have annoyed me continuously at my place of residence. During the afternoon or in the middle of the night, rotten fruit, stones, etc., have been thrown into my shop. The night watch has not been very effective. I did not report this case to the police.

G. N. Tsukamoto, 3500 Twenty-third street. I am proprietor of the Sunset City Laundry. Soon after the earthquake the persecutions became intolerable. My drivers were constantly attacked on the highway, my place of business defiled by rotten eggs and fruit; windows were smashed several times. I was forced to hire, on September 1, two special policemen at great expense, and for fully two weeks I was obliged to maintain the service. The miscreants are generally young men, 17 or 18 years old. Whenever newspapers attack the Japanese these roughs renew their misdeeds with redoubled energy.

S. Takata, 1158 Haight street. I am a lodging house keeper. On August 28, 1906, about 9 p. m., my window was smashed by a person whose name is unknown. Again, on August 30, about 11 p. m., someone broke my large front window. I reported these incidents to the Japanese Association, but not to the police.

T. Tamura, 1612 Laguna street. I have an employment office in

San Francisco. On August 5, about 7 p. m., a large numbers of youngsters passed through the streets with drums and trumpets, denouncing Japanese. One hour later a gang of rough looking laborers, thirty or forty strong, came to my place and smashed my windows. I telephoned to the police department several times, but to no avail. On the afternoon of the succeeding day a policeman called and inquired what was the matter. That same night all the remaining windows were completely broken by persons unknown to me.

M. Sugawa, 1172a Devisadero street. I am a shoemaker. On August 17, 1906, at 8:40 p. m., as I was passing on Sutter street, near Scott, three boys, 21 or 22 years of age, attacked my person. I nearly fainted. Upon rising to my feet, they again assaulted me. This time they smashed my nose. I grabbed the coat of one of the trio, and after having my nose dressed at one of the nearby hospitals, I went home. The next day a policeman came, requesting me to give up the coat. I at first refused, but finally, upon his assuring me that it would be deposited at the police station, I gave it up. I reported the matter to the police. When the case came up for trial the youngster was dismissed on the plea of insufficiency of evidence.

Dr. S. Hashimoto, 1615 Gough street. I am a physician. Toward the end of August, as I was on my way to visit a patient, in a great hurry, I was surrounded on Castro street, near Market, by a group of boys, ranging in years from 15 to 25. The number was soon increased to fifty. Seeing the situation was hopeless, I ran with all my might. I was struck on the leg by a flying missile and my valise was injured. I did not report the case to the police.

I. Ikuda, 1608 Geary street. I am a clerk in a Japanese store. On November 2, 1906, as I was driving my wagon on Davis street, between Vallejo and Broadway, five or six laborers, apparently over 28 years old, appeared from the baggage cars and threw potatoes and egg plants at me and my horse. Soon they began throwing pieces of brick, and I was forced to turn back a block or so. Since September 8 such incidents occurred five times. None of these events were reported to the police, because it would be of no avail.

No Police in Neighborhood.

These attacks, so I am informed, with but one exception were made when no policeman was in the immediate neighborhood. Most of them were made by boys and young men; many of them were vicious in character, and only one appears to have been made with a view of robbing the person attacked. All these assaults appear to have been made subsequent to the fire and earthquake in San Francisco, and my attention was not called to any assaults made prior to the 18th day of April, 1906.

Dr. F. Omori, of the Imperial University of Tokyo, one of the world's most distinguished scientists, and, as stated by Prof. George Davidson, of the University of California, one of the greatest living authorities in seismography, sent to San Francisco by the Japanese Government to study the causes and effects of the earthquake, was stoned by hoodlums in the streets of San Francisco. Prof. N. Nakamura, professor of architecture in the Imperial University of Tokyo, was also stoned in the streets of San Francisco by young toughs and hoodlums. Doctor Omori was also assaulted when visiting Eureka, Cal. Neither of these eminent gentlemen made formal complaint of these assaults, and wished that no official recognition be taken of them. I attach hereto copy of letter of Professor Davidson, calling the attention of the press of San Francisco to these assaults, as also copies of letters of the Postmaster of San Francisco, the Mayor of San Francisco, the Governor of the State, and the Mayor of Eureka, expressing their great regret for these assaults, and apologizing that

hey should have been made. See Exhibit F.

Assaults on Japs Condemned.

I know that these assaults upon the Japanese are universally condemned by all good citizens of California. For months the citizens of San Francisco and Oakland have been terrorized by numerous murders, assaults, and robberies, both by day and night. The police have been powerless. The assaults upon the Japanese, however, were not made, in my judgment, with a view of robbery, but rather from a feeling of racial hostility, stirred up possibly by newspaper accounts of meetings that have been held at different times relative to the exclusion of Japanese from the United States.

The police records of San Francisco show that between May 6, 1906, and November 5, 1906, 290 cases of assault, ranging from simple assaults to assaults with deadly weapons and assaults with murderous intent, were reported to the police of San Francisco. Of the number so reported, seven were for assaults committed by Japanese, and two complaints were made against Japanese for disturbing the peace. The Japanese population in San Francisco is about 6000. The total population of San Francisco today is estimated to be between 325,000 and 350,000.

While the sentiments of the State of California, as manifested by the public utterances of the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League, by articles in many of the leading newspapers of the State, by declarations of the political parties in their platforms, and by the passage of a joint resolution by the State Legislature on March 7, 1905, is in favor of the exclusion of Japanese coolies, yet the overwhelming sentiment in the State is for law and order and for the protection of Japanese in their persons and their property.

Will Get Protection.

The Chief of Police of the City of San Francisco, as also the acting Mayor of the city, assured me that everything possible would be done to protect the Japanese subjects in San Francisco, and they urgently requested that all cases of assault and all violations of law affecting the Japanese be at once reported to the Chief of Police.

I impressed very strongly upon the acting Mayor of the city, as also upon the Chief of Police, the gravity of the situation, and told them that, as officers charged with the enforcement of the law and the protection of property and person, you looked to them to see that all Japanese subjects resident in San Francisco were afforded the full protection guaranteed to them by our treaty with Japan. I also informed them that if the local authorities were not able to cope with the situation, or if they were negligent or derelict in the performance of their duty, then the entire power of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution would be used, and used promptly and vigorously, to enforce observance of treaties, which, under the Constitution, are the supreme law of the land, and to secure fit and proper treatment for the people of a great and friendly power while within the territory of the United States.

Police Power Not Sufficient.

If, therefore, the police power of San Francisco is not sufficient to meet the situation and guard and protect Japanese residents in San Francisco, to whom under our treaty with Japan we guarantee "full and perfect protection for their persons and property," then, it seems to me, it is clearly the duty of the Federal Government to afford such protection. All considerations which may move a nation, every consideration of duty in the preservation of our treaty obligations, every consideration prompted by fifty years or more of close friendship with the Empire of Japan, would unite in demanding, it seems to me, of the United States Government and all its people, the

fullest protection and the highest consideration for the subjects of Japan.

Respectfully submitted,

V. H. METCALF.

EXHIBIT A.

Name of pupil.	Name of school.	Age.	Grade.	Birthplace.	Sex.
Joe Tsukamoto	Agassiz primary	9	2	United States	Boy
Minie Tsukamoto	"	8	2	United States	Girl
George Tsukamoto	"	13	4	Japan	Boy
Hideo Okamoto	Columbia grammar	12	4	Japan	Boy
G. Mitani	Clement grammar	9	2	Japan	Boy
K. Furukawa	"	17	8	Japan	Boy
C. Yamakawa	"	17	8	Japan	Boy
Y. Niita	Crocker grammar	20	6	Japan	Boy
B. Takenaka	"	15	6	Japan	Boy
H. Sekawa	Denman grammar	15	8	Japan	Girl
T. Takahashi	"	11	5	Japan	Girl
U. Takashi	"	13	5	Japan	Girl
F. Fusaye	"	16	6	Japan	Girl
O. Okawara	Dudley Stone prmy	10	3	United States	Girl
M. Okawara	"	7	1	United States	Girl
H. Amemiya	"	16	3	Japan	Boy
T. Ishimaga	"	19	4	Japan	Boy
I. Matsuda	"	18	4	Japan	Bay
J. Kimishima	"	15	4	Japan	Boy
M. Hayashi	Emerson primary	10	4	United States	Boy
H. Hayashi	"	7	2	United States	Boy
N. Izaki	Fremont grammar	16	8	Japan	Boy
K. Izeri	"	16	2	Japan	Boy
F. Sadakuru	"	17	2	Japan	Boy
H. Ota	Grant primary	16	2	Japan	Girl
C. Ogawa	Hamilton grammar	15	8	Japan	Boy
K. Hayashi	"	12	6	United States	Boy
J. Nakagaki	"	17	5	Japan	Boy
M. Makai	"	17	6	Japan	Boy
F. Kowamura	"	16	7	Japan	Boy
N. Togasaki	Hearst grammar	17	7	Japan	Boy
H. Shimozumii	"	14	6	Japan	Girl
K. Togasaki	"	11	5	United States	Boy
K. Fujii	"	17	8	Japan	Girl
K. Togaskai	"	8	3	United States	Girl
G. Fugimeaga	Henry Durant prmy	17	6	Japan	Boy
K. Tsukamoto	Horace Mann grmr	13	6	United States	Boy
C. Tanaka	James Lick grmr	14	8	United States	Girl
W. Washizu	"	15	3	Japan	Boy
U. Yoshioka	John Swett grmr	15	6	Japan	Boy
T. Tanaka	"	14	5	Japan	Boy
K. Orisaka	Laguna Honda prmy	12	4	Japan	Boy
Y. Managa	"	19	4	Japan	Boy
T. Tanaka	Noe Valley primary	11	4	United States	Girl
I. Arimura	Pacific Heights gmr	15	7	Japan	Girl
H. Sato	"	18	5	Japan	Boy
I. Enomoto	"	17	4	Japan	Boy
S. Inoeyc	"	16	8	Japan	Boy
S. Sigeuchi	"	16	8	Japan	Boy
H. Tayama	"	15	8	Japan	Boy
I. Yasuhara	"	18	8	Japan	Boy
H. Kitahara	"	12	3	Japan	Girl
M. Arimura	"	12	3	Japan	Boy
N. Gozawa	"	17	6	Japan	Boy

Name of pupil.	Name of school.	Age.	Grade.	Birthplace.	Sex.
C. Tonai	"	17	6	Japan	Boy
T. Itow	"	16	6	Japan	Boy
Y. Ochi	"	18	6	Japan	Boy
T. Kimura	"	18	5	Japan	Boy
S. Ono	"	18	8	Japan	Boy
K. Kojimoto	"	20	8	Japan	Boy
W. Watanabe	"	18	8	Japan	Boy
H. Tanaka	"	17	8	Japan	Boy
R. Homma	"	15	7	Japan	Boy
T. Tanaka	Redding primary	12	5	Japan	Girl
T. Takada	"	13	5	Japan	Boy
M. Tagaki	"	7	3	Japan	Girl
F. China	"	8	3	Japan	Girl
K. Muneyo	"	8	3	Japan	Boy
B. Nakada	"	7	3	United States	Boy
J. Nakada	"	9	4	United States	Boy
T. Yamabata	"	13	4	Japan	Boy
H. Nakana	"	10	2	Japan	Girl
S. Otani	"	10	2	United States	Girl
H. Suzuki	"	12	2	United States	Girl
S. Takahashi	"	8	2	United States	Girl
H. Otani	"	8	2	United States	Girl
K. Takada	"	12	5	Japan	Boy
I. Nikuni	"	8	1	Japan	Girl
W. Suzuki	"	11	1	Japan	Girl
M. Yoshimura	"	6	1	United States	Girl
K. Matsuda	"	8	1	United States	Girl
S. Yoshimura	"	6	1	United States	Girl
M. Aoki	"	13	4	Japan	Boy
K. Aoki	"	10	4	Japan	Girl
T. Takada	"	10	4	Japan	Boy
T. Yadabe	"	11	4	Japan	Boy
J. Yano	Spring Valley grmr	19	6	Japan	Boy
F. Ogawa	"	14	8	Japan	Boy
I. Agi	Sturo grammar	17	8	Japan	Boy
E. Tachimi	Winfield Scott prmy	13	4	United States	Boy
S. Tachimi	"	10	3	United States	Boy
S. Tachimi	"	7	1	United States	Boy
T. Tatabe	Marshall primary	8	2	United States	Boy

Resume of Japanese Children Attending

The Public Schools of San Francisco.

Number of pupils.....	23	Number of schools attended...	23
Number of pupils at—		Number of pupils at—	
6 years old.....	2	First grade	7
7 years old.....	5	Second grade	10
8 years old.....	9	Third grade	12
9 years old.....	3	Fourth grade	16
10 years old.....	7	Fifth grade	11
11 years old.....	5	Sixth grade	13
12 years old.....	8	Seventh grade	7
13 years old.....	7	Eighth grade	17
14 years old.....	4	Number of pupils born in—	
15 years old.....	10	Japan	68
16 years old.....	9	United States	25
17 years old.....	12	Number of—	
18 years old.....	6	Girls	28
19 years old.....	4	Boys	65
20 years old.....	2		

EXHIBIT C.

(Translation from The Japanese American of October 31, 1906.)

Honorable Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor is to arrive here early this morning, and we choose this occasion as the best opportunity to express our hearty welcome and satisfaction.

It is indeed to be regretted that the historic relation of the two nations, sealed and stamped with such untarnished friendship and brotherhood, amounting, as we may safely assume, to virtual alliance, is now imperiled by the short-sighted actions of the political demagogues whose eyes can never see anything but the attainment of the selfish ambition through the whims of ignorant laborers. Among countless measures of injustice and prejudice, the question of separate schools is of supreme importance. The injurious effects of this discrimination are very wide and far-reaching.

Firstly, the measure is a virtual exclusion of Japanese from the only wholesome means of assimilating themselves to American life. Japanese in this country want to adopt American life in its best and most real spirit, and no better means can be had to this end than the association of children in schools. The exclusion of Japanese children from the public schools, and their banishment from the society of American children, is decidedly against the welfare of this country, just as much as it is against the interest of the Japanese colony itself.

Secondly, the separation of the schools is in fact a measure to prohibit the education of Japanese children. To walk over miles of desolation through the burned district every day, among every possible form of danger, is indeed an impossible task even for the strongest adult. But suppose they do it, what benefit can they attain by attending a school such as now actually provided by the Board of Education? We do not enter into a detailed description, as the facts talk louder than the voice.

Thirdly, the measure constitutes a gross violation of the treaty rights. It is discrimination and injustice, indignity and disgrace in every sense and spirit.

The movement is, however, local. It is an intrigue of the corrupt politicians, who have stirred up the innocent ignorant masses to sentimental agitation for the simple purpose of using them as political tools. We know well that such is not the general sentiment of the American people. We still trust the United States as our most confidential ally. And this, our belief, has been simply proved by the steps and measures taken by the President, to whom our respect and reverence can never be sufficiently expressed.

The Secretary, in his personality, is the type of the true Californian and of the true American. His knowledge of the real conditions of the State can never be disputed. Now he comes here with the heavy task of investigating the real grounds of the present controversy. We trust him to find a successful solution of the impending difficulties. The Japanese colony here, under the prejudice of the public authorities, is utterly powerless to redress its own grievances. We rely on the sense of justice and reasons inspired by the highest sense of humanity. Our hope of salvation and for the destiny of the entire Japanese colony here in California hinges upon the way in which this controversy is settled.

(From the Soko Shimbun.)

LET THE WORLD KNOW

In order to have a fair judgment concerning the segregation of the Japanese children from the public schools in San Francisco, it is

better to let all the nations know the situation of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast. We know there are people who believe that we are not entitled to enjoy equal rights on accounts of being Japanese. But we feel assured that the majority of people whose minds are contaminated with trickery and falsehood would decline to listen to such selfish confidence in a superior which results to their own advantage. We protest against the line of argument used and denunciations made by labor orators, who endeavor to draw a clear-cut distinction implying that the Japanese physically and mentally are inferior to white people.

The people of Japan, living under their gentle government, can not allow the people of San Francisco to discriminate against innocent school children on the pretext of racial difference. It is the foundation of our civilization and of our ideals to enjoy the best liberty of equal rights. We can not keep the mass of the people of Japan in dense ignorance of the prevailing situation, nor oppress the little innocent creatures with such unbearable burdens. The telegrams from our foreign office are significant, in that the nation, as a whole, is deeply interested in the matter of the treatment received at the hands of the educational authorities in San Francisco.

Although the hearts and wishes of our people rest with the people of America in the hope of fair adjustment of the present complication, yet the people of Japan are at the climax of indignation. We believe it is not time for us to take any revenging measures, but we must defend ourselves against the insolence of excluding our children from the public schools in San Francisco. The question may be well settled by referring the matter of pertinent opinions of the leading publicists of the world.

(From the Japanese American, Oct. 25, 1906.)

Our National Dignity Besmeared.

To be candid in the matter, we confidently expected that in reply to the protest of our Imperial Majesty's consul in re separate school, the San Francisco Board of Education would render a solution that is, in the main, satisfactory to us. Granting that the members of the board have neither the intellectual nor moral capacity to grasp the straight-formed wherefores of the Consul's protest, we, nevertheless, though it was not unreasonable in us to hope that in view of the overwhelming public opinion in Japan, in view of the inalienable friendship and comity existing between the two nations, in view of the undisputed status of our empire in the family of the great powers—of all of which the board is supposed to have some knowledge—the board would favor us at least with a formality of reconsideration. And what manner of answer did we receive?

Not only did they fail to give us a shadow of satisfaction, but, relying upon the ambiguous provision of the political code, they most insolently ignored the legitimate protestations of our imperial consul. And from the broadsides of the local yellow journalism it would seem that our national prestige is daily dwindling away.

The calamity of the poor little creatures may be borne; the disgrace of Japanese residents in America may be endured; but—but let none on earth or in heaven trifle with the honor of our beloved Empire; let none with impunity treat slightly our national dignity—the indispensable foundation of our national existence.

The school question of San Francisco may seem to some a matter of insignificance; but, viewed in the light of a nation's dignity, it is

a question of most far-reaching consequences. Upon it depends our country's status in the estimation of the world; upon it depends the very existence of our Empire.

Patriotism demands the maintenance of our dignity pure and unassailed. And every loyal Japanese must aver himself presently with the weapon of righteousness in order to repel the assaults of the defamers.

The question is no longer confined to a handful of school children; it has assumed into national proportions. We doubt not for a moment that every resident Japanese, backed by the sympathetic outburst at home, will participate in the struggle with that vigor and tenacity which have won for us the heights of Nanshan and the impregnable redoubts of 208-Meter Hill.

(From the *New World*, Oct. 25, 1906.)

Resolution of Mass Meeting.

What manner of meeting is this, that is held in the midst of mountainous ashes, fanned by the vernal breezes that threaten to devour the wasted lands of the Golden Gate? It is the ebullition of 70,000 dauntless heroes that hail from the blessed land of Yamato burning with the fire of indignation and clamoring for instant retaliation.

What, then, is the cause of all this turmoil that sways the ranks of the Japanese? The story is long, but the time is short. Their property has been plundered; their lives and limbs imperiled; their national flag daubed with mire! By inmates of insane asylums that had escaped the notice of the guards? No! No! By organized mobs and officials of an organized community!

Personal indignities may be overlooked; property right may be invaded with impunity; but when national dignity is called to question, the sword of Masamune is unsheathed for action!

Dulce est pro patria mort!

(From the *Soko Shimbun*, October 25, 1906.)

Retaliation.

The separate school and restaurant questions are certainly examples of flagrant violation of the treaty of 1894. The State authorities having taken no adequate measures to suppress such wrongdoing, they must certainly bear the responsibility, and may, so far as we are concerned, be deemed as wrongdoers themselves. What are we to do under the circumstances?

One of the home newspapers is reported to advocate immediate retaliation against America and American goods. Would such procedure be a wise one? It is true that our military and naval forces are able to cope with any adversary on the Pacific today. But we must ever keep in mind that our martial prowess is not an instrument for destroying international friendships of long standing.

Fifty-four years ago, when our country entered the family of nations, America acted as our godfather, and for the last half century the growing intimacy was never for a moment questioned.

Let us not, then, act rashly in any attempt to sever the ties of this deep-rooted amity. Let us confide in the justice of the American

Government. When such amicable settlement is unattainable, then, and then only, should we talk of retaliation.

(From the Soko Shimbun, Oct. 23, 1906.)

Manifesto of Mass Meeting.

Any important question which concerns our welfare should be settled by public opinion. The opinion of an individual or small minority should have no weight in settling serious affairs.

The school question and the boycott of Japanese restaurants in San Francisco would seem to a casual observer to be of a trivial nature, affecting only a small portion of our people in San Francisco; but one will soon realize that the questions at issue are great problems of national importance, when he considers its causes, the motives, and the effects upon our future development at home and abroad. Any unnecessary delay would inevitably tend to aggravate the situation.

It is needless to repeat here how long we have been suffering under such unjust treatment and unfair discrimination at the hands of public officials as well as of private individuals in San Francisco.

Our occupations are hampered, our residences are assailed, our lives and property unprotected, the dignity of our Empire impaired, international comity toward our Empire ignored. Can we, under such conditions, claim that we are the subjects of Japan, with which the United States is on the most cordial terms?

We have suffered much hitherto without murmuring, but incessant persecutions, after the terrible experiences of the earthquake, have placed us in the last extremities of endurance. If ever there was a time when patience ceased to be a virtue, this certainly is that time.

Under such circumstances we should not depend on our Consul or on the Japanese Association of America alone, but we, Japanese residents of California, should stand together and take concerted action against the most unjustifiable treatment at the hands of the unscrupulous elements in California. As a first step, let us have a general mass meeting of our colony, in order to shape public opinion among us.

Then let us proceed to inform our Government, as well as the people at home, of the exact situation. At the same time let us appeal to the sober-minded citizens of the United States, and, first of all, to the Chief Executive of the United States, the undaunted friend of the oppressed and suffering. The proposed mass meeting should be as representative in character as possible, and every corner of California should be equal to the occasion. Let every delegate pour out his heart's contents without shirk or reservation.

(From the Japanese American, Oct. 31, 1906.)

GREETINGS TO SECRETARY METCALF.

The Honorable Secretary Metcalf, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, will arrive here tomorrow. We greet him with great honor. We consider his coming to San Francisco as a favor extended to us by the Government of the United States. We hope that the opportunity will soon be afforded to us to express our great gratitude for the Secretary's personal effort for the impartial investi-

gation of the present deplorable conditions in this city and the attitude of the latter toward our people, especially toward our children, who have recently been expelled from the public schools. Finally, we desire to express our solicitude for his health during his long journey.

The friendly relations which existed between the United States and Japan ever since Commodore Perry's first visit to our native country are so brotherly and sincere that they are generally accepted by the whole world as an unwritten alliance between the two nations. We are always proud of this fact, but to our great regret the local authorities of the city of San Francisco, in order to court favor with the Union Labor party, has taken hasty action against a people of a friendly nation.

We believe that there are many reasons which support the objection of having separate schools for our children. Among them the following are the most important which will attract serious consideration:

First. The separate school will greatly deter the Americanization of our children. Americans, as a nation, are a people composed of all the nationalities of the world, and the Japanese, too, since they have come to live on the American soil, will be and should be Americanized under the influence of American civilization. Furthermore, the Japanese children who are involved in the present question are mostly American natives, and therefore are destined to be first-class citizens of the United States at maturity. Should the authorities refuse to educate these children under the principle of Americanization, it will surely bring deplorable results to the very foundation of the nation.

Second. The action taken by the Board of Education is a hostile one against Japanese, and hence the separate school is, in fact, by no means as adequately provided as other schools. Even if this were true, it would be impossible for every Japanese child in the city to go to one special school from every direction and from great distances. In other words, it seems a complete refusal of education to the Japanese children.

Third. The action taken by the Board of Education is the refusal to recognize a right already conceded under the existing treaty between the United States and Japan. Under this treaty we, the Japanese in the United States, are entitled to receive similar treatment with the subjects of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, yet the city authorities have taken an action to discriminate against children, and at the same time receiving the children of the subjects of other treaty nations. It is morally a disgrace to our nation. We must stand for the right and dignity of our country.

We are of the opinion, however, that the public sentiment of the United States is not in sympathy with the action taken by the San Francisco Board of Education. The historical friendship existing between the United States and Japan is not so easily to be forgotten. No one on earth has greater confidence in the sincerity and uprightness of the President of the United States than the Japanese. Secretary Metcalf is the man who knows the people of this Coast better than any other man. Here rests our confidence in his coming to this Coast to investigate all conditions and affairs. We have withdrawn a law suit against the Board of Education from the Circuit Court, in order to express our confidence in the coming of the Secretary and his Government's action. We greet the honorable Secretary with great hope and the confidence of a child in his parent.

(From the Japanese Daily New World, Oct. 31, 1906.)

Investigation by Secretary Metcalf.

Secretary Metcalf, of the Department of Commerce and Labor has already left Washington for San Francisco. The main purpose of his present trip is said to be an investigation into the true conditions of affairs in regard to the segregation of Japanese school children.

The Japanese on the Pacific Coast have on innumerable occasions been subjected to most intolerable indignities and persecutions, but never before did the incidents receive any direct investigation at the hands of the Federal Government.

President Roosevelt is a man of good wisdom and unquestionable rectitude. In the bright pages that adorn the history of the nation has ever worked for the interests of the republic and the cause of humanity—ever in the path of righteousness. Never in his brilliant career has he been moved by personal bias or racial prejudice, and it is not difficult to surmise that the present mission of Secretary Metcalf was prompted by the same love of justice that has won for him the admiration of the world. And the Chief Executive did not err in his choice of his personal representative, for the holder of the portfolio of Commerce and Labor is said to be one of the ablest and greatest men that California ever produced.

With a thorough investigation by such a fearless man as Secretary Metcalf, the unpardonable misrepresentations concerning the Japanese will undoubtedly receive full ventilation, and it is our paramount duty to furnish him with true accounts of the existing conditions.

(From the Japanese American, Oct. 27, 1906.)

Attitude of Our People.

The segregation of the Japanese school children from the public schools in San Francisco is a menace to the prestige of our Empire and a great insult to Japanese. Even if we should admit that the segregation does not affect the dignity of the nation, yet there are other grave reasons to which we must give serious attention, because it concerns the intellectual and moral development of future generations, to whose enlightenment all humanity, without distinction of race or color, must contribute its best.

Education is the foundation of national existence. The education system of a nation is an index of the degree of the civilization of the nation. We can easily gauge the progress of a people by the ratio of its school attendance.

Considered from every point of view, we must try our best to secure a favorable consummation.

(From the Japanese American, Oct. 27, 1906.)

Comment on Mass Meeting.

A mass meeting of the Japanese residents of San Francisco, held in the Jefferson Square Hall on the evening before last, was an unprecedented success as a meeting of its kind. Not only did it attain its aim, but every member present gave serious consideration to the matter, preserving calmness and sobriety, notwithstanding the suffocating heat, due to the too closely crowded hall.

The general feature of the meeting justifies us in commending it most highly as worthy of the subjects of the Empire of the "Rising Sun."

We are quite satisfied with the attitude of our colony as regards this matter, and we believe there will be an immediate solution satisfactory to us. We earnestly hope that every one of our number will exert his best ability and all stand together in the spirit of the meeting for the consummation of our purpose.

(From the Japanese American, October 26, 1906.)

The grand mass meeting which was held last night by the local Japanese colony aroused such intense concern throughout the State that numerous telegrams conveying the sentiments of Japanese residents have been received at headquarters. The following are a few of them:

1. "Congratulate you on today's mass meeting. Hope it will be a fight to the end. M. Tan, Santa Rosa."

2. "For the protection of our general interests, fight to the bitter end against the unwarranted discrimination of the San Francisco officials. Will give all possible support. Japanese Association, Los Angeles."

3. "For the cause of Yamoto people, fight to the utmost. D. Nishikata, Los Angeles."

4. "Compliments to the mass meeting of the Japanese colony. Earnestly pray for its merited success. F. Yamasaki, secretary Branch Japanese Association."

5. "Fight to the bitterest end for the sake of our compatriots. G. Yuasa, Los Angeles Branch Japanese Association."

6. "From the depth of our hearts we approve the general meeting of the Japanese colony, and hope for its triumph. Japanese Association, Watsonville."

7. "We pray for the success of the mass meeting. Japanese Association, San Jose."

Letter from Los Angeles Branch of New World.

"Representing the readers of The New World in Southern California, let me approve the noble purposes of the general mass meeting in regard to separate schools and the persecution of Japanese residents. At the same time allow me to tender a vote of thanks for the untiring efforts of the members of the committee.

Last Night's Mass Meeting.

"In order to institute a systematic fight against Japanese exclusion, a grand mass meeting of the Japanese colony was held last evening at the Jefferson Square Hall. As the question at issue was a most pressing one, added to the fact that upon its proper solution depended our national honor and prestige, the air was filled with the irresistible odor of indignation. So great, indeed, was the resentment of the people, that long before the appointed hour there was not standing room in the spacious hall. Excluding the late arrivals who jammed the corridors, the force was over 1200 strong.

"Mr. K. Abiko, the president of the Japanese Association, presided at the meeting. After a brief opening address, he introduced Mr. G. Ikeda, the secretary of the Association, who read the following:

"The resolution of the San Francisco Board of Education segregating the school children of Japanese parentage is emphatically an act which besmears the dignity and honor of the Japanese Empire. It is a most cruel sword that cuts off the parts of the moral and intellectual development of these tender, innocent creatures.

"Can we, remaining lukewarm, suffer the national honor to be trampled upon—the honor that has cost us the noblest blood of half a million brothers? Can we without a murmur assent to an act which virtually demolishes the fountain-head of our future prosperity? This is no time for idle speech. The hour of action has come.

"Fully cognizant of the situation, it is the purpose of this Association, supported by every manly member of the community, and aided by the diplomatic negotiations of the Imperial Government, to devise an adequate mode of procedure in order to raze to the ground the false breastwork of the enemy, thus forever securing to our children the blessings of education.

"Let every man in whose veins runs a single microbe of patriotism, whose love for his compatriots, whose affection for the tender children has not deserted him, let him by every means at his command contribute his share to a speedy and fair solution of this most stupendous question." October 25, 1906. Japanese Association of America.

The above declaration was received with thunderous applause. Then followed powerful speeches by U. Suzuki, M. Tsukamoto, D. Aoki, S. Imura, Rev. K. Ki, Rev. N. Okubo, J. Kato, B. Yamagata, K. Kiyose, F. Tanigachi, Dr. K. Kurosawa, A. Matsugaki, K. Tukawa, Rev. Z. Hirota, and others.

When the speeches were concluded Mr. Kiba, secretary of the Association, read the opinion of Mr. T. Hozumi. Finally, Mr. Togazaki introduced the following resolution:

Resolution of Mass Meeting of Japanese Colony.

"Resolved, That we most emphatically oppose the establishment of separate schools for Japanese children. (2) We delegate and charge and charge the Japanese Association of America with the task of opposing any such attempts and to give all possible assistance for the speedy realization of our purpose. (3) We appropriate funds for all necessary expenditures incident to the proper solution of this question."

The resolution was adopted in the midst of deafening applause, and after three cheers for the Japanese residents, and also for the Empire, the meeting closed at 10:13 p. m.

Legal Protests and Diplomatic Conference.

It is not true Americans, but the immigrants from Italy and other small countries of Europe who are desirous of excluding Japanese from California and other States on the Pacific Coast. The anti-foreign feeling in America originated some hundred years ago, when the English colonists endeavored to push the French and German invaders out of the land, and the French tried to kick out the Irish immigrants coming after them.

Irish and Italians, thus pushed toward the western part of the United States, have organized a formidable body, with the aid of the Spanish and Portuguese, and followed the example of their predecessors in excluding Oriental races. They succeeded in checking the entrance of the Chinese by means of legislation. As for the Japanese, they thought it too difficult to treat them like Chinese, the former

having become an important element of the international community, bound by treaty with the United States on equal terms. Hence the idea was given up to exclude Japanese by means of legislation, and measures were taken to humiliate and persecute them at the hands of the authorities.

The Board of Education, at the request of these people, too advantage of the letter of the law of the State of California and excluded the Japanese children from schools where white children are in attendance, upon the assumption that Japanese are of the Mongolian race. The conduct of the authorities is on one hand a malicious abuse of the friendly nation in the Orient, and on the other hand it is a manifest violation of the treaty made under the highest authority of the United States, to which the authorities of the State of California and San Francisco are subject. As for this malicious and violent conduct of the authorities, we must induce our own authorities to take every means to secure from the former a proper remedy for what has been done.

(From the Japanese Daily New World, Oct. 22, 1906.)

The Japanese Mass Meeting.

The mass meeting of Japanese residents was nothing but a congealed expression of wrath against the ultrachauvinism of the authorities of San Francisco. Since the earthquake and fire the Japanese and Corean Exclusion League has been taking every opportunity of persecuting our people. For the past few months the league did its utmost to stir up the ignorant classes and young boys against the Japanese. When night comes these boys have been accustomed to make their appearance in great numbers and in many places in the Japanese quarter or adjacent to it, and attack Japanese stores or known down the Japanese on the streets who were passing by. They were so bold as to break into Japanese stores, even in daylight, and rob merchandise stored there.

But the city authorities never gave ear to complaints of Japanese, who were therefore forced to subject their fate to the will of God. This anti-foreign feeling of the people of California has led the authorities at last to take measures for humiliating a nation friendly to America. Japan is a country with which the United States of America made a treaty embodying the terms of the most favored nation clause. But this stipulation of the treaty has been utterly violated by the hostile and unlawful conduct of the Board of Education. Further, the majority of the people of California seem to consider this conduct justifiable. The Call and The Chronicle, the influential papers of this city, are endeavoring to stir up the people by their vicious statements.

What measure shall we take on this occasion, when everything is very unfavorable to Japan and Japanese? The mass meeting is the best way to decide what measure we Japanese residents shall take against the very barbarous conduct of the authorities. We are very glad to hear that the influential Japanese here are now under way to arrange the meeting for us.—From the Japanese Daily New World

(From the Japanese Daily New World, October 20, 1906.)

We are sorry to know that the Japanese children are suddenly excluded from the public schools because of race prejudice and forget-

fulness of true Americanism. It is far better to let race problems be decided by eminent ethnologists rather than by municipal authority and politicians. If the Board of Education be controlled by the agitation of ignorant laborers rather than by true Americanism, then when the Japanese Exclusion League asks them to exclude Japanese children permanently from the public schools, they will do it.

From the Japanese American, Oct. 13, 1906.)

THE IMPORTANT TREND OF AFFAIRS.

All the political parties in California have resolved that the Japanese should be excluded, and that the candidates for the coming election show strenuous efforts in favor of exclusion of Japanese. It would seem that popular opinion among the people of California was in favor of exclusion of Japanese. But it is not so in its true sense.

On August 8, Representative Hayes consulted the members of the Fruitgrowers' Association, inducing them to hire white laborers for picking fruit, instead of the Japanese. He said white laborers would gladly accept the positions of the Japanese. But the members discredited the suggestion, stating that the exclusion of the Japanese meant the failure of the fruit industry. It was further said that there are great difficulties in employing white laborers, for they are all under the influence of unionism, which is detrimental to the development of the agricultural and fruit industry. The fact is, the term "Japanese exclusion" has become a tool in the hands of unscrupulous politicians.

(The San Francisco Call, November 13, 1906.)

The Japanese Diplomatic Game.

The tone of the person in authority lecturing an unruly child as to what is good for it, characterizes the pronouncements of the Eastern press in relation to the treatment of the Japanese by San Francisco. Some of them, like The New York Evening Post, get real mad over the matter. The Post, in the extremity of its indignation, says that it is all due to the fact that General de Young wants to run for United States Senator. To the local mind, the connection is not clear, but perhaps in New York they have superior means of information concerning the aspirations of California statesmen, especially as to the way in which these aspirations shake whole continents to their center and threaten to involve all America in floods of gore.

We are not greatly alarmed at the outlook, notwithstanding the inky disturbance of the Eastern mind. There is about as much chance of war with Japan as there is of General de Young's going to the Senate. The pending protest is nothing more than a pawn in the diplomatic game. It is something like the time-honored dispute over fisheries on the Atlantic Coast. In the solemn game of diplomacy it is the ancient policy to cultivate and even cherish open sores. The contending dialecticians trade one wrangle against another. The Newfoundland fisheries quarrel, for instance, is equal to one Alaska boundaries dispute. Such is the arithmetic of diplomacy. Great Britain and the United States have arrived at the conclusion that this kind of diplomacy is rather silly, and they are closing the old disputes wherever possible.

But Japan wants an offset to our claim that American trade is

not being fairly treated in Manchuria. Further, the Japanese do not want extreme measures taken against their seal poachers in the Aleutian Archipelago. In default of a better argument they have picked up this absurd and technical plea that Japanese "children" meet with discrimination in the public schools of San Francisco.

There is no discrimination. The segregation of Japanese students in one school is a police regulation, due to the fact that they are not children in the true sense. As a rule, they range in years from 15 to 25. It is not fit that they should be permitted to associate with children of average school age, and it will not be permitted.—San Francisco Chronicle, November 11, 1906.

The San Francisco Chronicle, November 11, 1906.)

ASIATIC CIVILIZATION DOMINATES HAWAII.

Out of 154,001 inhabitants found in the Hawaiian Islands in 1900, but 28,819 were Caucasians. There were 86,728 Asiatics, of whom 61,111 were Japanese. The remainder were of the perishing island races. Of the male population over 18 years of age, 63,444 were Asiatics, out of a total of 85,186, and of these 43,753 were Japanese. From 1900 to 1905 the arrivals of aliens in the islands were 48,086 Asiatics and 1726 of all other nationalities. Of the Asiatics, 38,029 were Japanese. The departures of Asiatics, however, during that period exceeded the arrivals by 4248. Of the 42,313 Japanese who left Hawaii between June 30, 1900, and December 31, 1905, an unknown number—larger than 20,641—came to the Pacific Coast. This was in opposition to the efforts of the Japanese Consul, acting under orders from the Japanese Government. The Japanese are getting to be regardless even of their own Government, and with increasing vigor express their determination to go where they please. As matters now stand, the Chinese population is increasing, the Koreans are increasing, and the Japanese probably about hold their own, their tendency being to make Hawaii a halfway house to his Coast, rigorous and systematic recruiting being evidently in progress.

The total result of the Oriental movement has been to produce a great dearth of labor on the sugar plantations, with a corresponding decrease of profit in their operation. Not only are higher wages paid than formerly, and better living and quarters furnished, but there are at times serious losses from lack of ability to get labor at any price. This shortage of agricultural labor is not so much due to the departure of Orientals as to their engagement in occupations other than those for which they were imported. Of those engaged in domestic service, laundries, restaurants, barber shops and similar occupations, 50.97 per cent were Asiatic; of those engaged in trade and transportation, 48.68 per cent were Asiatics, and of those in mechanical pursuits, 49.17 per cent. Of the total engaged in gainful occupations, 75.63 per cent were Asiatics, the Japanese greatly preponderating.

According to a report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, published in the September bulletin of the bureau, the Orientals, especially the Japanese, are now almost in complete control of the clothing trades, boots and shoes, food products, and of the production of coffee and rice. They are rapidly getting control of all the building trades and tin work. White mechanics are leaving the islands. In twenty-six occupations for which the territory requires licenses there were 2529 Chinese and Japanese license holders to 1629 of all other nationalities. As long ago as 1899 there were 753 Asiatic holders of merchants' licenses to 360 of all other nationalities.

There is now no merchandising license required, so that exact figures cannot be given, but the report states that the Asiatics are rapidly acquiring a monopoly of the smaller retail trade. They have not yet done much in the finer retail trade requiring large capital, or in the wholesale trade, but that is coming.

Japanese Have Capital.

The Japanese have capital, and Japanese capitalists realize that there is a jobbing trade all ready for them to take over. That the commerce of Hawaii will soon be as completely in the hands of the Chinese and Japanese as that of the Straits Settlements now is inevitable. The agricultural industries, except sugar, are now substantially in the hands of the Orientals, either as tenants or owners. They are already beginning in the sugar industry, not as yet as owners or lessees, but as contractors for the production of cane. As the Japanese, whenever they are ready, can command both the capital and technical skill, it seems inevitable that the entire sugar industry will in time pass into their hands—at first as contractors, next as lessees, and finally, very likely, as owners. It seems inevitable, because a race which will work long hours and have a low standard of life can, and therefore will, economically exterminate any race which has a high standard of life and insists on working short hours. The mass of the Hawaiian population is non-Caucasian. Of the non-Caucasians the Japanese is the dominant race. No human power can long prevent the assimilation of the civilization of the country to that of the mass of its inhabitants.

What we are fighting for on this Coast is that California and Oregon and Washington shall not become what the territory of Hawaii now is. If the Japanese are permitted to come here freely, nothing can prevent that except revolution and massacre, which would be certain. No words can describe the intensity of the hatred with which the white mechanics and small merchants of Hawaii regard the Japanese, who have taken their work from them by doing it for prices for which they cannot do it except by accepting the Japanese standard of life. Our workingmen hate the Japanese because they fear they will supplant them. The Hawaiian workingmen hate them because they have already been supplanted. Being but a small minority of the population, the whites of Hawaii cannot help themselves. The white men of the Pacific Coast are determined that the Orientals shall never be enabled to do here that which they have already accomplished in Hawaii. It will be prevented by whatever measures are found necessary.

Keep Races Apart.

What we are now endeavoring to do is to prevent it by such wise action on the part of our own and the Japanese Government as shall keep the races apart. Just now our race feeling has shown itself in the provision that the children of the races shall be kept separate in the schools. It is said that the Japanese will contest it in the courts, and if defeated there will make it an "international question." We trust they will not do so. It would be found that there is no power on earth which could compel the people of this State to tax themselves against their will to educate aliens whom we do not want here at all. To attempt to enforce the co-education of the races in the face of the determined opposition of those who pay the will would be inhuman, for it would result in scenes which we trust we may never witness. The example of Hawaii should be sufficient to assure the early passage of an exclusion act.

(San Francisco Chronicle, November 6, 1906.)

OBJECTIONS TO THE JAPANESE.

The most prominent objection to the presence of the Japanese in our public schools is the habit of sending young men to the primary grades, where they sit side by side with very young children, because in those grades only are the beginnings of English taught. That creates situations which often become painfully embarrassing. They are, in fact, unendurable.

There is also the objection to taking the time of the teachers to teach the English language to pupils, old or young, who do not understand it. It is a reasonable requirement that all pupils entering the schools shall be familiar with the language in which instruction is conducted. We deny either the legal or moral obligation to teach any foreigner to read or speak the English language. And if we choose to do that for one nationality, as a matter of grace, and not to do the same for another nationality, that is our privilege.

We do not know that the Japanese children are personally objectionable in grades composed of pupils of their own age. We do not know whether they are or not. There is, however, a deep and settled conviction among our people that the only hope of maintaining peace between Japan and the United States is to keep the two races apart. Whatever the status of the Japanese children while still young and uncontaminated, as they grow older they acquire the distinctive character habits, and moral standards of their race, which are abhorrent to our people. We object to them in the familiar intercourse of common school life as we would object to any other moral poison.

Deny Obligation.

While we deny any moral or legal obligation to give, at public expense, any education whatever to any alien, and consequently if we choose to give it as a matter of grace to one and deny it to another, we have also as a matter of grace provided separate schools for the Japanese. In the Southern States separate schools are provided for white and colored children. To say that we may exclude our own colored citizens from the schools attended by white children, but shall not exclude the children of alien from our schools, is not only absurd but monstrous.

We deny that the Federal Government has any control whatever over the schools of this State, or any authority whatever to officially deal with them. The tenth amendment to the Constitution declares that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectfully, or to the people." If the control of public education is not one of the powers by that clause expressly withheld from the Federal jurisdiction, then there is no such power thus withheld, and there is nothing in which the jurisdiction of Congress is not supreme. Secretary Metcalf, now here, is not, as a United States official, entitled to any information whatever in regard to our schools. What is given is given him as a matter of courtesy.

Section 2 of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." Obviously no treaty can be made by the United States except under its "authority." Any treaty made in excess of that authority is void in that particular. If the United States has no "authority" over the schools of California, it can not be clothed with

such authority by any contract of its own with a foreign nation. To suppose otherwise would be to suppose that the President and the Senate alone could, under guise of a treaty with a foreign power, usurp every power now held by any State government, and even abolish those governments. If the power of the President and Senate to enact by treaty that which Congress and the President can not enact by law exists, it has no limit. It does not exist. Therefore, whatever engagements the Federal Government may have made with Japan with respect to our schools—if it has made any—are utterly void.

(San Francisco Argonaut, November 10, 1906.)

The Japanese in our Schools.

After the fire of April 18 the San Francisco School Department temporarily housed Japanese and other Asiatic children in the school-houses with the white children. As soon as it was possible, however, the school board provided a separate building for these Asiatic children in compliance with the school law of California. This led to a formal remonstrance from Tokoyo through the Japanese Ambassador at Washington. It was followed by a protest from the Japanese Consul at San Francisco, and the institution of proceedings in the Federal Court to compel the San Francisco School Board to admit a Japanese pupil to be seated side by side with the white pupils in the San Francisco schools. These formal court proceedings were presumably with the approval of the Japanese Consul, as a Japanese attorney assisted his white brother at the bar.

President Roosevelt at once directed a dispatch to be sent by Secretary Root to the Japanese Imperial Government, apologizing for the action of the San Francisco school authorities, and explaining that the local extingencies due to the recent calamity, and the present labor disturbances had probably led to this action. The implication in this dispatch was that the Federal Government would at once take steps to remove the causes complained of by the Japanese Government, and the corollary was that the Federal Government would thus right a wrong. Pending action by the Federal Government toward removing the wrongs alleged to be due to the action of the school officials of California, the Japanese Government has refrained from further action. In accordance with same course, and probably at the direction of the Japanese Imperial Government, the suit brought in the Federal Court under the direction of the Japanese Consul against the San Francisco School Board has been dismissed.

Sent Post Haste.

In the meantime Secretary Metcalf, head of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has been sent post haste to San Francisco by President Roosevelt to investigate the matter. Secretary Metcalf has held conferences with the Japanese Consul, the United States District Attorney, Federal Judges Henshaw, Gilbert, and Ross, and the San Francisco school board. He has expressed no opinion, and has given out nothing for publication. As the Secretary is a discreet man, and particularly on these vexatious Asiatic topics, we are convinced that he will keep his own counsel until he reports to the President. The only significant utterance made by the Secretary was when he asked President Altmann how California defined the word "Mongolian" in that clause of her statute which it provides that separate schools shall be provided for "Indian children" and for "children of

Mongolian or Chinese descent." From this it is evident that the administration will probably hold that the Japanese are not Mongolians.

It seems to us that President Roosevelt need not look out of the windows to note that we need no more race troubles. If he goes along Pennsylvania avenue from the White House to the Capitol he will see more negroes in a mile than he can of Japanese in San Francisco in ten. Yet already ominous troubles are beginning here over a few score thousand Japanese. In fifteen years from now, if the administration assumes this welcoming attitude toward the East Coast of Asia, we shall have millions of Asiatics on the West Coast of Americans. Are not the thousands of idle and lazy negroes, whom President Roosevelt may see any day in Washington, an object lesson of the undesirability of further race problems in the United States. Yet the Washington negroes are far superior to the negroes of the black belt. We have had the negroes with us for a couple of centuries, and our troubles with them seem to have but begun. We have had the Japanese with us for less than half a century, and we are having more trouble with them already on the Pacific Coast than with any other race, not excluding the Chinese.

When the Negroes were Given Civil Rights.

It was on December 18, 1865, that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect, abolishing slavery. It was in July, 1868, that the Fourteenth Amendment went into effect, making the negroes citizens, giving them civil rights, and enumerating certain of those civil rights. This amendment also cut down the representation in Congress of such States as denied to negroes the right to vote. But no Southern State as a result of this penalizing, ever franchised the negro. It was on February 26, 1869, that the Fifteenth Amendment was proposed to Congress. It declared that "the right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It went into effect March 30, 1870, ratified by thirty States. It was rejected by California, Oregon, New York and seven other States.

It is thirty-six years since the Fifteenth Amendment gave to negroes the right to vote. Does President Roosevelt think that negroes freely exercise the right to vote in the Southern States? We do not think so. It is thirty-eight years since the Fourteenth Amendment gave to negroes civil rights. Does President Roosevelt think negroes are granted equal rights in theaters, hotels, railway trains, or street cars in all the States, Southern or Northern? We do not think so. It may be said that the Federal Courts can coerce the States into giving "equal rights" to the negroes. We do not think so. But if there may be those who doubt the soundness of our judgment, we may add that the United States Supreme Court in the celebrated "Slaughterhouse cases" decided that the Fourteenth Amendment does not deprive the States of police powers; that court upheld the right of States to regulate domestic affairs; it decided that there is a citizenship of the States as well as of the United States; it decided that the States could vest certain privileges and immunities upon their citizens.

Decision Opposed.

This decision was opposed by many extremists, as the war feeling still ran high. Congress thereupon passed a measure known as the "civil rights bill," which was intended to extort from the white citizens of the Southern States the recognition of the negroes "equal

rights." This law, when brought up before the Supreme Court, was declared to be unconstitutional. In the light of these facts we do not believe that the Federal Government can coerce the State of California in the matter of its school laws.

Since the fire we have not had at hand a copy of the treaty with Japan. It is true treaties are a part of the supreme law of the land, but we do not believe that even the Constitution could empower the Federal Government to force Chinese or Japanese or other Asiatic children into the California public schools. We believe that the conduct of the public schools is purely a domestic matter with which the Federal Government has nothing to do. That Government is a government of delegated rights, and the States never delegated to it the right to control their public schools.

But, even if this reasoning is wrong, we assure President Roosevelt, Secretary Root and Secretary Metcalf that it is immaterial to the people of California what construction may be put on treaties and laws so far as they affect the right to enter the public schools of the State. The people of California will never permit children of Asiatic descent to sit at the same desks and occupy the same rooms with their white children. The Government of the United States is powerful, but it is not powerful enough for that. If it should attempt to force into the public schools of California the children of alien, semi-servile and pagan races, it may perhaps do so under the Federal law, for the citizens of this State are law-abiding. But the attempt will only result in the schoolhouses of this State being turned over to the Chinese, Japanese, Ceylonese, Filipino and Lascar proteges of the Federal Government; and the white men and white women of California will educate their children in schools of their own.

EXHIBIT D.

Letter From Consul.

Consulate of Japan, 1274 O'Farrell St., San Francisco, Cal., October 16, 1906. To the Chief of Police, City and County of San Francisco. Dear Sir: Your attention is respectfully directed to the fact that the Cooks and Waiters' Union of this city, assisted and encouraged by the members of the carpenters', masons', and cabmen's unions, are endeavoring to enforce a boycott against Japanese restaurants. Your attention is particularly called to the following:

White Star Restaurant, at the corner of Third and Brannan streets.

Grand Restaurant, 403 Third street.

Port Arthur Restaurant, on Third street.

Anglosia Restaurant, on Third street.

Horse Shoe Restaurant, Folsom near Eighth.

Since the 2nd of the present month these restaurants, which are conducted by Japanese, have been subjected to almost constant annoyance from the sources mentioned. The boycotters linger about the restaurants and accost all customers who approach, giving them small match boxes bearing the words, "White men and women, patronize your own race." When this is not effective they frequently stand right in the doors of the restaurants and try to prevent customers from going in. On a number of occasions the windows of the restaurants have been stoned, or groups have gathered about the entrances in a threatening manner for the purpose of frightening customers away.

As a result of these offensive methods the business of the Japanese establishments has greatly dropped, and it is feared that they will be unable to stand such intolerable harrassing unless your depart-

ment will find a means to protect them.

I respectfully direct your attention to the matter, and venture the hope that you may find it possible to control the disorderly elements that are causing this trouble, that the persons and property of Japanese business men in this city may be made secure.

Trusting that some prompt action may be taken, I beg to remain,

Yours respectfully,

K. UYENO,
Consul of Japan.

Second Letter.

Consulate of Japan, 1274 O'Farrell St., San Francisco, Cal., October 18, 1906. To the Chief of Police, City and County of San Francisco, Cal. Dear Sir: Referring to my communication to you of the 16th instant, relative to the action of the Cooks and Waiters' Union in boycotting certain Japanese restaurants in this city, I beg to now report that I was called upon today at 1:30 p. m. by H. Sugiyama, proprietor of the Golden Bay Restaurant, at 256 Third street.

Sugiyama stated that between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock his place has been besieged by a mob of boycotters, who assaulted people entering and coming from his restaurant. He states that several customers were knocked down, and that the window glass of his place was broken by stones. Twice he ran out and blew a police whistle, but no officer came to his assistance. In fear of his life he left the place and came to report the facts to me.

I urgently ask that the matter have your prompt attention, and that steps be taken which will prevent the repetition of similar outrages. So violent and numerous have become the annoyances to which the Japanese restaurant keepers of this city have been subjected that they have not only fear that their business will be ruined, but that their lives are in peril.

Trusting that your department will take vigorous action in the matter, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

K. UYENO, Consul of Japan.

Office Chief of Police, San Francisco, Cal., October 16, 1906. To Company Commanders: Complaint is made by the Japanese Consul that his people are being continually annoyed by white persons, and in some instances assaulted and their property damaged. This last applies particularly to parties boycotting Japanese restaurants.

Instruct the officers under your several commands to see that no further cause for complaint on these grounds be afforded the Consul.

J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

San Francisco, October 29, 1906.

To Company Commanders: The above order is published for your information, with instructions to see that its mandates are complied with.

J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

Reply of Chief of Police.

Office of Chief of Police, San Francisco, October 18, 1906. Hon.

K. Uyeno, Consul of Japan, No. 1274 O'Farrell Street, City. Dear Sir: Replying to your communication of the 16th instant relative to the action of certain unions in the boycotting of Japanese restaurants, would respectfully reply that the same experience has been had by restaurant keepers of other nationalities, including our own, and the only manner in which the unions can be stopped from boycotting is by injunction proceedings in the Superior Court, restraining them from interfering with the business of the restaurant proprietors. However, your communication has been referred to the Captain of the district where the boycotting is reported as being carried on, with instructions to see that no disturbance be allowed or assaults committed, and that the law governing the same be enforced.

Respectfully submitted, J. F. Dinan, Chief of Police.

Reply of Captain.

Captain's Office, Police District No. 2, San Francisco, October 22, 1906. J. F. Dinan, Chief of Police. Sir: Replying to the attached communication of the Hon. K. Uyeno, Consul of Japan, of the 18th instant, relative to the boycotting of certain Japanese restaurants and the breaking of the windows at 256 Third street, will state: . . .

On the day the windows were broken the officer had to attend Police Court, and expected to be at his place of detail before the noon hour, but was delayed and did not get back until after the damage was done. I have detailed an officer at each of the Japanese restaurants at each meal hour, and have had no trouble, with the exception of this one instance.

Officers have been instructed to arrest if any violation of the law is committed.

Respectfully,
H. H. COLBY, Captain of Police.

Office of Chief of Police, San Francisco, October 25, 1906. Hon. K. Uyeno, Consul of Japan, No. 1274 O'Farrell Street, City. Dear Sir: Upon investigation of the subject contained in your communication of the 18th instant, we have found that all Japanese restaurant keepers in business in that part of the city covered by the recent fire have been assigned a detail of officers to remain in the immediate vicinity of their place of business during meal hours; and that the one, Mr. H. Sugiyama, located at No. 256 Third street, was assaulted while the officer was attending court.

In the future, where an officer is assigned to such a detail and has cases in court, another will be sent to relieve him, so that an occurrence of this kind will be prevented in the future.

Respectfully submitted, J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

He Was Gratified.

Consulate of Japan, San Francisco, Cal., October 26, 1906. Hon. J. F. Dinan, Chief of Police of the City and County of San Francisco, Cal. Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 25th instant, informing me of the measures adopted by your department for the protection of the Japanese restaurants, at present being boycotted by the unions of this city.

I am much gratified at the assurance given me that adequate protection will be given in the future, and sincerely hope that the

abuses to which my countrymen have been subjected during the last few weeks may not be repeated.

Yours respectfully,
K. UYENO, Consul of Japan.

EXHIBIT E.

Consulate of Japan, San Francisco, Cal., August 17, 1906. The Chief of Police, City and County of San Francisco. Dear Sir: I beg to introduce to you the bearer of this letter, Mr. R. Koba, who is the Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, with headquarters in this city. I respectfully ask that you will listen to the statement which he desires to make concerning an assault upon him last evening by boys on Laguna street.

In this connection I would state that one of the secretaries of Consulate was also menaced by young roughs in the same vicinity about the same time. As unprovoked assaults of this kind upon my countrymen have been quite frequent of late, I have to earnestly ask that steps be taken by your honorable department to afford them the protection to which they are entitled.

Trusting that you will find it possible to do this, I beg to remain,
Yours respectfully,
K. UYENO, Consul of Japan.

Office of Chief of Police, San Francisco, Cal., August 17, 1906. Hon. K. Uyeno, Consul of Japan, No. 1274 O'Farrell Street, City. Dear Sir: Your communication of even date, introducing Mr. R. Koba, was presented this afternoon, and his statement as to the assault on him last evening by boys in the neighborhood of Laguna street listened to, and he was instructed as to what steps would be taken by this department in relation thereto, as well as advice given him as to the best methods to pursue to the final punishment of the guilty parties, not only in his own case, but any other of his countrymen who might be annoyed.

For your information I take the liberty of stating what was told to Mr. Koba:

"That the company commanders of this department, throughout the city, will be instructed immediately to have all officers on street duty in their several districts pay particular attention to your people, and to see that none are molested by our people, young or old, and, if necessary, to detail officers in citizens' clothes throughout that part of the city where such annoyances are most frequent; that Mr. Koba call at the office of the bond and warrant clerk, in the O'Farrell Street Police Station, on O'Farrell street, west of Devisadero, where he can have what is known as John Doe warrants sworn out and registered at that station, after which he could have any of the guilty parties arrested by simply pointing them out to the first officer he saw."

Of course you can readily understand the difficulties at present surrounding us: First, the reduction of our force by nearly one-fifth; then the strikes, involving this unfortunate city, which, of course, calls for a large detail of officers, and last, but not least, the peculiar provision of our laws bearing on misdemeanor offenses, which requires that an officer must be an eyewitness, or else clothed with a warrant, before he can make an arrest of parties guilty of these classes of crime.

Hoping that you will advise any others of your people thus assaulted as to the steps necessary in such cases, and, better still,

that no more occasion may arise for such complaints, I beg to remain,
Yours respectfully, J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

Office Chief of Police, San Francisco Cal., August 22, 1906.
John Mooney, Esq., Captain of Police, Commanding Company E, City. Sir: Complaint is made by the Japanese Consul that his people are being annoyed, and in some instances assaulted, by white men on the streets in your district, particularly in the neighborhood of Gough, Fillmore, O'Farrell, and California streets.

You will therefore instruct the officers under your command to see that this is stopped, and if it can not be done by men in uniform, assign men in citizens' clothes to accomplish the purpose.

J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

October 29, 1906. Captain Mooney: The above order is republished for your information and attention.

J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

Letter to Mayor.

San Francisco, October 27, 1906. Hon. James L. Gallagher, Acting Mayor of the City of San Francisco. Dear Sir: Your attention is directly directed to the fact that during the past few months Japanese residents of this city have been subjected to repeated and unprovoked assaults at the hands of hoodlums and rough characters on the streets. I have had occasion to call the attention of the police authorities on many occasions to these abuses.

Their occurrence is most frequent during the evening hours, and to such an extent have the abuses been carried that many of my people are intimidated and afraid to pursue their usual occupations. Even the members of my consular staff have been insulted and threatened upon the streets, and the Consul himself has no guaranty that he would be free from annoyance and molestation when he moves about the city.

In the early part of this month I submitted to the police department a detailed list covering seventeen assaults of this character which had taken place between the dates of August 5 and September 6.

Not being able to secure through the regular police channels the protection demanded, the Japanese Association of America, having headquarters in this city, has incurred the expense of employing several special officers to patrol the quarters most affected, and those officers are still retained. Notwithstanding these precautions, the complaints which reach this Consulate show that the abuses still continue, and that unprovoked assaults of a more or less violent character are of almost daily occurrence.

In this connection I would further invite your attention to the boycott at present being carried on by the Cooks and Waiters' Union of this city against the keepers of Japanese restaurants, during the course of which many acts of violence have been committed and the property interests and personal safety of the Japanese proprietors placed in jeopardy.

I feel quite confident that your honor will agree with me that these acts of injustice call for the vigorous exercise of every power of the city government for their suppression; and my purpose of addressing you at the present time is to ask that such measures be taken as will at once secure to my people in this city every right and

privilege to which they are entitled by treaty stipulation.

Trusting that your honor will be pleased to give this matter your earnest consideration, and that early means may be found for the removal of all cause for complaint on the part of the Japanese residents, I remain,

Yours, very respectfully,

K. UYENO, Consul for Japan.

Mayor's Office, City and County of San Francisco, Executive Department, October 27, 1906. Hon. J. F. Dinan, Chief of Police. Dear Sir: Inclosed please find a copy of letter received at this office. Will you kindly call the attention of the officers to the matter contained therein, and, I trust, remedy the evil.

Yours truly, JOHN J. DOYLE, Mayor's Secretary.

(The foregoing is a copy of a letter referred to this department by Acting Mayor Gallagher.)

Second Letter.

Office of the Chief of Police, San Francisco, Cal., October 29, 1906. Hon. James L. Gallagher, Acting Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco. Dear Sir: I am just in receipt of your communication of the 27th instant, with copy of the letter from the Japanese Consul, relative to the alleged assaults on his countrymen and the annoyances reported to him by restaurant keepers through the acts of boycotters.

In reply, beg to say that numerous complaints have been received from Mr. Uyeno during the past three months on these same subjects, all of which were given prompt attention, as per reports of the officers, copies of which are enclosed herewith for your information.

So that you may be fully advised on this question, so far as the police department has been involved, I take the liberty of handing you herewith copies of all correspondence had with the Japanese Consul relative thereto.

In conclusion will state that, so far as the assaults are concerned, instructions were issued to company commanders to have patrolmen give protection to the Japanese on their respective beats. As to the restaurant keepers, an officer was assigned a team of the Japanese restaurants located in the burned district of the city, where, it was claimed, the annoyance was being carried, on with instructions to be at such places during meal times, and to see that no violation of the law in any particular was committed.

Owing to the unsettled conditions that have existed since the fire, it has been a very hard matter to afford particular attention to any one nationality, as you, as well as Mr. Uyeno, must certainly know that no race has been exempt from annoyances, as well as assaults, such as he complains of.

Hoping that I have made myself understood in this matter, and assuring you that Mr. Uyeno's people, as well as all others, will be furnished with all the protection it is possible for this department to afford, I remain,

Your obedient servant,

J. F. DINAN, Chief of Police.

EXHIBIT F.**Professor Davidson.**

(Copy of letter of Professor George Davidson, of the University of California, to The San Francisco Examiner and other papers.)

San Francisco, June 11, 1906. Gentlemen: Your attention is respectfully directed to a condition of affairs which, I feel certain, will call forth not only your earnest protest but that of every fair-minded citizen who loves the good name of his city. I refer to the repeated insults which have been heaped upon the party of Japanese scientists at present visiting this city, by boys and hoodlum gangs in the streets.

Dr. F. Omori, of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and one of the greatest living authorities in seismography, was especially sent here by the Japanese Government to make a study of the recent disaster. He is accompanied by Dr. T. Nakamura, professor of architecture in the same institution, and the two are assisted by Mr. R. Sano and Mr. M. Noguchi. These gentlemen, in the pursuit of their investigations, have had occasion to visit all quarters of the city to make numerous notes and paragraphs. It has been while so engaged that the annoyances to which your attention is drawn, have taken place.

On Saturday forenoon last Dr. Omori, while taking certain photographs on Mission street, near the Postoffice, was attacked by a gang of boys and young men, some of them wearing the livery of the postal service, and his hat was crushed in by a stone as large as an egg.

On Tuesday last Doctor Nakamura was assaulted in a similar manner while making an examination in the ruined district, and sand and dust were thrown over him and his assistants.

Insults of a similar kind, but varying in degree, have been suffered by these gentlemen not less than a dozen times since they began their work in this city.

They are naturally surprised that such treatment should be extended to friendly strangers, more especially in view of the extreme courtesy and kindness with which they have been received by the official scientists and representative men of this community.

While I recognize the fact that acts of this kind are not countenanced by the better element of the people, and that it is extremely difficult to control the acts of irresponsible hoodlums, I believe that something may and should be done to create a public sentiment which will frown down the rougher element which in this vicious way brings disgrace upon the community.

GEORGE DAVIDSON,
Professor of the University of California.

From the Postmaster.

(Copy of letter to the Postmaster of San Francisco to Dr. F. Omori.)
Sir: I am informed by Mr. Giichi Adki, in a communication under date of June 9, that you were subjected to certain indignities on the public streets of this city at the hands of boys employed in the San Francisco Postoffice.

Immediately upon the receipt of this information I instructed my personal representative to call at the headquarters of the Japanese Association of America and express to you my deep regret that any employes of the postal service should have conducted themselves

toward a visiting foreigner in a manner unbecoming Americans, and particularly servants of this Government. I further regret that my representative was unable to see you personally and offer to you directly my apologies for the misconduct on the part of the employes of my office.

The matter is receiving careful investigation at my hands, and I assure you that when the names of the boys guilty of this outrage are definitely ascertained, they will be immediately dismissed from the public service.

Again regretting the necessity of this communication, I beg to remain,
Very respectfully yours,

_____, Postmaster.

(Sent in care of Japanese Association of America.)

(Copy of a letter of Mayor E. E. Schmitz of San Francisco to Dr. F. Omori and Dr. T. Nakamura.)

San Francisco, Cal., June 21, 1906. Gentlemen: I have learned through the daily press that you were stoned by some hoodlums while in pursuance of your investigations relative to the destruction of public buildings by the earthquake. I am very sorry, indeed, that you should have received such treatment at the hands of any of our people here in San Francisco, and assure you that every effort will be made in order that no recurrence of the act may take place.

I know, as reasonable men, that you appreciate the fact that it is impossible for the authorities to absolutely prevent anything of this kind happening. It might have happened to you in any other country, and it might happen to me, but I wish here to officially express my regret for the occurrence of the outrage, and assure you that I will do everything in my power to have whatever amends you desire.

Very truly yours, E. E. SCHMITZ, Mayor.

(Sent in care of Pacific Japanese Mission.)

Governor Pardee.

Executive Department, State of California, Sacramento, June 21, 1906. Rev. Dr. Herbert B. Johnson, 2428 Milvia Street, Berkeley, Cal. Dear Sir: I received your letter of June 18th, and have written to both Dr. F. Omori and Dr. T. Nakamura, and have expressed to those eminent gentlemen my sincere regrets for the recent unfortunate occurrences.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE C. PARDEE, Governor.

Executive Department, State of California, Sacramento, June 21, 1906. Dr. F. Omori (care of Herbert B. Johnson, D. D.), 2428 Milvia Street, Berkeley, Cal. Dear Sir: Although I have no official knowledge of the matter, I am unofficially informed that certain indignities of a personal nature were offered to you in the City of San Francisco.

Our laws do not permit the Governor of the State to take official action in such cases, which are directly under the authorities of the cities or counties in which they occur.

Personally and officially, I desire to assure you that the assaults upon you meet with reprobation of all good citizens of this State; and I sincerely hope that the wanton act of young hoodlums will not be taken by yourself or your Government as reflecting the disposition and sentiments of even the smallest minority of the people

of my State, in whose name I apologize to you for the unfortunate occurrence.

Hoping that you will not judge San Francisco (for whose sorely stricken citizens your Government and people so promptly extended such great sympathy and material aid) by the utterly inexcusable actions of the persons who so wantonly assaulted you, I am,

With great respect, very truly yours,

GEORGE C. PARDEE, Governor of California.

Mayor Torrey.

Eureka, July 7, 1906. Dr. F. Omori, Professor of Seismology, Imperial University of Tokyo, Japan. Sir: As the representative of the executive authorities of the City of Eureka, and with full confidence that he is representing the undivided and unanimous sentiment of the citizens of this city, the undersigned begs to deplore the ruffianly and inexcusable assault committed upon your person last evening in this city.

That this assault was the result of an unfortunate mistake, due to the labor troubles now prevailing on this Coast, does not in any wise excuse its heinousness and brutality; and the writer, in offering you on behalf of this community a full apology for the regrettable occurrence, wishes to express his sincere desire to make to you any possible amends, and to assure you that the people of this community do not uphold nor countenance such outrages and unlawful acts, but on the contrary deeply deplore the unfortunate occurrence.

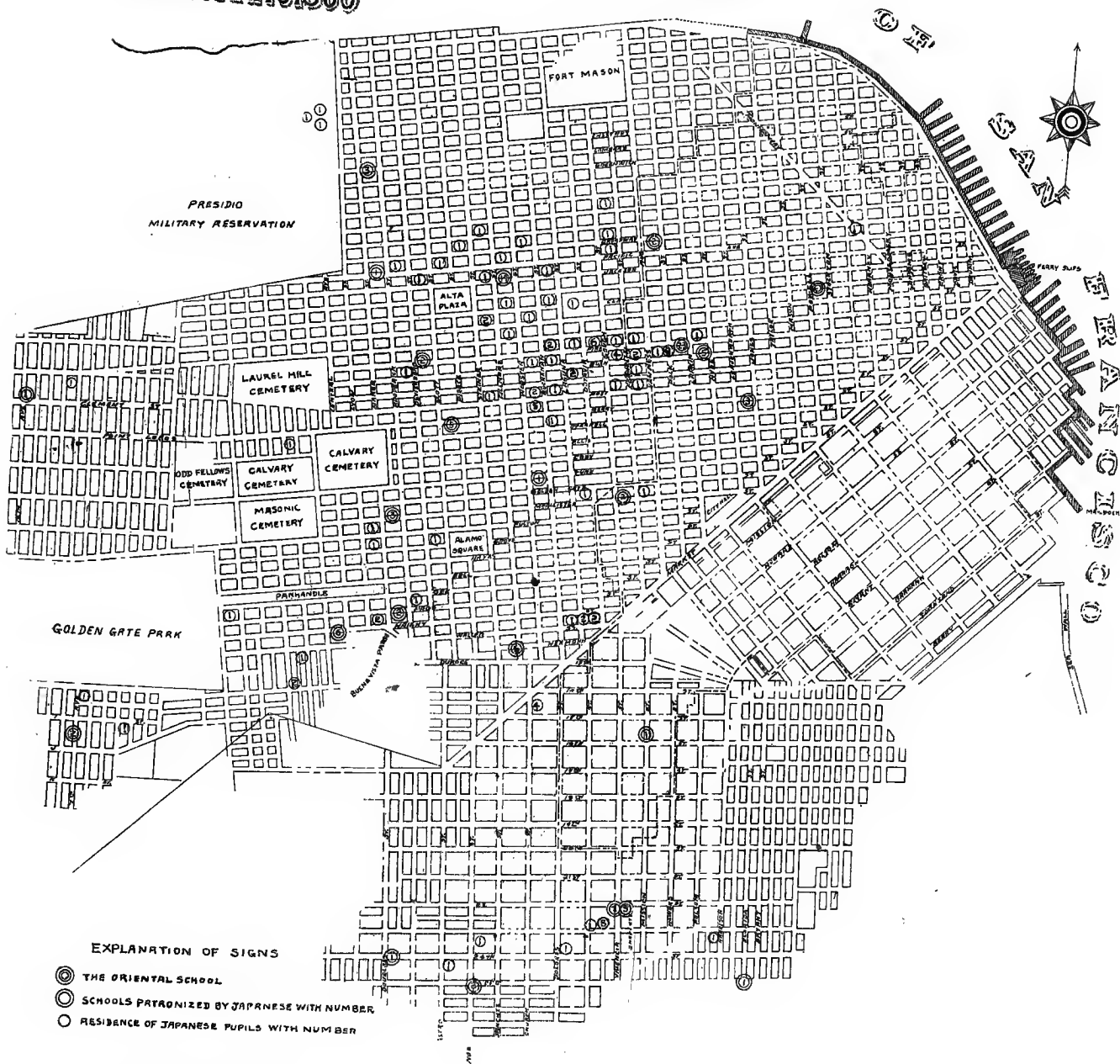
Trusting that your further stay in this community will be free from disagreeable incidents, and will result in your securing valuable information on the subject now interesting you, I beg to express to you my distinguished consideration and to subscribe myself,

Yours most respectfully,

A. W. TORREY,
Mayor of the City of Eureka.

MAP OF CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

BAY



EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

- ◎ THE ORIENTAL SCHOOL
- ⊙ SCHOOLS PATRONIZED BY JAPANESE WITH NUMBER
- RESIDENCE OF JAPANESE PUPILS WITH NUMBER

THIS MAP IS PREPARED
BY
JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

NAPOLÉON'S GRANDNEPHEW THE BRINGER OF PEACE.

BY KALLIONISTES.

Summary.—The only means to ward off the Yellow Peril is the union of the leading nations of Europe, mutually guaranteeing their possessions and enjoying, as a matter of course, the tacit support of America. It is evident that such an agreement would mean permanent universal peace. It is America's duty, America's transcendent opportunity, to take the lead in this movement. To that end it is requisite, first of all, to direct the attention of the masses in Europe to the necessity of union. The masses are slow to comprehend a principle until they see it embodied in a man. By no other means could their attention be so thoroughly aroused as by the election of Mr. Bonaparte to the Presidency of the United States, on the ground that he is fittest, through the magic of his name, to promote the union of Europe. A more wonderful case of historic justice could not be conceived than that the grandnephew of the greatest warrior should bestow on the world the boon of perpetual peace.

Let me begin by telling you a story which is at least 2000 years old. Everybody knows it; hardly anybody profits by it.

A man had seven sons. As he felt his end approaching, he called them together and handing one of them a bundle of seven sticks informed them that he would give all his possessions to the one that should break the bundle. One after the other the sons tried it and at last handed the bundle back to the father, saying: "Father, we can not do it." Then the old man untied the bundle and broke the seven sticks separately with ease. "So it will be with you, my sons," he said. "So long as you remain united, no one can harm you; if you go each his own way, you will speedily be broken."

There are at this moment seven great white powers: Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and the United States. If they acted in concert, their control of the globe would be absolutely assured. If they act separately, especially if they act one against the other, they may be attacked one by one by the yellow race and overwhelmed.

As I pronounce the phrase "Yellow Peril," I am well aware that many a brow in this hall will show the wrinkles of impatience and many a lip the smile of amusement or incredulity. Having heard the Yellow Peril described as a bugbear, many people have grown accustomed to think that it can be nothing else. It is time that we should try to obtain an accurate notion of what the Peril is and what it is not. Let me beg you to give unbiased attention to a few facts. And let me say at once that, in choosing the theme "The United States of Europe," I was not actuated primarily by any disinterested desire to discourse to Europeans on the beauties of union for their own benefit, but first and foremost by the conviction that the union of Europe is absolutely

necessary for the safety of America. Our main line of defense is not on the Pacific coast but on the frontier of Siberia and India, especially India. India, in fact, is the key to the situation. If it remains British, the future of Europe and our own future is secure; if India ceases to be British, Europe will almost certainly become subject to Asia, and then we, too, shall be at the mercy of the Asiatics.

The loyalty of the Indian princes, their intelligent perception of their own interests and of their duty as members of the Aryan race, have hitherto acted as a check on the violent anti-British agitation that pervades India; but this check may be swept away at any moment by popular fanaticism. With her utmost effort, Britain could hardly send to India more than 300,000 men. What could that handful do in a population of three hundred millions, especially if the native army proved disloyal!

Now imagine a Chinese army of two millions or more, armed with modern weapons, watching the Indian revolt from across the mountains of Burma. Suppose that the last available British soldier had been sent to India, and that the result hung in the balance. Suppose that at that moment the Chinese government informed the British government, as our government did the Spanish government, that a chronic state of warfare on its borders was contrary to its interests, and that, if the British troops were not withdrawn, the Chinese army would cross the frontier. Resistance to such a demand would be even more hopeless than it was in the case of Spain. It need not be supposed that the Chinese troops would enter India through the almost impassable mountains of Burma. China still tacitly claims suzerainty over all the petty kingdoms that now constitute French Indo-China. As soon as the Chinese army is strong enough, that claim will be asserted, and it would be almost folly on the part of France to resist it. The road to India will then be open. Left disorganized by the retreat of the British, that country would inevitably be occupied by Chinese troops. Against the united forces of China, Indo-China and India, the fifty millions of Japan would vainly contend. Willingly or unwillingly, Japan would become the vassal of China, and over eight hundred million human beings would then be united into a single power.

At the news of the expulsion of the British from India, all Africa would rise as one man. It is not to be supposed that the Asiatics would stand by idle, when by a word they could gain in Africa the long-desired field of colonization for their densely packed millions. Africa would become a Mongolian colony; the supremacy over the globe, hitherto enjoyed by Europe, would be transferred to eastern Asia.

That this transfer would be effected without war is inconceivable. Europe would strive desperately to maintain her dominion. The horrors of such a war are beyond all imagination. One of the most remarkable scholars that America ever produced,

Jeremiah Curtin, has rendered an incalculable service to his countrymen by giving to the press this book, which I hold in my hand, entitled: "The Mongols: a History." It could not have appeared at a more opportune moment than the present, when an understanding of the Yellow Peril is so urgently needed. President Roosevelt was quick to grasp the meaning of the book and to emphasize its importance by a "Foreword," more remarkable, perhaps, than the book itself. "Few conquests," says our far-seeing President, "have been so hideous and on the whole so noxious to mankind The civilized peoples who fell under their sway experienced a fate as dreadful as would be the case if nowadays a civilized people were suddenly conquered by a great horde of Apaches To the Europeans who cowered in horror before them, the squat, slit-eyed, brawny horsemen, "with faces like the snouts of dogs," seemed as hideous and fearsome as demons, and as irresistible by ordinary mortals The civil administration the Mongols established in a conquered country was borrowed from China, and where they settled as conquerors, the conduct of the Chinese bureaucracy maddened the subject peoples almost as much as the wild and lawless brutality of the Mongol soldiers themselves."

The easy-going average American or European imagines that the supremacy of the white race is one of the laws of nature. Good people, why don't you open your histories and geographies and learn the facts? "As a matter of fact," says our scholarly President, "the recent military supremacy of the white or European races is a matter of only some three centuries. For the four preceding centuries, that is, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the seventeenth, the Mongol and Turkish armies generally had the upper hand in any contests with European foes, appearing in Europe always as invaders and often as conquerors." During the past two centuries, indeed, the science developed by the white race had placed it in the possession of weapons which would have guaranteed its absolute dominion over the globe, if it had kept these weapons to itself. In point of fact, white manufacturers have vied with each other, with brutal eagerness, in selling the most improved arms to every barbarian that had money enough to buy them; white engineers are constructing arsenals and gun foundries for every barbarian prince that cares to employ them. If this continues, a time will come when the other races will be as well armed as the white race, and then the issue will be determined by numbers. There are some good people who imagine that, when barbarians get the latest cannon and magazine rifles into their hands, they will all at once become gentle and humane, and overflowing with gratitude to their teachers. Nothing could be sillier. We have no assurance whatever that another Mongolian yoke would not mean the same as the first—massacre, slavery, tribute to harems. The appalling ferocity which the Chinese displayed in the Taiping rebellion and in the suppression of the

repeated revolts of the white population of East Turkestan, the last of which took place only 30 years ago, is anything but reassuring. The only assurance lies in taking preventive measures now, while it is easy. A stitch in time saves nine. We are Europeans living in America. There is hardly one of us but has relatives and friends living in Europe now. Can we be indifferent to the prospect that these or their children shall be at the mercy of a host of yellow men whose conduct after victory we are utterly unable to foretell?

But that is not our main concern. The all-important question is: What will happen to America after our kinsmen in Europe have been robbed of all their colonies, defeated in their own home and reduced to subjection? Then we shall stand absolutely alone against one thousand millions. With their incredibly cheap labor, and with the boundless resources of the Old World, the yellow men could build battleships at a rate with which our utmost efforts could not compete. To maintain our exclusion laws would then be out of the question. At present only the inhabitants of a few coast towns in China know anything of the opportunities for gain offered in the United States. With the spread of education, which is our gift to them, every one of the four hundred and thirty-five millions will learn that in America a laborer at the end of the day receives ten times as much as a Chinaman does at home. They could send three millions a year to our shores without missing them. Every one knows that the cheap yellow man can drive the high-priced white man out of nearly every branch of labor. Now labor is the source of life. Where a white man can not labor, he can not live. In a few decades the entire Pacific coast would be Mongolized; a rapidly growing Chinatown would spring up in every city; the land won from the forest and the savage by the labor and blood of our fathers, the land which we proudly call God's country, would little by little become the home of another race; the resources of nature brought under control by our men of genius would benefit, not their children, but the children of those who would never have moved from the immemorial haunts of their ancestors, had not white men taught them the resources of other lands and furnished them the means to reach them. Our far-seeing President never misses an opportunity to denounce the crime of race suicide. What term shall be applied to the crime which the white race would commit, if, through its lack of union, through the vile jealousies dividing brother from brother, through the nefarious, brutal, insane craving of one white nation to dominate the others, it placed itself in subjection to another race, dooming its posterity to perpetual servitude and slow starvation!

Some of you will tell me that this is a fanciful picture. Let me ask you a question. Why do you insure your houses? Is it not because of the fanciful picture of a fire? There is no certainty that your house will catch fire; yet because of the possibility,

you are willing to pay the premium, knowing full well that there are nine chances out of ten that this payment will be a total loss to you. I have described to you a dreadful danger, the coming of which, so far as human intelligence can foresee, is not merely possible but highly probable. Now, I will propose to you a method of insurance which not merely requires no payment of premium but will largely relieve you of the premiums you are now paying.

Let us return to the bundle of seven sticks—Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and the United States. If the sticks remain separate, it will be easy for the yellow power, when sufficiently armed, to break them one by one, for the bulk of the yellow race, 435 millions, are already united. But if the sticks unite, no power on earth can break them. Were it understood that an attack on any European or American colony in Asia or in the Pacific would at once bring the whole power of the white race into the field, these colonies would be absolutely safe. Siberia would in less than a century develop into a vast white power; Canada, Australia, South America, South Africa, would have time to develop into mighty nations. In two centuries the white race would be equal in numbers to the other races combined. The seven white nations know all this very well. Then why do they not unite?

Von Bülow, the German Chancellor, some years ago quoted a simile used by his great predecessor, Bismarck, which illustrates the case very graphically. "The statesman," he said, "is like a boatman on a river. He can steer his boat hither and thither to take advantage of the current; he can not change the current." Even if convinced of the absolute necessity of a certain policy, he can not afford to advocate it unless he is reasonably assured of the support of the masses; and the masses, almost entirely absorbed in the task of making a living, have neither time nor inclination to form definite opinions on public questions, but are almost exclusively guided by impressions. And thus humanity, whose course, through the possession of reason, ought to be self-guided, drifts on almost as helplessly as Niagara, solely in obedience to gravitation.

Please do not imagine, therefore, that I conceive it to be America's duty to invite the six leading European powers to unite with us in a sevenfold League. For such a League we should have to wait almost as long as for "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." Such a complicated program is not at all necessary. Neither will I shock your reverence for a certain wise rule laid down by the Father of his country, by suggesting that America enter into any entangling alliance. The purpose in view will be amply served by one comparatively simple measure: the alliance of the three strongest, most enlightened and humane European nations, Britain, France and Germany. To this nucleus the other states would inevitably adhere. The United States of Europe would thus exist virtually, if not formally, and would at once enjoy the tacit, if not the formal support of all America. The

Triple Alliance would of necessity guarantee not only their own possessions but all European possessions, and thus the practical union of the white race, with its patrimony unimpaired, would be achieved. Universal peace would be the necessary and permanent result, and to maintain it, half the present armaments would suffice. The military budgets, including our own, could be cut down to one-half, perhaps less. Here, then, is the insurance which not only requires no premium but will actually enable us to dispense with half the premium we are now paying. For those who deplore the increase of our navy, here is a way to prevent it: work for the Anglo-Franco-German alliance.

Everybody knows the obstacle to that alliance: the ill feeling between France and Germany. Hitherto, Britain, having to choose between them, and knowing that she could not choose either without arousing the jealousy of the other, has preferred to choose neither. The discomfort of such a position is evident. As Sir Thomas Barclay constantly insists, neither an Anglo-French nor an Anglo-German understanding will rest on a safe basis until it forms part of a "triangular understanding" of Britain, France and Germany. In brief, a Franco-German alliance would at once expand into an Anglo-Franco-German alliance. Even three sticks would suffice to make the bundle unbreakable, but several big sticks and many little ones would soon be added. The problem which at first seemed so complicated has thus been reduced to a simple proposition. A Franco-German alliance means the union of the white race—our own insurance against ruin. The fate of the civilized world depends on the reconciliation of France and Germany.

What sort of compromises may be requisite to effect this reconciliation, it is not for us to say. That would be meddling with their business. But to say that their reconciliation is necessary for our own safety is not meddling with their business; it is simply attending to an urgent business of our own.

The colonial parties in France and Germany are already practically acting as a unit, exchanging lecturers to bring home to their nations the urgent need of combined action. France knows that her Indo-Chinese possessions are held by an exceedingly precarious tenure; Germany knows that, if Kiautschau were attacked, it would probably have to be surrendered without striking a blow, and the same may soon be true of all her possessions in the Pacific. Emperor William is the foremost exponent of the Yellow Peril; 12 years ago, before any one else dreamt of the Peril, he wrote beneath a famous picture painted at his suggestion: "Peoples of Europe, guard your highest interests!" Why is it, then, that the two nations have not formed an alliance by this time?

A member of the German government, in a recent interview, stated the reason very clearly. "The German government," he said, "would like nothing better than to be on the best possible terms with France, and the Emperor, in particular, would gladly

make the most far-reaching concessions to that end; it is the temper of the people that prevents it. We have no assurance whatever that such concessions as we might propose would be satisfactory to the French; and if we failed, the prestige of the government at home would be fatally impaired."

It would be an insult to the intelligence and moral character of the people of France and Germany to assert that, if public discussion could once be concentrated on this subject, if the immense advantages that would accrue to them from an alliance were once exhibited to them side by side with the fearful dangers involved in their disunion, they would not at once express their demand for an alliance in such unmistakable terms as to afford to their governments every desirable security for beginning the negotiations. The problem, therefore, is, how to concentrate the attention of the masses on the subject. This, of course, is the problem of problems in all countries, and we in America know its difficulties by bitter experience. It took four years of horrible warfare to convince our people of the intolerable evils of slavery. After listening to all the supposed insuperable objections raised against a Franco-German alliance, one can not help thinking how quickly these objections would be swept aside if a great Mongolian host were advancing into Germany as in the year 1241. How gladly would Germany make every concession to France in order to gain her alliance, and how gladly would France be content with the least concession in order to unite with Germany and avert the invasion from her own frontier! Bismarck spoke prophetically when he said that the unity of Germany was not to be achieved by speeches but by blood and iron. Must we believe that the unity of the white race can be achieved by no other means? Must we supinely await the lesson of blood and iron, till, perhaps, even that is too late?

There is another means, and the people of the United States have it in their hands. Individuals might preach the gospel of union till doomsday without result; when a nation speaks to sister nations, they will listen. Every four years our people decide by their votes what policies they deem most important for the time being, and elect the man whom they deem fittest to carry out those policies. If the argument here presented is logical, the union of the white race for common defense is incomparably the most important subject now before the American people, especially the working people, for it concerns their very existence. The conclusion is evident. The declaration that the establishment of the United States of Europe would be welcomed by the people of the United States of America as necessary for their own safety must be made the foremost issue of the Presidential campaign. To embody it in a platform would be an awkward task and hardly a profitable one, for the masses in Europe hardly know that we have any platforms, just as our masses hardly know anything about European platforms. The masses are slow to con-

prehend a principle until they see it embodied in a man. No express declaration is necessary or even desirable; all that is needed is a man to represent it.

Who is the man that is fittest for this task? The answer can not be doubtful for a moment. Among the men who now occupy the foremost positions in the country there is one bearing a name which exerts a magic influence on the popular mind throughout Europe: Attorney General Charles Joseph Bonaparte.

Imagine the impression that would be produced in Europe by the announcement that the people of the United States had placed a Bonaparte at their head precisely for the reason that he was deemed fittest, through the power of his name, to contribute to that union of our parent nations which we recognize as essential to our own welfare! There is not a hamlet in France, Germany or Britain where the news would not be discussed evening after evening. The fact that the grandnephew of the very man who was largely instrumental in setting the nations of western Europe at enmity was entrusted, exactly 100 years later, with the mission of reconciling those nations, would strike the religious mind of Europe as a manifest interposition of Providence. The fact that he is a Catholic would add to the effect, for it would prove to our European kinsmen that we are ready to set an example in laying aside religious prejudice in obedience to reason and equity and in compliance with the requirements of a great undertaking for the common good. We could then with a clear conscience urge on our kinsmen in Europe the lesson most needed at this moment: that when the existence of all is at stake, and can only be safeguarded through the cooperation of all, it were treason to refuse to make the mutual concessions necessary for cooperation. With the thousands of people in Britain, France and Germany already keenly alive to the Yellow Peril, and striving to convince their countrymen of its gravity, with Emperor William as the leader and prophet of that movement, with the colonial parties in the three countries already insisting on the solidarity of the white race in its dealings with other races, it seems impossible that the mighty impulse given to that movement by our country through the candidacy and election of Mr. Bonaparte could fail to achieve the desired result. America would thus win the honor of the leadership toward the union of the white race and toward universal and permanent peace—the highest conceivable honor that could fall to the lot of any nation.

Compared to this, what are the other issues now before the people? Suppose you saw two grown men playing marbles while their houses were on fire; what would you think of them? Compared to the union of the civilized nations, which is the only means by which they can escape defeat, subjection and slow extermination, all other issues are mere playing of marbles. It would be an insult to the American people to assert that in a matter of supreme national importance they are incapable of assuming

any other attitude than that of the child or the savage, who never think of the morrow.

Fellow-citizens! You all admit the wisdom of insuring your lives for the benefit of your children. Think of it! That which we can do at this moment without any expense, nay, with a great saving of expense, by simply electing a man whom everybody knows to be one of the ablest, most prudent, conservative and conscientious men in the country—shall we leave it to our children to accomplish with superhuman labor, untold expenditure, perhaps torrents of blood?

To sum up: If the union of our parent nations which is our only chance of safety is to be brought about, the necessity of it must be impressed on the masses of our kinsmen in Europe, and to that end their attention must first be gained. A wonderful dispensation of Providence has placed in our midst a man whose name has a magic effect on the popular imagination of Europe; a man who owes his present eminence essentially to his unwearied efforts in the cause of reform, a man whose capacity, zeal and foresight are well known, a man descended on his paternal side from the brother of one of the greatest of the world's geniuses as a general, diplomat and lawgiver, and on his maternal side from one of the foremost self-made captains of industry of his day. A Bonaparte, occupying the highest position in the New World, exactly one hundred years after the first Bonaparte was at the zenith of his glory in the Old World, would rouse the popular imagination of Europe to the highest pitch of expectation. The fact that he was elected by the people of the United States for that high position precisely because he was deemed fittest to reconcile those whom his granduncle had contributed to set at enmity; the fact that the grand-nephew of the world's greatest warrior should be selected to bestow on the world the boon of universal peace—would appear to the religious mind of Europe as a veritable miracle, as a manifest indication of the will of Providence. The fulfilment of his mission—the establishment of universal and permanent peace through American initiative—would make America the most honored nation on the globe, the queen among the civilized nations. Never in history was such an opportunity offered to a nation. We shall be lacking in our duty to ourselves and our children, lacking in our duty to the civilized world, lacking in obedience to the manifest will of Providence, if we do not make Mr. Bonaparte President.

As I gaze over the length and breadth of our land, I find it impossible to think of any class of people that could be indifferent to this candidacy. But there are certain groups that are more specially interested in its success, and to these I will now address a special appeal.

To whom shall the first appeal be made? Whose interests are most vitally identified with a movement whose essential object is the union and consequent supremacy of the white race? Had we a king, I would appeal to him. We have no king, but among those of us who deserve to be called civilized, every lucky man has a queen, to whom he pays homage and for whom he is glad to toil in the sweat of his brow. Ladies, this is your battle. It is your kingdom that is at stake. If our worship is gratifying to you, if you are pleased to be surrounded by willing attendants who deem it a favor to receive your behests, exert your influence to the end that those who delight in thus waiting on you shall not be overwhelmed by those who look on woman as an inferior being that owes them reverence and service. None but the white man has evolved the instinct which leads him to find the highest pleasure in dedicating all his work to the woman of his choice. Nowhere but in the white race can you find the man to whom the supreme happiness, the most perfect fulfilment of the object of life, consists in doing always the noblest thing in sight, in order to make himself as worthy as possible of her who has consented to receive his homage. You smile as you compare this ideal with the reality; you think of the whiskey-sodden, tobacco-soaked, boisterous, overbearing, heavy-footed, ungainly creatures that you see strutting and floundering before you, and you ask yourselves: Is this meant for homage? Are these creatures trying to do the noblest thing in sight, in order to make themselves worthy of us? Ladies, please remember that I spoke of those of us who deserve to be called civilized. That term does not by any means apply to all white men. There are plenty of white men who are not civilized but only domesticated. And if even the best of us do not quite come up to your expectations, please judge us not by our shortcomings but by our aspirations. "The just man falleth seven times a day, but riseth again." Ideals are never quite realized, but the realization will be higher, the higher the ideal. That the ideal just defined haunts the minds of all young white men above a certain grade of mental development can not be doubted by any one who is in the habit of pondering over the remarks made by his acquaintances.

Have you ever thought why it is that this instinct which leads man to delight in bending the knee before woman is confined to the white race? To the normal man there is no mystery about it. It is because beauty of feature, that outward sign of inward grace, that badge of mental and moral refinement, is found nowhere but in the faces of white women.

"And she's all the world to me"

sings the Scotchman of Annie Laurie. He tells you the reason:

“Her neck is like the snawdrift,
 Her throat is like the swan;
 Her face, it is the fairest
 That e'er the sun shone on.”

Try to imagine him singing thus of one whose neck was not “like the snawdrift.” It would be grotesque. We call you divine, heavenly, so habitually that the words have become somewhat trite. When we paint or sculpture goddesses or angels, when we personify sublime ideals, we borrow your lineaments, your color, to give to them. Try to imagine a goddess whose face is not white. It is a contradiction in terms.

This indescribable beauty of your faces, which to the normal man is the only thing that redeems the world from dreariness, this beauty whose presence in woman's face, whose perception by man's eye and whose all-conquering influence over man's mind would be utterly inexplicable unless it be nature's guarantee of a noble soul behind it, nature's record of every noble aspiration of every ancestor through countless millenniums of the past and nature's promissory note of noble, beautiful deeds to be performed by a long line of descendants—this beauty in woman and the instinct of woman-worship in man, what are they but correlatives? Throughout the long ages of the ascent from savagery, men and women have constantly been molding, training each other. As the marks of increasing mental development appeared in woman's face in the guise of beauty—in man's face there was hardly room for it beside the aspect of ferocity which was more needful to him in his battles with competitors—nature said to him: Here is something more perfect than anything that has yet appeared on earth; ally yourself with it, if you wish to rise in the scale of creation.

No less a man than Herbert Spencer has expressed his profound conviction that physical beauty is nothing else than the index of mental excellence. He points out that those traits which constitute beauty are the very ones by which the European face differs from the faces of the nearest brutes, and, to a less degree, from the faces of the other races of men. In other words, beauty means brain power—not necessarily in the individual possessing it but in the majority of her ancestors; beautiful means raised above the brute, debrutalized. The moment you consider it, you must admit that any other explanation of the phenomenon of beauty and of the supreme sway it exercises over the minds of men is simply unthinkable. What, then, is the meaning of the fact, often commented on by travelers, that there is no beauty outside of the white race? It simply means that the other races are ages behind us in the ascent from the brute.

In the presence of this new force of nature, is it to be wondered at that the white man developed the instinct of finding in the

worship of woman his highest delight, the most potent stimulus to the exertion of his powers? With such a stimulus, is it surprising that practically all the work that constitutes civilization has been accomplished by the white race? The vast treasures of poetry, the enchanted world of music, the boundless kingdom of science—all are the work of white men. Take mathematics; it is a veritable city, with innumerable streets and avenues, stately temples and galleries, where a man may roam year after year without being able to say at the close of his life that he has set foot in every recess. And so it is with astronomy, chemistry, physics, biology, linguistics, history, social science. It is the white man that has mapped every nook and corner of the globe, measured the ocean depths, made the lightning carry his messages, made the sunbeam his painter, the cataract his servant to carry him from place to place, to drive his mills, light his house, and melt rocks till they flow like water. The other day, in conversation with a friend, I casually referred to the ten branches of the Aryan race. "What are the ten branches of the Aryan race?" he asked. "The Celtic, Germanic, Latin, Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Slavic, Baltic, Persian, Hindu." "Why, you have enumerated all the civilized nations!" he remarked. Can it be that this is mere accident? Is it not manifest proof that civilization is not the product of mere geographic factors but of inherited mental quality?

I hold in my hand a book entitled "The Western Origin of Chinese Civilization," by Terrien de Lacouperie. It proves from the records of the Chinese themselves that their civilization was introduced by a tribe of blue-eyed, yellow-haired men, coming from what is now East Turkestan about the year 3000 before Christ, and settling in the valley of the Wei river, where they laid the foundation of the Chinese empire. All the civilization of China and Japan, therefore, is but an offshoot of the ancient civilization which extended from Mesopotamia to Central Asia, and which has been traced at least as far back as the year 6000 before Christ. All they did was to keep up what they received from us, and if they have remained stationary for several thousand years, it is probably due to the fact that the active, inventive white element lost its efficiency through diffusion among the inert millions.

It has been asserted that the instinct of woman-worship is but a modern development; that the epithets borrowed from the language of religion which men apply to women are but the exaggerations of literature. It is not true. Eighteen hundred years ago, Tacitus wrote of the ancient Germans: "Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant" (They even believe that there is in woman something sacred and prophetic). A more glorious certificate of nobility was never issued to any people. It ought to be written in letters of gold on every national monument in Germany; every German ought to have it engraved on his watch case. And not only every German but every Anglo-Saxon and Frenchman, for when Tacitus wrote this, Anno Domini 98,

neither the Anglo-Saxons nor the Franks nor the Burgundians had left Germany. Thus when we call you divine, we obey the same impulse that animated our ancestors 1,800 years ago; like them, we deem your intuition superior to our reason. And now, shall the race that possesses this instinct voluntarily relinquish its dominant position and crawl under the yoke of another race, utterly devoid of this instinct? It will not happen, ladies, if you act promptly; and I am sure you do not care to descend from your throne.

Intimately associated with beauty and woman-worship is the subject of love. It would be absurd to advocate any policy unless its result is to be an increase of human happiness. Now what is the greatest human happiness, beside which all else is hardly worth naming? Every normal civilized human being instantly knows the answer: the happiness of love. Without it, the face of nature is a frame with the picture torn out; music, poetry, are merely the husks of pleasure, not pleasure itself. He who gains this, gains all; he who misses this, misses the banquet of life and has to be content with the scraps. If the noblest impulse in the human breast is the impulse to make others happy, it is evident that the foremost aim of all but strictly selfish endeavor must be to secure this happiness, if possible, to all who are capable of it. Paradise will be regained when all marriages are love marriages; and so long as there are human beings who are incapable of such love, the sum total of human happiness will fall short of what it might be.

Now listen to what a Chinese editor, Ng Poon Chew, said before the Hillside Club at Berkeley, California, on January 11, 1907: "As we Chinamen understand it, love is a hallucination, a delusion, intoxication, mirage in the desert of passion, a perverted product of a deluded brain, a disease, and a most deadly contagious one, a kind of dementia Americana. It is a symptom of a disordered brain, as a nightmare is a symptom of a disordered stomach. We Orientals have no use for love, emotion or tender passion in marriage affairs or any other affairs. We are not sickly, sentimental creatures, but cold, philosophical, fatalistic beings. Since marriage is the means for the conservation of the human race, it follows that it is not for the convenience of the man and woman concerned. . . . We do not for a moment take into consideration the wishes or desires or views of the young people immediately concerned; consequently our young people have absolutely nothing to do in their marriage arrangements."

Now what shall we say to this candid Oriental? First, we thank you for having given us notice of how you mean to treat our dearest ideals when you become dominant. Second, it is useless to discourse on music to the deaf or on color to the blind. Third, where there are no flowers, there are no butterflies. Fourth, by their fruits ye shall know them. While the children sprung from love marriages were circumnavigating the globe, spanning

continents with railways and telegraphs, peering into the abysses of space to learn the secrets of the stars, constructing printing presses that deliver square miles of information in an hour, writing immortal poetry and music, the children sprung from marriage by command remained in the home of their ancestors, without knowledge of more than a few square miles around them, mumbling formulas 2000 years old, most likely imported from the West. The reason is not far to seek. Marriage through love is nature's method; marriage by command or calculation is a slap in the face of nature. Throughout the organic world the law prevails that that which is most useful to the species is most pleasant to the individual. Is it not plain, then, that what we call the master passion is the very cause of all our intellectual achievements, that all our progress is due to love marriages and that we would progress ten times faster if all marriages other than love marriages could be forbidden? No surer means for arresting our progress could be devised than the free admission of a race to whom love is a mockery. Love means enthusiasm, enterprise, daring, invention, inspiration, perseverance; the absence of love means monotony, weariness, flagging energy, somnolence, inanition. Our candid Chinese editor has in fact laid bare the very cause of China's stagnation. His statement reinforces the impression that what is called Chinese civilization is simply a state of domestication of essential savages, a domestication imposed on them by a conquering tribe of white men from the west.

There is not in the dictionary a more hateful word than the word traitor. Benedict Arnold was highly gifted, yet in the thousands of pages that have been written concerning him in America you will not find a word of sympathy or extenuation for him, nothing but inexorable, implacable, unrelenting execration. What fate then, ladies, shall be meted out to that blackest of traitors who would betray your kingdom, by opposing the mutual concessions necessary to assure the union and consequent supremacy of the race which acknowledges your sovereignty? Traitor to womanhood, traitor to beauty, traitor to love, traitor to honor, traitor to intelligence, traitor to science, traitor to poetry, traitor to music, traitor to progress, traitor to happiness, traitor to the past, the present, the future! If we bury him alive, he will contaminate the ground; if we tie a millstone to his neck and drop him into the deepest depth of ocean, he will poison the water; if we burn him he will sully the air we breathe. The only thing to do would be to load him into a cannon and fire him into space at a velocity of two miles a second, that he may never return to the earth.

See the flag of Panarya, the flag of the united white race, the flag of civilization! See the colors of beauty, white, pink, blue and gold! It is your flag, ladies, the flag of your kingdom, the emblem of your sovereignty. You remember Rider Haggard's story of "She," describing a nation supremely happy and united

under the absolute rule of a woman of supernatural beauty and wisdom—"sanctum aliquid et providum." Her ministers never refer to her otherwise than as "She, whose commands must be obeyed." Manifestly this is nothing else than the ideal toward which the white race is tending and which it has in large measure already attained. A hundred times a year you may hear men say: "The ladies want it, therefore it must be done." Ladies, if you wish the white race to become united, to the end that your rule may remain unbroken, if you do not wish your daughters and granddaughters to fall under the sway of a race who look on you as inferior creatures, all you have to do is to command your fathers, brothers, sons, husbands and lovers to unite; they will obey you.

After this all-embracing discourse, it is hardly necessary to appeal to any other interests; yet I think, ladies, you will not suspect me of doubting the completeness of your authority if I present to your happy subjects certain additional motives for obeying your command.

My next appeal, then, is to the working people, especially the trades unions. Fellow-citizens! You have hitherto been the leaders in this struggle; do not fail now to concentrate your entire force on the one measure which is to assure your victory forever. You stand for a high life standard, for shorter hours of labor, for higher education, for a fair balance between capital and labor. You represent the vast storehouse on which the nation has to rely for its future supply of brains. Look through the pages of a biographical dictionary, what do you find? Nearly every scientist, statesman, orator, poet, captain of industry, governor, military commander was either the son or the grandson of a workingman. Most of the time the biography begins with the words: "Born on a farm." You represent the foresight, the power to look into the future, which distinguishes the grown man from the child, the civilized man from the savage. Most of you have insured your lives, that the future of your children may be reasonably secure. Gentlemen, the best insurance that you can give your children and grandchildren is the assurance of work, for work is life. Not one of you has an income large enough to pay the premium on a policy which would enable your children to live without work. It is your duty, therefore, to make sure, while it is yet possible, that no one shall take from your children the chance to work. Lock the stable now; don't wait till the horse is stolen. That which you can now do without effort or expense, may cost your children untold millions, and even then the effort may be in vain. If India is lost to Britain and eight hundred million people are united into a compact mass

our navy will soon face fourfold odds and will have to go into hiding. To prevent a hostile landing, we should have to spread our military force along the entire coast of North and South America, which is evidently impossible. In brief, we could not resist invasion, and whether we yielded at once or only after a defeat, the result would be the same; we should have to admit the Asiatics without restriction. Then you would be entirely at the mercy of the capitalist. Your splendid unions, the fruit of a century of earnest thought and high-minded effort, would then be as useless as a wooden palisade against artillery. During the past winter you have had some experience of what it means to be out of employment. If we are forced, some fifteen or twenty years hence, to admit the millions of coolies that are waiting on the other side of the Pacific, your children will be thrown out of employment as fast as the yellow men arrive. Some persons are brazen enough to insult your intelligence by pointing out that the employment of yellow laborers means additional employment for white men, as foremen and skilled mechanics. They imagine that you are thick-headed enough not to perceive that the employment of one hundred coolies means at most the employment of half a dozen white superintendents, while some forty or fifty white men, who could have done the work of the one hundred coolies, have to go idle. Most of the labor that has to be done in the world, the labor that is the source of life to him who performs it, is unskilled or at least low-skilled labor, such as any savage can perform if he tries. In the ranks of the white workmen there are thousands who would be able to perform high-skilled labor if there were enough such labor to go around, and if they had the chance to acquire that skill. As it is, most of them have to be content with what labor they can get. Is it not evident, then, that if all the unskilled and partly skilled labor gradually passes into the hands of aliens, who are content with almost any wage that is offered, the white laborers will be thrown out of employment at a constantly increasing rate, till they constitute hardly one-tenth of the total? You will hear some employers say: But here are natural resources that have to lie idle unless we get labor. If white men will not do the labor, we must take those that we can find. Gentlemen, the most important natural resource that we have to develop is humanity. To this, all other development is merely subsidiary. We wish to develop a higher, nobler, more intelligent race, that may be better able to solve the problems of life than we are. This can not be done unless we select the best human material that is now available. Workingmen of America and Europe! You are that material. You represent the rich lode of human ore, the bonanza, in which nature has for ages concentrated the most precious human qualities. The mining engineer that wishes to extract the valuable metals begins with the richest ore, and so long as that holds out, he never touches the poorer ore. Is the very richest human ore, then, to be unutilized and to be thrown on the great dump of the dead?

Many of you are familiar with the teachings of socialism. The fatal mistake usually made by European socialists, who never come in contact with other races, is, that they deliberately shut their eyes to the immense differences existing among men, especially between the different races. You have heard the story of Procrustes, the famous robber in Greek mythology, who made all travelers that fell into his hands lie down on the same iron bed and insisted that each one should just fill the bed. So, if their legs were too long, he cut them off; if they were too short, he stretched them. To assert that the theory of socialism would necessarily lead to such a practice would of course be a confession of ignorance; but it can not be denied that the utterances of many individual socialists have this tendency. The trouble is, that most people's legs are not elastic; if you were to stretch them, they would come off. If men were perfect, no other system than one of equal distribution, equal assurance of the requirements of life, would be just. But humanity is as yet far from perfect, and therefore far from happy. If we aim to make the humanity of the future more perfect and therefore happier, there is only one means; the best human elements of the present must be given the best chance to survive, that is to say, the best chance to work. Unto him that hath shall be given. In opposing a solid front against the admission of lower elements of labor, therefore, you and your brothers of Australia follow the dictates of the highest philosophy. The development of natural resources is desirable only if it leads to the improvement of humanity, that is to say, if it promotes the spread of the best elements. If it should lead to the spread of inferior elements, these natural resources had better remain undeveloped and be kept as a heritage for our children, to afford to them that chance to labor which means the chance to live.

One great contribution the socialists have made to the store of ethical terms has been the coining of the word solidarity. If socialism is but a passing phase in the history of human development, as is sometimes asserted, it will be gratefully remembered at any rate for the service it has rendered in weaning the working class from the ancient brutal maxim: Am I my brother's keeper? Workingmen! If, in the presence of the great problems common to the race, the distinctions of nationality prove an obstacle to cooperation, they must be ignored. You are all Europeans; you are one great army, with the center in Europe, one wing in Australia, the other in America. What sort of general would he be who would devote his attention exclusively to his left wing and let his center and right wing shift for themselves! It is childish, it is blindness, it is a piece of brutality to say that Europe's danger, Europe's union, are Europe's concern. If Europe is defeated and our own ruin is thereby accomplished, what good will it do us to blame Europeans for not attending to their duty? Nay,

more, Europeans might well retort that our duty was more imperative. It is difficult for two contestants to come to terms without the intervention of a common friend. As has been pointed out, the masses in Europe, as in America, are almost wholly absorbed in the task of making a living, and, unless their attention be aroused by some startling event, they will give scant heed to public questions nor cast aside the ancient habits of animosity that divide them. Because the task of making a living is to us somewhat less absorbing; because the competition of Asiatics, never yet felt in Europe, has been brought forcibly home to us; and because we Europeans of America, mingling freely with each other, making friends without regard to the nationality to which our fathers belonged in Europe, are enabled to look on European quarrels with judicial impartiality; therefore is the duty incumbent on us to take such steps as may make it easier for our kinsmen in Europe to unite.

And until that union is accomplished, it will be well for us, so far as possible, to lay aside all other struggles, that might distract the attention of our own people and of our European kinsmen from the Paramount Issue. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood if I entreat you to call a truce in the war which the Government at your demand is now waging against the trusts. That quarrel will keep; the supremacy of the white race is one of those perishable goods that will not keep unless preservatives are applied at once. That the government must eventually exercise supervision over the trusts, even at the risk of being called socialistic, is a foregone conclusion; the only problem is to know the degree of control that will be useful, not harmful. That the trusts will resist control as much as possible is natural; it is simply the assertion of the universal craving for liberty. Let each one ask himself: Would I not be able and willing to do more for the public good if I were freed from this or that restriction? That is what every corporation thinks. You are aware, of course, that the leaders of these corporations have all risen from your ranks. It is absurd to think that so long as a man is poor, he is the model of all the virtues, and as soon as he gets rich he becomes the model of all the vices. It is said that some of you are displeased with Mr. Bonaparte because he does not prosecute the corporations fast enough. Please remember that Mr. Bonaparte is a builder, not a smasher. In common with every level-headed man in the country, in common with your own wise leader, Mr. Gompers, he recognizes that the destruction of the trusts would be a fatal retrograde step. He does not care to inflict punishment that will merely cause a few individuals to make sour faces; his aim is to build up institutions which will guard the public against the evils that may flow from the abuse of corporate power without impairing the unquestionable efficiency and economy of the public service performed by the corporations. This is a work requiring the utmost skill and care and which is almost certain to fail unless it

be allowed to develop as every useful thing in nature has developed: by gradual growth. The great problem will be how to avoid setting little men to control big men. If you call a truce now, in order to enable the people in this country and in Europe to give their undivided attention to the paramount problem of the union of the white race, not only will your battle against the abuses of the trusts not be lost, but you may be saved from the necessity of undoing much that ought never to have been done. You can resume the fight later on, if need be; the probability is that the question meantime will largely solve itself. We must practise what we preach. If we wish to preach conciliation, we must give an example of conciliation. Our plea for peace will be most eloquent if we are at peace among ourselves.

Look at this emblem! (Seal of the American Federation of Labor). See the hands clasped across the ocean! It means that your interests and those of your European kinsmen are identical. Look at the motto: *Labor omnia vincit* (Labor conquers all things)! Workingmen of America! Labor is the source of life. Think of all the political issues now being discussed. How trifling, how insignificant they are compared to the question whether your children shall or shall not have the chance to labor and therefore the chance to live. You now have the opportunity to make sure of that chance. Do not let that opportunity pass. You are aware that a part of the capitalist press, caring for nothing but private gain, is already clamoring for the unrestricted admission of Asiatics. When the Pacific is covered with Mongolian fleets superior to ours, and when the friends and kinsmen on whom we might have called for aid have been conquered, your children will not be able to resist that clamor. Lock the stable now; don't wait till the horse is stolen. Rally solidly around the standard which means the union of white labor. Make the two hands clasp across the ocean.

From the workingmen it is natural to turn to their employers. Captains of Industry! No intelligent, fair-minded man doubts your patriotism nor the immense services which you render to the public. The problem of making the infinitely varied activities of industrial life fit into each other so as to ensure throughout the country that balance of forces which may at any moment supply to each one what he needs, is one of enormous magnitude and one with which none but master minds can successfully grapple. The cartoonists delight in picturing you with enormous fat bodies and diminutive conical heads. Of course, anybody that has met you face to face knows that your heads are the most remarkable thing about you—regular in outline, capacious, symmetric, with noble, high foreheads, with no malar bones to speak of, with every feature expressive of mingled strength and refinement; and that, while your stomachs do not exactly exhibit the signs of starvation, they

do not betray any unusual digestive capacity. If physical beauty is the index of mental superiority, your mental gifts must be of a high order, for, as Lombroso has pointed out, there is not a class in which physical beauty is so prevalent and so conspicuous as among the millionaires.

I should like to go on singing your praises, but after all, what can I say? It is impossible to praise you or anybody else except by pointing out that you or somebody else is useful to the public. If you are not useful, you are useless—isn't that clear?

Now try for once to gain a clear idea of what it means to be useful to the public. You are not in the habit of pondering deeply on such subjects. Philosophizing is not in your line. The philosopher must know how to doubt, for only a doubter can change his opinion, and intellectual progress consists largely in successive changes of opinion. You can not afford to doubt; instant decision is to you the *sine qua non* of success. I will not invite you to doubt your present opinions; I will merely ask you to form an opinion on a point which most of you have never considered.

What, then, does it mean to be useful to the public? Useful means conducive to happiness. Now everyone knows that happiness and misery depend mainly on the constitution of men themselves. Hence that is most useful which will make men most apt to enjoy happiness themselves and most apt to confer it on others. And as men's constitutions are mainly determined by heredity, it is evident that that line of action is most useful which causes the human beings thus constituted to become more and more numerous and the others less and less numerous. In brief, the ultimate test of all actions or policies is, whether they tend to favor the spread of the superior types of humanity. That question, in nature's civil service examination, counts ninety-nine per cent, and if you make zero on that, all your efforts to make a good record on other questions will be in vain. And as men can neither live nor spread except through labor, the criterion by which the usefulness or harmfulness of your social function must finally be judged is, whether it tends to promote the employment of the best human elements in that labor which is the source of life.

You yourselves do not attempt to defend your titles to your property on any other ground than that of your usefulness. Whenever there is talk of confiscation, you do not waste your time in trying to prove that confiscation is inherently unjust; you simply point out that it would render the gifts of nature less productive. You point out very justly that all experiments at community of property have ended in lamentable failure. In other words, you admit that you are simply the administrators of public property. You know that no other plea will satisfy the people's instinctive sense of right and wrong. If it should ever be proved that your administration of your property is more detrimental to the public welfare than public ownership would be, no amount of arguing about inherent rights would prevent the people from relieving you of that administration.

In point of fact the majority of you have splendidly justified the social wisdom which has entrusted you with that administration. No radical so wild but will admit that the consolidation of an infinity of small enterprises into a few large organizations has been an enormous benefit to society, setting free a vast amount of energy previously frittered away in duplication of work and in preparing for work. Pittsburg has become the marvel of the world. The sensible men among the people are not shocked on being told that the vast industrial interests of the country are practically controlled by a few dozen men. What are these few dozen men but the executive committee appointed by society through the most efficient process of election, the test of actual performance? Knowing that many cooks spoil the broth, the logical man is rather glad to learn that the number of cooks is diminishing.

So long, therefore, as you prove your usefulness, the basis of your titles will remain unimpaired, and the sound sense of our people is guarantee that they will leave your appointment as their executive committee undisturbed. But what is usefulness? The supreme test of usefulness of any action—it can not be too often repeated—lies in the question: Does it favor the spread of the best human types? Whatever fulfils this supreme requirement is useful, even though in minor matters it may cause inconvenience or even suffering; whatever is contrary to that supreme requirement is harmful, even though in minor matters it may afford some conveniences. What, then, are we to think of the claim, occasionally heard from your ranks, that the natural resources that have come into your possession must be made to yield a profit at all hazards, and that, if you cannot find sufficient white labor to develop them, you have a right to choose any labor that you can find? Do you not see that, by advancing that claim, you attack the very basis of your titles? If you introduce inferior labor and give it a footing from which it may spread and crowd out superior labor, not only from the employments which now go begging but from practically all employments, your activity will result in a surplus of harm and therefore destroy the only motive that prompts society to entrust to you the administration of what you call your property. The very fact that sufficient labor can not be found at home to develop certain resources is proof that their development is not yet needed.

The fact is, your class suffers in its reputation from the sins of a minority. While most of you are sincerely trying to serve the public to the best of your ability, there are a few among you who have no other aim than personal profit, and who, in order to fry their eggs, are ever ready to set their neighbors' houses on fire. It was this type that introduced slavery and tried to justify it by philosophy and religion; it is this type that is now engaged in agitating for the readmission of Asiatic labor, using all manner of specious arguments drawn from philosophy and religion, just

as the slave traders did. Their motto is: After us the deluge! It is your duty, men of finance, as patriots, as friends of orderly human progress, as lovers of your own children, to repudiate and shame into silence these fishers in troubled waters, whose success could only mean disorder, wreck, destruction of values.

You are the generals of the white army of labor. Do not betray your own army, from whose ranks you have risen, your own people, your own flesh and blood. Even now the antagonism that has sprung up between you and the laboring class consumes an enormous amount of energy that ought to be devoted to progressive work. If in this matter of Asiatic immigration you place yourselves resolutely and frankly on the side of the workingmen, you will do the very best thing to allay this antagonism. I have appealed to the workingmen to call a truce in the fight against you, to the end that public attention may be concentrated on the paramount issue of the union of the civilized nations, and that our plea for conciliation among our European kinsmen may be borne out by our example. I now appeal to you to do your part to make a truce, perhaps a lasting peace, possible. If you refuse, if you encourage those who agitate for the admission of Asiatic labor, you will exasperate the laboring class still more and may drive them to adopt dangerous measures. You will simply hasten the confiscation against which you are struggling. If at this critical moment you hold aloof from the common cause of your nation, of your race, and thus contribute to consign your own flesh and blood to starvation through loss of labor, you will vainly plead your acts of munificence as proofs of your usefulness. The man who is going to be hanged is not grateful to the hangman for giving him a meal an hour before the execution. You know that Mr. Bonaparte is your friend no less than the workingmen's. Whatever is subversive of the social order is repugnant to him. No dangerous experiments would have any chance under his administration; he would promptly veto them. His one aim, as he constantly insists, is to make the reign of law supreme both over the mighty and the lowly. The union of the civilized nations, which he of all living men is best fitted to bring about, would mean universal peace, the security of investments all over the globe, the accelerated opening of the wild regions and therefore doubled, tenfold opportunities for safe and highly profitable investment. Even the Asiatic trade, which is used as an argument in favor of the admission of coolie labor, would grow twice as fast if the fear of conflict were removed, through the union of the leading nations. Many of you are known for your munificence to the working people. Do your best now to bestow on them and their children the most munificent gift of all: the assurance of labor, which means the assurance of life. Do your best to bestow on the world the priceless gift of universal peace.

My next appeal is to the German-Americans. Fellow-citizens! Your ancestors, among all the branches of the Aryan family, had the good luck to receive from Tacitus that imperishable badge of nobility, higher than any in the world: "Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant" (They even believe that there is in woman something sacred and prophetic). Your country was the home of chivalry; your poetry began with the Minnesänger, the bards of love. You are destined, therefore, by nature, to be the leaders in the movement toward the union of the white nations which is absolutely necessary in order to safeguard and perpetuate the supremacy of the race to whom the worship of woman constitutes the consummation of life. The duty of this leadership is doubly yours, because the first step toward that union must be the reconciliation of France and Germany. Without that reconciliation, no union is possible; with it, the union is as good as accomplished. Your example would exert a potent influence on your brothers in the old home and in all probability supply to them the long-desired pretext. If your press and your vote are solid for the man who is best fitted to bring about the union of the white race and universal peace, the man whose name is identified with the greatest glory of France, the grandnephew of him whom recently a prince of your Imperial House, standing tearfully at his tomb, called the greatest general in history, the masses of your kindred in Germany will be startled into attention as they never were before, and the Government, whose earnest wish to come to terms with France is well known, might then deem it safe to make overtures of compromise. It may be doubted whether any power would profit as much as Germany by the establishment of the United States of Europe. To the other powers it would merely mean the security of what they have; to Germany it would very likely mean the acquisition of new colonies. This is at present wholly impossible. Though in her own home Germany need not be afraid of the challenge of united Europe, yet every effort that she makes to extend her power abroad is paralyzed by the opposition of her rivals. In this opposition, France naturally takes part; to do otherwise would not be human. Were France allied with Germany, she would favor the latter's expansion, and we should soon witness the birth of a New Germany beyond the seas, destined to offer a home to millions of emigrants, to feed the commerce of the homeland and to strengthen her hold on her present colonies. German-Americans! You are second to none in your love for the land of your adoption, yet nobody blames you for the regrets occasionally expressed, that your emigration was wholly a loss to your old fatherland, instead of being a gain, as is the emigration of Englishmen to English colonies. Not only the people of the United States but not a few enlightened Englishmen are sorry to see that the country which leads the world in education, and whose population increases at the rate of nearly a million a year, has no

lands of its own to which it can send this surplus, instead of sending it to foreign lands to strengthen them in the competition with the home land. The union of the three leading European nations, prompted by the very necessity of assuring to the white race the right to colonize the globe, would quickly lead to the recognition of the self-evident conclusion that the nation which has the largest surplus of high-grade colonists must be given the best chance to colonize. In other words, fellow-citizens of German descent, you have it in your power to aid your fatherland in acquiring a domain sufficient for thirty or forty million colonists, in a corner of the globe where they and their descendants may remain Germans for all time to come.

Permit me to suggest an additional motive. No German-American has ever been President. At present no German-American has any chance to get the nomination, although, in view of your numbers, such an innovation would by no means be premature. If, however, Mr. Bonaparte is elected largely through your aid, his friends will be under obligation to make returns. The nomination and election of a German-American will then become a decided probability in the near future.

It is hardly necessary to urge our fellow-citizens of French descent to vote for the bearer of the name which is identified with the greatest glory of France. With a Bonaparte at the head of the United States, the friendship which links the two republics together would become stronger than ever, especially if an Anglo-Franco-German alliance were to remove all fear of jealousy on the part of France's neighbors and consequently also on the part of Americans of German or British descent. A widespread revolt in North Africa and the Sudan, or an attack on her Indo-Chinese possessions would tax the military power of France to a dangerous degree, so long as she is compelled to keep most of her force at home for fear of her neighbors. If she were allied with her neighbors, if she did not have to fear them any more than Pennsylvania has to fear Ohio, she could garrison her colonies with sufficient forces to secure herself in their possession, which would, moreover, be guaranteed by the united power of the Triple Alliance.

To our fellow-citizens of Italian descent it may be sufficient to point out, first, that Italy has never ceased to claim the Buonapartes as her own; second, that the union of Europe would enable Italy not only to recover her lost ground in Africa but to add to it. The prestige gained for the Latin race by a man of Latin descent and bearing a Latin name would be shared by the other Latin nations, Spain, Portugal, Roumania and Latin America. Portugal, possessed of a vast African domain, where rebellion is chronic, would naturally welcome a European union which would secure

her in the possession of that domain both against aggression and against revolt. In Latin America, whose industrial and commercial development offers the finest opportunities to our own people, the name Bonaparte, the most famous in the Latin world, would exert the happiest effect, contributing to dispel the distrust with which a large part of the people regard us, as a Protestant and "Anglo-Saxon" power. The Belgians would find in the Triple Alliance the best defense of their Congo colony. To the Scandinavians it would offer a far better guarantee of independence than a paper neutrality. One of the first tasks of the Triple Alliance would be the reorganization of Turkey. The Armenian, Greek and Syrian Christians now groaning under the Mohammedan yoke would then at last enjoy security of life, honor and property. All those who feel the unspeakable disgrace of seeing Christendom stand by idle while a Christian nation is being butchered by Mussulmans, should exert their power to the utmost to bring about the indispensable condition for effectual interference in behalf of Armenia: the union of the three great enlightened and humane nations of western Europe.

There is not a nation on earth that has a more glorious history than Holland. With a territory not larger than Maryland, and with a population that only recently passed the four million mark, that astounding little nation was at one time the greatest sea power in the world, owning part of the West Indies, all Brazil, the present states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, South Africa, Ceylon and the Malay archipelago. Brave and energetic as ever, but overmatched in numbers, that nation is now confronted with the certainty of losing the remainder of its colonial domain in the East Indies, if it has to defend it single-handed. Nothing can save it but the guarantee of united Europe. The Dutch element forms one of the most valuable constituents of our population, having given to our annals some of their most honored names. I am sure no American bearing a Dutch name will fail to lend his vote and his influence to the cause of European union, which alone can save the Dutch East Indies.

In appealing to our fellow-citizens of Slavic descent—Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Russians—I feel that I shall find attentive listeners. You know what Mongol invasions mean; you never think of the 250 years of the "Yoke" without a shudder. You have had a recent suggestion of new invasions. There is not a branch of the Aryan family to whom the need of European union is so urgent. Siberia is the land of promise to your people, their magnificent patrimony. In it there is room for ten white nations of the size of France. If European union is not accomplished in time, it is not merely probable but absolutely certain that you will lose this heritage bequeathed to you by your fathers. Against

a united power of eight hundred millions, even the most desperate defense could not avail. Instead of being one of the leading powers of the world for all time to come, Russia, and with it the Slavic race, would enter on a new period of subjection, with no hope of redemption. Siberia, even eastern Russia, would be flooded with yellow colonists; the Russian language, which now has every prospect of becoming one of the leading languages of civilization, would be drowned in the yellow flood, as was the Greek language in Asia Minor by the Turkish invasion. Your statesmen, your journalists are loud in their reproaches to Europe for its failure to support you in the struggle in which, as everybody admits, you are acting as the bulwark, the vanguard of Europe. Permit me to point out two things. First, western Europe can not support Russia until western Europe is united. Second, the nations of western Europe are between the devil and the deep sea. If they support Russia in a new war and thus enable her to win the victory, all Asia may be absorbed by her into one immense power, and thus the yellow menace will simply become more imminent than ever. If they fail to support Russia, and the latter is beaten, Siberia will be lost to the white race and the yellow menace will become equally imminent. Thus Russia's duty to herself and to her sister nations is clear. To seek predominance over Europe is suicidal for her. In menacing India, she places a dagger to her own heart. She must favor the union of the western nations by every means in her power, and she must allay their fear of Russian predominance by reaffirming the declaration made by Nicholas I: that Russia has enough land and has no ambition to acquire more, but only to keep and develop what she has. She must assure the other powers that, if through their support she is victorious in a contest with the yellow race, she will not claim any land as the fruit of her victory but leave any territorial spoils to her allies, especially Germany, which has practically no colonizable lands. The test of her sincerity will be found in her attitude on Turkish affairs. If she frankly tells the other powers to settle that problem to their convenience, it will be proof that her word can be trusted; if she continues to talk about her interests in Turkey, it will be proof that her dreams of aggrandizement and predominance are only postponed, not relinquished. By grabbing at an inch in Turkey, she would run the risk of losing half a continent in Siberia.

It is incumbent on you, fellow-citizens of Slavic descent, to impress this lesson on your kindred at home, and this you can not do more effectually than by supporting a movement whose essential aim is the union of the white race. Were Britain, France and Germany allied, they would inevitably guarantee not only their own possessions but also those of Russia, because they would recognize that the loss of the latter would also imperil their own. Instead of wasting its resources on the plaything of a new navy, the Russian government could then devote all its spare funds to

the most urgent task: to cover Siberia with a network of railways as dense as that of America, so that in the event of hostilities not a hundred thousand but a million troops, not only Russian but German, French and Italian, could be transported in a few weeks. For this purpose, abundant funds could be obtained, for with the specter of Russian predominance dispelled and the future of Siberia assured, European and American capital, instead of being diverted to the lands of the yellow race and strengthening their military resources, would pour into Siberia in a vast stream, attracted by the prospect of ample returns in a practically virgin land, and would soon convert it into a second America, inhabited by millions of white colonists, most of them Slavs.

You may be reluctant to heap coals on the heads of those who are trying, in Prussian Poland, to dispossess your kindred of the lands which their fathers have held from time immemorial. Do not cut off your noses to spite your faces. To put a stop to that expropriation, there is no better means, perhaps no other means, than to open to Germany the prospect of colonial expansion overseas. It is precisely because Germany, with a population of sixty-one millions, has so little land at home and so little colonizable land abroad, that she feels compelled to husband every inch of what she has. Had she a great colonial domain to which she could send her surplus population, and where she could invest her capital with the assurance of hundredfold return in wealth and in increased national strength, she would not dream of spending a single mark on the profitless task of winning a few acres from your kindred in Posen.

A society has just been organized in Poland called Eleusis (Liberation), whose members pledge themselves to fourfold abstinence: from liquor, from tobacco, from gambling and from unchastity, in order to be able to employ their time, their money and their physical and mental vigor, unimpaired, in the service of their nation. With such a spirit animating her sons, Poland has every reason to look forward with confidence to the day when she will be a nation once more. But in order to succeed, you will have to add a fifth abstinence, an abstinence which is incumbent on all Europeans as the essential requisite to union: abstinence from the luxury, the mania, of dominating, of denationalizing other Europeans. You must be content with the lands where the majority of the population is Polish and not claim lands where the majority is German, Ruthenian or Lithuanian. You, as well as the other downtrodden nationalities, should recognize that the best means to recover that separate and equal station which belongs to them by right will be to labor for the union of Europe. In the United States of Europe the political boundaries must of necessity coincide with the language boundaries. Anything else would be insanity.

In pleading for the support of our fellow-citizens of British birth, I feel that no great eloquence is needed. Though now domiciled under the Stars and Stripes, there is not one of you but is proud of the land of his birth and follows her fortunes with loving anxiety, and no wonder, for a grander record than that of the British nation, a grander structure than the British empire never existed. However, those of you who are familiar with the situation of the various British colonies are well aware of the precarious tenure by which the empire is held. "When that day comes," says Captain H. A. Wilson of the British army (*Nineteenth Century*, September, 1907), "the whites in Africa will be at death grips with one of the most formidable movements of all times—a wave of Moslem fanaticism rolling in countless numbers across the African continent. Gathering momentum at every step, there will spring into being one of the most irresistible forces the world has yet seen. In a day there will have arisen a situation compared to which the Indian mutiny and the Sudan campaigns would be the smallest of incidents. This will probably be considered an absurdly exaggerated view. Let me once again reiterate my firm conviction that the next twenty years will see Europe struggling in the throes of an African war against forces so great that at the end it is unlikely that a single white man will remain in Africa. Nor am I alone in this belief. I have already quoted Dr. Carl Peters to this effect, and I could quote in support the opinion of many others."

Fellow-citizens of British birth! A stitch in time saves nine. An African revolt is sure to be followed by an Indian revolt, and *vice versa*. And remember in India and Africa there are several hundred thousand white women, mostly English, Scotch and Irish. If the Triple Alliance existed, if Britain had no more to fear from her neighbors than Pennsylvania has to fear from Ohio, this danger would at once disappear. Britain could then garrison her colonies with white troops in sufficient numbers to nip any revolt in the bud. The entire military force of Europe would stand ready, like the fire department of a great city, to put out the flames at once, before they had any chance to spread. Lock the stable now; don't wait till the horse is stolen.

To the Irish-Americans it is not necessary to address an elaborate plea, for I feel that you are with us as a matter of course. The sole fact that this is a fight for woman's kingdom will suffice to turn every Irishman into a recruit for our army. The sole fact that the object at stake is the supremacy of the white race will make you stand by us to a man, for your race pride is proverbial. I need not remind you that the civilization which we are trying to safeguard owes to you some of its most delicate flowers. Irish poetry, Irish music, Irish oratory are among the most precious treasures of the white man's heritage. I need not remind you that

Mr. Bonaparte's grandmother was an Irishwoman; that he is a Catholic, as most of you are. There is only one point on which I wish to insist: Ireland will never get independence or even such home rule as would satisfy her, until she is received as a sister nation into the great family of the United States of Europe. Occasionally, indeed, some messenger of darkness whispers in your ear: Wait till Britain is engaged in a death struggle with some great power, then stab her in the side and recover your freedom. I am sure no thoughtful, well-meaning Irishman would for a moment entertain that suggestion. A stab in the side of the foremost white nation, the nation to whom civilization owes so much, the nation that has perhaps produced more high-souled, generous men and women than any other, would be treason to the white race. It would be treason to the Celtic race, for it would sever you from your Celtic kindred in Wales and Scotland. On the other hand, an Anglo-Franco-German alliance would mean first of all the political union of all the Celtic-speaking districts in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Man and Brittany; second, the union of practically all the lands whose population is Celtic in blood, for not only is Britain half Celtic, but the dominant element in the population of France is Celtic, and the Celtic blood probably predominates in western and southern Germany; and third, it would mean home rule for Ireland. When Britain has no more to fear from her neighbors than Pennsylvania has to fear from Ohio, the main objection to Irish home rule will cease to exist. Britain could then afford to give freedom to her sister isle, without having to fear any loss of power or setting up a new enemy, for that the Irish would desert the alliance embracing all their Celtic kindred is inconceivable. Irish-Americans! After centuries of struggle, practical independence is at last within your reach, and with it, permanent peace and the assured opportunity to go forth and possess the earth. I am sure you will not spurn this incomparable opportunity.

See the flag of Panarya, the flag of the union of the white race, the flag of civilization, the flag of Celtic union, the flag of home rule. See the ten branches of the Aryan race: the Celtic, Germanic, Latin, Albanian, Hellenic, Armenian, Baltic, Slavic, Persian and Hindu. Why are the Celtic and Germanic made most prominent? Because they constitute in practically equal parts the population of the states which to-day hold aloft the banner of civilization; the United Kingdom, France, Germany and their joint offspring, the United States; and because their union would practically mean the union of the entire white race. Celto-Germania means Panarya, and Panarya means the security of civilization, permanent peace. Irish-Americans! The issue is largely in your hands! You have the reputation of being warm-hearted, accessible to noble ideas, beyond other races. Spurn the petty claims of ephemeral interests with the generous, whole-souled enthusiasm so often evinced by your fathers. Let

not an Irishman fail to vote for the cause of civilization, of permanent peace, of Irish home rule.

From the Irish-American it is natural to turn to the Catholics. Fellow-citizens! Your church has been in the past the most potent bond of union in Europe. Now is the time for her to resume that function. During the wars between England and France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whenever a battle seemed imminent, the Pope's legatés invariably appeared in both camps and entreated the contending princes: "Mighty sovereigns, you commit a grievous sin in wasting the blood and treasure of your subjects in mutual destruction while the infidel is thundering at the door of Christendom. Unite your forces and march to the aid of our brothers in the East, who are daily praying for help." The appeal was in vain; Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, at the very moment when the war between England and France terminated by leaving both in the position which they had occupied one hundred and twenty years before. Catholic fellow-citizens! The opportunity which then was lost has now returned. If you drop all petty quarrels, all cries of party and class, if for once you make the cause of your religion supreme, uniting solidly in support of the candidate who stands for the union of Christendom against heathendom, you will secure for your country and for your church the grandest triumph ever achieved.

Since 1789, when Washington entered on his first term as President of the United States, one hundred and nineteen years have elapsed, and during that time the country has had twenty-four Presidents. Not one of them was a Catholic. And yet the Constitution expressly guarantees that the rights of no citizen shall be abridged because of his religion. You number about fourteen millions or exactly one-sixth of the population. At that rate you would have been entitled to four Presidents. Evidently your complete exclusion from the highest office in the land is an injustice which can not continue forever. You now have an opportunity to put an end to it, and if you neglect this opportunity it may be long before another Catholic becomes sufficiently prominent to be mentioned as a candidate. No sane man could suppose that Mr. Bonaparte, as President, would attempt to procure undue advantages for his church, any more than he does now as Attorney-General. Not a whisper of disapproval was heard when he was called to the Cabinet; why should you suppose that your fellow-citizens would disapprove of his nomination to the Presidency? The dominant trait of our countrymen is the love of fair play and equal justice to all. When the attention of your Protestant fellow-citizens is drawn to the injustice under which you have labored for one hundred and nineteen years, in being excluded from the highest office of the land, they will vote for your candidate precisely for the reason that they wish to make

amends for this injustice. They would realize that, if we wish to preach conciliation to Europe, we must practise conciliation at home. If our European kinsmen are to become united, they will first have to learn to acknowledge one another's just claims. Before we can exhort them to do so, we must first show that we know how to do justice ourselves.

Let me here add a brief appeal to those Christians, Catholics and Protestants, who are working for the reunion of all the Christian denominations. The best preparation for such reunion is evidently equal justice to all. So long as popular prejudice and blind obedience to an established habit exclude one great Christian denomination from an office to which they are as well entitled as any other citizens, so long will there be irritation and resentment, and so long will a mutual approach tending toward reunion be impossible. Were a Catholic elected President, for the first time in the country's history, the sense of satisfied justice and equality would go far to smooth the way to Christian reunion.

A word here to our friends the Japanese. It is vain to expect that the United States, a Christian nation, will ever sell the Philippines, with their seven millions of Christian inhabitants, to a heathen nation. We are told that it is fashionable among you to emphasize the strain of white blood in your veins, and indeed, unless the portraits of your leading men and their families have been very much doctored, it seems evident that your ruling class is at least half of white origin. You can give no more striking proof of the sincerity of your desire to cooperate with the western nations in the work of civilization and to disprove the sinister designs sometimes attributed to you, than by adopting the faith of the Filipinos. It would be rash to say that our people would then be willing to sell the islands to you; but at any rate the most formidable objection that our people as well as all Europe would raise against the transfer would be removed.

In turning now to our Jewish fellow-citizens, I feel that I am addressing a class whose most vital interests are bound up with the success of our cause. You, like the Catholics, have suffered from religious prejudice. It is impossible to imagine a more effective means to banish that prejudice than the election of a Catholic to the Presidency. By helping to remove the injustice done to others, you will best draw attention to the injustice done to you. Every consideration of race pride should lead you to cooperate in maintaining the supremacy of the white race to which you belong. The civilization whose interests are at stake is largely your work. After becoming acquainted with

you, and being startled by the almost uncanny nimbleness of your minds, your lightning-like quickness of perception, one ceases to wonder why civilization was born in a region of mingled Aryan and Semitic population. The two branches of the same race, after long separation, during which each went through a different training, accumulated different sets of experiences, were prepared, on meeting, to exchange these experiences to mutual advantage. The acid and alkali, combining, made the salt of the earth. The Aryan steel against the Semitic flint elicited the spark. In fact, at one time civilization was mainly Semitic. Babylon, Niniveh, Semitic cities, were in their day what Rome was later on; Sidon, Tyre and Carthage, Phœnician cities, whose commerce embraced the larger part of the Old World, spoke a language almost identical with Hebrew. The founder of the Christian religion, which has practically conquered the globe, was a Jew, the greatest of your race. Your ancient literature forms the sacred book of Christendom; the entire white race is saturated with the words, the ideas of your poets, historians and sages. This civilization, so largely your work, and in which you now bear so large a share, it is your duty to defend. You have among you a larger proportion of effective speakers and writers than almost any other race. Let them employ their tongues and pens in behalf of their own flesh and blood, in behalf of the highest interests of humanity.

Most of you come from Russia and know what low wages are. The great mass of your people are wage earners. None are more ambitious, none aspire more keenly to higher wages, a higher life standard. Will you allow the door of hope to be shut on you by consenting to the admission of coolies who will work for wages even lower than those of Russia? Your love for your children is proverbial; no race looks out so carefully for its children's future, or is willing to make such sacrifices for that purpose. Do your best, then, to give them the best life insurance, the opportunity to work; make sure, so far as you can, that the opportunities which this country affords shall not be taken from them.

All your petitions, your innumerable meetings, your tons of circulars, have failed to bring protection to your oppressed kindred in the Old World. The union of western Europe would be a silent but effective notice to your enemies in Russia and Roumania that Jew-baiting is a pastime whose time is past.

Lastly, those among you who dream of a return to the land of your fathers, to form a nation once more, will readily perceive that this would be almost a necessary consequence of an Anglo-Franco-German alliance. One of the earliest tasks of that alliance would be the reorganization of Turkey, and in that event, as Sir H. H. Johnston has pointed out, Britain would be compelled to insist on the establishment of a strong Jewish state in Syria and Palestine, as a bulwark for Egypt.

In appealing to the South, I feel that I have no opposition to overcome. Mr. Bonaparte, though not from the heart of the South, is still a southern man, and his election would constitute the first break in that unhappy tradition by which the South has so long been excluded from the Presidency. It would constitute a strong additional bond to reunite those who were estranged for a while by a great national blunder. This consideration alone ought to suffice to win the support not only of every southern man but of every patriot. The South is too familiar with one race problem to run the risk of being burdened with another. Her people are too chivalrous to refuse their cooperation in a work whose essential aim is to perpetuate the supremacy of the civilization which places the highest ideal of happiness in the worship of woman.

Here let me add a word to the colored voters. You would be the first to suffer by coolie immigration. Most of the work by which you make a living is unskilled work. That would be the first to be monopolized by the coolies. Next to the Pacific coast; the South would be most attractive to them, because it offers at present the best opportunities for development. If you wish to preserve for your children the means of living, cast your vote in favor of the cause which means the assurance of American labor, both white and colored.

That the people of the Pacific Slope will support this movement to a man may be deemed a foregone conclusion. They feel uncomfortable even now to think that our navy is inadequate to patrol both coasts; and they do not care to look forward to a day when their children, beaten in the race of ship-building, shall see their men-of-war skulk in their harbors while Mongolian fleets sweep the Pacific triumphant. We want a strong navy, but we do not want to spend half our revenue, or even a quarter of our revenue, for that purpose. To that we shall be driven, if on the other side of the Pacific a power is developed exceeding our own ten-fold in population, with superior natural resources, with vast deposits of coal and iron almost untouched, and with labor five times, ten times cheaper than ours. A battleship which costs us seven millions would cost them only two millions, perhaps less. The race for naval superiority would be ruinous to us, while to them it would mean merely a normal expense. Australia has just adopted universal military service. They do not like it any better than we do and they groan to think of the expense; but they feel compelled to do it, because the Mongolian menace is imminent to them. When it becomes imminent to us, our country, too, will be turned into a vast camp, our cities into fortresses. If we make the navies of Europe our navies, there will

be no race for the supremacy of the Pacific; the combined resources of Europe, Africa, America, Australia and the greater part of Asia will so enormously exceed those of the Chinese that the idea of rivalling us at sea will never occur to them. That is the way to bring about a limitation of armaments: not by simply stopping the construction of battleships for fear of giving a bad example—the Asiatics would laugh at such simplicity—but by virtually annexing Europe and all its possessions and making their resources contribute to our defense. If America takes the lead toward the unification of Europe, it will mean the Americanization of the globe. When the leading powers form practically one power, disarmament will come as a matter of course. People of the Pacific Coast! Lock the stable now; don't wait till the horse is stolen.

The last remarks introduce my next appeal: to the peace societies. Rational peace work, like rational medicine, seeks after the cause of the complaint; when that is removed, the complaint vanishes as a matter of course. The cause of war is the absence of an international police force; the cause of all the peace that prevails or that ever prevailed is and was the presence of a police force. During the Middle Ages, when the right of private warfare prevailed, Europe was one vast battlefield. Did this condition cease through the spread of the conviction that war was an evil? Not at all. It ceased because kings, in order to maintain and increase their power, found themselves compelled to organize standing armies to enable them to impose "the king's peace" on their nobles, and to cut off the heads of those that broke the peace. If, then, the task of organizing an international police force were confided to you, what powers would you select? You would not dream of entrusting the supreme control of the destinies of humanity, the defense of civilization, to any but the most enlightened and humane nations, those least apt to abuse the power conferred by union: Britain, France and Germany, with the tacit support of the United States. You now have an opportunity to do so. Common sense dictates that the first step toward "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," be made as simple as possible. If you can not get all the nations to federate at once, get as many as are sufficient for the purpose in view. A simpler beginning, a smaller combination can not be imagined than the union of two nations: France and Germany. When a nucleus has been created, it will grow of itself. Begin by appealing to those countries in which the public are most enlightened and therefore most accessible to an appeal. No appeal could be more effective than a declaration by the people of the United States of America that they would consider the establishment of the United States of Europe as conducive to their interests and would be ready to cooperate with them in maintaining the world's

peace. You tell us that peace is the most important issue now before the world, and assuredly it is far more important than the current political issues. If it is supreme, it must necessarily determine your political attitude, provided you wish to be consistent. Some of you are reported to be displeased with Mr. Bonaparte because he is known to be in favor of a strong navy. Gentlemen, if you deplore the growth of our navy, remove the need for it. The present combined naval force of Britain, France, Germany and the United States would amply suffice to police the globe, and in the face of such a power, the other nations would soon find it useless to build battleships. Then the growth of our navy would be arrested at once.

Reverse the case; suppose we let things drift. First there would be a great rebellion in India, the direct consequence of this policy of drift. You are aware of the saying already current in the East about Asia shaking off the yoke of Europe. The moment Asia shakes off the yoke, she will put it on Europe. We should have a series of wars surpassing in magnitude the wildest horrors of the past, till our European kindred, overmatched and exhausted, fell beneath the heel of the Mongolian, who would then dominate the world, including America. Then we might have permanent peace, but it would be peace enforced by the predominance of sheer numbers over intellect; not by the supremacy of the most gifted, enlightened and humane types of humanity, but the reverse. We know what our supremacy means to the other races: relief from famine, war and pestilence, a more regular chance to labor and therefore a better chance to live. We not only share our education with them but actually force it on them. What Mongolian supremacy would mean we are absolutely unable to conjecture, except by recollecting what it meant 600 years ago: massacre, slavery, tribute to harems.

You remember the Roman ambassador before the senate of Carthage raising the hem of his toga and saying: "Within this fold I hold peace or war. Choose." Ladies and gentlemen of the peace societies! You are confronted with the same alternative. Australia has just adopted universal military service, because in the present disunion of the white race, she can not rely on her sister nations. So it will soon be with South America and finally with us. Disunion means constantly increasing armaments; union would at once mean disarmament. Surely you will not commit the absurdity of saying: "Let us not elect the man who is fitted to unite the civilized nations, for fear they might become strong enough to impose peace on the world."

My last appeal is to the men of science. Anthropologists, biologists, physicists, astronomers, geologists, linguists, historians, sociologists, political economists! In the paths of philosophic reasoning, you are not mere casual wanderers but daily passengers. You are familiar with the laws of life, with the story

of man's slow ascent from savagery, with nature's unvarying law of differentiation, with the forces that make for progress and those that make for disintegration. You know that such a thing as equality does not exist in nature. You are aware of the methods by which nature develops the qualities of organic beings. To a slight degree they may be developed in the individual by training; in the main they are developed in the race by heredity. If the human race is to improve, it means that each succeeding generation must spring mainly from the best elements of the preceding generation. In brief, the entire hierarchy of sciences is subsidiary to the science of eugenics, whose object is the study of the problem: How to promote the multiplication of the superior and restrain the multiplication of the inferior human elements.

Men of science! You are familiar with the frequent lament that, while every ignorant, unprincipled demagogue tries his best to control the masses, you, who have the firmest grasp on the truth, the broadest views of the problems of life, keep aloof from public affairs. The reproach is undeserved, for it is simply impossible for any man to do effective work unless he concentrates his attention on one specialty. But here is a question with which you are familiar, while other people are not. This time you can not hold aloof without being unfaithful to your duty as the world's instructors. Make sure that no voter shall have reason to complain this time that the verdict of science had not come to his knowledge.

I have emphasized the need of gaining the attention of the masses. The masses, however, are mainly influenced by leaders, and hence it is that even in republics, the attitude of one man is sometimes sufficient to determine the course of public policy. Two such men are now prominently before the public, and it is not too much to say that each is a host in himself.

No leader at this moment has such a sway over the hearts of the masses, both in our own country and throughout the world, as you, Mr. Roosevelt. By supporting the candidacy of Mr. Bonaparte, you can share in the greatest triumph that was ever offered to our nation or to any nation: the leadership toward the union of the civilized nations and perpetual peace. You are the very embodiment of patriotism. You are the constant exhorter toward union. Try to conceive, if you can, whether at this moment anything could more powerfully contribute to national union than a Presidential election which would mean the wiping out both of sectional and of religious antagonism. You are the tireless pleader for justice. It is impossible to doubt that you are pained by the injustice to which the South is subjected in being excluded from the Presidency, and still more by the injustice which the Catholics

have suffered for 119 years in being deprived, through popular prejudice, of a privilege secured to them by the Constitution. By inviting a Catholic and a Jew to your Cabinet, you have already done most valuable service in lessening this injustice and in administering a reproof to religious prejudice. Complete your work. The grand example of your nation in thus laying aside religious prejudice for the sake of a great object would powerfully urge our European kinsmen to make the mutual concessions requisite for union. You, of all men in the country, are the one that looks not only to the needs of the present but also to those of the future, as instanced by your call for a conference for the preservation of natural resources for the benefit of our descendants. Lend your aid to secure for our descendants the prime resource: existence. You are the indefatigable preacher against race suicide. Lend your aid to preserve the white race, your own race, from the most horrible suicide through disunion. You are the workingman's friend. Lend your aid to secure for our workingmen the best life insurance, to-wit, the certainty that labor, the source of life, shall not be taken from them and their children by cheap Asiatic competitors. You are the foremost advocate of "peace with righteousness," yet you are credited by many with a secret delight in war. Dispel that impression; lend your aid to secure to the world permanent peace with the greatest righteousness of all: the supremacy of the most enlightened and humane types of mankind. You wish your nation to be strong, in order that her voice may have weight when she speaks in behalf of righteousness. Remember that we are but one of seven sticks; that not one nation is strong enough alone to have the assurance of being able to resist any force that may be brought against it. Sixteen months ago you wrote: "Nothing would more promote iniquity, nothing would further defer the reign upon earth of peace and righteousness, than for the free and enlightened peoples, which, though with much stumbling and many shortcomings, nevertheless strive toward justice, deliberately to render themselves powerless while leaving every despotism and barbarism armed and able to work their wicked will. The chance for the settlement of disputes peacefully, by arbitration, now depends mainly upon the possession by the nations that mean to do right, of sufficient armed strength to make their purpose effective." To one that has meditated on the subject as deeply as you have, it is hardly necessary to point out that the surest way for "the free and enlightened peoples," "those that mean to do right," "deliberately to render themselves powerless," is disunion, while the strongest possible armament for them would be union. No name is so potent with the masses in Europe as your name. By declaring yourself in favor of a movement to bring about the United States of Europe, you can start such an avalanche of popular sentiment as will sweep away every resistance offered by inertia, habit and national prejudice. You bear a

Dutch name; do your best to save the land of your ancestors from the humiliation of losing her colonial domain. All through your administration you have shown that you know how to seize opportunities; that you do not put off till to-morrow what may be done to-day. You now have the opportunity to close your administration with the greatest triumph of all; you will not neglect it. You have annexed Australia; proceed now to annex the rest of the world.

In appealing to you, Mr. Taft, even more than in appealing to the President himself, I feel that I am addressing one who has the destinies of his country, the destinies of humanity in his hands. All your speeches prove you to be a patriot to the bone. As a patriot you desire your country to be the most honored among the nations. A nation, of course, can gain honor only through the deeds done by its citizens. You have now an opportunity to do a deed which will confer on yourself and your nation a greater honor than any other deed that you could possibly perform. If you win the Presidency, that will be a great honor conferred on you by the nation; whether you will have an opportunity, as President, to confer on the nation any distinguished honor in return, can not be foreseen. Profit by the opportunity now presented. By declaring that you would prefer the election of Mr. Bonaparte to your own, by throwing your influence into the scale in favor of the man whom Providence seems to have sent at this moment to secure for our nation the leadership toward the highest triumph of humanity, and by thus rendering his nomination and election practically certain, you can first of all gain for yourself the credit for a magnanimous deed far exceeding the honor of the Presidency; you can give to the world an impressive example of disinterestedness sorely needed at all times; you can confer on your nation an honor far outshining that which she received from any of her Presidents in the past; you can most effectively contribute to the attainment of the very object in view, namely, to arouse the attention of the masses in Europe and impress on them the necessity of union; and you will lose nothing, for your renunciation at this moment, and for such a purpose, would make your nomination and election doubly sure four years hence, under circumstances which would make it an incomparably greater triumph, place you in a position of far greater power in the hearts of your people, and thus enable you to render them tenfold service. The honor of the Presidency, great as it is, has come to twenty-four men before, some of whom are hardly remembered for what they did. The honor of a voluntary renunciation would be unprecedented, and would at once make you immortal. The fate of the world rests in your hands. By eleven words: "I would prefer the election of Mr. Bonaparte to my own," you can determine the future course

of history; you can secure the safety of the highest interests of mankind for all time to come; you can win for yourself an immortal crown as the greatest hero in history. Endless applause throughout the world would greet you, for the world is perpetually hungry after noble deeds. I am sure you would not care to have a future historian say of you: "He had the noblest deed before him, and he failed to do it."

APRIL 4, 1908.

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*The Treatment of the
Exempt Classes of
Chinese in the
United States*



By
Ng Poon Chew, Editor of *Chung Sai
Yat Po*

A STATEMENT FROM *the CHINESE in AMERICA*
San :: Francisco, :: California, :: January, :: 1908

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By NG POON CHEW, Editor of CHUNG SAI YAT PO
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, JANUARY, 1908

The Treatment of the Exempt Classes of Chinese in the United States.

A STATEMENT FROM THE CHINESE IN AMERICA.

After a quarter of a century of Chinese Exclusion, many people take it for granted that Exclusion has become a fixed policy of the Government of the United States, and that the vexed Chinese question is finally and permanently settled, as far as this country is concerned. The exclusion of Chinese laborers may have become a fixed policy with the United States, but the treatment of the exempt classes is not settled and will not be until it is settled aright with justice to all.

The Chinese Exclusion Law, as now enacted and enforced, is in violation of the letter and spirit of the treaty between this country and China, and also in opposition to the original intention of Congress on the subject. As long as this law remains on the statute books in its present shape, and is carried out by methods such as are now in vogue, the Chinese question will continue to be a vexatious one in the United States, as well as a fruitful source of irritation between America and China; and it will continue to hinder the upbuilding of commercial interests between the two great countries.

During twenty-five years the Chinese exclusion policy has steadily increased in stringency; as Senator Hoar said on the floor of Congress, the United States enforced the exclusion laws first with water, then with vinegar, and then with red pepper,

and at last with vitriol. The Exclusion Law has been carried out with such vigor that it has almost become an extermination law. The Chinese population in the United States has been reduced from 150,000 in 1880 to 65,000 at the present time. During these twenty-five years much injustice and wrong have been heaped upon the Chinese people by the United States in the execution of its exclusion policy, and now it is time that this great nation should calmly review the whole question thoroughly and revise the law, so that it may come within the spirit of the treaty, and at the same time fulfill the original intention of Congress, namely: the exclusion of Chinese laborers, and the admission of all other classes.

President Roosevelt, in his annual Message to Congress in 1905, said:

In the effort to carry out the policy of excluding Chinese laborers, Chinese coolies, grave injustice and wrong have been done by this nation to the people of China, and therefore ultimately to this nation itself.

And he urged that the laws should be so framed as to permit those who are not laborers to come and go at will, enjoying the same privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by the same classes of other nationalities.

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Oscar S. Straus, in his annual report to the President in 1907, said:

It has never been the purpose of the Government, as would appear from its laws and treaties, to exclude persons of the Chinese race merely because they are Chinese, regardless of the class to which they belong, and without reference to their age, sex, culture or occupation, or to the object of their coming or their length of stay. The real purpose of the Government's policy is to exclude a particular and well defined class, leaving other classes of Chinese, except as they, together with all other foreigners, may be included within the prohibitions of the general immigration laws, as free to come and go as the citizens or subjects of any other nation. As the laws are framed,

however, it would appear that the purpose was rigidly to exclude persons of the Chinese race in general, and to admit only such persons of the race as fall within certain expressly stated exemptions—as if, in other words, exclusion was the rule and admission the exception. I regard this feature of the present laws as unnecessary and fraught with irritating consequences. In the administration of laws so framed, notwithstanding the care taken to treat persons of the Chinese race lawfully entitled to admission with the same courtesy and consideration shown to other foreigners, it is impossible that persons who have to endure requirements and formalities peculiar to themselves should fail to take offense, and to resent as a humiliation the manner in which by law they are distinguished from natives of other countries. Laws so framed, which can only be regarded as involving a discrimination on account of race, color, previous condition or religion, are alike opposed to the principles of the Republic and to the spirit of its institutions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that both the Chinese Government and the Chinese people should feel aggrieved, and should in various ways manifest their resentment and displeasure.

It is plain, therefore, that the Chinese Exclusion Law is in need of reframing, and should be so reframed without delay. A summary review of the provisions of the treaty and the law, and the regulations for its enforcement, as far as they apply to the exempt classes, will serve to show where the injustice and wrong lie.

In the year 1880 China and the United States signed a treaty by which China agreed to the suspension or limitation for a reasonable period of the emigration to this country of Chinese laborers, both skilled and unskilled; and the United States agreed that all other classes of Chinese should come and go as freely as the subjects of the most favored nation. Article I of the treaty reads as follows:

Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or

to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitation. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

And Article II reads as follows:

Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are 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 and privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

This treaty is still in force, and yet only a very limited number of Chinese other than laborers are now admitted, and by no means as freely as even the laborers of other nationalities.

The unwarranted limitation of the exempt classes of the Chinese—who have a right to come under both treaties and laws—to a few persons of a very few occupations, has come about chiefly through political agitation to secure the votes of workingmen, and by the strong anti-Chinese prejudice of immigration officers, who were themselves often representatives of labor organizations. All Chinese, except laborers, had a right to come and go freely under the treaty and even under the first restriction law of 1882, and this was acknowledged by both nations for eighteen years, although immigration officials, in some instances, enlarged the definition of laborers so as to include persons not technically of that class.

But in 1898 the Attorney General of the United States decided that the true theory of the law was not that all Chinese who were not laborers could come in, but that only those could come who were expressly named in the law. If this were correct, the law itself was a violation of the treaty; but, in fact, this ruling violated the clear and originally accepted meaning of the treaty and of the laws passed in execution of it. The American immigration officials, however, made it a pretext for excluding all the Chinese they could, even of the five classes named in the treaty. It appeared to be their ambition to deny all Chinese admission, and any one admitted was regarded as a lost case. The phrase "officials, teachers, students, merchants and travelers for curiosity or pleasure," was used in the treaty merely by way of illustration and before 1898 had been generally so interpreted, but the Attorney General's decision gave opportunity for limiting even these classes still further.

From this time on the exempt classes of Chinese were limited by enlarging the definition of laborers to include many who were not laborers, and by narrowing the definitions of teacher, student and merchant so as to exclude many who were certainly of these classes. For instance, it was declared that a teacher was one who teaches the higher branches in a recognized institution of learning; a student was one who pursues the higher branches in a recognized institution of learning, facilities for which are wanting in his own country or in the country from which he came; a merchant was one who carried on business in a fixed place, in buying and selling, in his own name. If a merchant, who does a million dollars worth of business a year, invests one dollar in a hotel or restaurant business or in a manufacturing concern, in a mining venture or railroad enterprise, his status as a merchant is at once vitiated, and he is denied admission, or deported if already admitted. As a result

Chinese traders, salesmen, clerks, buyers, bookkeepers, bankers, accountants, managers, storekeepers, agents, cashiers, interpreters, physicians, proprietors of restaurants and laundries, employers, actors, newspaper editors, and even preachers and missionaries of Christianity, are excluded from the shores of the United States. A Chinese by the name of Wah Sang was admitted to this country as a student in theology, and as long as he was a student he was allowed to remain in the country; but when he completed his course in theological training, and entered into active service in preaching the Gospel to his countrymen under the auspices of the Methodist Church, he was arrested in Texas as a laborer, was tried and ordered deported in February, 1905, the court sustaining the contention of the immigration officials that a preacher is a laborer, and therefore subject to the operation of the Exclusion Law.

This exclusion by regulation, not justified by treaties or laws, has been carried much further so as to harass and inconvenience Chinese merchants, students and others in many ways. The United States demands a certificate of admission, with many personal details, signed by officials of the Chinese Government and of the United States; but when the certificate has been secured in proper form and every requirement has been met, the holder is not sure of being able to enter the United States; for the immigration officials re-examine him and often detain and sometimes deport him on petty technicalities. For the practice with the immigration officials is to regard every Chinese applicant for admission as a cheat, a liar, a rogue and a criminal, and they proceed to examine him with the aim in mind of seeing how he may be excluded, rather than of finding out whether he is legally entitled to land. For many years the certificate has been no guarantee that its holder could be admitted, though he might be a

great merchant or a student coming to study at an American university.

In 1904 there arrived at the port of San Francisco a Chinese gentleman from the Straits Settlement, with the intention of taking up a post-graduate course at Columbia University, he being a graduate of one of the great American universities in the Eastern States, and having taught English in colleges in Shanghai and Singapore for several years; yet, on account of trifling technical defects in his papers, he was detained for a long time at the detention shed on the Mail docks in San Francisco, and finally deported.

Among the passengers on board the steamer *Ivernia* which arrived at Boston on June 1st, 1905, from Liverpool, were four Chinese students, the three King brothers and their sister, Miss T. King, who had completed a three years' course in the University of London. These four students were of high official family in Shanghai, and they were on their way home, intending simply to land at Boston and cross to Canada to take the Canadian train for Vancouver. They were armed with passports signed by the American Ambassador, the Honorable Mr. Choate, who was their personal friend, certifying as to their status and intention, yet they were held on board while the very lowest and ignorant classes from southern Europe, that came in the steerage, were freely permitted to land. They would have been shipped back to England had not some local American merchants interested themselves in the case. After they were photographed and bond of five hundred dollars each given, they were permitted to land and cross to Canada. All these inconveniences and humiliation were accorded them, simply because the immigration officials at that port contended that they found some technical defect in their papers.

Furthermore, Chinese residents of the exempt classes are limited and harassed by official regulations in going to and from China, in bringing in their wives and children, and in many ways are treated as the subjects of other nations are never treated by the United States. Ladies of highly respectable families have been asked all sorts of questions in the examinations by the immigration officials which they would not dare to mention in the hearing of American ladies. A boy of ten years of age, whose father was a prominent merchant, arrived in San Francisco with his parents. After a long investigation the parents were admitted and the boy ordered deported on the ground that he had *trachoma*, although the American officers at the port of departure had given them a health certificate, and although Americans on board the vessel testified that the ship's doctor had examined the eyes of all the second cabin passengers without disinfecting his hands. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor refused to reverse the decision of deportation. There have been a number of instances where Chinese merchants returning from a trip to China with their wives and families have been allowed to land but have had their wives and children deported.

For years the *Bertillon System*, used for the identification of criminals in the United States, has also been used to identify departing Chinese of all classes who wished to return. The system has only been abandoned during the last few months because the Department at Washington failed to supply the different Bureaus with sufficient men to operate it.

Although the Geary Law of 1893, which required resident Chinese laborers to obtain a certificate of residence and to be photographed, did not require the exempt classes nor their wives and children to obtain a certificate, the regulations of the immigration bureau require officials to arrest every Chinese found

without a certificate. Consequently any Chinese merchant, student or physician who was in this country at the time of registration and did not get a certificate is now liable to arrest and imprisonment.

Under these regulations many of the exempt classes have been held up in various ways, at many places and times, by the immigration officials in their zeal to enforce the Chinese Exclusion Laws. The exempt classes, thus arrested, are put to great expense and inconvenience before they are released by United States Commissioners. Once an attache of the Chinese Legation at Washington was held up while traveling through Arizona on official business, and put to much inconvenience and indignity before he was released by order of the Department at Washington. In order to find some who might be without certificates, the whole Chinese quarter in Denver and in Boston was surrounded, and all Chinese found without certificates, whether merchants or no, were arrested and herded in close confinement, until their status was decided by the court.

In 1904 the United States sent a special minister to China to invite the Provinces to make exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and promised their representatives a most cordial welcome. The Viceroys of the Provinces issued proclamations and many exhibits were prepared, but when the merchants and their employes arrived they were treated by the immigration officials as if they were laborers attempting to enter the country unlawfully. Some of them were so much offended that they returned at once to China; others decided not to set out from China; and those who reached St. Louis were treated throughout the Exposition like suspected criminals.

In that year there arrived at the port of San Francisco four Chinese gentlemen from Shanghai, three of whom were exhibitors

at the St. Louis Fair, and the other a delegate from the Synod of China to attend the Presbyterian General Assembly at Buffalo, N. Y. Their papers were submitted to the American Consul in Shanghai, who passed upon them as being properly made out, and the gentlemen were assured that they would meet with no difficulties when they arrived in San Francisco. But they were denied landing by the immigration officials on the ground that their papers did not state the length of time the applicants had held their respective professions before they started for America. They were held at the detention shed, while strenuous efforts were made by their friends, both white and Chinese, who appealed to the Department at Washington and to the Chinese Legation; orders were finally received by the immigration officials in San Francisco to land these men on bonds. After incurring an expense of more than one hundred and fifty dollars in perfecting their bonds, they were permitted to leave the shed and go on their way "rejoicing" and breathing the "sweet air of liberty." This was the treatment they received when they accepted America's invitation to participate in the World's Fair.

Merchants of high standing and large business interests in the United States, returning from China on a steamer bearing a valuable invoice of goods consigned to their firms, are met by a Board of Inquiry, composed of physicians from the United States Marine Hospital Service, and are rigidly examined as to whether or not they have *trachoma*. If this Board finds even a slight redness or granulation of the eyelids, it certifies that the applicants have "trachoma, a dangerous, infectious disease," and they are ordered deported to China. From this order there is no appeal, and yet prior to their departure from the United States, these merchants complied with all the rules and regulations of the Immigration Service, and when they sailed from China on their return trip they were given a clean bill of health by the United

States Marine Hospital Surgeons at their port of departure in China.

It is well known that the discourteous treatment of merchants and students by immigration officials was the principal cause of the boycott of American products in China in 1905. Although this boycott was shortly suppressed by the Chinese Government, it was an expression of the bad feeling which had arisen between the two countries because of violation of the treaty and accumulated sense of injustice. Thirty years ago there were nearly 200 Chinese students in the United States pursuing their education; when they returned to China they became leaders of the people and reported that the Americans were a friendly and honorable nation. But since the passage of the Geary Law, especially, students of all grades except post-graduate have been excluded. They go to other countries, and when they return to China do not speak favorably of the United States; and those who have received indignities in America have also returned home full of resentment, and urge their countrymen to resist the violation of the treaty.

The ill-treatment of those who were entitled to come in as freely as other nationalities has been unhappy not only in producing irritation and unfriendly feeling where formerly there was friendly feeling, but it has been disastrous also to commercial interests. Because of injustice all the great Chinese merchants who formerly paid one-third of the customs duties at the port of San Francisco, have gone back to China or do business in other countries. Although there are now few merchants of first rank in San Francisco, the Chinese importers still pay a large proportion of the customs duties. If all classes of merchants, traders and business men had been encouraged to come and go freely it is probable that the trade between China and America would have increased rapidly and would now be much greater than it is. At

the present time American exports to China are decreasing; the volume of exports to China during the year 1907 decreased fifty per cent from that of the year 1906.

Chinese laborers of all classes have been excluded from the United States by mutual agreement, and the Chinese themselves are not now asking for any change in this arrangement; but they do ask for as fair treatment as other nationalities receive in relation to the exempt classes. Since the first restriction law was passed the United States has received as immigrants more than two millions Austro-Hungarians, two million Italians and a million and a half Russians and Finns. Each of these totals is from five to seven times the whole amount of Chinese immigration of all classes during thirty years of free immigration, seventy times the amount of immigration of the Chinese who were not laborers. Even if the number of the exempts under a just interpretation of the treaty should rise to 10,000 in one year, it would still be less than one one-hundredth of the total immigration to the United States in one year. During the fiscal year 1907 there came to the United States from Europe 1,280,000 immigrants; whereas, during the thirty years of free Chinese immigration, the largest number of Chinese found at any one time in the United States was one hundred and fifty thousand.

The question is not now of the admission of laborers, but whether other Chinese who are entitled to come under both law and treaty shall receive the same courtesies as people of other nations, and shall be relieved from many harassing regulations. They must no longer be detained, photographed and examined as if they were suspected of crime. Americans desire to build up a large trade with the Orient, but they can scarcely expect to succeed if the United States Government continues to sanction the illegal and unfriendly treatment of Chinese subjects. President Roosevelt has said that if the United States expects justice

it must do justice to the Chinese, and certainly the Americans cannot expect to obtain the trade of the Orient by treating the Chinese with discourtesy.

The Honorable William H. Taft, Secretary of War, not long ago in a public address, said :

Is it just that for the purpose of excluding or preventing perhaps 100 Chinese coolies from slipping into this country against the law, we should subject an equal number of Chinese merchants and students of high character to an examination of such an inquisitorial, humiliating, insulting and physically uncomfortable character as to discourage altogether the coming of merchants and students?

One of the great commercial prizes of the world is the trade with the four hundred million Chinese. Ought we to throw away the advantage which we have by reason of Chinese natural friendship for us, and continue to enforce an unjustly severe law and thus create in the Chinese mind a disposition to boycott American trade and drive our merchants from the Chinese shores simply because we are afraid that we may for the time lose the approval of certain unreasonable and extremely popular leaders of California and other Coast States?

Does the question not answer itself? Is it not the duty of members of Congress and of the Executive to disregard the unreasonable demand of a portion of the community, deeply prejudiced upon this subject, in the Far West, and insist on extending justice and courtesy to a people from whom we are deriving and are likely to derive such immense benefit in the way of international trade?

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION

BURDENS, EVILS, AND THE URGENT NEED
OF IMMEDIATE RESTRICTION

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEE S. OVERMAN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 8, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEE S. OVERMAN.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1438) to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes—

Mr. OVERMAN said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I desire to submit an amendment—to add a new section, to be numbered 10½—page 386.

The SECRETARY. On page 386 add a new section, to be numbered section 10½, as follows:

That there shall be levied, collected, and paid a tax of \$10 for every alien entering the United States, in the manner and under the rules and regulations provided in section 1 of the act of February 20, 1907, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States."

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I shall not inflict any extended remarks upon the Senate, as I have heretofore discussed this amendment at some length. On the 26th of April I pointed out that this increase is needed to defray the expense of the Immigration Bureau in a more liberal treatment of detained immigrants at our ports, a more thorough inspection of the enormous incoming tide, and the needed deportation of admittedly undesirable aliens who gain entrance. I also urged it because it would not fall upon the immigrant but upon the untaxed foreign steamships, and because even a still greater increase was desirable to increase and equalize steerage rates so that we would not continue to be the cheapest country to reach—although in many cases the more distant—and hence, in truth, the world's immigration dumping ground. I have published in the RECORD its indorsement by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, the National Farmers' Congress, the National Grange, the Cotton Manufacturing Association of America, the American Federation of Labor, and the Knights of Labor. Nearly every patriotic society and charitable organization in this country, of which there are many, have indorsed this movement for the restriction of immigration, less lax enforcement of the law, and the more efficient handling, inspection, and examination of immigrants at our ports of entry.

I desire to read a short paragraph prepared from the annual report of the commissioner-general, which shows how the most objectionable aliens gain admission without the least apparent difficulty:

The report of the commissioner-general shows that a foreign-born population (which in 1900 constituted 13.6 per cent of the total population) furnished in 1908 134,094 persons, or 21.9 per cent of those in all the penal, reformatory, insane, and charitable institutions

of the United States, or 15.6 per cent of the criminals, 20.8 per cent of the paupers, and 29.5 per cent of the insane. (The proportion of the foreign born to the total population has remained practically constant for several decades.)

It further appears that of the 15,323 alien criminals, 8,197, or 53.5 per cent, had committed serious crimes as distinguished from minor offenses.

The total number of aliens in 1904 in these institutions was 44,985 as against 60,501 in 1908, an increase of 15,516, or about 34 per cent. The alien criminals increased from 9,825 to 15,323; the insane, from 19,764 to 25,606; the paupers, from 15,396 to 19,572. The criminals increased from 4,124 to 8,197 in grave offenses, and only from 5,701 to 7,126 in minor offenses.

I quote one short paragraph from Theodore Bingham's report in the city of New York. I believe he was until very recently police commissioner of New York City, through which comes the bulk of our present enormous foreign immigration of from one to one and one-half million aliens annually:

We are trying to handle mediæval criminals, men in whose blood runs the spirit of the vendetta, by modern Anglo-Saxon procedure. It is wrong to allow these people to slip into this country. But besides allowing this, we give them, once in, every chance to work their black-mail without getting caught. Against this sort of crime our laws are weak. Either they must be kept out or else a system of procedure must be devised which is potent and immediate enough to handle that sort of crime.

I read from a letter written by the United States ambassador to Germany, Andrew D. White, who wrote Josiah Flynt for publication in Mr. Flynt's new book, *Tramping with Tramps*:

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Berlin, April 19, 1905.

DEAR MR. FLYNT: As you know, I consider the problems furnished by crime in the United States as of the most pressing importance. We are allowing a great and powerful criminal class to be developed, and while crime is held carefully in check in most European countries, and in them is steadily decreasing, with us it is more and more flourishing. It increases from year to year and in various ways asserts its power in society.

So well is this coming to be known by criminal classes of Europe, that it is perfectly well understood here that they look upon the United States as a "happy hunting ground," and more and more seek it, to the detriment of our country and all that we hold most dear in it.

Yours, faithfully,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

Mr. JOSIAH FLYNT.

According to current newspaper reports, the superintendent of prisons of New York State has just made a census of state penitentiaries which reveals that there are 990 alien felons confined therein, of which number 349, or over one-third, were convicted of felonies before they had been in this country three years. Nothing is said of the number of aliens convicted of minor offenses, but those convicted of felony alone have, are, or will cost New York about \$5,000,000, and still there is no law under which they can be deported.

I also desire, with his permission, to put in the RECORD a letter sent to me by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. DEPEW].

The letter referred to is as follows:

1470 FIFTH AVENUE,
New York, June 22, 1909.

Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Senator LEE S. OVERMAN, of North Carolina, introduced an amendment to the tariff bill increasing the head tax on immigrants
1269—8498

from \$4 to \$10, and upon a thorough investigation of this matter I have discovered, by personally questioning some of those recently landed, that the immigrants are entirely ignorant of the fact that any tax is placed upon them when entering this country; and upon looking into the matter further I find that in the event of an immigrant continuing his or her travels to either Mexico or Canada a rebate of the amount paid for the head tax is given; not to the immigrant, but to the steamship company on whose vessel he has traveled to this country, and, therefore, the tax is practically levied upon the steamship companies.

According to official records for 1908 the expenditures of the immigrant fund exceeded the receipts from payment of head taxes, etc., by the enormous sum of \$2,000,000; and inasmuch as the steamship companies are directly benefited by the bringing of immigrants, I see no just reason why this tax should not be increased.

They are certainly making a handsome profit out of the business, else they would not be continually adding so many new vessels to their already large fleets. On Sunday there came to New York the new North German Lloyd steamship *George Washington*, with a carrying capacity of 3,303 persons. This is her maiden trip, and according to the newspapers she is the "newest and largest German ship afloat."

On June 4 there came to New York the new Italian liner *America*, with a steeage capacity of 2,404; on June 5 there came the *Cincinnati*, of the Hamburg-American Line, on her first and maiden trip, with 2,064 steeage passengers.

The North German Lloyd has 332 vessels afloat, traveling chiefly between the old and this country, three-fourths of which come to us from countries bordering chiefly on the Mediterranean, as a result of their shifting the source of our foreign immigration there in pursuit of the most profitable traffic.

The International Mercantile Marine has in the neighborhood of 150 boats afloat, and they also run chiefly between the Mediterranean countries and the United States, or engage in bringing that class of people via northern European ports.

It must be clearly evident to you that this business must be paying a handsome profit, notwithstanding the reports given out about dividends, etc. It seems to me that these foreign corporations and their owners would not be so foolish as to invest their money in losing enterprises. Therefore it is reasonable, in view of the deficit in last year's immigrant fund, to have them contribute to our Federal Treasury at least enough to support and defray the reasonable expenses of the immigration service.

Why is it that the construction of needed, much needed, hospitals, detention rooms, and other accommodations at Ellis Island had to be postponed and curtailed?

The Ellis Island station is the only one owned by the Government; those at Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Boston are rented, and, pardon me, are a disgrace to the United States. The money that was appropriated by Congress for the building of stations at Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans was not even sufficient to buy desirable sites.

The increase in head tax is needed for providing decent accommodations at our ports of entry. But the foreign steamship companies, untaxed and bound not to be taxed, have their powerful lobby at work.

* * * * *

The head tax really ought to be \$25. Why not protect us (by compelling them to defray the expenses of an immigration bureau) from the Black Handers and others who slip right through at present, chiefly because even if we had the law, we have not the funds owing to deficits, etc., to enforce the laws and provide suitable stations at our ports of entry, where immigrants would be examined and the steamship companies taught not to bring undesirables here by compelling them to take them back.

* * * * *

Please give this your earnest consideration, look into the facts clearly, go or send to Ellis Island and look at the rooms which should be used for observing insane and feeble-minded suspects being used for sleeping quarters, and note for yourself the necessary requirements which it will be impossible to have unless we increase the revenue of the immigrant fund.

Yours, respectfully,

WM. B. GRIFFITH.

Mr. OVERMAN. I also desire to put in the RECORD an editorial and article from the Farmers' Union News on this sub-

ject just handed me for insertion by the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]:

An article and editorial from the Farmers' Union News, June 30, 1909, published at Union City, Ga., and representing the attitude of over 3,000,000 organized farmers and planters of the South and West:

THREE HUNDRED MILLION MORE.

Here is the charming doctrine of put-your-hired-man-in-the-parlor-and-sit-on-the-stoop-yourself finely stated by our contemporary, the New York Times:

There are some 90,000,000 people in the United States. If 400,000,000 were developing its resources, the country would support them more comfortably, more prosperously than it can support the 90,000,000. Labor in this land grows by what it feeds on—more men.

More men, and more men, and more men. Never mind the quality of the men—all we want is quantity. More men to keep up the processions of the unemployed. More men for the bread lines. More women and children for the sweatshops. More thousands to populate "lung blocks." More dark-visaged gentlemen of the Mafia, the Camorra, and the Black Hand. More prosperity for the stiletto trade. More and more ignorance of and want of sympathy with original American ideas of the sacredness of individual right and initiative, and more and more encouragement for the intrusive police methods of Europe.

We need men in this country, oh yes; but not so much great numbers of any kind of men as a fair chance for the right sort of men. We are not particularly anxious to have a worse attack of ethnological indigestion than the one we are suffering from at present. Let us give a fair chance to the 100,000,000 to become full-sized, full-brained, sound-hearted Americans before we bring in 300,000,000 more.

In protesting against the proposed turning of the government departments at Washington into official employment agencies, chiefly for the benefit of new European immigrants, the officials of the American Federation of Labor have done exactly right. Immigration should be restricted, not magnified. (The Evening (N. Y.) Mail, June 3, 1909.)

The above, coming as it does, from the center of the immigration district, shows that the New England press is awakening to the horribleness of an unrestricted immigration. New England is being crowded to death, and she must do one of two things: Have her immigrants distributed through the United States, or have the law strengthened and enforced, thus stopping the present influx of immigration. Either one of these, or else New England must suffer as no section of this country has ever suffered from an overflow of undesirable citizens.

FALLACY OF AGE-HERALD'S POSITION ON IMMIGRATION EXPOSED.

(We publish below an editorial from the Birmingham Age-Herald and a reply to it by J. H. Patten, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. This editorial of the Herald proves what little knowledge some of our big papers have in regard to the actual situation on immigration. It also shows how irresponsible they are when it comes to giving editorial comment on great national questions. Mr. Patten's reply was not published until after a threat had been made to have the reply published in the Farmers' Union News and Farmers' Union Guide; then it came forth.—Editor.)

TO KEEP OUT IMMIGRANTS.

The congested districts of New England and the States that lie about New York City are endeavoring to restrict immigration, simply because they have enough workers at present. They do not consider the needs of the far West or of the South. They regard themselves alone, and from their selfishness and localism has arisen a bill to raise the head tax on immigrants to \$10. It now stands at \$2.

This means that the poor immigrant would be shut out. We have in the past invited the poor and oppressed of all nations to come here, but under the bill now before the Senate Finance Committee this invitation would be restricted to those who can pay a \$10 head tax. This would cut out the poor, at any rate, and we would hereafter invite the oppressed that have \$10 a head.

The bill before the Senate Finance Committee should be voted down by all who believe America should continue to be the asylum of all who desire to find new homes. The bill discriminates between men, all of whom are needed to develop our resources and to add to the natural wealth. The man or woman who can pay but a small head tax would prove perhaps as valuable an addition and asset as the man who could

pay a \$10 head tax. The discrimination lacks business sense, is un-American, and is wholly uncalled for by the general situation. It probably came from the narrow brain of some HENRY CABOT LODGE in the crowded New England environment. (Birmingham Age-Herald.)

Age-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.

DEAR EDITORS: I have just seen your editorial of May 24, instant, "To keep out immigrants," and as a southerner and one deeply interested in the immigration question, I beg to have a few words with you, and, if I am not presuming too much, with your readers also.

Your first statement that the Northeast congested districts are endeavoring to restrict immigration is only a part of the whole truth. They demand it, or the distribution of their present surplus congested foreign populations and the diversion of the present enormous influx of brownish peoples, akin to the Negroid races, to sections of the country in favor of this new immigration and opposed to restriction.

In view of the action of your and most of the state legislatures of our 46 States in abolishing bureaus of immigration, refusing to establish such, or in resolving in favor of immediate restriction, the passage of stringent restriction resolutions by farmers' unions, labor unions, patriotic societies, charity organizations, and the universal formation of restriction leagues, and the general interest in, and widespread demand for such, as well as the fall in wages and the large number of unemployed, at least in the North, I would challenge your statement and inference about the any-kind-of-immigration needs of the South and West. These facts are all ably and comprehensively dealt with by Senator LEE S. OVERMAN, who introduced the amendment increasing the present head tax of \$4 (not \$2, as you state) to \$10, in a speech in the Senate, April 26, ultima.

I would also question your statement about this country having "in the past invited the poor and oppressed" of any land, let alone "all nations," as you put it, for in 1808 we prohibited the slave trade, which meant African exclusion, and which, in the light of subsequent history and current events, was no mistake, and in 1882 the Chinese were also as a race excluded. In fact, this country was really established by the somewhat exclusive Puritan and Cavalier who immediately proceeded to make it unbearably uncomfortable for any and every one disagreeing with their ideas of religion, politics, and economics; and rightly, too, in my humble opinion, for, if you will pardon the racial conceit, I think we have here, as a result, the finest and best civilization that ever shone, bedimmed only by the presence of alien races enthusiastically brought here for the blood money there was and is in the traffic.

Your opinion that the proposed increase of \$6 in the duty on aliens is a tax on "deserving poverty" and "misery," seems to be the only plausible objection raised, if one can judge from the press and public. I think you are quite wrong there, just as you are in regard to the proposal having come "from the narrow brain of some HENRY CABOT LODGE in the crowded New England environment." That's calling Senator LEE S. OVERMAN, of North Carolina, a pretty hard name, don't you think? And don't you think you ought to right the wrong you have done one of the most broad-minded, patriotic Southern men in the Senate? I know you will if you will but look over his able speech which I take great pleasure in sending you under separate cover.

In that speech Senator OVERMAN points out four possible, to my mind conclusive, reasons, grounded in official statistics and record testimony, why the present head tax should be increased from \$4 to at least \$10. They are as follows:

First. Last year the expenditures out of the "Immigrant Fund" exceeded its receipts by 100 per cent, and as a result therefrom the building of needed hospitals, detention rooms, and contagious wards at Ellis Island, New York City, and the establishment of needed government-owned accommodations at other ports of entry, had to be curtailed and postponed. This new immigration from southeast Europe and western Asia contains many having dangerous, contagious diseases—with such dreadful oriental afflictions as trachoma, favyus and the like—who often have to be detained for weeks and months before a cure can be effected and the alien admitted.

Second. The tax is not levied upon or collected from the immigrant, but is paid by the steamship companies. The immigrant knows nothing about it. The foreign-owned and operated steamship companies are in a combine or trust for charging the immigrant all the traffic will bear. Their officials so testified before the United States Industrial Commission (Vol. XV, pp. 103, 117, etc.), and were forced to admit that as a

result of the combination they had more than doubled steerage rates to this country, and still it is the cheapest country to come to by from \$10 to \$65. Since monopoly conditions exist and the traffic is being changed all it will bear, the present tax of \$4 is not shifted upon the immigrant, but comes out of the excessive profits of the foreign steamship lines. On July 1, 1907, the head tax was doubled—that is, increased from \$2 to \$4 in order to get needed additional revenue to provide better and needed accommodations at New York and Boston, and to establish stations in the South. But steerage rates remained the same throughout that year, and are the same to-day, and in the opinions of students of the situation, would continue the same if the tax were increased to \$10 or even \$20. An increase in rates in an effort to shift the tax would result in a falling off in traffic and a consequent greater diminution of the net profits than would the payment of the tax. According to your statement of the facts, the average immigrant is poverty stricken, and consequently any increase in the present steerage rate of \$37.50 (the rate varies a dollar or two with the port, size and speed of vessel) would mean a great decline in the number of passengers carried, and therefore a greater loss to the steamships.

Testimony before the Industrial Commission revealed it cost them only \$1.70 to feed and room an immigrant passenger on the entire trip over, and not over \$7, all told, to bring an alien here in the steerage. Why should not these foreign corporations, which at present contribute not one red cent to the financial support of the Federal Government beyond the present \$4 head tax, inadequate even to meet the reasonable expenditures of the Immigration Service, pay even a twenty or thirty dollar tax, since they are making annually millions of dollars out of the traffic, as is attested by the small cost of the service rendered and their continually building larger and faster ocean flyers?

Third. As has been said, the United States is by from \$10 to \$65 cheaper to get to from European and Western Asiatic ports than Canada, South America, South Africa, and Australia; and consequently no other country has any considerable net foreign immigration—we are, in truth, the world's dumping ground. The foreign steamship lines, as shown by Senator OVERMAN, have made secret contracts with foreign governments like Austria-Hungary, to cart off so many thousand a year to America. An increased head tax upon them of thirty or forty dollars would equalize steerage rates, and shove off or back some of the social refuse and scum populations that are unquestionably being dumped upon the New England States. New York State pays annually over ten millions of dollars for the support of the foreign-born deficients and dependents in her public institutions. Boston has just learned what it is to have the franchise in the hands of the brownish Negroid races, and the Massachusetts legislature has, as a result, just passed a bill practically disfranchising the Boston city electorate and putting the local government in the hands of a civil service commission and a permanent finance commission appointed by the governor. That's what makes "narrow-minded Lodgeism in crowded New England," as you term restriction. You do not seem to be any more able to comprehend the immigration problem and evils of Yankeeedom any more than New England formerly understood the negro problem. I had no conception of it until I went to Harvard and became acquainted with conditions down there, which were so alarming that I could not resist identifying myself with one of the restriction societies. But you will some day, if foreign immigration from southeast Europe and western Asia is distributed and diverted South, just as New England now has some practical conception of the negro problem as a result of the recent influx of alien races.

Fourth. Three-fourths of the present foreign immigration are male, and nine-tenths are adults. As a rule, they come single-handed and alone, for the purpose of staying a few years, picking up what they can find at any wage and any work, living parsimoniously—"like a flight of grasshoppers upon our abundance," says John Temple Graves—and going back with their miserly savings to their native lands. During the past ten years over 8,000,000 aliens have entered the United States, and 4,000,000 have left. Less than 10 per cent of the annual alien influx has ever been here before. They bring with them in cash on an average of \$25 per person. Why should not these "birds of passage," granting that the increase falls on them, be made to contribute something directly to the financial support of a Government which offers them such splendid opportunities and privileges, and whose hospitality is so grossly abused?

Now, in all candor and fairness to public-spirited citizens of North and South, to Senator OVERMAN in particular, to your own congressional delegation, every one of whom I understand to dissent from your

editorial of the 24th instant, and one of whom is on the House Immigration Committee, and is a member of the United States Immigration Commission, which has been investigating the subject for over two years, and whose report will be along the lines of this letter, will you not give this letter publicity in your columns, or at least, parts of it?

Sincerely, yours,

J. H. PATTEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 27, 1909.*

I also wish to put into the RECORD a few of the replies I have received from New York State officials showing the alien burdens there and the need of additional restrictive legislation and apparently the expenditure of much more than has been spent in the past in the enforcement of our immigration laws, which do not begin to compare with Canada's:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY,
Albany, July 2, 1909.

HON. LEE S. OVERMAN,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR OVERMAN: In further answer to your favor of June 26, I have to report in response to query No. 1: The number of foreign-born insane in the 15 state hospitals for their care in this State on February 1, 1909, was 11,859, out of a total of 28,643, the nativity of 332 being unascertained. That is, on that date 45.2 per cent of our insane in state hospitals was of foreign birth. In Manhattan State Hospital, situated on Wards Island, New York City, which receives the larger proportion of the insane of New York City, there were on this date 4,158 patients, of whom 59.64 per cent were of foreign birth. At Central Islip State Hospital on the same date there were 3,868 patients, of whom 58.48 per cent were of foreign birth; this hospital receives patients from New York City as a rule on alternate weeks, sharing the increment with Manhattan State Hospital.

In 1900 the foreign-born population of New York State was 26.3 per cent of the entire population; while in 1903, the foreign born insane in New York State represented 46 per cent of the population. It is probable that the foreign born in the State represent nearly 35 per cent of the entire population of the State to-day.

In 1905 more than 25 per cent of aliens in penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions in the United States were in the New York State hospitals for the insane, although New York State had in 1900 but 9.5 per cent of the whole population of the United States, and but 18 per cent of the foreign born population.

During the year ended September 30, 1908, 49 per cent of our patients admitted for the first time (to any hospital for the insane in this State or elsewhere) were of foreign birth. The foreign born were but 26.3 per cent of the whole population of the State in 1900. Careful investigation of our statistics shows that the disproportionate number of foreign-born insane can be accounted for only in part by difference in age; for the proportion of foreign-born residents of the State who are adults and of the age in which insanity most frequently occurs is very little larger than the native born.

The following table presents some interesting facts concerning the number of people deported by the board of alienists attached to this commission during nearly five years:

[Including New York City; also including New York State; by friends; and on warrants.]

	State.	New York City warrants.	Friends.	State.	Total.
1904.....	176	(^a)	(^a)	(^a)	(^a)
1905.....	299	112	16	2	130
1906.....	307	149	14	6	169
1907.....	352	222	28	20	270
1908.....	(^b)	277	57	25	350
1909.....	(^b)	^c 305	35	17	357

^a Board of alienists not yet appointed. ^b Not out yet. ^c To date (July 1).

As to the third query, the number of alien insane that failed of deportation, although in our opinion properly certified as such, cut no figure in 1905 and in 1906; but late in December, 1906, and in January, 1907, instances of this kind began to appear, the first case on our records bearing date of January 1, 1907. Eight of such cases appeared during the year ending September 30, 1907, but during the year ending September 30, 1908, 43 such cases were refused deportation. Upon the objection of our board of alienists, 16 of these were ultimately deported and 12 were bonded, this bonding of a case of mental defect being illegal, as we claim, under the immigration law of July, 1907. The so-called "reimbursing" rate of \$3.50, which the sureties for the bonded insane aliens agree to pay New York State for the care of these patients, is little more than one-half the weekly cost of these patients to the State.

The energetic protest of our board of alienists, with added influence exerted by this commission, aided in large degree by the moral support of some, if not all, of the United States alienists at Ellis Island (notably Doctor Thornton) resulted in the prevention of improper landing of many cases.

The number of cases not certified as insane by our board of alienists, owing to the lack of necessary testimony to prove that they were deportable, is not as large as formerly. In 1905 there was a very large number of such cases, but experience has taught that but a comparatively small number need escape certification. Four years ago about 100 avoided deportation, but last year less than 25 were in this class.

The cost of maintaining an insane person in this State in one of our hospitals is \$186.63. The average length of life in the hospitals is nine years; thus an insane persons costs us, on the average, \$1,679. Therefore the 15 persons who escaped deportation or failed of being bonded during the year ending September 30, 1908, will cost the State \$25,185, if we are unable to secure their deportation within the three-year limit, after making, as we are doing now, renewed application to the new Secretary of Commerce and Labor for proper disposition of their cases.

Please use this information in any way that you deem wise, quoting my name freely, as these facts are in no sense confidential.

The State of New York owes you a large debt of appreciation, my dear Senator, for the interest you are taking in the matter of deporting insane aliens.

Yours, very truly,

ALBERT WARREN FERRIS,
President.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES,
OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL,
Albany, N. Y., June 27, 1909.

I can not tell you how much it costs the State of New York to maintain aliens in institutions, but I know that in consequence of the removal of approximately 1,200 aliens from the institutions subject to the jurisdiction of the state board of charities during the last year, the State has been saved the cost of maintenance of such persons during a probable average period of fifteen years in each case, and that, for the purpose of each alien, the public spends upon an average \$200 per annum. To put it in another form, had these aliens been maintained in the institutions of the State of New York for a single year, they would have cost the State \$240,000. If permitted to remain fifteen years, the average duration of a pauper's stay, they would cost the State \$3,600,000, and this covers the removals of only one year, and also only the public charitable institutions of the State of New York, exclusive of the hospitals for the insane. The prisons and jails have their own aliens, equal in number to those in the charitable institutions. Hence the total expense to the State is ultimately very heavy indeed.

I remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

ROBERT W. HILL,
Secretary.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
STATE COMMISSION IN LUNACY,
OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF ALIENISTS,
New York, June 29, 1909.

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of the 26th instant, asking for certain figures, came duly to hand. As public officials, we see no objection

to supplying them to you, especially as they appear in the public records.

In answer to your various questions in the same order as given, the replies are as follows: In 1907, 3,827 out of 10,781 admissions of pauper cases to the New York asylums were foreign born; in twenty years ending 1907, 54,200 out of a total of 158,200 were foreign born. Right here it might be said that the last United States census showed 25 per cent of the population of New York State to be foreign born. The discrepancy in percentages is obvious.

As to the number of aliens deported annually by this department, we would say that in 1908, 277 were deported on government warrants, and this year we will so deport about 400; in addition, the State deports 100 more who desire to return to Europe and who have been too long in the country to be deported under the immigration law. We ought to be allowed to deport within five years of landing, instead of within three years, as at present.

The ratio of insane aliens to immigration shows relatively as much insanity among the aliens in one year as in our population in a generation.

As to the number of newly landed aliens picked up in New York City, we would say that the average of 1,000 cases deported on warrants shows that the aliens were in this country less than one year at the time of becoming public charges; last year when arrested, 19 were here less than one month, 53 less than three months, 96 less than six months, and 134 less than twelve months.

In the matter of the financial burden imposed on this State, we would inform you that the total expense incurred by the State for each case admitted, including erection of buildings, furniture, maintenance for the average length of life of the inmates, interest on the investment, etc., is placed at about \$5,000. If it is true, as claimed by sociologists, that the productive life of every healthy immigrant, or any other person for that matter, is worth \$5,000 to the community, then the loss in total is not less than \$10,000.

At the present time we are very glad to be able to inform you that the present administration of the Department of Commerce and Labor seems anxious to act for the best interests of the community. Our medical certificates are received with very rare exceptions, and they are acted on promptly. No cases are being landed under bond. While Mr. Straus was in office I should say that, roughly, this State lost nearly 10 per cent of the cases that we asked to have deported. But that can not be said at the present time.

A further note may interest you somewhat. The superintendent of the New York State prisons is now looking into the matter of deporting alien criminals who landed in violation of law. This is a new matter for such a department in any State, and is believed to be a very encouraging symptom of the trend on the part of the various local authorities to take advantage of the provisions of the immigration law. Mr. Collins's report for 1905 shows that 40 per cent of the inmates of the state's prisons were foreign born. These figures include the women, which, if excluded, would make the percentage of the men very much higher.

For an interesting volume on the presence of the insane and the feeble-minded in the institutions of the various States, you are referred to a volume issued in 1904, by the Department of Commerce and Labor, entitled "Insane and Feeble-Minded."

In every instance outside of New England, the foreign-born percentage is in excess.

The state board of charities also deports pauper and defective aliens to the number of several hundred a year. We handle the insane only.

If there is any more information we can supply you, we will be very glad to do so.

Yours, respectfully,

SIDNEY D. WILGUS, *Chairman.*

According to these and other letters from New York State officials and their testimony before the Industrial Commission, it costs New York about fifteen millions a year, or from one-fourth to one-half its annual expenditures, for the support, care, and control of foreign-born deficient, defectives, and delinquents.

According to these authorities, in 1907, 3,827 pauper cases of foreign-born insane were admitted to New York State asylums, the estimated cost of each one of whom to the State is,

according to the New York officials, \$5,000, unless deported. About one-third are deported. Last year 1,000 newly landed insane aliens were deported. Consequently, the cost of foreign-born insane to the State of New York is between ten and twelve millions of dollars per year. The total loss must be about twice that, for Andrew Carnegie and certain economic writers estimate that a healthy adult is worth about \$5,000 to the community, if he is the right kind.

There are 990 alien felons and several hundred more foreign-born felons in New York State prisons, whose mere keep, to say nothing of the expenses of their convictions and other police burdens and deprecations on persons and property, costs the State, according to Superintendent Collins, over \$200 per year, and the total cost per person is estimated at about \$5,000, or nearly five millions of dollars. Add to this another \$5,000 per person for the economic loss, and we have a total of ten millions for foreign born criminals.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER,
Boston, Mass., June 23, 1909.

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I think I can not better reply to your inquiry of the 22d instant than by inclosing copy of a communication addressed, January 31, 1908, to Congressman KELIHER, in whose district our present station is located, and who submitted an inquiry similar to yours. While the general conditions have not changed since that report was submitted, it may be said that the immigration for the calendar year 1908 amounted to only 35,000, compared with 75,000 for the calendar year 1907. Immigration for the current year is estimated to be about 60,000.

After Congress appropriated a sum of money for a new immigration station at this port, Assistant Secretary McHarg, of this department, visited Boston for the purpose of investigating the matter of possible sites. Following that investigation I submitted a report to the department under date of May 11, ultimo, a copy of which I also inclose. If you do not need this report of May 11 for your permanent files, I shall appreciate the courtesy of its return, since it is the only spare copy that we now possess. If you prefer to retain it, however, please do not hesitate to do so. The time of our stenographers is so taken up this week that there has not been an opportunity to make another copy of the report.

I also submit a cut of our present station, taken from the annual report of the Commissioner-General for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904. Facing the picture the immigration quarters occupy the right-hand side of the dock, extending to the left as far as the first red cross. The boarding division of the Customs Service occupies that part of the building extending from the first to the second red cross, and from the latter point to the left-hand end of the building the premises are occupied by a steamship company whose vessels ply between Boston and Yarmouth.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please advise me.

Very truly, yours,

GEO. B. BILLINGS,
Commissioner.

JANUARY 31, 1908.

Hon. JOHN A. KELIHER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In answer to your letter regarding the needs of a new immigration station at this port, I will give my reasons as briefly as possible why it should be done.

In the first place, the situation we are in to-day is entirely different from New York; that is to say, at New York the officials, except the boarding division, who examine the first and second cabin passengers and citizens on board ship, all remain at Ellis Island, where all the steerage are brought to them for examination. Although we have the

boarding division, the same as in New York, the other officers have to go to the various docks to examine the steerage passengers, which, of course, is not a satisfactory way to do the work. When two vessels of different lines come in at the same time, our officers might have to go to East Boston to examine aliens there, and also be required at Charlestown at the same time. Of course at a time like this we have to split our force, which delays all concerned. As we make our original examination at the various docks, we only bring the detained immigrants here, which is about 10 per cent; i. e., in the course of a year we have at the station six or eight thousand people, whereas last year, if we brought all the aliens, we would have had in the vicinity of 75,000.

Whenever the United States Government assumes the responsibility of caring for human beings, it should do everything possible to insure the safety, comfort, and health of these people. The building we have to-day is a wooden one, and every precaution has been taken in the way of installation of fire apparatus, fire walls, and all modern appliances to insure as far as possible the safety of those who are held at this station, but even with these precautions the building, of course, is not fireproof, and although, in my judgment, Long Wharf is the best-protected wharf in Boston against fire, even at the best it is not absolutely safe.

We have got all the available space on the wharf, and when we came here four years ago it seemed ample for our wants, but the new laws and the increased immigration added so to the work of the office that we are now very much cramped for room. We have no place except a few safes for keeping the records of the office, and we could not build any fireproof vaults on the wharf.

The site that we are on now is probably as centrally located as possible, but the volume of business done by two steamship lines and the many mercantile concerns keeps the wharf very much crowded. On the north side we have a berth for a steam launch which is used for transferring the inspectors to the different wharves in East Boston, South Boston, and Charlestown. On this side a large fleet of fishing schooners is continually coming and going and at times block up the space between this wharf and T wharf, so that it is only after a long delay that our launch is able to force its way through. On the south side the revenue cutter is used by the boarding officers of the customs, and our own inspectors in boarding incoming vessels also have trouble in getting from its berth on account of the steamers and lighters that are sometimes there.

On the end of the wharf the Dominion Atlantic Steamship Company, plying between this port and Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, runs two trips a week in the winter and eight trips a week in the summer. These steamers bring considerable freight, which necessarily means a large number of teams has to be used to transfer it, and at times they block up the entrance to the station so that it is extremely difficult for the employees as well as other people having business at the office to obtain entrance.

From a sanitary point of view the objections to the present station arise from the nature of the construction of the building and the lack of available space, either in the building itself or in the vicinity, to install the necessary adjuncts for the proper care of the people. The sheathing of the detention quarters not being tight renders fumigation in the dormitories almost impossible. Opportunity for bathing is provided, but we are unable to cleanse vermin-infected clothing or blankets, because we have no steam disinfectant and no space available in which to install one.

In the matter of disinfecting blankets used by persons who may develop disease we are dependent upon the courtesy of the local quarantine physician to respond to our personal requests to do such work. The cleansing process to which the blankets are subjected weekly by the contractor is valueless for purposes of disinfection. No ordinary laundry or blanket-cleansing establishment can be relied upon to insure proper disinfection of blankets. As a matter of fact, no laundry desires our blankets, from the fear of losing their other customers and stampeding their own employees on account of the vermin that is liable to be in them. Proper provision for doing all necessary laundry work is a very important feature in arranging a new immigration station.

There is no available space in our present station for the proper isolation of cases of suspicious or contagious diseases pending transfer to hospital. The room we now use in this connection differs from the rest of the establishment in that it is tinued and painted on the inside, and can be cleansed and disinfected, but it is not isolated in the best possible manner.

It would seem just also that we should be able to provide cabin passengers who may be detained accommodations comparable with

these furnished them on shipboard. Such, of course, is impossible with our present available space.

The dormitories now occupy all the space that can be devoted to that purpose. The devices which have been arranged to promote ventilation probably serve to furnish as good air conditions as it is practicable to attempt to secure, considering the small initial per capita air space and limitations to artificial ventilaton imposed by the construction of the building and the rights of other tenants.

We have beds to accommodate 204 on the men's side and about 125 to 150 women and children in the women's side. With either of these sides full in the warm weather, the air space would make it rather disagreeable. Fortunately, however, it is very seldom that either side is filled.

It seems to me that the above shows the necessity of a proper fire-proof station in Boston, which has been for years the second port, as far as immigration has been concerned, in the United States.

Very truly, yours,

GEORGE B. BILLINGS,
Commissioner.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER,
Baltimore, Md., June 23, 1909.

HON. LEE S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your inquiry of yesterday, I have to state that the conditions surrounding the landing of aliens at the port of Baltimore are entirely different from that at Ellis Island. With the exception of a few fruit steamers landing passengers from ports in the West Indies, all aliens arriving at this port come via the North German Lloyd Line from Bremen, and the steamers of that line are docked at the new Baltimore and Ohio Railroad pier, No. 9, the second floor of which is used as a landing station. The attached cuts will give you a very good idea of the outside of both the old and new buildings. Aliens upon landing are, as at Ellis Island, examined by the surgeon and grouped in aisles very similar to those at New York and are registered in precisely the same manner. The building will comfortably hold 5,000 immigrants, and the largest number of arrivals which we have ever had at the port at one time was approximately 3,000. Those admitted entrain on the same floor; those detained or refused a landing are taken to the detention house, which is a brick building, conveniently near to the pier and fairly well fitted for its purposes. While this detention house is under my supervision, it is operated and controlled by the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, A. J. Koether being the proprietor.

In December last, some complaint having reached the Secretary, the Assistant Commissioner-General was detailed to pay this port a visit, and I take pleasure in attaching a copy of his memorandum with reference to the detention house as then existing. The only comment I have to make on Mr. Larned's report is that the changes desired have all been made; and, having perical reports as to the quantity and quality of the food served at the detention house, I can assure you that the immigrants are comfortably housed and fed. All the expenses of detention are borne by the North German Lloyd Company, and the rate charged the Government for the detention of special cases is 50 cents per diem.

Aliens held for hospital treatment by the Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeon attached to this station are sent, by his designation, to one of the several city hospitals, except measles cases, which are treated at the detention house in quarters isolated from the others, and the expenses incident to detention and hospital treatment are borne by the steamship company.

The Immigration Bureau leases no buildings at this port other than the uptown offices in the Stewart Building, corner of Lombard and Gay streets, nor does the Government pay any rental for the facilities afforded at the landing station and detention house.

I might add that two years ago a bill was introduced by Representative Mudd, of the Fifth Maryland District, embodying an appropriation of \$250,000 for a landing station, including detention and hospital quarters, at Baltimore. Similar bills introduced in behalf of the ports of Boston and Philadelphia have, I understand, been favorably acted upon, while the bill for the port of Baltimore remains unacted upon, although the immigration through here is more than double that of Philadelphia and compares favorably with the port of Boston.

Respectfully,

LOUIS T. WEIS, *Commissioner.*

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER,
New York, N. Y., June 26, 1909.

Hon. LEE S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: This is in further reply to your letter of the 22d instant, making inquiries in relation to recent enlargement of the Ellis Island plant.

1. You ask "whether there was any curtailment during the past fiscal year in the building and enlargement of hospitals, detention rooms, and other facilities for handling and taking care of immigrants at Ellis Island, as originally proposed about two years ago." My answer is that there was not. The chief one of these enlargements, however, consisted in the creation of the new island with contagious-disease hospital, all of which were planned during my first term of office (which extended down to February 10, 1905). The principal further enlargements are new baggage and dormitory building (for which about \$400,000 was appropriated) and a further hospital building on one of the old islands, all of which were planned by my successor. With the exception of the upper floor of the new dormitory building, none of these extensions are at the present time in actual use, though we hope soon to have them so, particularly if at this session of Congress a sufficient appropriation is made to furnish the new contagious-disease hospital.

2. You state that you understand that there is "no used detention room for the observation of feeble-minded and detained insane suspects, and that you have to use the general wards of the hospital for such." Doctor Stoner, chief medical officer here, has given me the following information in reference to the foregoing:

"There is at present, and has been for some time past, in the immigrant hospital at this station a ward set apart for the observation of male immigrants suspected of being mentally defective, and also a ward for female immigrants.

"In addition to these, the psychopathic wards (male and female) in the separate building especially constructed for the purpose, are in constant use.

"The observation wards referred to became available when the hospital was enlarged by the construction of the first (central) extension. The temporary pavilions adjoining the main building were discontinued as mental observation rooms about a year ago and put to use by the commissioner as ordinary detention rooms to take the place of the old barracks, which had to be removed to make room for the construction of the new building—baggage and dormitory detention rooms—and when extensive alterations were also made to the main building—new dining room, etc."

3. You inquire further whether "when immigration is at its greatest you have to house the immigrants in more or less temporary quarters." My second term of office began just four weeks ago. I am glad to say that immigration is not at its highest just now, and I am unable to state just what will happen when this occurs again. If next year's immigration exceeds the highest we have ever had, it is quite likely that I shall have to request appropriations for still further detention quarters. In view of the short time I have been here under my second term, I am unable to state just how the more stringent rules I am putting into effect concerning the inspection of immigrants will affect detentions after my policy has become known abroad, and I would not care to-day to express an opinion as to whether or not we have room enough now. I may add that during the construction of the new dormitory building above referred to, detained immigrants were housed in temporary wooden quarters, which for various reasons, including the danger of fire through their presence, I am about to cause to be removed.

If this reply is not sufficiently full, I hope you will give me opportunity to write you further. I shall doubtless be in Washington on official business before Congress adjourns, and if you desire to see me concerning any particular matter, it will give me great pleasure to call upon you. Perhaps you will feel inclined some time to come to Ellis Island and see how the immigration laws are executed.

Respectfully,

WM. WILLIAMS, *Commissioner.*

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER,
Philadelphia, Pa., June 26, 1909.

HON. LEE S. OVERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, requesting information as to present facilities at this port for the inspection and handling of immigrants, and I have been directed by Commissioner Rodgers, who is at present absent from the city, to say that there are two regular lines carrying passengers to this port. First, the American Line, from Liverpool and Queenstown. Their passengers are examined in a frame building, formerly a freight station, which is owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and, I understand, is leased by the American Line, and which is connected with their pier by an overhead bridge. The building is an old one and, while every effort is made to keep it clean and sanitary, it is far from modern. This building was inspected by the Immigration Commission during the examination of the passengers of the steamship *Merion* on June 3 and 4, 1907, and their report on the same will no doubt be of interest. Second, the Italia Line, from Genoa and Naples, use the river end of the second floor of pier 80. This pier is a large frame structure owned by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and the fittings in the portion used for the examination of immigrants were installed, I believe, by the city of Philadelphia in the nature of an inducement, so that this line, which is a new one, might have some sort of facilities here, and, like the building used by the American Line, this place is far from modern. The detention house, which was also inspected by the Immigration Commission, is an old building, by no means up to date, but kept as clean and sanitary as possible for a building of its character. Both lines keep their detained passengers there, and I understand that they exact an indemnifying bond from the man who has charge of it. It is not under the control of this office. We have no government hospital here, and arriving immigrants in need of hospital treatment are sent to several hospitals in this city, principally the Philadelphia Almshouse Hospital, and contagious diseases, such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles, to the Municipal Hospital. With respect to your request for kodak pictures showing the conditions under which our force works, I regret that we have none on hand, but will endeavor to comply with your desire at the earliest possible time, and will be very glad to furnish any further information.

Respectfully,

J. S. HUGHES,
Acting Commissioner.

Mr. President, I have these official letters and others showing that in Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Galveston, and at all the leading ports except New York we have no adequate government-owned facilities for taking care of these people when they come and inspecting and detaining properly those likely to become public burdens or undesirable citizens. As to New York City, I have a letter saying that they probably have not sufficient quarters to take care of them when the flood tide is at its height, and Congress is even being asked for appropriations to make available existing buildings. We have expended directly for enforcement of the law during the past twenty-five years far more money than the income from the head tax, rentals, and so forth. I say this principle and this policy of levying a head tax or steamship tax has been established for years. It is no new principle; it is no new policy; it has been up before the Supreme Court and declared constitutional. We first levied 50 cents, then \$1 by a "rider," then \$2, and two years ago \$4. And at that time the Senate, I believe, passed a bill making it \$5; but in conference it was reduced to \$4, even though there were proposals in the House to make it \$25 and bills introduced there to make it \$50.

Complaints are continually coming in about the conditions of the quarters furnished by the steamship companies at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere, which have to be investi-

gated and changes made. I have here an extract from the memorandum of Mr. F. H. Larned, Assistant Commissioner-General, who investigated charges about the detention rooms furnished by the steamship companies at Baltimore, which I wish to quote as showing need for an increased tax, and which says:

The reports which have reached the Secretary to the effect that the conditions under which aliens are detained at Locust Point are highly undesirable, are certainly exaggerated, if not wholly untrue. I find, however, that a few changes in the lighting, ventilation, and toilet facilities would be highly desirable, viz, two windows facing south to be in the first story (dining room), and two each, immediately above these, on the second and third floors, to afford more light; a skylight to be added on the third floor for better ventilation, and new ceilings put in; additional windows to be put in the rear part of the building used as a hospital, and the same to be made damp proof; new toilets to be built affording more privacy to both sexes.

RECOMMENDATION.

As the Secretary knows, a bill is now pending in Congress (December 10, 1908) for the construction of an immigrant station at Baltimore. There seems to be no good reason to doubt that Congress will take favorable action on the pending bill in the not very far distant future, the necessity, from the point of view of good and economical administration, for such course being patent, I believe no mistake will be made in allowing the present arrangement to be continued if Mrs. Koether will immediately make the changes in her building above suggested.

F. H. LARNED,
Assistant Commissioner-General.

Here is a newspaper clipping from the New York Times of yesterday, July 7, 1909, which seems to show the need of more funds, a larger force, and additional restrictive legislation and the heavily fining of the foreign steamship companies for bringing so many admittedly undesirables here:

PLAINT OF ELLIS ISLAND MEN—SO MANY ALIENS TO DEPORT THAT THEY CAN NOT EAT AT HOME, THEY SAY.

The deportation staff at Ellis Island are complaining that owing to the large increase in the number of aliens being sent back they have to work from twelve to sixteen hours daily for \$850 a year.

Last week the number of deportations was 600. To-day 278 aliens will be sent back to Europe. They are distributed among these liners: *Argentina*, 90; *Estonia*, 53; *Lucania*, 41; *Oceanic*, 10; *Pennsylvania*, 84.

The deportation officers on the *Lucania* finished their work at 9.30 o'clock last night, and those on the *Pennsylvania*, at Hoboken, at 10.30 o'clock. They had all begun their duties as early as 6.30 a. m. In addition to the long hours waiting at stations for late trains arriving with immigrants, they say that, as they can not get home, the little money they earn is absorbed by having to buy meals.

I know what the Senator from Rhode Island has risen for, and that is to move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. ALDRICH. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have the floor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina has the floor.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is late in the day and in the session, but I want him to listen to me for a moment. I offered this amendment in Committee of the Whole. The Senator from Rhode Island requested that I should not introduce or press it until we came into the Senate. Now, does he think it is fair to move to lay it on the table? I would prefer the Senator to have it given a more fitting disposal. I know he is going to oppose it, in order to further the speedy passage of the pending tariff bill, but I should like to have it referred to the Com-

mittee on Immigration, so that it may be carefully considered and taken up at the next and regular session.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no objection to the reference.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will then move the reference.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am quite willing to have it referred to the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina moves to refer the amendment to the Committee on Immigration. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have recently received many letters, resolutions, and indorsements, some of which I desire to insert in the RECORD—the indorsement of the Locomotive Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Knights of Labor, and divers patriotic societies, leagues, and other organizations—which show the universal interest in the question and an enlightened public demand for congressional legislation:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 7, 1909.

HON. L. S. OVERMAN,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The organizations I represent have repeatedly given expression favorable to the enactment of legislation restricting foreign immigration; and as an increase in the head tax on aliens would furnish to the Government the funds necessary to a more thorough inspection of immigrants, and thereby better enable it to sift out the undesirable and restricted classes, we therefore favor the amendment offered by you increasing the head tax on aliens from \$4 to \$10, and hope it will be adopted.

Very truly, yours,

H. R. FULLER,

National Legislative Representative Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

OFFICE OF GENERAL MASTER WORKMAN,
ORDER OF KNIGHTS OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C. July 6, 1909.

DEAR SENATOR: The Knights of Labor at its general assembly last November passed a strong resolution in favor of the further restriction of foreign immigration by means of an increased head tax, the illiteracy test, etc., and in favor of the better enforcement of the law.

We are, of course, deeply interested in the adoption of the proposed increase in the head tax on aliens, which is paid by the foreign steamship companies, and upon which depends the amount of money spent by the Immigration Service in the enforcement of the law, etc.

We favor it because it will provide the funds to erect government stations at Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Galveston, San Francisco, and other ports where at present our inspectors are obliged to examine immigrants, not at government-owned stations, but on premises owned and controlled by the steamship companies themselves, since, under existing conditions, all detained immigrants are left in charge of the steamship companies and housed in quarters provided by them and under their immediate supervision. A change in this respect would undoubtedly bring about better results in the care of the immigrants and also in the enforcement of the laws, especially the alien contract-labor law and the law excluding insane persons, paupers, and criminals.

In behalf of the Knights of Labor, I respectfully beg to call this proposed increase of head tax to your attention, in the hope that you will give it your support and will not allow it to be postponed or ruled out. There is urgent need from every standpoint of its adoption, even though the commission is expected to report next winter. To adopt it will certainly meet the approval of organized labor, which needs the protection.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. W. HAYES,
General Master Workman.

JULY 5, 1909.

SENATOR: The undersigned respectfully beg to call your attention to Senator OVERMAN'S amendment increasing the duty on aliens to \$10.

The present duty is \$4, and is "levied upon" and really paid by the steamship companies, because monopoly conditions exist and the traffic is being charged all it will bear—this increase can not be shifted.

While each of our organizations and societies favor the restriction of foreign immigration by means of an economic, educational character, and further physical and mental tests, the proposed increase in the so-called "head tax," but more accurately called a "steamship tax," is favored not because we think there is any restriction in it, but because it would tend to equalize steerage rates, and particularly because it would raise needed funds to warrant the Government in insinuating a more liberal financial policy in providing facilities at our ports, enlarging the force of inspectors, etc., and in bringing about, and necessary to, a more efficient administration of the law. The United States is at present the cheapest country to come to, which, together with our feeble immigration laws—mere police regulations—and their economical administration, in our opinions, accounts for the large numbers of insane, pauper, and criminal aliens in our public institutions.

During the fiscal years of 1907 and 1908 the total expenditures exceeded the actual receipts in the Immigration Service by \$2,000,000, and resulted in too economical a financial policy, in our judgment. For instance, the appropriation for a government station at Philadelphia was not enough to buy a desirable site. Similarly at Boston, Baltimore also is in great need of a station. At each of these ports immigrants have to be inspected upon the steamship docks, and detained immigrants are left really in the care of the steamships. The prospect seems for even still greater annual expenditures than the over five millions spent in 1908, and in our opinion there is need of an even greater annual expenditure indefinitely.

According to the Immigration Commission's preliminary report, it has completed by this time all of its investigations that would bear upon this matter, and since members of the commission have introduced immigration bills dealing with steerage conditions, immigrant stations, alien criminals, etc., and in view of the fact that Congress doubled the head tax in 1894 by a "rider," we respectfully urge you to give it your powerful support, and assure you it would meet the hearty approval of the many, many patriotic persons represented by us.

Most respectfully,

Jesse Taylor, past secretary national legislative committee, Junior Order United American Mechanics; C. E. Redeker, chairman national legislative committee, Patriotic Order Sons of America; Clarence Gerard, secretary, Immigration Restriction League (Ohio); H. H. Layton, chairman legislative committee, Immigration Restriction League, of New York; George Dietz, secretary, Immigration Regulation League, of Brooklyn; O. D. Hill, assistant secretary, Farmers' National Congress; J. H. Patten, secretary, Immigration Restriction League (Massachusetts); Alfred Taylor, Senior Order United American Mechanics; K. E. Duckworth, legislative agent, Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

Mr. GORE. I desire to offer an amendment similar to the one which has just been referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add as section 10½ the following:

SEC. 10½. That all alien immigrants above the age of 15 years who can not write in a legible hand from dictation 50 words from some European language, the words not to be identical in any two cases, shall be required to pay a tax of \$200 before being allowed to enter the United States, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor is authorized to prescribe suitable rules and regulations and to designate proper officials to carry this provision into effect: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to impair the obligation of any valid treaty now existing between this Government and any foreign power.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, we have been engaged here for three or four months erecting tariff walls to safeguard the American laborer against the pauper labor of all the earth. If Senators on the other side are in good faith, let us not rear ineffectual walls to keep out goods manufactured by paupers

abroad, but let us erect a wall here that will prohibit those paupers themselves from invading this Republic.

Mr. President, I have wondered how long it requires a pauper from Armenia, from Syria, or from Hindustan to become an American laborer after landing upon our shores. I have also wondered, and I have hoped that some Senator on the other side would answer the question, Why it is that an Asiatic or a European pauper when he sets foot upon this land of the free requires protection against the pauper brother, the pauper father, and the pauper son that he left behind him across the sea? Why is it that we should tax the farmers of Kansas, Iowa, and Oklahoma to pension the paupers imported from the four quarters of the earth?

Mr. President, in Massachusetts, one of the States most desirous of protection, 43 per cent of her population by the census of 1900 were foreign born, and in the State of Rhode Island, which has the honor to be represented by the chairman of the Finance Committee, I might say by the entire United States Senate 45 per cent of the population is foreign born, according to the census of 1900. The streets of their cities are vocal with all the tongues that babbled around the ruins of Babel. If that Senator desires to protect American labor against the pauper labor of other countries, I ask him to allow this amendment to be adopted and afford effectual protection to the laborers of the United States. The refusal or the failure to do so unmasks the hypocrisy of the whole scheme of tariff protection in the name of the American laborer. The laborer is kissed and then betrayed.

The object of the tariff is not to protect or to benefit the American workman; it is not to insure high wages; the object is to insure high profits. It effectually accomplishes that object.

Mr. President, this amendment is taken from the laws of Australia. Great Britain and Japan are allies. Australia is a part of the British Empire, and Japan has not resented the enforcement of that law by her ally. I know there are some American statesmen who look under their beds at night to see whether there is not a Japanese concealed in hiding there. I have no patience with statesmanship of that sort.

I offer this amendment in order to protect our own interests, in order to protect the integrity of our own race so far as that is now possible, in order to safeguard our own destiny, and I offer it without any reference to the number of battle ships which might be mobilized by the commander in chief of any foreign navy.

Mr. ALDRICH. I move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. GORE. I should like to have the yeas and nays on that. The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I should like to have it go to the Immigration Committee. If it can not be adopted, I should like to have it considered by that committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to lay on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

THE ~~MONGOLIAN~~ PROBLEM IN AMERICA

A DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE
YELLOW PERIL, WITH NOTES UPON
AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ITS
RELATION TO THE
BOYCOTT

BY

W. K. ROBERTS

FROM APRIL, 1889, TO DECEMBER, 1905, AN EMPLOYEE OF
THE CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE.

SAN FRANCISCO

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Author of "*Divinity and Man*," "*An African Canaan
for the American Negro*," Etc.

The Theoretical Principles in Brief.

I.

The immigration of any race or class of people whose members or their descendants do not rise to the high standard of civilized life maintained by the at present predominant white population of America will tend to lower the moral tone of the nation, endanger its political institutions, and weaken its prestige as a world power. The best interests of the world at large demand that the superior man shall prevail wherever possible, and that the baser types shall be eliminated or restricted to those regions where the higher race does not thrive. The climatic conditions of North America are favorable for the highest type of Caucasian manhood, and with immigration laws protective of this race the noblest civilization the world has known can be permanently established there.

II.

History discloses no instance wherein a people coming of the admixture of two or more of the racially diverse branches of humanity have achieved greatness, or even maintained stable and liberal self government. If an admixture of the races found favor with the laws of nature Constantinople would be to-day the intellectual and moral center of the civilized world. Wherefore, the more important feature of immigration is racial type and not the worthiness of individuals, in disregard of race (there being moral and depraved elements in all races), for ethnic history proves that national characteristics result not from educative or other influences of human invention, but by the blood inheritance fixed by the unalterable laws of nature.

III.

Restrictive immigration laws, to be the least objectionable to all concerned, should discriminate against races rather than nationalities. The best alternative to this procedure, that would effectively exclude unassimilable aliens, would be an enactment against all Asiatics, Africans, etc., but which would still admit Europeans so long as any foreign immigrants are desired. Many Chinese have made the assertion that they could find no fault with an immigration law excluding *all Asiatics*, but that the ancient pride of their people, which for thousands of years has held China to be the superior nation of the Orient, is grievously offended through their being specially singled out for this purpose.

IV.

Japanese and Korean immigrants are likely to prove even more objectionable than the Chinese, for the reason that while they are equally clannish, and spend no more of their earnings in the country than the latter, they are more turbulent and aggressive, when their numbers are sufficiently augmented to embolden and bring out these inherent qualities.

V.

The low intellectual status of the Mongolian masses, and their fitness to survive under the most squalid and precarious conditions of life, make them formidable competitors with Caucasians—who demand something better than mere animal existence—and the latter can easily be outclassed by them in every field of industry. China, Japan and Korea can send forth from two to three millions of emigrants every year, and there is no part of the earth so attractive to them as North America.

VI.

By reason of their extensive contiguous land borders, the United States, Canada, and Mexico should have similar immigration laws, more especially with regard to Asiatics.

VII.

While there is a possibility of conditions in China so improving that foreigners in the country may entrust their interests to the care of her government, the time for this appears, as yet, a long way off; meanwhile the "gunboat policy" will remain a necessity with nations desirous of safe guarding their citizens domiciled there. America should accept the situation thus presented, and not incur the odious charge of trying to secure advantages through sentimental cajoleries while the European nations are doing the police work of the country. That she has "lost face" with China through this—from an Asiatic point of view—weak policy, is proved by an inner study of the audacious boycott against her goods, and she is not likely to regain prestige without either countering the boycott with a hostile tariff against Chinese goods or proving an ability to defend the interests of her people by force of arms.

VIII.

America should offer no more advantages to Mongolians than they themselves offer to Americans. No American, or other foreigner, can buy land or engage in business in competition with the natives in China outside the treaty ports, while in Japan, although a pretense is made to tolerate foreign enterprises, whenever such are fairly started a systematic boycott, or some sort of vexatious litigation, will ensue which eventually makes the foreigner glad to sell out. It is practically impossible for a foreigner to win a case at law against a Japanese in his own country; for although he may obtain judgment in his favor, the right of a native to appeal from one court to another has virtually no end. This, taken together with innumerable cunning devices which invariably crop up to defeat him, serve to deter any foreigner from undertaking a second lawsuit in that country. In sooth, the Mongolians in their own domains are, under almost every circumstance and condition, intensely loyal to the interests of their own people and opposed to foreigners, whereas in America they are allowed free industrial competition and are more likely to be favored in the law courts than an American opponent. The emigration to China or Japan of only a few hundred Americans, as competitors with any class of their people, would be quickly followed by sanguinary riots or boycotts which would prevent their remaining. On the other hand Americans might go to any country of Western Europe and be readily adopted on terms of equality with the natives. This merely goes to show that the Europeans and Americans are of a single racial stock, and will therefore readily assimilate, while the Mongolians being of a radically different race, are at heart always antagonistic to the white man.

W. K. R.,

December 2, 1905.

Shanghai, China.

The Mongolian Problem in America.

I. MONGOLIAN MIGRATIONS AND CONQUESTS.

HISTORIC MIGRATIONS AND INVASIONS.

As to where the present Mongolians of the Far East originally came from is still a matter of conjecture. Certain ethnologists claim to have found a connecting link between the Chinese and the ancient Babylonians, but as yet the evidence is rather vague in this direction. There are still the remnants of an aboriginal race in China, known as the Miaotzu tribes, while in the north of Japan we find the Ainos, who presumably are the aborigines of that country. Both the Miaotzu and Ainos are Mongoloid in type, though it is supposable that, whatever their original racial features, during the thousands of years in which they have been in contact with their conquerors the blood of the latter would predominate. It is sufficient to say that as far back as human history goes the Chino-Mongol race has been in undisputed possession of the coast regions and adjacent islands of eastern Asia. The Chinese have historic traditions dating back 6000 years or more, but with no logical suggestions as to where the pioneers of their race came from. From the present focus of the yellow race there have in times past proceeded westward mighty hordes which overwhelmed the weaker peoples found in their path. The Japanese have traditions of contact with America in ancient times, showing that their junks visited the Pacific Coast and traded with the natives. Whether these visits had anything to do with the origin of the American Indians or not, the features of the latter show them to be of the same racial stock as the Mongolians, though more nearly allied to the northern Tartars and Malays than to the Chinese or Japanese. As a hypothesis it seems about as probable that the Mongolians of the Far East had their origin on the American continent as that the progenitors of the Indians came from Asia. It agrees somewhat better with theology to assume that the Indians came from Asia and are a branch of the great Turanian-Mongol race. Had the modern Chinese or Japanese made a conquest of the American continent before the arrival of the white man, they would have freely intermarried with and assimilated their Indian kinsmen and there would have been no such conflicts and hatred as have occurred between the whites and the natives, who were racially widely divergent from each other.

In dealing with the historically authenticated invasions by Mongol-

Tartars we find that of South Russia by the so-called Golden Horde, impelled forth by the Grand Khans of Tartary. The myrmidons of Ghengis Khan and Timur, after conquering the Slavs, founded a despotism which exacted tribute from them for more than two centuries. But the Golden Horde failed to improve their opportunities as conquerors and white Russia threw off the yoke that had galled the necks of her people so long. But the Tartars left the curse of their base blood in southern and eastern Russia, and that antagonistic and unreasonable blood has supplied the Cossacks, whose ready and cruel treatment even of their own kith and kin has sustained an oppressive autocracy, and whose treacherous and traitorous natures have brought recent humiliation and shame upon their country. Had all the Russians been pure Tartars the Japanese would never have won so many victories over them; had they been of pure Caucasian stock their political revolution at home would have taken place many years ago and in a peaceful manner. The scenes of barbarity recently enacted in Russia have occurred mainly where the people are of a mixed Mongol Caucasian type, as at Odessa, where the Tartar blood exceeds that of the white race. No atrocities of consequence or wanton destruction of property have taken place in northern or western Russia, where the population is true Caucasian, except those perpetrated by the Mongol-Cossack troops.

Another successful invasion by Mongol-Tartars was that of the Huns under Attila, whose minions overran and devastated a large portion of southeastern Europe. Their progress in Europe was eventually checked by the Germans, and they finally became domiciled in what is now Hungary. Those of the Huns who remained in Europe, after the manner of the Tartar conquerors of Russia, intermingled their blood with that of the Europeans and produced the present mixed race of Austro-Hungary. This infusion of Caucasian blood weakened the virile and loyal energy of the Huns and unfitted them for further conquests. Still another historic invasion by the yellow race was that of the Ottoman Turks, who swept down upon and conquered the major portion of Asia Minor and the Balkan States, thus bringing under their sway the fairest regions of Europe and the flower of the Caucasian race. The Turk followed the example of the Huns and Russian Tartars by intermingling their blood with the European and Semitic populations they conquered and thereby neutralized the warlike prowess of the race. The modern Turk, although possessed of a considerable Caucasian strain, is still as ferocious and unconscionable as his Mongolian ancestors, but lacks their cohesive and aggressive energy.

Had either of the three great Mongol invasions of Europe been sus-

tained by continued immigration from the Far Eastern stronghold of the race, the whole of Europe would, no doubt, have come under their sway. Then in time a mixed race would have resulted, and finally this would have been absorbed and the white blood overwhelmed and eliminated. The Mongol migration which now threatens North America, if permitted to attain proportions sufficient to strongly influence political affairs in their favor, will have permanent support from Japan and China, and therein lies the serious danger to the white race. A mixed race might or might not be formed, but the final result would be the same. The ancient Aryan invaders of India lost their high standard of intelligence and moral discipline through admixture with the inferior aborigines of that country. In this case white men conquered the black natives of Hindostan and through admixture with them produced the modern Hindoos—a people incapable of maintaining orderly government without British aid. The Mongolians naturally prefer their own women for wives, and it was the difficulty of getting them from their distant homeland that led the Huns, Turks and other Tartars to intermarry with Europeans. That these two widely divergent branches of the human family are extremely slow to intermingle their blood is apparent in the fact that even at the present day in portions of Hungary, the Balkans and Russia there are millions of Tartars of the pure original stock, and who still maintain the customs and traditions of the Far East from which their ancestors migrated many centuries ago.

PRESENT AMBITIONS FOR MIGRATION AND CONQUEST.

The desire in both China and Japan to emigrate to distant countries has in modern times been of slow growth, apparently owing to a strong attachment for their native land and dislike of contact with foreigners. A migratory impulse, however, has been awakened in recent years by reason of numerous returning emigrants with much wealth from America, Australia and other places. This incoming wealth has inspired many families in China and Japan with a desire to send abroad one or more of their members. The patriarchal system which obtains in these countries leads each successful member of a family to in a measure share his resources with his brethren. He does not actually divide his wealth with those outside of his own household, but endeavors to give opportunities to even distant relatives. Such being the case, a family clan will club together and raise means to send a strong youth to some foreign land in the hope that he will return wealthy and relieve the hard life of his people. This widespread desire would under favorable conditions cause an annual emigration from China of more than two million souls, and their going would

have no other effect upon the country than to relieve the densely congested population and improve its healthful energy. It would give better opportunities to those at home, and the robbers and beggars now so numerous in the land would be diminished; for these vagabonds, in the main, have taken to evil ways through finding themselves outclassed in the hard struggle for existence. Wherefore, the annual emigration from China of a couple of millions of people would be a vast relief to the fierce labor competition, to say nothing of the wealth they would return to the country. This fact is now fully understood by all intelligent Chinamen, hence the eagerness of the Imperial Government to keep open as many avenues as possible for the outflow of its teeming millions. The closing of the gates against them in the United States, Canada and Australia has proved a most galling check upon the ambitions of the Chinese, and they naturally feel themselves unjustly discriminated against.

A similar desire to emigrate is now prevalent in Japan, where young men, in almost every station of life, are simply frenzied with an eagerness to get abroad. Stories written home by friends in America of the wealth that awaits them there lead to most extraordinary efforts to reach the land of promise. Missionaries are beset by young fellows who profess the most sincere desire to have the gospel taught them; but it is soon discovered that they are extremely attentive to the English language and their questions easily turn toward the conditions of life in America and the best means of getting there. The more patient ones usually succeed in gaining all the information they desire and probably a recommendation to kind persons across the sea who will lend them a helping hand when they arrive there. A check is imposed upon the outgoing of these emigrants by the Japanese Government, which fears the passing of an exclusion act similar to that against the Chinese. Each emigrant must obtain a government passport before leaving Japan, and these are not issued to the lower element of the coolie class. The Japanese Government will, no doubt, make an effort to induce as many as possible of the surplus population to emigrate to and found colonies in Corea and Manchuria, and this may be expected to, in a measure, check the tide turning toward America. It is fairly safe to say that Japan can send forth at least half a million emigrants a year and not feel the loss.

That the Japanese, at least, are fired with the ardor of world conquest is evidenced in their dauntless courage in battle with the Russians, in their well mapped out plans for securing themselves in Corea and Manchuria, and also in the riots in Japan after the terms of peace were made known. The aggressive element wanted an indemnity with which to be prepared

for another war, and without which meant that their warlike spirit would, for financial reasons, be held down for many years to come. The present ambition of the Chinese in this direction is to regain the lost possessions upon their borders and likewise the prestige they once held in the Far East. To this end many students and agitators are at work striving to evolve a spirit of patriotism and to discover the best methods of achieving the goal. Blind and irrational as are many of the suggestions for the elevation of China to a first-class power, they are, nevertheless, far above the Boxer programme of six years ago, and viewed in this progressive light the aggressive spirit now rife in the country is not to be ignored. Six years ago the Boxer proclamation that multitudes of angels would aid them in battle with the foreigners, if not wholly believed in by the literati, were attentively listened to and encouraged; but to-day few educated Chinese can be found who believe that anything short of hard fighting on scientific modern lines will bring them success, and their defensive and aggressive policy is being shaped accordingly.

METHODS OF MONGOLIAN CONQUEST.

The Chinese and Japanese, at the present time, form the strongest and most enlightened branches of the Mongolian family. Being racially pure they are inspired with a common loyal sentiment for the preservation of their own type and social institutions, and antagonism toward all that is in conflict therewith. Although the Chinese have not, as yet, shown the intelligent national unity required for success in armed contest, their fraternal sentiments and attachment to the traditions of the land have been sufficiently demonstrated in the present boycott and other events to dispel all doubt as to their possibilities in this respect. Their conquests in the past have been practically confined to the field of peaceful industry, and through survival of the fittest therein their numbers have increased from a tribe of a few hundred to hundreds of millions whose legions are spread over an area larger than the United States. It would appear a characteristic of the Mongolian to strive long and industriously toward a desired goal, and when it is reached to relapse into a process of deterioration. Their conquests in the past invariably show this trait; whether Hun, Turk or toiling Chinese, all have displayed most strenuous fighting or competitive qualities until having attained the desired ascendancy, when retrograde to a certain normal plane of semi-barbarism would ensue. Whether the Japanese will follow in the same train remains to be seen. Certain features of their trade would seem to indicate that they are not different

from others of their race in this respect. In competition for the trade of China they have manufactured certain classes of goods equal in quality with those of any foreign country, but whenever the foreign competition was overcome their goods became continuously poorer in quality. Chinese students in foreign schools usually study so diligently as to distance their white classmates, but when finished with school their studies invariably cease altogether and they relapse into a slovenly mental condition. The inference to be drawn is that the Mongolian as a competitor, whether under arms or in the field of industry, is almost invincible, but he is unable of his own initiative to maintain a high standard of excellence. Under the dominating influence of the higher Caucasian nations he may rise greatly above his normal level, as in the case of the Japanese under Anglo-Saxon influence, but take away that influence or let them feel that they can ignore it, and they will probably fall back to the plane the race has occupied throughout recorded history.

The Chinese have continuously encroached upon the nations of their border lands and absorbed and eliminated them by the slow but sure process of industrial competition. Their cousins, the Tartar tribes of Manchuria and Mongolia, for many centuries, by force of arms, held back the industrious Chinese, but their territories have in recent times been gradually colonized by the latter until these one time fierce nomads are now practically helpless. The Tartars wanted the fertile plains of the north for their flocks and herds, and by their predatory raids discouraged the Chinese farmers, who were making constant efforts to settle there; while the Chinese on their part built the historic wall as a protection against the Tartar invasions. The Chinese, although conquered some three centuries ago and since held in quasi subjection by the Manchu Tartars, have slowly but surely encroached upon the patrimony of their rulers until the latter are now at their mercy. Should the outside world not interfere with this progress of the Chinese, ere many years have passed an uprising will occur in which the whole Manchu population will be enslaved or exterminated. When Nanking was taken by the Taiping rebels, some fifty years ago, the Manchu inhabitants, numbering many thousands, were slaughtered without mercy. Natives of that city at the present day recount the persistent efforts of the Taipings to prevent a single Manchu escaping. The latter were often hard to distinguish from the Chinese, so the head of every doubtful individual was carefully examined and if any of the characteristics of the Tartar skull were shown the unfortunate possessor was put to death. It is pretty certain that if the Taipings had made a conquest of north China, the whole of the Manchu race would

have been massacred. On the south and southwest borders of China a peaceful conquest is slowly going on, where the weak Cochin China natives are melting away before the patient toilers of the Middle Kingdom, and the formerly dense and pestilent jungles of the Shan States are being turned into gardens and rice fields. The natives on these southern frontiers are not turbulent, so the Chinese find only natural barriers to their progress, such as pestilent swamps, jungles and wild animals.

The apparently slow progress of Chinese colonization may be in a degree accounted for by great internal calamities caused by civil war, famine and pestilence, which have in some instances destroyed from ten to thirty millions of people in the course of a few years' time. Chinese traditions show that many of the provinces have been time and again devastated, then in the course of a few decades repopled from the adjoining regions. Notwithstanding these numerous calamities the yellow hosts have slowly gone on enlarging the spheres of their activity, never forming independent states, but, until checked by the Europeans, always adding to the expansive greatness of their loosely constructed nation. The French possessions of Indo China and British Burmah at the present time form political barriers against their territorial acquisition on the south, but they nevertheless encourage the multiplying of the Chinese people in those regions—giving them, in fact, better protection from civil war pestilence and predatory natives than their own government could do. While the Laos tribes of Indo China are a weak and peaceable race and easy victims for the Chinese, the Malays of Burma and Siam are, like the northern Tartars, a fierce and assertive people from whom the Chinese, without the protection of the European governments concerned, would suffer many disadvantages. As it is, a constant immigration from China is pouring into these regions, and it is evidently only a matter of time when all the Laos and Malay inhabitants will be eliminated and a pure Chinese population established there. The same fate will happen to the Filipinos if Chinese are allowed to enter the islands and come into industrial competition with them. It may be questioned if even the Japanese can withstand competition with Chinese colonists, for although they are far more industrious and economical than any other people save the Chinese, because of their larger proclivities for pleasure they would ultimately lose in a purely economic contest. With the qualities of patient industry and fortitude under adversity in their favor, the Chinese have been constant gainers over the populations on the borders of the empire, even though at times conquered, and frequently suffering terrible losses at their hands—losses that need not to have been sustained had they been endowed with

more bravery or the honesty to maintain a disciplined army. It is entirely owing to the lack of a strong and progressive home government that the Chinese have never, of their own initiative, migrated from the shores of the China Sea or founded colonial dependencies in distant lands. Unless they acquire military prowess their colonial conquests, away from their own borders, must always depend upon the good will of foreign nations. But, whether military achievements are possible to them or not, they are learning to play a diplomatic game, using commercial favors as a fulcrum, in which they may succeed in getting their surplus millions planted on foreign soil to repeat the history of the Far East. Their legions, being dependent upon foreign good will, would in such colonial contest proceed slowly, but none the less surely than have the hosts of the mother country; for no people on earth can permanently hold out against the patient industry and unerring connivance of the Chinese.

THE VITAL TENACITY OF THE RACE.

Although the Mongolian is the least robust in physique of any of the numerically great races, his vital endurance under adverse conditions is unsurpassable. Indeed, it is easily proved that his power to endure climatic severities and unhealthful conditions generally greatly exceeds that of any other people on earth. He thrives equally well in the tropics or in the far north. His near relatives, the Lapps of Europe, the Esquimaux of America and the Tunguses of Asia, live in cheerfulness amid the icy blasts of the Arctic Circle, while the Laos and Malays of Indo China and the Indian seas, who also are his near kinsmen, thrive in malarial marsh and jungle under the burning equatorial sun. A Chinese or Japanese dressed in the costume peculiar to any of these distantly separated localities would be scarcely distinguishable from the natives, and he would easily become acclimated in either extreme of northern or southern temperature. Although they pay slight attention to health and ignore sanitary measures, they are subject to fewer epidemics in proportion to numbers, and are troubled less with colds, fevers and other ailments than the white race with all its scientific precautions. This vital tenacity is shown in infants, who are cared for in a manner that few white children would survive under. A babe will be seen sleeping peacefully slung on the back of a young child at play, its head dangling about in a way that seems almost to wrench its neck out of joint. Then when the awful foot binding operation begins with a Chinese girl two or three years of age the torture is so terrible that it is reasonable to believe but few children of any other race could live through. The breaking of the toes and doubling them under the ball of the foot, followed by bandages that are continually drawn

tighter until a size sufficiently small is attained, causes the child to cry piteously night and day during the first couple of months following the operation. The author has been kept awake many nights in the cities of central China by the moaning of these child victims of a horrible custom; and yet, while a few of them die from lockjaw and mortification of the feet, the death rate from this cause is nothing like as great as one would expect. The ability of the Chinese to use opium without disastrous physical effects is another evidence of their remarkable vitality. Near eight million pounds of Indian opium per year is consumed in China, and although there are no statistics to show the full amount of the native drug used, it is probable that the quantity is sufficient to swell the total opium consumption to somewhere between fifteen and twenty million pounds. Morphia is also extensively imported, and its use is spreading rapidly. While the per capita amount of opium and morphia used in the country may not seem great, it must be borne in mind that at least two-thirds of the population are too poor to indulge at all in the luxury. It is incomprehensible to one bred in western lands how a Mongolian laborer can perform exacting toils upon his meagre diet of rice and vegetables. If no other factor than the mere ability to survive and perform the necessary labors of life cheaply be taken into consideration, the Mongolian is absolutely certain to win over all men in an economic contest. Although white laborers might train themselves to live on a much cheaper diet than is usually the case, their whole organic being would necessarily have to be changed to enable them to subsist in competition with the Mongolian. In short, their minds would have to be dwarfed and their nerves reduced in energy to the Mongolian level to fit them for a life and death contest with that race, with its inferior order of intelligence and aspiration.

That the Mongolian is possessed of the most enduring qualities as a soldier is proved by a study of the Tartar invasions of Europe and of the recent Japanese exploits. The latter at the battle of Mukden fought on for many hours without food or rest, numbers of them falling by the wayside from sheer exhaustion, but wholly undaunted in spirit. The only Mongolian people who have signally failed in heroic bravery are the Chinese, which failure, however, should not be regarded too lightly by their critics. Their failure in war can be partially explained by the as yet unrealized *necessity* for united action against a foreign enemy. The officials and not the rank and file are chiefly to blame in this connection, since their neglect of duty and penchant for robbing the common soldier operate to discourage and demoralize him. Let the Chinese once become infused with the right sentiment, their troops drilled and armed to an equality

with those of other nations, and, as many eminent foreigners have prophesied, the world may have to change its opinion both in regard to their possibilities of patriotic union and efficiency in arms.

II. THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF CHINA.

INFLUENCE OF WESTERN EDUCATION.

A widespread belief obtains among foreigners, including some of those fairly well informed upon the internal affairs of China, that the old empire is on the verge of a political upheaval which may mean the adoption of Western methods and the inauguration of an era of better government and greater prosperity for its people. That there is ground for such belief it is noteworthy that greater leniency is shown toward known or suspected enemies of the dynasty, increased interest in foreign educative methods, and official toleration of what may be termed progressive literature. A constitution for the country has been talked of, and though there seems to be as yet no definite idea as to what form it should take, no one can gainsay that this product of Western education may not in due course bear good fruit. Many missionaries report that of late more students apply to them than they are able to handle, whereas only a few years ago they could scarcely be obtained for any consideration. The desire for Western knowledge owes much to the disastrous failure of the Boxer propaganda, which advocated expulsion of everything foreign and a return to the conditions in vogue prior to the advent of the foreigner. It has been further strengthened by the results of the Russo-Japanese war, in which the successes of the latter were clearly due to their adoption at least of the Western science of warfare. The influence of Western education *per se* is not as yet much in evidence outside the treaty ports, there being apparently not the slightest intention of modernizing the cities of China proper by improving sanitation, adopting street cars or other public utilities. However, such improvements have been discussed in certain quarters, and it would not be altogether out of the question to suppose that efforts in this direction may be attempted in the near future. People at home are often misled, through hearing of street cars being proposed at Shanghai or some other large treaty port, into the supposition that the Chinese are adopting Western methods, when as a matter of fact these are enterprises of foreigners and intended to be established on concessions wholly under foreign control. The Chinese have actually built telegraph lines, arsenals, mints and iron works, also several cotton factories, and the opportunities for money making by the officials in connection with

these government aided enterprises affords an incentive to the undertaking even of railway building. Perhaps one of the most encouraging signs of an awakened spirit in China is the recent opening of schools for girls in several different cities by the Chinese themselves.

So far Western educative influence has not perceptibly influenced the Chinese character as regards honest and conscientious methods. The official in charge of a mint makes his squeeze by adding more than the prescribed amount of copper alloy to the silver coins produced, or by flooding his district with copper cash or paper notes. Military officers are constantly in trouble with their men because of arrears of pay, while the purchaser of military supplies buys cheap and inferior materials and loses no opportunity to put money in his own pocket. To all appearances they would still repeat their methods pursued during the Chino-Japanese war, when several high mandarins became millionaires through the purchase at a heavy discount of out-of-date European firearms, although no suitable cartridges could be obtained for them. They were sent to the army just the same, with misfit cartridges, with the result that when attacked by the Japs the soldiers, unable to fire the guns, promptly threw them away and took to their heels. It is not too much, however, to suppose that the Chinese may, in time, evolve safeguards against the official corruption which at the present time seems so impenetrable a barrier to their national development.

Foreign education does not seem to have had much effect in softening the anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese. They give some evidence of the dawn of a true patriotism, and, were a majority of their countrymen similarly educated, the early attainment of better international terms for China would soon be possible. But with thousands of minds steeped in ignorance to one thus qualified only serves to make that one a dangerous agitator instead of the beneficent teacher he ought to be. The enlightened Mongol does not compare favorably with the average Caucasian similarly advanced above his fellow men; it is pretty safe to assert that of the numerous foreign educated students who have returned to China not one has pursued a course of self sacrifice for the well being of his countrymen. No Chinaman expects to find a self-sacrificing patriot; every one is expected to feather his own nest while serving his country. The growth of anti-foreign sentiment through close contact with foreigners may, after all, be perfectly natural, since the same thing occurs in the most enlightened Christian lands. In California, British Columbia and Australia, where the Mongolians have become numerous, is found the greatest prejudice, while in England, eastern Canada and the eastern States, where

they are seldom seen, there exists no such antipathy. The province of Kwangtung, from which the Chinese in the United States emigrated, is the most bitterly anti-foreign and has taken the most active part in the boycott agitation of any part of China. Instead of the returning emigrants spreading a leaven of enlightenment and a favorable influence toward foreigners, as has often been predicted would be the case, just the reverse has happened. Thus, while Western education certainly enlightens and improves the individual Chinese, at the same time it makes him more aggressive, and he is wont to become a schemer and plotter either against his own government, against foreigners or against some class or clan of his fellow citizens. Such were the men who inaugurated the Taiping rebellion in central China, and the American boycott. Some of them are to-day scheming for the overthrow of the present dynasty in China; others, especially of the Japan educated class, are dreaming of military achievements for the undoing of the white man, while others of lesser enthusiasm confine their brain energies to their personal interests. A search to find one with any substantial and disinterested plan for the betterment of his country would be all but fruitless, though all of them can talk eloquently enough upon what ought to be done and what they would do if given the power.

JAPAN EDUCATED STUDENTS.

At the present time there are Chinese students in Japan to the number of about five thousand, the expenses of some two thousand of whom are paid by the Peking government. These students fraternize with their Japanese cousins in the same manner as do English or German students with young Americans under like circumstances. They are quickly made to feel the ties of racial kinship with the Japanese, and together they soon come to unburden their souls in the discussion of political questions in a way that never occurs between themselves and members of the white race. The result is that the Chinese student in Japan becomes inspired of an ambitious patriotism which would seem for centuries to have lain dormant in the people of the Middle Kingdom.

These students on their return from Japan are thus imbued with a new patriotic fervor, but, as far as outward appearances go, it partakes largely of the kind which looks to turbulent demonstrations for reforming the home government, and to the methods of war for a better adjustment of China's foreign relations. They and their Japanese associates seem to have gotten at second hand certain socialistic theories originating in the

military burdened countries of Europe which they believe may be applied to the oppressed millions of the Orient. The writings of European theorists upon social problems have been more or less badly translated and printed in Japan and thence circulated in China—often with the connivance of the returning students—and their influence upon a few half enlightened and many densely ignorant minds is arousing a spirit of serious discontent. An unruly political element in Japan is thus spreading an agitation in both Corea and China which, helped on by the student class, is preparing the way, mayhap for peaceful progression, but more likely for discord and civil strife. So far the sentiments thus propagated have shown no decisively anti-foreign spirit, though they could readily be turned in that direction. The Japanese aggressives berate the Chinese students upon their nation's tame submission to many indignities at the hands of foreigners, within its own borders and abroad. They urge that China should become a military power under the tutelage of Japan, all of which fires the spirit of many students, who, in turn, excite the ardor of their brethren at home. The Chinese officials have in former years made vigorous efforts to restrain all such reform enthusiasts, but since Japan's victories over the Russians they are inclined to accept almost anything coming from that country as unanswerable logic. In fact, not a few officials now look upon the leadership of Japan as the one great hope of China; but they ordinarily fail to discriminate between the good and the bad which comes from their island neighbors. All classes of Chinese mistrust white men, believing them to be unconscionable oppressors, and there is no attempt to discriminate between nationalities of that race. Hence, when the Japanese aggressives point to the successes of their country through military effort, a hopeful inspiration dawns upon the Celestial mind, and he reasons that what Japan has done China, with her greater numbers and resources can surely accomplish. Many Japanese make the boast that the grand Khans of Tartary were Japanese, and this argument is used to help instil the belief that the island empire is destined to lead the Mongolian hosts to even greater glories than of old. It was the chagrin of this ambitious element in Japan which caused the riots in that country when the terms of peace with Russia were made known. An indemnity from Russia would have left Japan in a position to go to war again on short notice, whereas under present circumstances her ambitions for further conquests will be checked for many years by financial conditions.

Judging from outward appearances, but few of the substantial ideals and methods of the Japanese have seriously impressed the Chinese students; since they have little to say of the large factories at Osaki, the ship yards

at Nagasaki, or the vast merchant marine which Japan has acquired. They recount China's wrongs from foreigners and the feebleness of her government, but fight shy of a solution which suggests many years of industrial and educational development and the gradual elevation thereby of their people to political equality in the fraternity of nations. Their jeers at the students educated in America and Europe, as being semi-foreign, and conservative on the question of political reform, are eagerly joined in by all the turbulent youth of the country. Whether the better elements of the Japanese, who are now emigrating in large numbers to almost every part of China, and the more conservative faction of the native reformers, aided by Chinese officialdom, will be able to hold in bounds the impending revolution remains to be seen. That a storm is brewing few who look beneath the surface of affairs in China will deny; the form it will take depends in a large measure upon the attitude maintained by foreign governments. If the great powers, while still maintaining a discreet military pressure, use their influence to encourage China to follow in the footsteps of Japan in her civic development, all may go well, but if grasping commercial avarice adds further grievances to the already long list—such, for instance, as the extension of foreign shipping, mining and other concessions throughout the interior in competition with the natives, it is probable that the violent factions will gain control, with results disastrous to the empire and, through the demoralization of commerce, great injury to the whole civilized world.

REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES.

That there is a growing restlessness among the younger and more vigorous elements of China, a dissatisfaction with the prevailing order of things, no one can gainsay. There are at present several factions of progressives and malcontents at work, some of which have fairly clear and practical theories upon the path China should follow, and yet others whose propositions are so radical and illusionary as to alarm, not only the native supporters of the old regime, but also foreigners interested in the country who can see naught but bloodshed and anarchy to come out of their proceedings. That serious alarm is felt in high quarters is shown by an imperial decree, issued last month (November, 1905), concerning the revolutionary agitation. This decree, after asserting the present Manchu dynasty to have been the most merciful and lenient in its treatment of the people of China, in comparison with all preceding dynasties, and that the Emperor had lately encouraged every kind of reform in the government on modern lines, utters a solemn warning to malcontents, and instructs Tartar Generals, Viceroys and Provincial Governors to diligently put a stop to the

agitation and to offer rewards for the arrest and punishment as rebels of all who persist in spreading about reports harmful to the peace of the land.

An underlying principle upon which all the disaffected elements of China agree is that of hatred of the present dominating influence of the foreign powers and the desire to in some manner overcome it. The recent success of Japan and the eagerness with which foreign nations are courting her friendship have aroused in the Chinese an ambition for like distinctions for their own country. They feel keenly the odious position of China, with her treaty ports under foreign control, her officials treated as barbarians in not being allowed to try foreigners, or foreign naturalized Chinese, in their courts, no matter how serious their offense; the presence in her inland waters of foreign ships competing on equal terms with native craft, and even foreign postoffices in competition with their own upon their own soil. The anti-foreign agitator finds no end of material upon which to base his arguments against the evils of foreign domination, and the more violent his suggestions of a remedy the more is he listened to by the ignorant rabble. And yet, while the milder propositions of the conservative reformer find few supporters among the masses, since the failure of the wild scheme of the Boxers in 1900 it is interesting to note the influence with the government of those peacefully disposed toward foreigners over the advocates of forceful effort. Chang Chih-tung, one of the Viceroys of the Yangtze Valley who saved that region from devastation by the Boxers, has been exalted to the highest rank of any purely Chinese official in the empire, while Tuan Fong, who was Governor of Shensi province when the order was sent forth from Peking to exterminate the foreigners and who concealed the order and thereby saved the lives of nearly one hundred missionaries, has also been the recipient of high honors and is one of the five high commissioners elected to be sent abroad to study foreign governments. These encouraging features of the Chinese Government give evidence of healthful development that may be destined to lead the country out of its difficulties, but the impartial onlooker can hardly conclude otherwise than that the violent and irresponsible elements of the country at large would prevail at the present time should anything occur to arouse great popular excitement.

The time honored mandarin system, wherein high offices are practically purchased from the Government, and the official allowed to repay himself through extortionate taxation of the people under his charge, is a serious stumbling block in the way of Chinese progress. To collect and honestly hand over the revenues of the country, and to be content with

fixed and moderate salaries, is rather too much to expect of the Chinese officials after the schooling ninety-nine out of every hundred of them has received. Without radical reform of official procedure in this direction it is difficult for the Westerner to see just how any substantial progress can be made in the government of the country. Bribery and corruption, in every conceivable form, is as rampant in the empire now as ever before, and this is the last topic the literati wish to discuss, for the reason that they are all hoping to get office for themselves or their sons and they want the good old get-rich-quick system maintained. If bribery and corruption were done away with and only fixed fees and revenues collected, no office would be worth striving for, the chief incentive to studious preparation for the provincial examinations would be lost, and the hordes of official underlings would have to find other occupations. Then, supposing an entirely new system of government were formed, where are the conscientious and capable officials to come from? Most foreigners would naturally suggest the foreign educated students and missionary proteges, which is in fact the only logical proposition, since all others are practically untouched by any other view of the subject than that of their forefathers. But, even if the better part of the foreign trained men in the country were called upon for this purpose there would not be enough of them to fill one-tenth of the offices in China, and the other nine-tenths would be able easily to overrule and neutralize their influence.

Were a revolution started in China tomorrow, there is everything to indicate that there would be lacking any strong guiding mind to outline and direct its proceedings. Furthermore, there is no intelligent and influential substratum from which to draw secondary leaders and advisers. Finally, confidence and faith in their leaders, having in view any worthy national aim, would be utterly lacking in the rank and file of the army necessary to overcome the Manchu rulers of the country. Consequently, any army the revolutionaries might at the present time get together could only be expected to become what every Chinese army—whether as imperialists or rebels—has proved itself, a ruthless and unruly mob of vampires leaving devastation and ruin in their path. Wherefore, every sign pointing toward an armed revolution, under present conditions, should be taken as a danger sign, portentous of horrors of every description for the Chinese people, with no possible good to come out of it; while on the other hand the best hope of a prosperous future for the nation lies in peaceful industry and educational development on modern lines.

THE AMERICAN BOYCOTT.

In the month of July (1905) the boycott in China was begun against American goods, and this effort to strike a deadly blow at America's trade in the Far East has been in more or less active force up to the present date. Indeed, for a few weeks following its commencement it looked as if Americans themselves in certain parts of China would be so completely tabooed as to compel their migration elsewhere. Inquiries were made as to who were Americans, and their names and places of residence and business connections listed. Hotels and other public places managed by Americans were deserted by all Chinese patrons, and their native servants intimidated and warned to leave. The wildest rumors were set afloat among the ignorant natives concerning atrocities perpetrated upon their defenseless countrymen in America. At one time a report was circulated that all the Chinese in America had been massacred; another stated that the Chinese had rebelled and slaughtered all the Americans! Coolies talked glibly of the terrible vengeance China would visit upon the American barbarians and predicted that it would not be long before the whole of the United States would be in the hands of the Chinese. The more intelligent classes had somewhat milder versions of the state of affairs between the two countries. They solemnly discussed news obtained from somewhere of the appalling condition of trade in America owing to the boycott, making it appear that without the patronage of China about half the population of that country would face starvation. American officials were represented as piteously supplicating the Chinese Government to use its influence to call off the boycott. Certain English newspapers published in China substantially encouraged the boycott by printing accounts of boycott meetings and complaints from Chinese and foreigners against the workings of the Exclusion Act in America, assuming that such restriction and hardships upon an industrious people was altogether wrong and that the Chinese were right in this effort to obtain justice. On the 11th of October an article appeared in the Shanghai "North China Daily News," over the signature "Sinensis," giving what purported to be an extract from a letter written at Toronto by a "British" missionary. The letter, after berating what she termed the medical examination farce at Hongkong, relates the experience of a Chinese boy, who, because he was suffering from an affection of the eyes, was not allowed to land at San Francisco. After recounting the frantic efforts of the father, a merchant in San Francisco, to prevent the boy being sent back to China, she ends it with: "It makes my blood boil to see the way the Chinese are treated and talked of in San Francisco."

The editor apologetically remarks in a footnote: "We insert this letter merely as an account of abuses, which the American Government has practically decided must be abolished with all speed." This article was translated by the vernacular press, with the addition of a few harrowing details, and sent broadcast throughout the country, helping to influence the people against Americans. In the same paper there appeared on September 12th a purported interview with Secretary of War Taft, taken from the "Nan fang pao," published in Shanghai. In this interview Mr. Taft is made to say: "There can be no doubt that the protest you did raise (through the boycott) called the attention of the whole American people to the grave injustice and abuse of the laws of immigration by some of our immigration officers." After stating that it was his purpose to conclude a treaty * * * "that will preclude and eliminate all possibilities of such abuses in the future, so that the exempt classes will, in the future, land on our shores with as much freedom and facility, and be subject to as few formalities as the higher classes from other countries," he goes on to say, in reply to the question as to "whether the stringency against coolie immigration will be released at all," "that at present it was impossible owing to the strong sentiment against it. But," he continued, "in a few years, the very States that oppose it so strongly now, would beg the Chinese laborers to immigrate." As construed and presented to the people by the native press the American Government through its high officials acknowledged itself in the wrong, but was trying to shirk the blame on to certain over-zealous immigration officers, and if the Chinese but kept up their protest long enough America would be only too glad to open the gates to their immigrants. In its issue of December 1st, the above mentioned English paper printed an article under the title "At a boycott meeting," evidently written by a correspondent at Hankow. In this the writer relates that he was a passenger some years ago on an Empress steamer with eight hundred coolies bound for Vancouver, where, on account of a supposed case of smallpox on board, the vessel was put in quarantine for a fortnight on arrival at Victoria. He then describes how some forty beach combers came on board armed with Winchesters and clubs and had the Chinese stripped and given a bath of disinfectants, while their clothing and effects were baked till ruined, etc., etc. The chief point of interest in this part of the story is that it implied Victoria to be an American port, the intention evidently being that when the article should be translated and copied into the Chinese papers it would be set forth as further evidence of the barbarous methods of American officials. That the Japanese have played an important though well concealed part in the boycott is evidenced by the great activity shown by Chinese students

in Japan and the mass of literature on the subject sent from that country into China. The Chinese students there have made continuous and frantic appeals to their people at home to keep up the boycott until the Exclusion Act is repealed. The pamphlets thus sent for circulation in China are filled with harrowing stories of ill treatment of their people by America and remarks upon the insult the whole nation suffers thereby. The adroit play upon the historic pride of the Chinese bears a distinctively Japanese color, and the native press in China have copied and made much of this view of the Exclusion Law. The issue of the "Nan fang pao" of November 14th states one of the demands of the boycott propaganda as follows: * * "that Chinese shall not be singled out for exclusion. It is an insult to our whole country. Either America must exclude all Asiatic labor or admit Chinese who qualify under the general immigration law."

Certain telegrams and messages on the subject of the boycott, purporting to come from high quarters in America, implied that the Government there admitted all the charges of gross injustice, and was willing and eager to make amends by at once repealing the Exclusion Law were it not for the opposition of the working men. This led to many fantastic stories from the agitators, who depicted the American laborer as lazy and dissolute in the extreme. They solemnly stated how one Chinese could do the work of three or four Americans, and that after California had been developed by their industry the perfidious white men were trying to rob them of their just rewards. Many Chinese officials took a hand in encouraging the agitation, and it required all the moral pressure the American Consuls could bring to bear to induce them to in any way interfere with its progress. One official with the rank of a Taotai boasted that he had spent 20,000 taels in telegrams in helping it on. The Chinese clerks in the Custom House at Shanghai and at other ports organized boycott committees and issued circulars, to which even their names and service rank were attached, and distributed them broadcast. These Customs committees laid systematic plans for aiding the boycott, levied contributions on high and low of the native staff and, no doubt, would soon have made their influence felt in the handling of American cargoes if a restraining order from the Inspector General had not checked their progress.

That the Chinese merchants, at least in north China, have little sympathy with the movement is found by the fact that they have continued all along to demand American goods, but, for their own protection, usually requesting importers to represent them as of European origin. The generally speaking superior quality of American manufactures accounts for this preference, and, unless Europeans closely imitate these goods, the demand

for them will continue regardless of the boycott. Although the energy which marked the prosecution of the boycott during the first two months of its inception has waned to a considerable extent in the treaty ports, the propaganda is still being pushed farther and farther inland by paid agitators. Boycott placards have continued to the present date to adorn the walls in many streets in Shanghai, and numerous shops contain notices that American goods are not dealt in. The Cantonese, who have throughout been the most vigorous in its prosecution, have almost invariably the following notice conspicuously displayed in their places of business: "This firm neither buys nor sells American goods." While Shanghai gets the credit for having started the boycott—because of the active zeal of certain so-called students from this quarter who were refused a landing in America—its chief support has been from the Cantonese, who are practically the only people of China directly concerned with the American immigration laws. The massacre in October of five American missionaries at Lien Chou in Kwangtung province, gives evidence of the fierce character of this agitation among the Cantonese as compared with the lukewarm spirit shown by the northern Chinese. While all Chinamen are experienced hands at boycotting, it was no easy task, in north China at least, to keep the masses enthused on the subject after the excitement of the first few weeks was over. No Chinaman is willing to make long continued personal sacrifices in any cause, and he is easily led to suspect his leaders of playing a game in the interest of their own pockets. He may be readily incited to join in a riot or any scheme to injure others if he himself is likely to gain anything thereby, but he is too lethargic for long sustained hatred of or connivance against an enemy. The author has had experience with many boycotts in China, ranging in importance from the petty spite of servants against obnoxious masters to the stoppage of a ship from working cargo because of the behavior of a mate, and in one instance where a whole line of steamers were threatened with boycott unless a captain who had shot a piratical native was discharged. During the summer of 1894 a great strike and boycott occurred at Hongkong because the authorities there took heroic measures to stamp out the black plague. The employes of shipping and other firms quit work, and for weeks trade at Hongkong was about paralyzed. Servants deserted their masters and coolies emigrated in thousands, and during the more acute period British marines had to be called upon to coal merchant vessels leaving the port. Finally rumors were circulated that the British had decided that if the boycott continued much longer the Chinese would be banished from Hongkong and a Japanese

colony established. This caused a panic among the boycott leaders, the strike was called off, and normal conditions were soon restored.

A CONVERSATION WITH AN ANTI-AMERICAN CHINESE.

In the following narrative are presented the salient features of a conversation held with an exceptionally well informed and outspoken Chinese upon American policy in China and the incentives to the boycott:

"After the many kind actions of America toward China do you think it right for her people to carry on the present boycott?"

"What kind actions do you refer to?"

"You know that in 1868 Mr. Burlingame, American Minister to China, helped her in the making of treaties with the leading European powers."

"But America was then in need of Chinese labor in the West and so did us the favors mentioned in consideration of getting coolie immigrants."

"In the American statutes is there not a clause which prohibits our people from dealing in opium in China?"

"There is, though it accomplishes nothing but to embarrass American shipping firms and frequently Chinese shippers also."

"Then in the China-Japan war did not the American Ministers in Peking and Tokio act as intermediaries, and were not prominent Americans appointed to assist China in making a treaty of peace?"

"Yes, America did that, but we naturally suppose she was thinking to gain some advantage for herself by it. However, we duly appreciate the act whatever the motive."

"In the year 1900 did not the American admiral refuse to fire on the Taku forts when the warships of other nations destroyed them?"

"Yes, if you find any glory for your country in that you are welcome to it. Other foreigners say it was most cowardly of your admiral not to take part, seeing the Boxers were doing all in their power to annihilate the Americans."

"During the occupation of Peking by the allied armies were not the American troops forbidden to go on punitive expeditions?"

"They were, but other foreigners did, and so helped to bring the disorders to an end. If all had acted as the Americans the Boxer rebellion would have spread over the whole of China."

"Well, at the termination of hostilities did not America strive to reduce the indemnity, and has she not proposed to return her share for the education of the Chinese youth?"

"This was all for self glorification, as we believe. America has tried to pose before the world as being better than other nations, but we consider her to be actuated by a hope to secure China's everlasting gratitude, and the best share of her trade. We are told that America's plan is to creep in and gain superior advantages after other nations have done the fighting. The Chinese will hardly be bamboozled that way. They are not quite so stupid as the American assumption implies."

"And so you think there is small appreciation of these acts which America looks upon as benevolent, and that there is no likelihood of a revulsion of feeling?"

"There is not much likelihood of remorse on the subject, at least while there is any discrimination against our people in America. Can you tell me why the Chinese are treated so differently from other foreigners there?"

"There are several reasons which might be cited, the principal one being that the Chinese are of a different race from the Americans, with ideas, customs and religions at variance with those prevalent in the country. The European immigrants, on the other hand, are of the same racial stock, have similar aspirations and ideals, and so readily adopt the usages of the land as to become practically indistinguishable from our own people. These immigrants contribute proportionately as much to the wealth and glory of the civilization extant as born Americans, whereas the Chinese send their surplus wealth back to China, spending as little in the country where they make it as possible."

"We are told that the Chinese are treated so badly in America that we hardly deserve to be called men if we do not protest against it in every way possible."

"But do your informants tell you of the indignity your people suffer in not being allowed to land in Australia or Canada without paying a heavy and discriminate poll tax; of South Africa where they are penned up like cattle at the mines, and of the Dutch possessions in Sumatra where they are taken from Swatow and Amoy under contract, held under armed guards and every one deported on expiration of their contract term? Why don't you boycott those countries where Chinamen are discriminated against much more than they are in America?"

"Well, they are countries which have not committed themselves to any fixed policy of the peaceful solution of questions of this kind, and China does not feel strong enough just yet to try an armed contest with them. It would not be consistent with the teachings which America has so loudly proclaimed to us all these years for her to resort to forceful measures, because of a boycott managed in an orderly manner by private citizens. We

do not so much find fault with the treatment our people receive in America as with the trouble and humiliation of landing there. The detention sheds at San Francisco are said to be unfit for even the lowest coolie to live in, and yet well to do merchants and travelers are sometimes kept there like criminals for weeks."

"Such stories originate in the fact that according to present regulations the steamship companies are held responsible for the immigrants they bring, whatever their nationality, until it is decided whether they are eligible to land or not. If their papers are in order and they have no disease classified as infectious they are not detained or inconvenienced in any way. Even the Chinese prohibited from landing are not treated so differently from immigrants of other nationalities. A number of Russians were recently detained at San Francisco, and some of them denied a landing because they had contracted a disease of the eyes while en route through Panama. It was really a pitiable case, the members of several families being thereby separated from each other—the rejected ones being returned to Panama by the steamship company that brought them. There are many diseases in China which Americans naturally wish to keep out of their country. You know there are 60,000 lepers at Canton alone and a little slackness in the medical inspection of Chinese immigrants might permit of that terrible malady gaining a foothold in our country."

"No restriction whatever is placed upon Americans landing in China. What would they say to being detained on a wharf, in a dismal shed, for a couple of weeks while their eligibility to land was being determined?"

"Americans can land without hindrance and carry on business in the treaty ports of China, but to go further inland they must have special passports, which may cost them as much trouble and loss of time to get as it does a Chinese, without the proper documents, to land in the United States. However, if an American, on arrival at any Chinese treaty port, is found to be suffering from an infectious disease, the Maritime Customs officials will place him in quarantine. So there is practically no difference on the subject of landing in either country except in the matter of laborers, and you know very well what a hubbub would be created in China if a few thousand American laborers should land and undertake to compete with the natives. The Americans who come to China do not in any sense compete with the industrial life of the country. They are mainly travelers who spend some money in the country; a few merchants who deal almost exclusively in American goods in wholesale quantities, and missionaries who derive their support from home. Every thousand dollars profit made by Americans in China is offset by millions sent home by the Chinese in

America. Hence, when all the different phases of the interrelationships of the two countries are taken into consideration China, notwithstanding the grievances now complained of, certainly has the best of the bargain. Suppose America retaliates by a counter boycott or by tariff discrimination that would shut off your thriving trade with her?"

"In that case we would, of course, have to call off our boycott and make the best deal we could on the subject. But we have no fears on that point. We know the Americans too well to think they will do anything more than squabble among themselves over the question. We will look on and enjoy the fun of seeing Uncle Sam trying to squirm out of the same diplomatic hole he went in at. He cannot afford to fight after his frantic appeals to the whole world to settle disputes by arbitration. His missionaries have been teaching us these many years that war is a relic of barbarism and that we must pursue the pathway of peace. If he goes to war over a purely commercial proposition he will be accounted by the whole world a mercenary hypocrite. We feel perfectly secure as far as any action against us by the United States is concerned, and all we fear is that our own people will not pull together long enough to gain for our cause all that we desire."

III. CHINA'S GRIEVANCES AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

FOREIGN ENCROACHMENTS AND AGGRESSIONS.

As matters stand at the present time in China, her grievances against foreign nations are numerous, and in many respects of a humiliating nature. Instead of having profited through contact and trade with the foreigner China may be said to have suffered enormous losses in almost every department of her national existence. Before the foreigner came she was a self-sufficient nation, possessed of every character of climate and soil and of industries that supplied all the demands of her people. Her trade was almost entirely of an interstate character, in the carriage of which millions of native craft swarmed upon her coasts and inland waters. The populations surrounding her were her inferiors and vassals, who looked upon the Middle Kingdom as the greatest on earth. With the advent of the white man one train of evils followed quickly upon another, and her efforts to shake herself free from his influence might be compared to the wild floundering of a leviathan of the deep beset by some small but active and implacable foe.

China's first serious difficulty with the foreigner was the opium war with England, in which her stupid though apparently well meant efforts to prevent the sale of the Indian drug to her people resulted most dis-

astrously to herself. As a consequence of this war she paid a heavy indemnity for the opium hulks destroyed at Canton by the Mandarins, and was forced to relinquish the island of Hongkong. Later on treaty ports, concessions and extraterritorial rights were demanded by the various foreign powers, through which China lost sovereignty over many strategic points on her coasts and a large number of her own people as well. Recently the British have enlarged their possessions by acquiring a strip of territory at Kowloon on the mainland opposite Hongkong, and the leasing of Wei Hai Wei on the Gulf of Pechili. The French have encroached upon territory which China regarded as her own on the Cochin China frontier, and has acquired through diplomatic pressure numerous land and mining concessions. The Yu-Man-Tzu rebellion against the Catholic missions in western China in 1898, in which the lives and property of some thousands of converts were destroyed, was made an occasion by the French Government to claim an indemnity of a couple of million taels, and certain land and mining privileges, although the only injury to the subjects of that country consisted in the holding captive for a few months of a French priest. The Germans made an occasion of the killing of two of their missionaries for the exacting of the lease of Kiaochow on the Shantung coast, and have come in for their share of railway and other concessions, while the Japanese, after taking from China the island of Formosa and her protectorate of Korea, had to be paid an indemnity of sixteen million pounds sterling to vacate the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian encroachments in north China and the Japanese acquisitions there are too recent and well known to need recounting here. All of these cessions and leases of territory, indemnities, etc., were obtained from China either through war or aggressive diplomacy. In some instances bribery of high officials played an important part, but it can truthfully be said that China has looked with sorrow and chagrin upon the wresting from her of the natural bulwarks upon her coasts, and the privilege of governing all within her own boundaries. Her acme of sorrow and confusion was thought to have been reached when she was forced to agree to the Boxer indemnity of forty million pounds sterling, but the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war promises yet more territorial losses and perplexities for her government. Since the Boxer calamities, and until the late war upon her borders, she has made some commendable efforts toward finding a remedy for her international complications, but they seem to multiply so fast that while she is groping for light on evils that have grown upon her in the past, new ones are cropping up in all directions.

The presence of foreign naval and military bases upon her coasts and land frontiers not only dims the hope of China's national independence,

but also promises more and more trouble for her through their being made the refuge of her worst criminal and political offenders. The native enemies of the government can go to Port Arthur, Kiaochow, Hongkong or Saigon, and plot as much mischief as they like, since their extradition is generally too tedious and expensive for the Mandarins to undertake. What Canada is to the United States in this respect, each one of the above places is to China—a retreat for her numerous malefactors, political plotters and smugglers.

Near half a dozen foreign governments have established postal agencies in the treaty ports, some of which have been extended far inland. It is partly owing to the competition of these agencies that the Imperial Postal service, which for some years has been in process of development throughout the country, does not pay expenses.

The drain upon the Imperial revenues, through payment of the indemnities has led to various economies in Peking, the which, although humiliating and vexatious to royalty and its vampire host of courtiers, are by no means an unmixed evil. Notable among these is the curtailment of certain former extravagances in royal birthday and other ceremonials, and the recent decision of the Empress Dowager to put the hundred or so of concubines in the Emperor's harem to light manufacturing work.

TRADE AND TARIFF.

Under present conditions in China the wholesale trade, both in imports and exports, is chiefly in the hands of foreign merchant firms. When Chinese capital is employed in wholesale transactions, it is generally under the name of foreign establishments. This condition, although a result of the impotency of the Chinese Government to prevent exactions and squeezes by local officials, who hover like birds of prey over native wealth and prosperity, is nevertheless, for various reasons, a grievance to be complained of. In the first place foreign firms pay no taxes to China, and, being located in the treaty ports, are not amenable to Chinese law. In order to bring them to book for infringements of treaty stipulations the native officials must resort to troublesome and sometimes difficult reference to their Consuls. They occasionally undertake to buy property and to build warehouses or wharves outside the treaty port limits and if the local Consul happens to be very zealous in helping his countrymen it may mean that the case has to be referred to the high authorities at Peking. A purely Chinese concern may use the name of an obliging foreigner to carry on an inland traffic, avoiding thereby certain Mandarin squeezes, which,

although mayhap, according to treaty, illegal, are nevertheless enforced upon native firms, thus placing them at a disadvantage with those under semi-foreign protection. It is an arrangement which profits the foreigner and restrains the native officials, and while not an altogether legitimate grievance, occasions an actual loss to the country and exasperates the official class. It is a grievance for which foreigners cannot be held responsible and which can only be eliminated through a more honorable system of dealing by the officials with their own people. Were it not advantageous to the Chinese at the treaty ports to employ foreign middle men whose names and consular protection afford a barrier to official greed, no foreign firm could exist in China today, for the native merchants have in other respects every capacity and facility to oust them through legitimate competition.

A more real grievance is that of foreign vessels, and native vessels under foreign flags, which, while paying no taxes save port and tonnage dues, have the same privilege in the coasting trade and upon the inland waters as native craft. This foreign competition within her own domains has been forced upon China much against her will by European governments, the excuse being the failure of the natives to open up and develop the inland trade. Under its workings native vessels, which formerly carried all the vast riverine commerce, are giving way to foreign managed, modern equipped steamers. It would seem that native vessels of the same class ought to be able to compete successfully with those owned by foreigners, but owing to the fact that many of the latter are subsidized by their home governments, and that the former are hampered by official taxation and squeezes the advantage is with the foreigner. All the Chinese coasting and large river steamers are officered by foreigners while the crews of both foreign and native vessels are Chinese; wherefore the cost of running them is in this respect practically the same. Only launches and very small steamers under the Chinese flag have up to the present date been officered exclusively by natives, and even these, judging by the number sailing under foreign flags, are outclassed by foreign competitors, or native competitors who obtain foreign registers for their vessels. Japanese coasting and river steamers have a more decided advantage over native vessels of the same class than other foreigners, in that, in addition to being subsidized, they are officered by Japanese whose salaries are far below those of the white officers of the China merchant steamers. Until the Chinese ships are subsidized, and officered by their own men, they will continue to be at a disadvantage in competition with the Japanese, and the latter show every probability of being able eventually to oust the ships of their white competitors.

The tariff grievance of China consists in the treaties with foreign

nations, to which she has been an unwilling partner, which permit of but five per cent. advalorem duty being collected on goods imported from abroad. No nation trading with China, excepting Great Britain, charges less than an average of 25 per cent duty on Chinese goods. She is not allowed to maintain any system of differential tariff to favor the nations charging the least duty on her goods, but under the favored nation clause of the treaties must tax all alike. Her hands being thus tied as regards taxation of foreign imports, in order to obtain a necessary revenue she is compelled to levy an export duty upon her own goods, thereby crippling them in their competition with others in the markets of the world.

The drain upon China's resources through the present state of her foreign commerce may be further estimated by the following figures: Total foreign imports per annum, approximately, value \$200,000,000. Exports to foreign countries value \$150,000,000. Balance against China \$50,000,000. Value of Indian opium imported \$25,000,000 per annum. Of course from the latter item no good whatever can be taken into account. When to these figures are added interest on the indemnities unpaid, and losses through competition of foreign shipping within her own waters, a fair idea is obtained of the disadvantages under which China is placed in the congress of nations. Taken together with official corruption, opium smoking, and the rebellions, which are an almost constant factor in some part of the empire, it is no wonder that although many millions of her people are toiling to their utmost capacity, poverty and misery are broadcast in the land.

MISSIONARIES.

If at the present time a consensus of the true opinion of a majority of the Chinese people were taken to show which of China's sorrows through her international relationships has proved the most objectionable, it would certainly point to the missionary proganda. The real aim of the 5,000, more or less, of foreign missionaries in China is an enigma to the natives. They as a rule believe the inner motive is to form a clan or social organization friendly to foreigners, the which can be relied upon, when their numbers are sufficiently strong, to aid foreign conquest of their country. Few Chinese will admit a belief that the converts are such for any other purpose than material advantages to be gained thereby. They one and all aver that the Christian plan of salvation does not appeal to the reasoning or any other faculties possessed by their race. Its propositions seem to them more mysterious and whimsical than even the traditional myths which the

ignorant natives continue to propagate. Japanese invariably express the same view when finding their questioners disinterested and unbiassed. Both Chinese and Japanese general opinion is that if foreign missions or their funds were withdrawn the Christianity of the converts would vanish like chaff in a gale of wind.

Unitarianism excites some real interest, with the Japanese at least, but the doctrine of the orthodox creeds, except when the occasion demands suavity and diplomacy, they express only contempt for. It seems therefore that the Mongolian faculties attempt no further spiritual insight than that obtained through matter of fact reasoning, and whatever does not appeal to reason is looked upon as appertaining to the fabulous and fit only to interest youthful and unschooled minds. Therefore, while it is easy enough to make ceremonial Christians of the Mongolians, to give them the spiritual principle of Christianity is a more difficult proposition, as is evidenced in the fact of their showing no emotional or conscientious awakening at the time of conversion or afterward. The Caucasian convert shows heartfelt emotion and conscientious repentance for sins of the past; but it appears that no such feeling can be aroused in any Mongolian, though he may simulate it if anything is to be gained thereby. The deeper thinking Chinese, therefore, have the gravest apprehensions as to what the native Christians will do if they should gain strength and power in the empire. They point to many wrong doings of the converts, and while admitting them to be no worse than are possible from other Chinese of the same class, this is claimed as proof that the new religion has not improved their moral status. The pro-Boxer edicts issued at Peking in 1900 cite the misdeeds of the converts and the enmity between them and the other natives as an intolerable grievance.

It is feared, if the time honored veneration for Confucianism be taken from the Chinese, and they become divided up among the various Christian sects, there will remain no common ties to hold them together and that civil strife and anarchy will prevail. The Taiping rebels are suggested as the kind of Christians the Chinese are likely to become. This rebellion was started some fifty years ago by Christian converts whose dream was to evangelize the empire by force of arms, and its propaganda was for several years attended by great successes. The Taipings captured Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow, and other large cities and held them against the Imperial troops until a foreign drilled army under General Gordon finally vanquished them. Their methods did not improve with increase of power; on the contrary their Christianity degenerated into the grossest paganism. They murdered in cold blood millions of the peaceable and helpless inhabi-

tants of the cities they captured, and throughout their conduct gave not the slightest hope that if they succeeded in conquering the empire a better government than the existing one would ensue. It has been computed that in this rebellion 30,000,000 lives were sacrificed, and an untold amount of wealth destroyed. The fanatical zeal of these so-called Christians led them to destroy the finest palaces and temples in central China, among them being the porcelain tower of Nanking, one of the "seven wonders of the world." Masses of ruins of once magnificent edifices are still a prominent feature in the cities they dominated, silent though terrible witnesses of the fanaticism possible to men of the intellectual status prevalent in those regions, no matter what religious doctrine they may claim to serve.

The Yu Man-tzu anti-Christian rebellion, which took place in Szechwan province in 1898, is charged to the aggression of the Catholic propaganda and its converts who number many thousands in that region. These rebels, who at one time numbered some twenty thousand men, under their chief, Yu Man-tzu, devastated a region several hundred square miles in extent and sacrificed probably one hundred thousand lives. When the rebellion was crushed and the settlement came the French Government took up the cause of the church and exacted a large indemnity, and a number of land and mining concessions on the upper Yangtze river. Somewhat similar was the procedure of Germany who in reparation for the murder of two German missionaries demanded and obtained the port of Kiaochow, from which she has built a railway into Shantung province and otherwise advanced her political footing.

In the year 1899 the Chinese government, under pressure from France, gave political status as follows to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy: Bishops to be placed in rank and dignity the equals of, and entitled to demand to interview, Viceroys and Governors; Vicars-General and Arch Deacons to be the equals of and entitled to see Provincial Treasurers, Judges and Taotais. Other priests to demand to see Prefects of the first and second class, Subprefects, etc., the native functionaries concerned to respond, according to their rank, with the same courtesies. No one unacquainted with the social system of China can fairly estimate the power and opportunities for its abuse which this concession confers. While it may be supposed that few foreign missionaries would themselves abuse the official position thus held, it is absolutely certain that their native converts and helpers in general will find means of so doing. This phase of the question was carefully discussed at the time by the Protestant missionaries, and to their credit it was decided not to accept like powers for themselves, although

according to the favored nation clause of the international treaties they were entitled to do so.

It is evident that missionary influence among the natives has greatly increased since the defeat of the Boxers, and while this gives encouragement to those who hope for the ultimate Christianization of China, the adherents of the old system apprehend therefrom much strife and bloodshed. That this apprehension is felt by missionaries also, a sentence from Broomhall's "Martyred Missionaries" (introductory page 10) may be worth taking note of. After quoting Christ's statement that he came not to send peace on the earth but a sword, the writer goes on to say: "That Christian missions have aroused this antagonism in China and that a stern conflict of life and death has begun there, the church of Christ must unreservedly acknowledge." There have recently been efforts made by certain missions to have their student graduates recognized as qualified for designate officials in the same manner as graduates in the regular Provincial examinations. This the Government proposes not to do, unless the graduates declare their adherence to the principles of Confucianism. Open persecution of the so-called renegade native converts, it is realized, might mean another armed conflict with foreign powers, but China seems determined to continue the effort to prevent Christianity from gaining a respectable footing in the country through preventing any one being appointed to high office who is supposed to be attainted with its doctrines.

REASONS FOR SOME OF THE GRIEVANCES.

It may be said that the primal origin of every disadvantage which China now suffers in her international relationships is traceable to the blundering stupidity and dishonesty of her officials. Were she able to correct these faults in her officialdom, all her claims for better treatment from foreigners would be listened to and in due course adjusted. Her first war with England was in consequence of the arbitrary acts of her officials in burning the opium hulks at Canton, thus destroying millions of dollars worth of property for which she refused to pay. Of the British prisoners taken during that war some were carried about the country in cages and treated like wild animals on exhibition, while others were killed by slow torture. Owing to their having subjected foreign prisoners to torture in their courts, after the manner of native malefactors, and their total lack of justice in litigation cases, extraterritorial rights were demanded by all Christian powers; wherefore matters at law, wherein foreigners are concerned, have since been dealt with by consuls of the different nations.

China's plea concerning this grievance is that she did not treat foreigners worse than her own subjects under similar circumstances. This may be true enough, but foreign nations refused to allow their citizens, who might be wholly innocent or their crimes not serious, to be put to physical torture which in some instances drove the victims to insanity. Mongolians, whose nerves are not developed to the acuteness of the Caucasians, can stoically endure these tortures, and such barbarous methods may be necessary in dealing with the worst class of native criminals. The inborn dishonesty of the race makes each individual distrustful of his neighbor, and no man is expected to tell a truth that injures his case without being compelled to do so. China has throughout the past shown unwillingness or inability to protect foreigners in the country, whether as travelers, traders or missionaries. Several distinguished travelers, and hundreds of missionaries and others have been set upon by vicious mobs, maltreated and murdered, and in no instance has redress been obtained without the pressure of foreign governments upon the high authorities. Even at the present day it is the belief throughout the world that no foreigner would be safe in any part of China if foreign navies were not hovering upon the coasts and inland waterways.

It was owing to the maladministration of her custom houses on the coast that the foreign customs inspectorate was established, which institution now employs some 1300 foreigners and more than three times that number of native helpers. Bribery and corruption prevailed in her customs department under native rule, and the cargo of no vessel received ready and systematic discharge without the paying of heavy squeezes, nor did any merchant know when he had finally settled his customs account. When the foreign inspectorate was tried at Shanghai and Canton forty-five years ago and the government found that not only were foreign traders satisfied, but that its own revenues were increased many fold, its workings were extended to all the treaty ports; and, while it was expected that the Chinese would themselves soon be able to run the service, the number of foreign employes has been constantly increased down to the present day. The customs service is not generally considered in the light of a grievance against the foreigner, but rather a necessary evil resultant of his presence. Although the high pay of this foreign staff is a matter to be complained of, the vast revenue collected and honestly accounted for serves to silence every proposition for change. The Chinese government knows very well that under native administration it could not expect half the revenue collected to be turned in; then, if the foreign commissioners of customs were dispensed with, it would lose the valuable advisory and diplomatic services

they render in dealing with aggressive foreign officials who are constantly making demands of one kind or another.

China's grievance on the postal question can hardly be adjusted until the staff of the imperial postal service, which now employs about 3500 native clerks and agents, who are being trained on foreign lines under the Customs Inspectorate, shall have been brought to a state of reliable efficiency and distributed throughout the empire. At present the Imperial postoffice is competed with by dozens of native postal hong, which do a thriving business on their own account. These private postoffices receive the support of nearly all the officials who in conjunction with the merchant guilds practically boycott the I. P. O. to a condition in which, even if foreign competition were withdrawn, it cannot pay expenses. While China is too weak, or indifferent upon the subject, to supplant the native postal firms by a single national system on modern lines, foreign governments are likely to continue their own agencies, in the treaty ports at least. The Chinese government, in its efforts to establish a national postal system, affords to the onlooker a strange paradox, in that, while being accredited as cruelly despotic with its own subjects, it is too timid to do away with the private native competition. The cause is mainly in the still deeply ingrained hatred by the officials and literati in general of everything foreign; though even with their support time will be required to train up the many thousands of native clerks necessary for the work. A considerable percentage of the best qualified clerks, whenever placed in positions of trust, have proved dishonest, and these have to be weeded out and others put in training for their places.

China's treatment of missionaries, to say the least, has been unwise. While the officials cannot be expected in every instance to afford protection against mobs of enraged and fanatical natives, it has been found that in the majority of massacres certain responsible officers were either lax in vigilance or secretly encouraged the evil doers. Then, instead of getting together all of the facts concerning the actions of over zealous or otherwise obnoxious missionaries and their converts and publishing them to the world, thereby making their own troubles and views on the situation clear, they have invariably kept sullen silence. By reason of this silence the missionaries are enabled at all times to make out a good cause for themselves and a bad one for Chinese officials, and the civilized world passes judgment accordingly.

The failure of China to grasp the situation resulting from her contact with nations more civilized than herself has brought forth the long list of evils of which she now complains. Had she profited by experience and

improved her opportunities as the Japanese have done, and applied modern methods to the opening up of her resources, she would have forestalled all foreign enterprises within her borders and retained their profits for her own people. The foreigner seeing vast undeveloped resources in the country naturally seeks in some way to profit by them. Mineral wealth lying idle, opportunities for transportation systems that would open up new regions to commercial enterprise, tempt the enlightened foreigner to try to impress their value upon the official mind of China, and failing in this, he turns to his own government for assistance. To sum up the situation, the officials, instead of being alert to their own and the nation's vital interests, have cultivated the seductions of their harems and the opium pipe until their opportunities have been well nigh exhausted. Now that their resources have dwindled down through the taking over of a large portion of the internal customs collection by the Foreign Inspectorate, and through payment of indemnities, while the international complications are growing apace, they are showing some signs of awaking from the dream of holding on to a civilization that belongs to a past age. It is a somewhat discouraging sign, however, that the first impulse of China's awakening is to turn upon the nation that has done the least in the way of encroachment and most in benevolence toward her people.

IV. AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

(ATTITUDE ASSUMED TOWARD CHINA.

In general terms the policy pursued by America in dealing with China has been that of a strong and self-reliant world power, with a weak and incompetent people. And yet she has, in certain respects, gone further than any other nation toward recognition of the Chinese government as a civilized and responsible power; for instance, refusing, whenever possible, to resort to coercive measures when treaty violations have occurred. The treaties between the two countries evidence America as inspired by a sentimental desire to encourage and uplift the Chinese people, while China, on her part, displays no other motive than to make the best of a purely business transaction. While at the time of making the first treaty there may have been a thought to gain some advantage with the Chinese through running counter to Great Britain, whose methods in the opium war and territorial encroachments were strongly resented by China, humanitarian principles afforded the more potential force in shaping the attitude which has since prevailed. The American attitude of disinterested benevolence has gone so far, in fact, as to seriously hamper and restrict the enterprise of its own citizens in China, as compared with the opportunities enjoyed by other nationalities.

Her laws, for instance, prohibit Americans from selling opium to the Chinese and American ships from carrying the drug to any Chinese port. This may, to people at home, seem a trivial sacrifice to American interests, but when trade conditions on the China coast are studied in detail it is found a considerable disadvantage, especially to shipping firms, which sometimes lose opportunities to handle consignments of cargo because a chest of opium is included. A native merchant may have a shipment of goods amounting to many tons which is to be sent say from Hongkong to Shanghai. An American steamer is ready to sail, with plenty of space for the cargo, and her owners are eager to take it, but finding a package of opium in the lot are compelled to refuse that part of it. Whereupon the merchant, not wishing to separate his goods, looks about for a ship the nationality of which is not hampered by such restrictions. On some of the inland waterways native junks are chartered by foreign firms, and foreigners lend their names to Chinese firms in order to escape certain taxes and extortions by the native customs. In such enterprises Americans are always outclassed because their junks cannot transport native opium, which, especially on the upper Yangtze River, is an important article of commerce. These restrictions, taken together with the relatively high consular fees, the red tape connected with shipping—which other nations have simplified in the interest of their people—and the unwillingness of the American Government to take coercive action when occasion demands, it is no wonder that American firms are scarce in China.

The parental policy of the American Government in restricting, and refusal to encourage, the enterprise of its citizens, as compared with other foreigners, however benevolent its intention, is little appreciated by the Chinese, but seems more offensive than otherwise, since it assumes to place them in the category of South Sea Islanders and American Indians, who require special laws to protect them from the vices and the avarice of the white man.

INCONSISTENT TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

The treatment accorded to the Chinese by America, when looked at from an unbiased standpoint, shows certain inconsistencies and a lack of well defined and diplomatic method. On the one hand she professes a benevolent interest in the Chinese people and solicitude for their destiny, and on the other makes an exceptional law to exclude them from her shores. While she pats the Chinaman on the back and claims to be his best friend, she singles him out from all the peoples of the earth for special legislation against. This is made the harder for the Chinese to grasp by the effusive

denial of any such thing as race prejudice influencing her procedure. If it is not my race and color, asks the Chinaman, then what is it about me that you object to? It is a question difficult to answer without telling the truth, which is simply that in every section of the United States, except certain Eastern States, it is the Chinaman's racial characteristics, if not his color, which count against him. Industrially he is the acknowledged superior of all men. He will work longer hours for less pay, and give less trouble over it, than any other type of humanity on the American continent. But few Americans will honestly tell the Chinese that being of a radically different race and regarded as intellectually and morally inferior to the white man, they are undesirable immigrants, and it is this disposition to prevaricate upon the subject of exclusion, while preaching the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, that brings them into disrepute.

It is not to be wondered at that America should fail to realize expected benefits from her one-sided benevolence, and professed aversion to war, with a cunning and evasive people like the Chinese, especially with no trained diplomats to explain details, befuddle their minds and to watch and counter their schemes. Europeans may understand and appreciate the so-called straightforward, outspoken, policy of America, but such diplomacy does not work well with Asiatics. There needs be much reserve and secrecy, holding back of a trump card, as it were, or a leverage of some kind wherewith to badger and awe the natives when difficulties are threatened. Instead of proclaiming outright that she does not want any Chinese territory and asserting her intentions to use her influence to check the ambitions of other powers in this direction, it would serve American interests better to say that while having no desire to grasp territory she might do so in certain emergencies. A position of this kind is maintained by the European powers, in consequence of which the Chinese government is careful not to give them the excuse for the aggressions they are supposed to desire. This method China pursues with her own subjects, as shown by the words "tremble and obey" which terminate every imperial edict of importance, and all officials and their underlings are popularly understood to be eagerly awaiting any indiscretion that will give them an opportunity to blackmail and squeeze money out of the offender.

Many American travelers and others with some little knowledge of China write to, or get interviewed by home newspapers, and give one-sided or useless information, or, as is sometimes the case, merely stories gotten up to suit private aims or opinions. False ideas in regard to China seem to have taken precedence in America over correct ones, and these have had much to do with the causes and continuation of the present boycott. Much has been written concerning the favors which ought to be shown to Chinese students on arrival in America. According to some of these would-be instructors of the people the student ought to be met at the steamer which lands him by a brass band and a deputation of the leading officials and citizens of the port, and so toadied to and fawned upon as to completely turn his head and make him thereafter an advocate of everything American. Now the average Chinese student ought to be accredited with enough manliness to resent any special attentions, and to prefer being treated, not as

a gaudy savage, but as a full-blown man—just as a French or German student entering the country would be served. The fact is that Chinamen of the better class will appreciate being left severely alone, or treated in a common sense way, neither to be fawned upon or sneered at because of their race or nationality. It has also been loudly asserted that America's position in regard to the "Open Door" and the integrity of the empire would prove a guarantee of special favors in commerce. Seeing that this policy utterly failed to have any softening effect upon the boycott, is it not more reasonable to suppose that the best guarantee of satisfactory trade relations lies in mutually advantageous business methods? China may at some future time be able successfully to resist such forceful pressure as can now be put upon her by any foreign power with a few war ships, but business relations that are profitable to her people will always be held in high esteem, and no fanatical passions can do permanent harm in this direction. Of course the boycott is dangled before American eyes as being the result of an offended public sentiment, and as such it seems to have so far had remarkable success; but the agitators have told the natives a different story to keep them in line. The game is worth playing for, they say. Every Chinaman it may get into the United States is good for ten thousand dollars in gold for the Flowery Kingdom, while the possibilities of the future are unbounded. The first great proclamation issued by the boycott propaganda expounds much more upon the disadvantages to China through the exclusion of her *coolies* than upon the offending of officials and students by the immigration authorities.

Every excuse for the exclusion law to the Chinese seems weak and indefensible save that of race prejudice and desire for race preservation. This position they can readily comprehend, and, as far as their own domains are concerned, they intend to enforce this principle to the utmost of their ability. China for the "blackhaired brotherhood" is their slogan, and the idea of colonization anywhere near them by the "red-haired devils" is considered the most calamitous possibility imaginable. But, they argue, America disclaims any thought of reserving North America for the white man, for she has put herself on record as favoring the principle that all men should be on an equal footing there in the struggle of life. Most missionaries and many American officials are enthusiastic in impressing this feature of American opinion upon the Chinese, which, being in contradiction to the spirit of the Exclusion law and the social reception of their brethren in the United States, makes the position of that country most inconsistent and confusing. To the Chinese the policy of exclusion presents a somewhat lesser force in America than the sentiment of benevolent regard for China, or the vanity to make such display, and in this they perceive a weakness wherein lies their opportunity. Neither Australian nor Canadian exclusion laws are complained of, evidently because the British government professes no special affection for the Chinese, but simply deals with them as seems expedient to the interest of its own people. America, to be consistent, must drop either her exclusion policy or throw off the mask and let the Chinese understand that she has no special regard for them, and in future will merely look after her own material interests in the Far East.

THE AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

For various reasons the members of the American consular department in China have not maintained an equal standard of power and influence with their colleagues representing other civilized nations. One of the factors which has told against them is their comparative newness to office and want of experience with the customs and traditions of the people; a still more important one is their inability to speak the Chinese language. The service, in general, having been recruited under the partisan spoils system, no consular has considered it worth while to enter upon the task of acquiring so difficult a language, not knowing how soon he might be ousted from office. Furthermore, the service is, comparatively speaking, poorly paid, and this has led to unseemly scandals by certain enterprising men of the service trying to make both ends meet. The other great powers have established consular services in China on strict civil service lines, entirely disconnected from home politics. Only young men are eligible to join, and they are required to study and pass yearly examinations in the Chinese language. They are promoted by degrees from assistants to consuls and consuls-general, which system insures their good conduct and gives them something to look forward to as an inducement to remain in the service. Hence, by the time they come to be placed in charge of a consulate they are familiar with the ideas and methods of the natives and sufficiently acquainted with the language to deal directly with the mandarins—either conversationally or in writing. This latter accomplishment, in Chinese official estimation, elevates the possessor to the rank of a learned man and an equal with themselves; whereas the foreigner, whatever his rank, unable to speak or write Chinese is regarded as an untutored barbarian. The interpreters employed by American consuls are usually a bad lot, capable of manipulating all sorts of schemes to profit themselves. When the native official speaks no foreign language, as is usually the case, these interpreters are able often to carry on enterprises under the very nose of, and even to place whatever blame is attached upon the consul himself. Hence it is that the Chinese officials look with a certain contempt upon American consuls, and sometimes consider them culpable of the sins which their native underlings have committed.

Most of the American consuls appointed to China are old men, who have either failed in business at home, or who have sought the office merely for the distinction attached thereto or to see something of the outside world. In the latter case they have no intention of staying long and therefore feel but a small measure of interest in their charge. Young and vigorous men, like some of the vice-consuls now in the service, with the vague opportunities they have of promotion, will only remain until something better turns up. In this practical age few men can be expected to sacrifice the best part of their lives for their country without being suitably paid for it.

The American nation is as able to pay good salaries to its consuls as any country on earth, and it is time that its self respect urged the relegation to obscurity of the antiquated system which has dictated appointments to this service. Only good pay will attract good men, and only young men, inspired with the prospect of promotion according to merits and willing to

make their career in China, will give all round satisfactory results. A young man with weak or vicious tendencies will be certain to give evidence of them and be eliminated from the service before he is in a position to disgrace it, and thus its good repute will be maintained. Neither overzealous church men nor social reprobates, just from home and imbued with home influences, can make satisfactory consuls. Preferably, let us have hard-headed, practical men who, from experience, will estimate the natives as they really are and not as they ought to or might be, and who also will not accept their generously proffered presents, the which are always given in the expectation of getting much more than their value in return.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

NEW CONDITIONS DEMAND CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY.

The conditions which now obtain in China, as compared with the political status of the country when the first American treaty with her was made, indicate that several matters require a more thorough understanding and that certain changes in the terms of that instrument would be mutually advantageous. That China is fully awake to her unfavorable position, and eager to be recognized as a responsible, self-contained power, is very apparent, though the methods by which an improvement is to be achieved are not by any means clear to her statesmen. The ugly mood she is now showing through the boycott should be taken as indicative of her actual feelings toward all foreigners, though in outward manifestation it seems to reveal her proverbial disposition to mistreat friends and truckle to enemies, and unreasonably find more fault with the mild and persuasive course of America than with other powers who are straightforward in letting her know their arguments are backed by military force. To most Americans it probably looks like base ingratitude on the part of the Chinese to boycott and do all in their power to ruin American trade in seeming forgetfulness of the many favors they have received. But it must be taken into consideration that the Chinese are every inch Orientals, who make no claims to sentimental benevolence, nor do they promise any rewards for its practice toward themselves. They look upon international relationships from a strictly business standpoint, and presuppose America will steer a course profitable to her own interests. They do not pretend to understand disinterested affection, nor do they ask charitable concessions to which any obligations are attached. From the Chinese standpoint they owe America nothing whatever. They made the best treaty they were able to with the United States Government; if further concessions could have been gained in the transaction they would not have been slow to take advantage of them. They would have been glad to have excluded American missionaries from the country, or at least to have confined their work to the treaty ports, and they see in their being allowed to preach in the interior a concession to America worth all the advantages obtained for themselves. What would America say to the Chinese demanding that Confucian missions be specially protected in that country, that its missionaries be exempt from trial in American courts and

that their converts receive a semi-protection from the Chinese Government? The humiliation which this feature of the international treaties places upon China, especially when official status, as in the case of the Catholic missionaries, is demanded, and the trouble and expense of the officials through their litigation cases are considered, counterbalances, in the Chinese estimation, most if not all of the concessions and protective influence they receive from America or any other country. The harping by Americans upon the subject of gratitude for past favors only seems to irritate the Chinese and excite their contempt. They assume a bargain of the past is not a matter of present concern; the living question is to see which can get the better of the other in the new treaty. They are playing a deep game themselves, from which they hope to win something of permanent value; wherefore the agitators of the boycott are doing all in their power to keep alive the flagging interest in their cause until a new and, from their standpoint, a more satisfactory treaty is made. A thing is not highly estimated by an Oriental which is obtained with ease, or that is thrown at him as a gift. He can barter all day with a hard customer without losing his temper or feeling the least enmity, whatever the result.

The opium clause in the American treaty appears to be disliked rather than appreciated by the Chinese, probably because it implies that they are weaklings incapable of taking care of themselves. If the opium traffic was in violation of Chinese law, this attitude would be unobjectionable, but being legalized, it seems meddlesome and out of place. Were England willing to sacrifice the opium trade between India and China, it would be possible for the latter to legislate against the growing of the native drug and so redeem the nation from this terrible curse. It is open to question whether China would undertake to do this or not, since a heavy loss of revenue would result therefrom, as well as numerous opportunities for profits to the officials. At any rate, the American restriction upon its citizens concerning the opium traffic, under present conditions, or any conditions likely to ensue, serves no good purpose to the Chinese, but constitutes one of the disadvantages to American interests in China.

Among the disadvantages under which Americans in China are placed is the subsidizing by other foreign governments of the coast and river shipping of their nationals. They also acquire and develop land concessions, build jetties and other facilities at the treaty ports, and reduce all consular charges and formalities to a minimum. America does none of those things for her people, but holds on to methods that both handicap and discourage enterprise. As a rule the American consular fees are more than double those of other nationalities, while the red tape connected therewith is oftentimes most exasperating. Passports to go into the interior are issued by consuls of other nations, without formality or delay, and at a cost of a couple of Mexican dollars. Passports for Americans issued in China have to be forwarded to Peking for the Minister's countersignature, which causes a delay of from one to three months, according to locality, and costing several times the above amount. The author some three years ago obtained a passport through the American Consul at Hankow. It required more than a

month to get the document back from Peking, and its cost was eight Mexican dollars.

The benefits interchanged between America and China are in several respects incongruous and one-sided. While the Chinese in America, with their entire freedom of competition with its citizens, are sending home millions of dollars of American gold every year, the Americans in China, not supported from home, with the many restrictions placed upon them, have hard work to make both ends meet. America is open from ocean to ocean for Chinese to engage in any enterprise they may choose. Americans in China can only undertake certain lines of business *in the treaty ports*, the rest of the country being closed against them. While China is demanding freer access to America for her people, she will not for a moment listen to any suggestion of greater freedom for American enterprise within her own borders. In fact, in addition to the boycott, she has done all possible to prevent American capital being invested in the country for any purpose. She cancelled the American concession to build the Hankow-Canton Railway, and at once went to England and France to borrow the money to complete it.

The policy of forceful pressure upon China will evidently be a necessity until the old system has entirely given way to something better, and the common people have become in a measure inspired with the spirit which prevails among the better class of foreign educated students. How long this will take is a question no one at the present day is competent to answer. A glance at the status of intelligence prevalent with the native population outside the treaty ports shows little to inspire hope that the present generation at least will witness much change. The only really hopeful feature is found in the foreign educated students, and the majority of these, when not under the direct influence of foreigners or the more conservative Japanese, are so violent or impractical in their ideas as to suggest more of fear than hope from them. However, that they have been able to exert a powerful and salutary influence upon the general government of China is very evident. The starting of a commission abroad to investigate foreign methods is largely a result of the representations of the students. As to how much they will learn is a matter for conjecture, since of the five high commissioners detailed not one speaks any foreign language or can be said to have even a rudimentary knowledge of the Western sciences. At Hankow some three years ago the author was present when the Commissioner of Customs received a call from one of the most prominent members of this commission, when a few remarks in English were passed concerning the Venezuelan difficulty then in process. On the Mandarin enquiring what was the topic of our conversation, his interpreter undertook to explain it to him, meanwhile using his best diplomacy to conceal his master's ignorance upon the situation. As we understood the language they were speaking it was easy for us to see that the Mandarin had never heard of Venezuela before, and that it was a hard task for the interpreter to give him any idea as to its size and in what part of the world it was located. It is to be feared that the minds of the Commissioners have waited too long for impressions of the great outer world to receive much during their journeys that will be of use

in remodeling the Chinese Government. And yet, whether they achieve anything of purpose or not, the fact of their going shows that even Chinese officialdom has partly gotten over the belief that the Middle Kingdom is the greatest nation on earth, and that the civilization of the "outer barbarian" is not worth considering.

While the policy of compulsion is still, and will probably continue to be for yet many years, a necessity with the Western governments in their dealings with China, there evidently ought to be more and more consideration shown for the slowly increasing enlightenment of the country. This should be so tempered as to encourage Chinese progress upon conservative lines and to discourage the fanatical and violent elements that are ever ready to spring into being.

It would seem that Japan ought to establish a censorship of the literature which is now extensively printed in her domain and circulated in China, for much of this literature is of a vicious and revolutionary character, calculated to do naught but harm in the present formative stage of China's awakening.

The boycott, and the violence and losses to native commerce attendant upon it, is considered by most foreigners in China as a legitimate outcome of a weak and undignified policy wholly unsuited to Asiatics. It is generally believed that China will have to be legislated for and treaties forced upon her until she learns international manners and is able to maintain order in her domain. She will for yet many years have to be regarded as an unwieldy mass of humanity unable to control her many millions of ignorant and debased people, and which requires the military assistance of foreign powers to hold them in order. During the month of September last, when the rioters at Amoy were destroying the Custom House and proceeding to burn and loot other buildings, a British warship landed marines who charged and dispersed the mob and quickly restored order. The Chinese Government found no fault with this action, in fact was very thankful for it, since its own slow and bungling officials would have done nothing until heavy losses had been sustained. The Chinese officials have not, as a rule, the power at hand to quell a mob, or if so they fear serious consequences from attacking rioters. Rebellions are easily started in China and soldiers sent to quell them are readily won over to the enemy, if seeing better pay or chances for loot. The rebellion started several years ago in Kwangsi province is still pursuing its career of devastation and misery. The Mandarin in many respects has his hands tied in matters requiring force with any strong clan or social organization, and until the Imperial Government gains more strength and influence with the people, the help of foreign powers in controlling at least the coast and river population will be needed.

That America has played a losing game in her complex and, to the Chinese, confusing methods, is evidenced in the small number of Americans doing business in the Far East, as compared with other foreigners, in her ridiculous share of barely one per cent of the shipping tonnage on the coast, and also in the boycott which would never have assumed any serious proportions had forceful pressure been invoked instead of parleying. The

Chinese were diplomats enough to realize that America was fatally handicapped by her professions and policy in the past, the which assumed that a reasonable appeal to the Chinese government was sufficient to check all the wrong doings of the natives. Another nation, not handicapped by professed intentions of settling grievances by peaceful arbitration instead of by the sword, upon seeing the possibilities of the boycott, and that the Mandarins were encouraging it, would have simply sent a fleet to Shanghai or Canton held up the China merchant steamers and given the Peking government a week to end the agitation. It would have ended promptly, and to the mutual benefit of all concerned. It is freely admitted by all well informed Chinese that so far they have been much heavier losers through the boycott than the Americans, and they also admit a foreboding of evil for the internal affairs of their country as a result of the officials allowing the passions of the ignorant people to be fanned aflame by lying agitators. For whatever sorrows may come upon China in consequence of this fanatical agitation, the United States government will be held blameworthy, even by the Chinese themselves, for not having taken timely measures to stop it—not by conciliatory appeals, which only encourage their passions once they have entered upon a contest—but by determined display of naval force. Such a demonstration would have been of invaluable service to the Chinese government—in quelling an agitation dangerous to its own interests—for it is as yet, and is likely to continue for many years to come, virtually incapable of governing its own subjects on civilized lines, without foreign aid.

MONGOLIAN IDEAS OF DIPLOMACY.

The Mongolian mind is as a sealed book to most Westerners, so careful are its inner workings guarded by the race. In every day life they train themselves to disguise the innermost feelings and to simulate whatever disposition will best serve the purpose in view. In mercantile barter, or in the hiring of help or conveyances, the Mongolian always assumes an air of entire indifference as to whether he gets what he is bargaining for or not. He poses as if should he not get it remarkably cheap he can just as well do without it, all to the purpose of deceiving the other party as to his real motive. Thus they become experts at any kind of diplomatic bluff or deception and also quick to discern the disposition or designs of others. The naturally straightforward Caucasian is no match for them in this respect until he has had experience with their methods. In the boycott the Chinese diplomats have constantly presented to the Americans the spectacle of a grievously offended people trying to make known their feelings to a great and benevolent nation, and they have found hundreds of impulsive Americans to join in the chorus and proclaim the righteousness of their cause, that China has at last awakened to a sense of her national dignity, etc. While this play upon American sentiment has been going on, a very different phase of the drama has been enacted behind the scenes in China. The agitators paid by the funds of the coolie brokers and forced contributions from merchants have preached the doctrine broadcast that an effective

boycott would compel America to repeal the Exclusion law and to admit Chinese the same as other immigrants. It is pointed out that if this happens millions of Chinese can go to America and get rich, just as a couple of hundred thousand have done in the past. The ignorant people are told that American prosperity depends on commerce, and that if this trade is suspended long enough the Americans will be starving. Some of the agitators have gone so far as to say that if a few hundred thousand Chinese can be settled in America, in time they will be able to control the politics of the country and eventually to overcome and exterminate the hated white men. Very little of the native exhortations upon this subject have been translated into English, but enough has come to light to show that the offended dignity of Chinese travelers, etc., landing in America has had little to do with the case, except to be made use of in the diplomatic campaign.

The white man must be of an exceptionally skeptical and suspicious disposition not to be more or less misled by the plausibility of Chinese diplomacy. They are experts at any kind of deception, and the ease with which they impose upon missionaries and others, even after they have been many years in the country, is remarkable. Many of the Chinese students and others of the race in America become good diplomatic agents for their country. They discover what the Americans desire them to be and for the time being act up to that standard, often encouraging in the good church people the fond hope that China will soon be Christianized. Ability to wield power, and especially the cunning to attain it, excites the highest admiration and respect in the Mongolian mind. Mongolians will respect a government, no matter how cruel or corrupt its methods, so long as it can enforce its decrees; but its influence with them wanes quickly through defeat, or even leniency, which latter is always classed with weakness. After the display of power by foreigners in the conquest of the Boxers, the desire of the natives for Western knowledge rapidly increased, and foreigners even in the distant interior were treated with a degree of respect previously unknown. This does not necessarily imply any greater love for foreigners or even a desire to be on friendly terms with them, but should rather be taken as evidence of increased respect for their power and an awakened sense of the necessity for China to acquire this peculiar power for her own protection as a nation. Now, while the Chinese are not blind to their present deficiencies, a majority of them still assume that their country holds, or should hold, an arrogant position as the greatest among the nations, and the attitude of what is termed "Young China" tends to encourage this assumption. Wherefore, nations making treaties with China will do well to take this sentiment into consideration and carefully avoid whatsoever smacks of the parental and protective sympathy order, or in any way places her along with small countries or helpless savages.

CONCERNING MISSIONARIES.

The position which America has assumed with regard to missionaries in China differs but little from that of the other Christian powers. From a Chinese point of view she has been comparatively liberal on the subject, especially as regards converts, and in demanding compensation for lives lost and property destroyed, and the only point of criticism they make concerns the general principle of missionary effort. American missionaries at the present time in China number about one thousand, and, estimating their salaries at one hundred dollars each per month, and their expenditures on schools, hospitals and churches at nearly as much they may be said to cost America annually more than two million dollars. This large number of intelligent Americans are spending the best part of their lives in China, struggling against many adverse conditions, and much American money as well, in trying to convert the Chinese to Christian ideals. This seems a clear sacrifice on the part of America, since China expends nothing in a benevolent way outside her own domains. From a Chinese standpoint, however, it is a large concession to America to allow her missionaries to propagate their doctrines in China at all. The good accomplished, they say, does not compensate the evils which the country suffers from their presence. These evils are chiefly due, they admit, to the converts, who are generally looked upon as such for the material advantages derived through connection with the missions. Without the inducement of material advantages, they argue, converts would be few indeed. Their arguments, however, can be said to be neutralized by the proposition that if the convert uses his connection with missionaries to protect himself from the rapacity of the Mandarins, or even to encroach upon his neighbors, he is nevertheless a Chinese subject and Chinese officialdom shows pitiable weakness in not being able to deal with its own people, whatever their cult or creed, in a manner through which foreign governments could find no occasion for protest. It can be said that the converts, however despicable they may be as a class, are never so bad as to justify extermination or even the petty spite and annoyance to which they are frequently subjected. Since it has been proved almost impossible for a convert to obtain justice in a native court without missionary aid it has come about that every missionary in charge of a station is placed in the position of an attorney, and where converts are numerous the dealing with law cases occupies a large share of his time. This state of things had much to do with the demand of the Catholic priests to be empowered with the rank and dignity to compel the Mandarins to deal honorably with the converts.

The statistics of the Protestant missions in China show about two hundred and fifty thousand converts and communicants. Some allowance for exaggeration of numbers, at least in the case of those termed "communicants" will probably not be amiss. The following, which is the substance of a story related to the author by a missionary friend, illustrates the opportunities and temptations to overstate the number of inquirers, or applicants, for church membership. The missionary in question visited a certain village in Southern China whose "head man," so-called, happened

to be a rather strong minded woman. To this personage the advantages of Christianity were so eloquently expounded that she asked to have the whole of the two hundred odd inhabitants of the village registered as Christians. To the suggestion that there should be due consideration of the subject by each individual concerned, she replied that it did not matter, that they would all do as she willed. When, however, in the course of a month or so the missionary called again, the village gates were closed against him. The head woman had changed her mind and there was not a Christian in the place. It is through the impractical and often whimsical methods and reports of the missionaries that they are brought into disparagement with other foreigners in China. They in many instances seem to have become so wrapped up in the interests of the class of natives with whom they work as to feel neither regard for the rest of the population of China nor for what is of vital importance to their own country. Most of them would like, on returning to America, to bring a dozen or so of their converts along for the pleasure of pointing out to them the glories of American civilization, and so they find fault with the Exclusion law which interferes with this childish desire. It is natural, however, that in such surroundings as most of them are placed their minds should become warped and out of harmony with practical events. A missionary who undertakes to preach upon the great problems of the higher civilization, or even upon the essential spirit of religion, will find himself misunderstood by the primitive natives and will make few converts, while a small politician who concerns himself with trivial household affairs, and promises a measure of protection to their few belongings, will have many flocking to his standard. Among missionaries there are to be found a few astute and scheming minds who are generally regarded as more or less unscrupulous, especially in reports upon the progress of their work, but who are at the same time the successful organizers and gainers of a native following; but the majority are so ultra religious as to make them appear the most impractical people on earth. With Mongolians, who give little or no evidence of the higher spiritual perceptions, the former type of missionary will prevail, but with Caucasians only those of the latter disposition are successful in making converts. Thus, a thoroughly practical business minister usually shows woeful lack of spiritual enthusiasm, and his preaching is attended by meagre results. This may be said to be due to the fact that religion, in its highest sense, ignores the baser world and concerns itself wholly with the supermundane and spiritual. How to harmonize a practical, enterprising life with the exalted principles of religion is one of the great problems. Christ advised a certain rich man who aspired to the higher spiritual life to sell all he had and give to the poor, thereby giving it as His opinion that material and spiritual prosperity are diametrically opposed to each other. What this has to do with America's official dealings with China is that the results of missionary work there, viewed from a disinterested standpoint, show a confused mixture of good and evil, with the latter, up to the present date, greatly in the ascendency, and that if missionary effort were not encouraged by foreign governments, or were confined to the treaty ports, many serious complications would be averted. It is the general verdict of foreign residents in China, not

connected with the missions, that foreign women and children at least should not be taken into the interior. Free and disinterested discussion of the missionary question with the Chinese literati invariably brings forth the admission that while the missions do a great amount of benevolent work and seem to them inspired with every desire to benefit China, owing to their drawing hard and fast lines between their followers and other natives, very serious consequences are likely to ensue. As a rule only such members of the literati as have no foreign education will give their views freely upon this subject, it being useless to question those who speak English, since they are usually beneficiaries of the missions or of foreigners in some capacity, and so realize it as bad grace to pass any adverse criticisms.

There is but one course for the missionaries to pursue to avert disastrous clashings with the natives and endangering the future peace of China, and that is to teach no creed doctrines whatever, but to confine their efforts to the regeneration of Confucianism with the ethics of Christian civilization. What is broadly termed Confucianism may be said to cover the Buddhist, Taoist, and other native religions, although the Chinese themselves make certain distinctions between them. From a strictly Chinese point of view only the literati, or at least such as are able to comprehend the ancient classics, are true Confucians. However, as practically all Chinese, unless the Mahommedans of the northwest be excepted, take part in the same ceremonials, it is proper enough for general purposes, for Confucianism to be termed the religion of China. Now in esoteric Confucianism there is nothing immoral or in any sense repugnant to Christianity; the pagan ceremonials prevalent have little to do with the classical teachings of Confucius or his disciples, neither are they advocated by Buddhism proper. Such Joss ceremonials (like those practised in the basic forms of Christianity) are simply an outgrowth of gross ignorance and superstition. Hence it would seem that if Confucianism proper be accepted as the fixed and permanent religion of China, and the work of Christian missionaries be confined to the infusion of new life into its time-worn doctrines, in connection with schools and other benevolent institutions, the good will of all classes of Chinese can be relied upon, and the dark suspicions of foreign designs in this connection will be allayed. For such work many of the missionaries at present in China are wholly unsuited, they being so hide bound in their respective creeds as to incapacitate them from teaching Christian ethics upon any broad or comprehensive basis. The numerous dissensions which occur between the converts of different church denominations are pointed at by thoughtful Chinese as evidence of a dangerously antagonistic spirit. Catholic and Protestant converts occasionally have pitched battles with each other, and were their numbers sufficiently strong these collisions might develop into civil war. Such conflicts under present conditions are generally regarded in the nature of clan fights, which are common occurrences in China, and simply show that the converts regard themselves as clansmen for mutual benefits obtainable therefrom under the semi barbaric social system of the country.

As has already been suggested, the Mongolian is practically devoid of the faculty of intuitive spiritual enthusiasm, which is present either in a

dormant or more or less perfected state in the Caucasian mind. If this hypothesis is correct the Chinese can never become Christians as the term applies to conscientious Caucasians. It is possible they might eventually adopt Christianity as a creed, but whether it would elevate the national character in the least is open to grave doubt. They have degraded Buddhism to a mere system of idol worship, while the philosophy of the Confucian classics is understood by but few and its principles are practised by none.

REASONS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF MONGOLIANS.

Since the enactment of the first effective Exclusion law in 1888, the Chinese population in the United States has been reduced from some 300,000 to 120,000. With the departure of so large a proportion of these people from the American shores the strong sentiment against their presence which formerly prevailed has been somewhat softened, and there is a disposition to relax the barriers, if not to the extent of their increase in the country, at least to permit the present number being maintained. Those who can see any profit to themselves in Chinese immigration are eager to take advantage of this sentiment to make their influence felt in Washington. Missionary and other sentimentalists are also at work on the side of the Chinese in their effort to secure more favorable terms. Their loudest plea is that American commerce would be greatly benefited through the presence in America of more of the merchant and student classes of Chinese.

As regards students coming to America to be educated little need be said, that is if they are genuine students with means to pay their own way. And yet it is a fact that a majority of these students, on returning to China, become the most pronounced enemies of America. As a youth in an American college, the recipient of special attentions from every one, the Chinese student is good natured and calculated to make a favorable impression upon every one, but when afterward facing the stern realities of life in his own country, his disposition changes, and if finding himself more popular through denouncing foreigners, he is likely to exaggerate every ill feature of the land he can pretend to know all about. As for Chinese merchants, whose wealth and influence some people have proclaimed would so greatly benefit America, when viewed in detail they are not what distant imagination pictures them to be. There are practically no Chinese merchants with capital of their own to invest who have any desire to come to America. The rate of interest on money in China is at least fifty per cent higher than in the United States and the opportunities for profitable investments are also greater, so that in the nature of things at the present time the tendency is for capitalists to come to instead of to go from the Far East. There are, of course, millions of Chinese eager to go to the United States and there make the money to become merchants. Every Chinaman who has attained to the rank of a merchant in America would be glad to bring over as many of his relatives as possible to assist in the expansion of his business, and who would succeed himself when he retires to the Flowery Kingdom. The real Chinese merchant from China would be utterly help-

less in America without underlings as well as patrons of his own race, and this would necessitate letting in more coolies, or those slightly above the coolie class.

There are already enough Chinese merchants in America to meet all the demands of the Mongolian population, and surely no one desires to see them taking the place of white merchants or manufacturers in the general trade of the country. There are many reasons why Mongolian competitors in the internal trade of America should be discouraged. For instance, they will employ no white help if it can be avoided, their living expenses are not much above those of the coolies, and they would contribute nothing toward the upkeep of schools, churches and charitable institutions. Consequently they could easily undersell and drive Americans out of business. There is no merchant on earth more expert in the adulteration of food than the Chinese. Every article of food in China capable of adulteration is so dealt with, and an entire lack of conscience marks the methods used. Thrusting sand down the throat of a fowl and filling its crop to add to its weight, and the skillful insertion of slices of an inferior quality of meat in a roast of beef or mutton are common practices, while milk, which they absolutely refuse to sell pure, is diluted with whatever kind of pond or well water happens to be convenient. Vermicelli and other cereal productions which will absorb a good deal of moisture without detection are spattered over with water from the merchant's mouth to give it extra weight when delivered to a customer. Do Americans want these merchants, who are schooled in every conceivable device for defrauding their fellow beings, as competitors with white men, the majority of whom are honest in their dealings, who have respectable families, and who in general help to keep up the present high civilization of the country? Why should the Chinese merchant be allowed free competition in America when the American merchant in China is under so many restrictions? There can be cited but few Americans who, even prior to the boycott, have prospered in the Chinese treaty ports, and these have been most lavish in their expenditures for local improvements and charities. They employ many Chinese assistants and go-betweens in their dealings, so that it can truthfully be said that the natives have in every case made ten times as much out of the business concerned as the American merchant. No American retail merchant can possibly exist in China proper in competition with the natives, and, even as wholesalers in the treaty ports, the best share of their profits goes to the latter. Since the American merchant in China has to get on with native help, it seems no more than fair that Chinese merchants in America be told to employ the white help of the country instead of sending to China for it. As a matter of fact all the mercantile transactions which now take place, or may hereafter develop between the two countries, can prosper with no more than a hundred or so either of American merchants being located in China or a like number of Chinese merchants in America.

The sentiment prevailing in American policy since the Civil War, which proclaims the universal brotherhood of mankind and endeavors to eliminate racial distinctions, is mainly responsible for a peculiar leniency toward China, regardless of her shortcomings, which would hardly be

shown toward any Christian power. The reverse of this sentiment, frequently stigmatized as unreasoning race prejudice, which is manifest in the Southern States and in the West, and which is responsible for the laws against intermarriages between whites and negroes and whites and Mongolians, separate traveling and hotel accommodations, etc., form the backbone of the natural as well as philosophical opposition to colored immigration, whatever the nationality concerned. It is oftentimes asserted that the laboring men are the only opponents of the free admission of Mongolians to the country, and this has come to be a fixed belief in the minds of the Chinese. In contradiction of this it may be safely asserted that the money powers so interested could easily break down the comparatively feeble barrier which laboring men can oppose were it not for the support of an aroused race prejudice in which is enlisted some of the deepest thinking minds of the country. This prejudice (race loyalty would be a better term) is as strongly marked in the disinterested and non-sentimental wealthy and middle classes, of the South and West at least, as among the laboring men, though the latter are forced to greater energy in all exclusion efforts by the dire necessity of their position. Competition with coolie labor in the West prognosticates for the laborer all the evils of competition with negro labor in the South, while the social problem involved in having the country teeming with yellow men, brings forth the as yet less vigorous though equally earnest protest of all men capable of feeling any regard for the future of the nation. It thus appears that the sentiment which proposes to ignore racial distinctions and would give the same opportunities to Mongolians as to white immigrants, comes from the Eastern States where there have never been sufficient numbers of any colored people to arouse race antipathy. Caucasians being naturally the most charitable and humane of all men, it requires such special conditions as prevail in the South and West to arouse in them the baser prejudices which are found ever present in other races. Should negroes or Mongolians invade the East in such proportionate numbers as obtain in the South and West, race prejudice, now latent there, would come to the fore and special legislation against them would become popular. Australia and British Columbia have had sufficient experience with the dark races to bring forth this latent antipathy, as shown by the former colony's rigid exclusion of East Indians, South Sea Islanders and Mongolians, and the latter's poll tax of five hundred dollars a head upon Chinese. The latter has also made several attempts to exclude Japanese immigrants, but so far has been frustrated by the Canadian Government.

It is scarcely two years since Chinese coolies were admitted to South Africa. but a cry has already been heard from that unfortunate land for their deportation. Commercial England will probably not heed the cry and the white race will have to face the alternative of emigrating or entering upon another deadly conflict with the British Government.

There is every reason to believe that Mongolian immigration is destined to be a permanent and serious question for the whole of North America. Whatever the present or any future American Congress may do to weaken the exclusion barriers will only serve to excite the Orientals to

stronger efforts for further victories in this direction. The Japanese Government may for a time do something to divert its emigrants into Korea and Manchuria, in the hope of expanding its empire in that direction. But their success in this grand enterprise would mean the eventual ability to bring stronger power to bear upon America in forcing down all barriers to their free immigration with an infinitely larger population to draw upon. America's best hope for the maintenance of her present race and civilization against a possible future mighty Asia lies in the rapid increase of her white population in the West. That would stop the present cry for more laborers, and help also to dispel the dream of the Mongolians of ultimate conquest of the continent. Diplomacy will necessarily have to be made a more careful study than hitherto by America, in order to combat the many schemes the Mongolians will try in the interest of their colonists. If military force be impracticable, then boycott will have to be met with counter boycott or tariff legislation that will bring equal harm upon the aggressor. When the Oriental finds that a boycott can be worked both ways, and that mutual trade relations are the more to be desired, he will drop that form of persuasion and accept the inevitable with good grace.

The fertility and strong parental qualities of the Mongolians are important factors to be considered in connection with their immigration. The average Mongolian woman will bring a child into the world every year and, according to their means, no people on earth show better care for their offspring. No babies are destroyed in China because of dislike of the burdens entailed in their bringing up; the meanest coolie will rear all the children he can support. A woman defective in child-bearing is looked upon as accursed and only fit to be a servant; and should her husband be possessed of the means he will not hesitate to relegate her to that position and look for another wife. The author, during his stay in Swatow, became acquainted with a wealthy Chinese who had married his fourth wife during a period of a dozen years and yet had no children. This misfortune was looked upon as due to some malignant influence, for the banishment of which many experiments, mainly of the Joss ceremonial order, were tried. He was the laughing stock of his native village, and his mental perturbation over the fact of his being childless was most pitiable. Aside from the priesthood there are practically neither old bachelors nor old maids among Orientals, the religious obligation to become parents approaches a mania with them all, and that they will outstrip the Caucasians of America in race propagation admits of no doubt should their colonies there once obtain a firm footing. Owing to this peculiar mania, which with the Chinese is intensified by the Confucian doctrine of the necessity for posterity to pray their souls out of purgatory, the better classes of Chinese are married when mere children. Parents are so eager to secure to themselves and their offspring the spiritual blessings promised by their faith, as well as the peculiar honor which obtains in Chinese society through the birth of grandchildren, that they will seldom wait for their sons to complete their education, according to foreign standards, to have them married. These early marriages, taken together with the ignoring of the law of natural or love selection, doubtless accounts for much of the stupidity and physical defectiveness of the Chinese,

in comparison with other branches of the Mongolian family. Thus, while the upper classes of white Americans, for reasons often not creditable to themselves, are poor in offspring, Mongolians, no matter how wealthy they may become, appear to lose none of the primitive desire for a great posterity. It may be said that the principle of the survival of the fittest, from an industrial and physical endurance standpoint, would give the world to the Mongolians, but that for spiritually progressive and humanitarian reasons, it ought to continue to be dominated by the Caucasians. Survival of the latter, who, generally speaking, live for more than mere material aims, depends upon their protection from close competitive contact with the former, who practically live only for the baser functions of a semi-animal existence.

Americans have been misled as to the capacities of the Mongolians as colonists because the Chinese immigrants have shown but small increase through birthrate. The causes of this poor showing are not far to seek. In the first place, the Chinese have been dissatisfied in the presence of superior numbers of white men, with whose laws and customs they have no sympathy, so that few entertained the intention of remaining in the country longer than necessary to get what would be to them a fortune in China. They may be said thus far to have yielded to the general law that the dominating presence of any race of mankind acts as a discouraging blight upon all others who by reason of their blood and civilized standard are unassimilative. A sufficient increase of the Mongolian element on the Pacific Coast would have a similarly discouraging effect upon the white inhabitants. It would also turn back the tide of white immigration in like manner as the presence of the negro in the South repels white settlers in that region. The Mongolian, however, cannot be so completely discouraged in immigration for the reason that his own country is overcrowded and the opportunity to get rich in America will serve to hold his racial antipathies in abeyance. The aversion of the Chinese immigrants to the white Americans would be endured in patience were they able to bring their wives and families into the country in sufficient numbers. Once get real colonies of them started, where they can build their villages and enjoy their customs in their own peculiar way, and the question of their colonizing power will no longer be a doubtful one. The Japanese are much less exclusive than the Chinese, their women are more intelligent and are allowed more liberties, and there is every evidence to show that they will colonize readily, even in the midst of the white Americans. Their adaptability in this respect makes them possibly more to be feared than the Chinese, for while they are always loyal to their own people, they will intermingle freely with the whites until their numbers are sufficiently augmented for communities of their own. In this free intermingling they become alert to every advantage for themselves and every weakness of the white man, and efficient spies and helpers of the diplomats of their own country. So long as but few Mongolian women succeed in getting into America there is no practical danger of their forming separate colonies; the natural prejudice between the races can be relied upon under present conditions to prevent intermarriages on an extensive scale.

Had the white colonists to the United States been cut off from the European nations when they were only a million or so in numbers, they would in course of time have intermarried with the Indians and Negroes, and a mixed race would have resulted, as in the case of the Mongolian Huns, Turks and Russian Tartars. This intermixture of inferior blood would have lowered the skull development of the Anglo-Americans to the level of that of the modern Huns, Turks and Tartar-Slavs, and their civilization would never have risen above that of the Balkan States or of Central America. If Central and South America can get pure Caucasian immigrants in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the Mongol and Negro'd elements now predominant there, their civilization will rise accordingly; without such immigration the intellectual and moral status of those regions will improve but little upon present conditions. America can not get too many immigrants from Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia, where the Caucasian blood is comparatively pure, nor can she for her own good get too few from any part of Asia, Africa, or even from Southern Europe. In Southern Europe the Caucasian blood has been largely diluted with that of the Asiatic and the African; and while such immigrants are far more desirable than pure Mongolians, the inferior and anarchistic strain in their blood speaks strongly against them.

Those who seek to instil confusion into anti-Mongolian sentiment invariably ask the question, why exclude the industrious law-abiding Chinese or Japanese and allow the ferocious and anarchistic aliens from Southern Europe to come in? The answer is that the immigration of neither of these elements should be allowed, for the simple reason that one is pure Mongol and the other part Mongol. While the part Mongol is a fiercer and more dangerous man than the pure Mongol, it is really the better choice to take him, because of the white strain he possesses than to undertake to assimilate a straight-out alien. There may be enough pure Caucasian blood in America to assimilate and ennoble a few million mixed blood people from Southern Europe, but not enough to so deal with a like number of pure Mongolians. A mixed race, or ever growing Mongolian colonies in their midst, is what the Americans have to consider who care aught for posterity. Had our forefathers thought a little more upon this subject when they were importing negro slaves a different state of things would now be present in the South. No Civil War would have ever taken place, no billion dollar national debt, no hundred million dollars a year pension roll, while the South as well as the North, would have remained a white man's country. But commercial considerations won the day and the cry that cheap labor was necessary to develop the resources of the South was the one which prevailed. And the resources were developed, yes out of existence, as may be seen in the deserted cabins and defunct cotton fields which abound in that section. As a result of this vigorous enterprise with slave labor we find one-half of the population of the South of the intellectual and moral standard of Dahomey and the other half, although of Caucasian lineage, dispirited and enfeebled through the presence in their midst of an inferior and servile people. The plaintive cry of commercialism to-day is the same as that which went up a century ago for more slaves. Exploiters of

shipping, railway, mining and other interests see untold wealth (for themselves) in freer Mongolian immigration, and those interests are able to "influence" Congress in their favor. It is for the labor organizations of the country and those patriots not so blinded by the craze for money making as to forget the permanent well being of the land, to make the fight against the yellow hordes now eagerly seeking admission.

In considering Mongolian immigration, the United States must naturally be concerned with the contiguous territories of Canada and Mexico. If Mongolians are allowed free entrance to either of those countries, they cannot be permanently restrained from coming over the border lines. If only coming over at the rate of a dozen a week they may be gathered up and deported, but if it be at the rate of a hundred or more a day, it would soon bankrupt the government to undertake their arrest and deportation? The Anglo-Japanese alliance is already bearing fruit in Canada and Australia, where the British government is exerting itself to break down all impediments to free Japanese immigration. That alliance is ominous for the United States, not only in the matter of naval command of the Pacific Ocean, but also as likely to force unlimited Asiatic immigration into British America. An East Indian influx into Canada has now set in, every steamer from Hongkong bringing a dozen or more of these aliens to Vancouver. The Mongoloid blood of Mexico exceeds the Caucasian strain, and there is consequently a stronger sympathy for Asiatics than for white men. The extensive colonization of Asiatics in that country will make Mexico a permanent enemy of the United States, that is if the latter remains a white man's country. The colonization of Mexico by pure Caucasians would tend to bring the two countries closer together and to insure lasting peace between them. What applies to Mexico applies in a measure to Cuba and other West India islands, and, in a lesser degree to the whole of Central America.

TRUTH *versus* FICTION

JUSTICE

versus

PREJUDICE

MEAT FOR ALL, NOT FOR A FEW

A PLAIN AND UNVARNISHED
STATEMENT

WHY Exclusion Laws against the Chinese
Should NOT be Re-enacted.

RESPECT TREATIES, AND MAKE GENERAL,
NOT SPECIAL, LAWS.



INTRODUCTION.

Inasmuch as the laws excluding Chinese emigration are not only to be re-enacted but made more drastic in their enforcement, it behooves thinking men and patriotic Americans to calmly review the history of this legislation, and the present condition, which, instead of calling for severer laws, should under all the circumstances demand less restrictive legislation and more humane interpretation by the executive branches of our Government. It is most unfortunate that questions of vital moment, such as call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship, are always discussed from the standpoint of party politics or local conditions, and that right of independent judgment is made subversive to catch the votes of the mob. The labor union organizations of the country, especially of the Pacific Coast, have formulated documents to prove that the Chinese emigration is a menace and danger to our institutions, undermining the fabric of our Government, and will destroy, if permitted, American labor. They have issued through their Washington branch a pamphlet that appeals to the prejudice and the baser passions of the American people, without one single thought of strengthening their position, and to bring home to the American people the facts that surround this Chinese exclusion legislation is the aim and object of this pamphlet. It is inspired by no thought to array class against class or to foment prejudice; on the contrary, it is to allay differences, and to show, if possible, that it is unwise and unpatriotic to discriminate in legislation; that whatever laws are to be enacted by Congress are to be uniform in their application and should not discriminate against any human being, no matter where he may have been born; that if emigration should be restricted, it should apply to every emigrant, whether born in Europe or Asia, for through such legislation only can laws be respected and enforced.

The pamphlet of the labor union, among other things, says :

On the 5th page, it is stated that there had arrived in California in 1868 about 80,000 Chinese.

This is wrong. According to the United States Census there were in the whole United States, in 1860, 34,933 Chinese, and, in 1870, 63,249 Chinese.

The statement that the Chinese who came to California were slaves of the Six Companies, and practically chattels, is absolutely false.

The so-called Six Companies are really benevolent associations. They give relief to the needy and take care of them in trouble. They do not control the persons or movements of the Chinese in this country in any way. It is true that there are some Chinese secret societies in San Francisco called "Tongs." These "Tongs" have aims something like those of the labor unions, and have just as much control over their members as the labor unions have over their members.

As to the Chinese in other parts of the country than the State of California, they have nothing to do with the Six Companies or Tongs.

Page 7. It is true that there are a few highbinders in San Francisco. These are desperate characters who came to this country some years ago after committing serious offenses in China. They are really fugitives from justice. It is learned that the Chinese Minister is willing to co-operate with the United States Government to have these men arrested and sent back to China for trial and punishment.

Pages 8, 9, and 10. In regard to Chinese competition, it may be said that Chinese do not work for less wages than other people. According to the information furnished by an employment bureau, a Chinese cook cannot be had for less than \$40 or \$50 a month. This does not look like cheap labor.

Baron von Hubner, former Austrian Ambassador to France, was only a traveller passing through the United States. He

only gave his impressions in his discourse delivered at the Oriental Museum, in Vienna. He cannot be cited as an authority. But what he says about the Chinese in Singapore and other British settlements in the Far East clearly shows that Chinese make desirable immigrants. The English are certainly good colonizers. They know the value of the Chinese in their Eastern Possessions, and give them every inducement to come and settle there. Singapore, Penang, and other English colonies in the East could not have attained their present prosperous condition without the Chinese.

Page 12. It is stated that both Gen. Otis and Gen. McArthur were opposed to unrestricted Chinese immigration into the Philippines. In his report, Gen. McArthur takes the strange position of recommending the exclusion of Chinese from the Philippines on account of their virtues. This only serves to stir up race prejudice. The Filipinos are certainly not so enterprising as the Chinese. No statesman would think of excluding them from the islands. All the reliable authorities agree that Chinese labor is indispensable to the development of the Philippines. So long have the Chinese been resorting to those islands for purposes of trade and residence that they have now a vested interest there. Free intercourse and commerce were guaranteed to the Chinese by a treaty between China and Spain. But as soon as these islands passed under the control of the United States, Gen. Otis, in his capacity as military commander, issued an order excluding all Chinese from landing, in plain violation of law and international usage, without the knowledge and previous sanction of the President and the Secretary of War.

Referring to the economic conditions of the Philippine Islands, United States Consul-General Wildman, of Hongkong, says in a report in 1898 :

“Broadly speaking, there is not an industry in the Islands (Philippines) that will not be ruined, if Chinese labor is not allowed.”

Again, in the following year, speaking of the possibility of competing at Manila with the extensive manufactories at Hongkong, he says:

“It would only be possible if Chinese labor were admitted freely.”

Page 14. In regard to the general sentiment said to be against the Chinese on the Pacific coast, it is not strictly true.

Joaquin Miller, says in the *North American Review* for December, 1901:

“I repeat that all the tax-paying and substantial citizens of our cities and the real laborers of our Pacific Empire, from Alaska to San Diego, want and need these people (the Chinese) with us. * * * My work as a teacher, talker at teachers' institutes, colleges and so on, has, in the last four years, taken me into nearly every county in Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana, and I have nowhere heard one voice in favor of the Chinese Exclusion Act, but the contrary, at all times and places. The Chinese are particularly wanted in the great Southwest.”

Page 15. The table purporting to give the class of labor, average wages, etc., of Chinese in California, compiled by John S. Enos, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California from 1883 to 1886, is not particularly reliable. In any case he describes the condition of things of nearly twenty years ago. The times have changed since then. It is a fact that Chinese appreciate the value of their labor now, and they will not work for less than white laborers.

It is absurd to say that the Chinese in the United States obtain 75 per cent. of their food from China and send 75 per cent. of their earnings to China. Chinese have acquired extravagant habits from contact with the American people. It is a well-known fact that thousands of Chinese in California,

who have been in this country many years, have spent all that they have made, and saved nothing.

Pages 18 and 19. It is stated that Chinese labor degrades labor as slave labor did. This is not so. It is a well-known fact that there is a scarcity of labor in the agricultural districts. Owing to the exclusion law, fields lie uncultivated for lack of labor. It is to the interest of farmers to be able to obtain any other kind of labor when white labor cannot be had.

Senator Morton, when he was at the head of the Congressional Committee which investigated the Chinese question, said :

“That they have injuriously interfered with the white people of California, or have done them a serious injury, may well be doubted. The great fact is there is to-day and has always been a scarcity of labor on the Pacific coast. There is work for all who are there, both white and Mongolian, and the State would undoubtedly develop much more rapidly were there more and cheaper labor. There was much intelligent testimony to the fact that the Chinese by their labor opened up large avenues and demand for white labor. The Chinese performed the lowest kind, while whites monopolized that of a superior character.”

Pages 19-21. The old story about the Chinese, in their habits and customs, violating every principle and rule of hygiene is here repeated, but the Chinese in this regard, are no worse than the Italians or the Hungarians, in cities or places where there are no Chinese. Sanitary laws have to be enacted and enforced to meet such a situation. In every country there are some people who are filthy in their habits.

Pages 22-28. It is not necessary to say much in reply to what is said there in regard to the moral standard of the Chinese. Suffice it to say that any one who takes up a copy of the *New York Journal* can find a state of things equally bad among the people of other nationalities in New York.

Pages 28-29. Opium is imported into this country by Americans. Chinese are prohibited from bringing opium into this country by treaty between China and the United States. If there are opium dens in San Francisco and other American cities, the Americans have only themselves to blame, for China has done her utmost to put a stop to that traffic.

Page 29. It is stated that the Chinese buy very little from the United States, their entire trade amounting to but 77 cents per head, against \$1.03 per head of the people of Anstralia. This shows only that, the trade between China and the United States is still in its infancy, and is capable of vast development. Now that the United States, by the acquisition of the Philippines, has practically become the next-door neighbor to China, the development of trade between the two countries is not a matter of small moment. It concerns the future growth and prosperity of the Pacific slope. It affects the demand for labor on the Pacific coast. The consequences are very far reaching.

It is further stated that from 1880 to 1901 the trade of the United States with China amounted to \$578,165,159, of which \$429,081,555 was the value of imports, and but \$149,083,604 the value of exports, leaving a balance of \$279,997,951 in favor of China. This only shows that during the period of exclusion, partial and absolute, the Chinese bought their goods mostly from Europe, and bought from the United States only such things as they could not possibly obtain elsewhere. Though trade may not be a matter of sentiment, sentiment, after all, often determines where we go to buy.

As to the complaint that Chinese send money out of the country, it is sufficient to say that they have a perfect right to do what they will with their own. Don't American millionaires spend millions of dollars in European travel every year? What is the difference between the act of the millionaires and that of the Chinese in this respect? In any case it is absurd

to think that every dollar sent out of the country is a dead loss to the country. In the first place, money in the form of silver and gold coins seldom goes out of the country. Even small amounts are usually sent by draft, which is only an instrument of credit, and bankers invariably make something in that operation. As a general thing, the money sent out of the country usually comes back in the shape of goods to supply the wants of the country. Thus it is difficult to see where the loss comes in.

What San Francisco has suffered from the exclusion of Chinese! In this connection, it is worth while to see what Joaquin Miller, in the article above referred to, says in this regard:

“Do the real proprietors of the Pacific coast, the owners of property and the tax-payers, want the Chinese with us? They do, almost without exception, and it would be strange if they did not; for, since the exclusion of the Chinese, property in our large cities has, in the main, been at a standstill. And behold, our chiefest city, San Francisco, has slid back from its proud place as the seventh city in the Union to that of the ninth! Of course, if we had excluded all other foreigners along with the Chinese we might have held our own, perhaps advanced as at the first; but these remaining foreigners have kept up such a turmoil that capital, always very sensitive, has been afraid to come, and in many cases has moved out, and moved out to stay.”

The days before the exclusion of Chinese were the heyday of San Francisco's prosperity. During the seventies, when there was no exclusion, the value of exports from the port of San Francisco to the Chinese Empire rose to \$9,617,766 in 1879, and from 1882 to 1901, when there was partial and absolute exclusion, the value of exports from San Francisco to China fell to as low a point as \$99,385 in 1886 and \$99,950 in 1890. The above figures are taken from a table compiled by the United States Bureau of Statistics, and are, therefore, official.

The fact is, that owing to the rigid enforcement of the exclu-

sion laws, Chinese merchants have found no end of trouble in coming to this country for the purpose of buying. How can, therefore, an increase of trade be effected, if every obstacle is thrown in the way of those who are concerned in that trade? They have no choice but to go elsewhere.

Page 33. Reply to Memorial to Congress.

“When Chinese flocked in.” The Chinese have contributed largely to the opening up and development of California and the Western States. They worked mines, they reclaimed waste lands, they constructed the transcontinental railroads connecting the Pacific coast with the Atlantic seaboard.

“Effects of the Geary Act.” Its effects are disastrous to California. According to the fifteenth report of the Commissioner of Labor, the average rate of wages in California fell to \$1.73 per day in 1893, the year when the Geary Act went into effect, while the average rate of wages in California was \$2.00 per day before the exclusion of the Chinese.

“Chinese are not assimilative.” Americans do not give them a chance. They are not allowed by law to become citizens; it is hardly fair to deny them the right to become naturalized and, in the same breath, find fault with them for not being assimilative.

“Deter desirable immigration.” It is stated here that “all Chinese immigration of the coolie class is both pauper and contract labor.” There is an alien labor contract law and also a general immigration law excluding paupers on the statute books. These laws are sufficient to keep out the undesirable elements of the Chinese population without the enactment of a special law for the purpose. It is the unjust discrimination that is the most objectionable feature of the exclusion laws.

“Protection for American labor.” American labor needs no protection from Chinese labor, because Chinese labor does not come into competition with American labor. As Senator Morton says in his report above referred to, “The Chinese performed the lowest kind, while the whites monopolized that of a superior character.” Joaquin Miller again says: “There

is work for all who want to work. There will be work for all who really want to work until the Western States are entirely inhabited. It will be ages and ages before our last acre is plowed and planted ; let come to us all who care to come and labor and obey the laws. Now, do these real laborers, the men who work in content, want and need the Chinese with us ? They both want them and need them."

"Exclusion an aid to industrial peace." From what has been said, it is not the real laborers who do not want the Chinese, but the walking delegates, and others of that class. They are the real disturbers of the industrial peace, not the Chinese.

"Answer to opponents of exclusion." Let Joaquin Miller answer this. He says :

"The man with a home, whether he has a little shop or a little farm, does not want his wife and growing children to cook, wash, and do chamber work, when he can get a silent and submissive little Mongolian to do it for a song. For our ambitious and splendid white boy or girl cannot get on nearly so well at school if kept at home to do washing, do chamber work, and help mother to do what Senator Morton called 'the lowest work' about the house."

"Experience with slave labor." Chinese labor is voluntary, and not slave labor.

"Our civilization is involved." The historical allusions are rather far-fetched. They have no bearing whatever on the question at hand.

The Americans have often boasted of their fair dealing and consideration for the oppressed of mankind. The exclusion laws against the Chinese give a lie to their professions. They do not dare to do the same thing to a stronger power. They simply take advantage of the weakness of China and do as they please about this matter. This is like kicking a man when he is down. Nothing is more cowardly than this.

The Chinese do not come here to commit any criminal

offence. They come to trade and to work. But it is the practice for custom officers to look upon their attempt to enter the country as criminal offences, and treat them worse than thieves or robbers. Is this fair? Should it be done by a civilized people?

So much in answer to the pamphlet of the labor union. The religious press of the country is almost a unit against the rigid enactment and enforcement of Chinese exclusion.

Thus the *Church News Association* of New York says:

“The Christian Missions of San Francisco and Portland, which represent almost all religious bodies, have appealed to Gen. O. O. Howard, and through him to the churches of the whole country, to do what he and they can to mitigate the rigors of the Chinese exclusion law. These missions, and especially such managers of them as are leading Chinese citizens of the coast, claim that in the execution of the exclusion law great injustice is done. Certain classes of Chinese are exempted by the original act as students, merchants, and travellers, but in different re-enactments, and especially in the rulings attending the execution of the law, various terms have been employed, and confusion about terms is the outcome. Out of this confusion many persons get into prison, and are compelled to prove themselves entitled to their liberty, which is contrary to all Anglo-Saxon legal practice. In the judgment of Gen. Howard a large proportion of the people of the coast are not in favor of the exclusion act. The law expires next May, hence the present agitation on the part of coast missions interested in the Chinese to defeat its re-enactment.”

The *Jewish Exponent*, published in Philadelphia, after exploring the fact that President Roosevelt recommended more stringent immigration laws, especially against illiterate persons, at the close of the article has the following:

“When legislation such as this is proposed against European immigrants it would be idle to expect Congress to refuse to re-enact the law excluding Chinamen from this country. Consideration of justice and consistency

are not likely to enter into the matter. We say in effect to the Chinese, 'you must take our goods, the missionaries and anything else we choose to send you, and you must protect our interests on peril of your lives; but you must not show your faces within our borders, for you are too far beneath us to be fit company for us.' And we expect the Chinamen to smile and cheerfully acquiesce. He will no doubt smile broadly at the proposal of one Senator to permit Chinamen who have 'embraced' Christianity to enter the country when the others are excluded, for he knows that even a childlike and bland 'disciple' of Confucius can 'embrace' a religion one day, and let go of his fond embrace as soon as he is over the border."

The *American Israelite*, published in Cincinnati, says, after quoting from President Roosevelt's message on emigration :

"It is well to remember that pitiful cases arise in every part of the country owing to a harsh construction of the laws on immigration, and laws to be respected should be uniform and specific."

General O. O. Howard, the Havelock of the American Army, and whose reputation for sincerity, piety, and all that the word patriotic American embraces, is well known, writes from Burlington, Vermont, to a comrade in this city as follows :

"In your letter received to-day you ask me to give some reasons why I am opposed to the re-enactment of the old exclusion laws, that is, the original law and its amendments passed ostensibly for the benefit of the Chinese. The original act of Congress was intended to apply to laborers, and there were exempted all other classes such as students, merchants, travellers, etc. But the re-enactments and especially the rulings of the administrative department, which have been had from time to time in the execution of the law and in the carrying out of the treaty of 1894, have brought additional hardship to faithful laborers and quite as much to the persons who were intended to be exempted. It is com-

monly known that multitudes of Chinese arrests have been made in San Francisco, and that the persons have been kept in confinement in a sort of a shed equivalent to a prison, sometimes for two or three months before their cases could be disposed of. In every case the person arrested was obliged to prove himself innocent of the charges made against him, and what was called 'white testimony,' as required by the law, must be had before a decision could be rendered by the customs bureau concerned. In Portland, Oregon, for safekeeping the victims were placed in jail, and they were there, as well as in San Francisco, obliged to prove themselves entitled to their freedom. Some of the Chinamen, leading merchants, told me that they did not so much object to laws which excluded laborers from the United States as to the hardship and cruelty, nay, the inhumanity shown in the execution of those laws, and particularly in the effort made by hostile citizens to include everybody in the labor class. They further said, 'Why should the United States so discriminate against the Chinese,' and I say the same. If the time has come when we do not want any foreign working men, industrious and faithful in every respect in all their work, to participate with us in the use and development of the vast areas between the Missouri and the Pacific ocean, then, of course, let us properly restrict immigration, and let us do it with impartiality. There is just as much danger of a flood of immigrants from Japan as from the one province of China from which they have come.

"The desire for gold drew everybody to California years ago, but that special inducement no longer exists. The statement that there are dens of vice among the Chinamen in San Francisco into which Americans and other foreigners are drawn, may be true, but the answer is, there are dens of vice in New York and in every large city and nobody has any objection,—I mean nobody of character and standing—has any objection to their exclusion or suppression.

"Again, the Chinese are excluded by the acts of Congress from citizenship. Why is this? I do not believe that our people desire to perpetuate such a law. A fine merchant, who has carried on a large business in Portland and paid thousands of dollars of revenue into the Treasury

of the United States, and has a record as a merchant of integrity, said to me: 'General Howard, I have been thirty years in this country and have done my duty as a merchant and as a member of society. Why cannot I become a citizen of the United States? All my interests are here and I love the country as a place to live in, but do not like to be excluded from the privileges that others enjoy under the flag.' I know of many Chinamen, for I have been among them for a good many years, who have our habiliments, who have good families, wives, and children. The children are going to school, and the young men, born of these good parents, are attending our high schools, academies, colleges, and universities. It is a cruelty to put a special stigma upon the fact that a man or a woman is of Chinese origin.

"May I say that hitherto I have had strong sympathies with laboring men. I have had to work hard myself, beginning with the farm, and passing through many vicissitudes, never escaping hard work and never desiring to do so. If an organization of labor is essential as against organized capital to secure the rights of labor, all right. But no society, working for the laborer, can afford to despise and take hostile action against other laborers. There is a vast multitude of laborers in our seventy-five millions of population that are not yet organized; that have no sympathy with inhumanity, cruelty and hatred. From them have come the loyal soldiers who fought in the Civil War and in other wars of our country, and they know that an unjust action or series of actions against any nation, against Russia, against Austria, or Germany, or Italy, or Japan, or China only smirches their own flag, because this nation is founded in righteousness and must sustain righteous laws, fair and impartial toward all the world. The reaction will surely come against us from any nation, especially from the powerful nations, if we begin and perpetuate hostile action. That hostile action may be covert as in the treaty formed with China in 1894, or as in the first exclusion act, but it appears more and more as the years go on and amendments are made to the original law.

"As a rule, the Chinamen, as in our laundries, are clean, persevering, truthful and thoroughly honest in all their dealings. My family found them so in nine years'

residence on the Pacific Coast, when they undertook the work of servants in the household. None ever did it better. They underbid any other servants, and they demand a fair price for their work, but the work they do with diligence and with wonderful completeness. I do hope that our countrymen will think of these things and not commence, or re-commence, a series of unjust and cruel acts against men and women and children simply because they are Chinese.

"It is no answer to say that Boxers in China perpetrated murders and cruelties without number. The most of us know that we have had innumerable cases of the driving out of Chinamen from villages and cities all along our coast, and that, at places like Rock Springs, other foreigners, in the name of Americans, have murdered some and expelled others, and have never been punished for their crimes. I know of no punishment ever awarded the rioters who performed these deeds of infamy.

"With regard to being overrun by the heathen and the replacement of our civilization by that part of China, there is not the least danger of that result. If they have some principles far in advance of ours, it is time for us to adopt them. Chinese merchants the world over have the reputation of thorough honesty. Their word is said to be as good as their bond. I wish this were so with our merchants, so that wherever an American merchant was found the feeling would be a common one that he was a man of integrity.

"In point of skill, energy, purity of character, and godliness, we know well that our sons and daughters can keep pace with any other sons and daughters on the globe; but to be scared to death lest we be outstripped in the race for life by the members of any other nationality is, in my judgment, a figment of the imagination.

"It seems to my view that we desire friendliness with China, friendliness in trade. The conduct of our navy was such as to get and keep the respect of the Chinese. How foolish to disturb this desirable thing by hostile legislation!

"Again, every intelligent man I have met returning from Manila says: 'The Chinese laborers in the Philippines are the most reliable working men in the islands.'

If so, is it not suicidal in the extreme to expel them or to exclude those who wish to come and participate in the upbuilding of the material interests there?

“As a last thought I have this: that if we succeed in hostile legislation and in making hundreds of millions of people hostile to us, other nations will come in and take the trade and have the privileges that we so foolishly forego.”

President Hayes, in his veto message of March 1, 1879, said as follows:

After a very careful consideration of House Bill 2423, entitled “An Act to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the United States,” I herewith return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its passage.

The bill, as it was sent to the Senate from the House of Representatives, was confined in its provisions to the object named in its title, which is that of “An Act to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the United States.” The only means adopted to secure the proposed object was the limitation of the number of Chinese passengers which might be brought to this country by any one vessel to fifteen; and as this number was not fixed in any proportion to the size or tonnage of the vessel or by any consideration of the safety or accommodation of these passengers, the simple purpose and effect of the enactment were to repress this immigration to an extent falling but little short of its absolute exclusion.

The bill as amended in the Senate and now presented to me, includes an independent and additional provision which aims at and in turn requires the abrogation by this Government of Articles V and VI of the treaty with China commonly called the Burlingame treaty, through the action of the executive enjoined by this provision of the act.

The Burlingame treaty, of which the ratifications were exchanged at Peking, November 23, 1869, recites as the occasion and motive of its negotiation by the two governments that “since the conclusion of the treaty between the United

States of America and the Ta Tsing Empire (China) of the 18th of June, 1858, circumstances have arisen showing the necessity of additional articles thereto," proceeds to an agreement as to said additional articles. These negotiations, therefore, ending by the signature of the additional articles, July 28, 1868, had for their object the completion of our treaty rights and obligations toward the government of China by the incorporation of these new articles as thenceforth parts of the principal treaty to which they are made supplemental. Upon the settled rules of interpretation applicable to such supplemental negotiations the text of the principal treaty and of "these additional articles thereto" constitute one treaty from the conclusion of the new negotiations, in all parts of equal and concurrent force and obligation between the two governments, and to all intents and purposes as if embraced in one instrument.

The principal treaty, of which the ratifications were exchanged August 16, 1859, recites that "the United States of America and the Ta Tsing Empire, desiring to maintain firm, lasting, and sincere friendship, have resolved to renew, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace, amity, and commerce, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries," and proceeds in its thirty articles to lay out a careful and comprehensive system for the commercial relations of our people with China. The main substance of all the provisions of this treaty is to define and secure the rights of our people in respect of access to, residence and protection in, and trade with China. The actual provisions in our favor in these respects were framed to the interests of our commerce; and by the concluding article we receive the important guaranty that—

"Should at any time the Ta Tsing Empire grant to any nation, or the merchants or citizens of any nation, any right, privilege or favor, connected either with navigation, commerce, political or other intercourse, which is

not conferred by this treaty, such right, privilege, and favor shall at once freely inure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants and citizens."

Against this body of stipulations in our favor and this permanent engagement of equality in respect of all future concessions to foreign nations, the general promise of permanent peace and good offices on our part seems to be the only equivalent. For this the first article undertakes as follows :

"There shall be, as there have always been, peace and friendship between the United States of America and the Ta Tsing Empire, and between their people respectively. They shall not insult or oppress each other for any trifling cause, so as to produce an estrangement between them; and if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the cause, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feeling."

At the date of the negotiation of this treaty our Pacific possessions had attracted a considerable Chinese immigration, and the advantages and inconveniences felt or feared therefrom had become more or less manifest; but they dictated no stipulations on the subject to be incorporated in the treaty. The year 1868 was marked by the striking event of a spontaneous embassy from the Chinese Empire, headed by an American citizen, Anson Burlingame, who had relinquished his diplomatic representation of his own country in China to assume that of the Chinese Empire to the United States and the European nations. By this time the facts of the Chinese immigration and its nature and influences, present and prospective, had become more noticeable and were more observed by the population immediately affected, and by this Government. The principal feature of the Burlingame treaty was its attention to and its treatment of the Chinese immigration, and the Chinese as forming, or as they should form, a part of our population. Up to this time our uncovenanted hospitality to im-

migration, our fearless liberality of citizenship, our equal and comprehensive justice to all inhabitants, whether they abjured their foreign nationality or not, our civil freedom, and our religious toleration had made all comers welcome, and under these protections the Chinese in considerable numbers had made their lodgment upon our soil.

The Burlingame treaty undertakes to deal with this situation, and its fifth and sixth articles embrace its most important provisions in this regard, and the main stipulations in which the Chinese government has secured an obligatory protection of its subjects within our territory. They read as follows :

“ART. V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offence for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.

“ART. VI. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.”

An examination of these two articles in the light of the experience then influential in suggesting their "necessity" will show that the fifth article was framed in hostility to what seemed the principal condition to be guarded against, to wit, the introduction of Chinese laborers by methods which should have the character of a forced and servile importation, and not of a voluntary emigration of freemen seeking our shores upon motives and in a manner consonant with the system of our institutions, and approved by the experience of the nation. Unquestionably, the adhesion of the government of China to these liberal principles of freedom in emigration, with which we were so familiar, and with which we were so well satisfied, was a great advance towards opening that empire to our civilization and religion, and gave promise in the future of greater and greater practical results in the diffusion throughout that great population of our arts and industries, our manufactures, our material improvements, and the sentiments of government and religion which seem to us so important to the welfare of mankind. The first clause of this article secures this acceptance by China of the American doctrine of free migration to and fro among the peoples and races of the earth.

The second clause, however, in its reprobation of "any other than an entirely voluntary emigration" by both the high contracting parties, and in the reciprocal obligations whereby we secured the solemn and unqualified engagement on the part of the government of China "to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or a Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any foreign country without their free and voluntary consent," constitutes the great force and value of this article. Its importance, both in principle and its practical service toward our protection against servile importation in the guise of immigration, cannot be overestimated. It commits the Chinese government to active and efficient measures to suppress this iniquitous system, where those measures are most

necessary and can be most effectual. It gives to this Government the footing of a treaty right to such measures and the means and opportunity of insisting upon their adoption and of complaint and resentment at their neglect. The fifth article, therefore, if it fall short of what the pressure of the later experience of our Pacific States may urge upon the attention of this Government as essential to the public welfare, seems to be in the right direction and to contain important advantages which once relinquished cannot be recovered.

The second topic which interested the two governments, under the actual condition of things which prompted the Burlingame treaty, was adequate protection, under the solemn and definite guaranties of a treaty, of the Chinese already in this country and those who should seek our shores. This was the object, and forms the subject of the sixth article, by whose reciprocal engagement the citizens and subjects of the two governments, respectively, visiting or residing in the country of the other are secured the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions there enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations. The treaty of 1858, to which these articles are made supplemental, provides for a great amount of privilege and protection, both of person and property, to American citizens in China, but it is upon this sixth article that the main body of the treaty rights and securities of the Chinese already in this country depends. Its abrogation, were the rest of the treaty left in force, would leave them to such treatment as we should voluntarily accord them by our laws and customs. Any treaty obligation would be wanting to restrain our liberty of action toward them, or to measure or to sustain the right of the Chinese government to complaint or redress in their behalf.

The lapse of ten years since the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty has exhibited to the notice of the Chinese government, as well as to our own people, the working of this experiment of immigration in great numbers of Chinese laborers to this country, and their maintenance here of all the traces

of race, religion, manners, and customs, habitations, mode of life, segregation here, and the keeping up of the ties of their original home, which stamp them as strangers and sojourners, and not as incorporated elements of our national life and growth. This experience may naturally suggest the reconsideration of the subject as dealt with by the Burlingame treaty, and may properly become the occasion of more direct and circumspect recognition, in renewed negotiations, of the difficulties surrounding this political and social problem. It may be well that, to the apprehension of the Chinese government no less than our own, the simple provisions of the Burlingame treaty may need to be replaced by more careful methods, securing the Chinese and ourselves against a larger and more rapid infusion of this foreign race than our system of industry and society can take up and assimilate with ease and safety. This ancient government, ruling a polite and sensitive people, distinguished by a high sense of national pride, may properly desire an adjustment of their relations with us which would in all things confirm and in no degree endanger the permanent peace and amity and the growing commerce and prosperity which it has been the object and the effect of our existing treaties to cherish and perpetuate.

I regard the very grave discontents of the people of the Pacific States with the present working of the Chinese immigration, and their still graver apprehensions therefrom in the future, as deserving the most serious attention of the people of the whole country and a solicitous interest on the part of Congress and the Executive. If this were not my own judgment, the passage of this bill by both houses of Congress would impress upon me the seriousness of the situation, when a majority of the representatives of the people of the whole country had thought fit to justify so serious a measure of relief.

The authority of Congress to terminate a treaty with a foreign power by expressing the will of the nation no longer to adhere to it is as free from controversy under our Constitu-

tion as is the further proposition that the power of making new treaties or modifying existing treaties is not lodged by the Constitution in Congress, but in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as shown by the concurrence of two-thirds of that body. A denunciation of a treaty by any government is confessedly justifiable only upon some reason both of the highest justice and of the highest necessity. The action of Congress in the matter of the French treaties in 1798, if it be regarded as an abrogation by this nation of a subsisting treaty, strongly illustrates the character and degree of jurisdiction which was then thought suitable to such a proceeding. The preamble of the act recites that the—

“Treaties concluded between the United States and France have been repeatedly violated on the part of the French government, and the just claims of the United States for reparation of the injuries so committed have been refused, and their attempts to negotiate an amicable adjustment of all complaints between the two nations have been repelled with indignity.

And that—

“Under authority of the French government there is yet pursued against the United States a system of predatory violence, infracting the said treaties and hostile to the rights of a free and independent nation.

The enactment, as a logical consequence of these recited facts, declares

“That the United States are of right freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the treaties and of the consular convention heretofore concluded between the United States and France, and that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the Government or citizens of the United States.”

The history of the Government shows no other instance of an abrogation of a treaty by Congress.

Instances have sometimes occurred where the ordinary legislation of Congress has, by its conflict with some treaty obligation toward a foreign power, taken effect as *an infraction* of the treaty, and been judicially declared to be operative to that result; but neither such legislation nor such judicial sanction of the same has been regarded as an *abrogation*, even for a moment, of the treaty. On the contrary, the treaty in such case still subsists between the governments, and the casual infraction is repaired by appropriate satisfaction in maintenance of the treaty.

The bill before me does not enjoin upon the President the abrogation of the entire Burlingame treaty, much less of the principal treaty of which it is made the supplement. As the power of modifying an existing treaty, whether by modifying or striking out provisions, is a part of the treaty-making power under the Constitution, its exercise is not competent for Congress, nor would the assent of China to this partial abrogation of the treaty make the action of Congress in thus procuring an amendment of a treaty a competent exercise of authority under the Constitution. The importance, however, of this special consideration seems superseded by the principle that a denunciation of a part of a treaty not made by the terms of the treaty itself, separable from the rest, is a denunciation of the whole treaty.

I am convinced that, whatever urgency might in any quarter or by any interests be supposed to require an instant suppression of further immigration from China, no reasons can require the immediate withdrawal of our treaty protection of the Chinese already in this country, and no circumstances can tolerate an exposure of our citizens in China, merchants or missionaries, to the consequences of so sudden an abrogation of their treaty protection. Fortunately, however, the actual recession in the flow of the emigration from China to the Pacific coast, shown by trustworthy statistics, relieves us from any apprehension that the treatment of the subject in the proper course of diplomatic negotiations will introduce any new

feature of discontent or disturbance among the communities directly affected. Were such delay fraught with more inconveniences than have ever been suggested by the interests most earnest in promoting this legislation, I cannot but regard the summary disturbance of our existing treaties with China as greatly more inconvenient to much wider and more permanent interests of the country. I have no occasion to insist upon the more general considerations of interest and duty which sacredly guard the faith of the nation, in whatever form of obligation it may have been given. These sentiments animate the deliberations of Congress and pervade the minds of our whole people. Our history gives little occasion for any reproach in this regard; and in asking the renewed attention of Congress to this bill, I am persuaded that their action will maintain the public duty and public honor.

R. B. HAYES.

President Arthur, returning his veto message, said as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 4, 1883.*

To the Senate of the United States:

After careful consideration of Senate Bill No. 71, entitled "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese," I herewith return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with my objections to its passage.

A nation is justified in repudiating its treaty obligations only when they are in conflict with great paramount interests. Even then all possible reasonable means for modifying or changing those obligations by mutual agreement should be exhausted before resorting to the supreme right of refusal to comply with them.

These rules have governed the United States in their past intercourse with other powers as one of the family of nations. I am persuaded that if Congress can feel that this act violates

the faith of the nation as pledged to China, it will concur with me in rejecting this particular mode of regulating Chinese immigration, and will endeavor to find another which shall meet the expectations of the people of the United States without coming in conflict with the rights of China.

The present treaty relations between that power and the United States springs from an antagonism which arose between our paramount domestic interests and our previous relations.

The treaty commonly known as the Burlingame treaty conferred upon Chinese subjects the right of voluntary emigration to the United States for the purpose of curiosity or trade or as permanent residents, and was in all respects reciprocal as to the citizens of the United States in China. It gave to the voluntary emigrant coming to the United States the right to travel there or to reside there, with all the privileges, immunities, or exemptions enjoyed by the citizens of the most favored nation.

Under the operation of this treaty it was found that the institutions of the United States and the character of its people and their means of obtaining their livelihood might be seriously affected by the unrestricted introduction of Chinese labor. Congress attempted to alleviate this condition by legislation, but the act which it passed proved to be in violation of our treaty obligations, and, being returned by the President with his objections, failed to become a law.

Diplomatic relief was then sought. A new treaty was concluded with China. Without abrogating the Burlingame treaty, it was agreed to modify it, so far that the Government of the United States might regulate, limit, or suspend the coming of the Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein, but that it should be reasonable and should apply only to Chinese who might go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. This treaty is unilateral, not reciprocal. It is a concession from China to the United States in limitation of the rights

which she was enjoying under the Burlingame treaty. It leaves us by our own act to determine when and how we will enforce these limitations. China may therefore fairly have a right to expect that in enforcing them we will take good care not to overstep the grant and take more than has been conceded to us.

It is but a year since this new treaty, under the operation of the Constitution, became part of the supreme law of the land, and the present act is the first attempt to exercise the more enlarged powers which it relinquishes to the United States.

In its first article the United States is empowered to decide whether the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein affects or threatens to affect our interests or to endanger good order, either within the whole country or in any part of it. The act recites that "in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities thereof." But the act itself is much broader than the recital. It acts upon residents as well as upon immigrants, and its provisions are effective throughout the United States. I think it may fairly be accepted as an expression of the opinion of Congress that the coming of such laborers to the United States or their residence here affects our interests and endangers good order throughout the country. On this point I shall feel it my duty to accept the views of Congress.

The first article further confers the power upon this Government to regulate, limit or suspend, but not actually to prohibit, the coming of such laborers to or their residence in the United States. The negotiators of the treaty have recorded with unusual fullness their understanding of the sense and meaning with which these words were used.

As to the class of persons to be affected by the treaty, the Americans inserted in their draft a provision that the words "Chinese laborers" signify all other immigration than that

for "teaching, trade, travel, study, and curiosity." The Chinese objected to this that it operated to include artisans in the class laborers whose immigration might be forbidden. The Americans replied that they "could" not consent that artisans shall be excluded from the class of Chinese laborers, for it is this very competition of skilled labor in the cities where the Chinese immigration concentrates which has caused the embarrassment and popular discontent. In the subsequent negotiations this definition dropped out, and does not appear in the treaty. Article 11 of the treaty confers the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation upon Chinese subjects proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity. The American Commissioners report that the Chinese government claimed that in this article they did, by exclusion, provide that nobody should be entitled to claim the benefit of the general provisions of the Burlingame treaty but those who might go to the United States in those capacities or for those purposes. I accept this as the definition of the word "laborers," as used in this treaty.

As to the power of legislation respecting this class of persons, the new treaty provides that we "may not absolutely prohibit" their coming or their residence. The Chinese Commissioners gave notice in the outset that they would never agree to a prohibition of voluntary emigration. Notwithstanding this the United States Commissioners submitted a draft, in which it was provided that the United States might "regulate, limit, suspend, or prohibit" it. The Chinese refused to accept this. The Americans replied that they were willing to consult the wishes of the Chinese government in preserving the principles of free intercourse between the people of the two countries, as established by existing treaties, provided that the right of the United States to use its discretion in guarding against any possible evils of immigration of Chinese laborers if distinctly recognized. Therefore, if such concessions remove all difficulty on the part of the Chinese Com-

missioners (but only in that case) the United States Commissioners will agree to remove the word "prohibit" from their article and to use the words "regulate, limit, or suspend." The Chinese reply to this can only be inferred from the fact that in the place of an agreement, as proposed by our Commissioners, that we might prohibit the coming or residence of Chinese laborers, there was inserted in the treaty an agreement that we might not do it.

The remaining words "regulate, limit, and suspend," first appear in the American draft. When it was submitted to the Chinese they said :

"We infer that of the phrases regulate, limit, suspend, or prohibit, the first is a general expression referring to the others. We are entirely ready to negotiate with your Excellencies to the end that a limitation either in point of time or of numbers may be fixed upon the emigration of Chinese laborers to the United States."

At a subsequent interview they said that "by limitation in number they meant, for example, that the United States having, as they supposed, a record of the number of the emigrants in each year, as well as the total number of Chinese now there, that no more should be allowed to go in any one year in the future than either the greatest number which had gone in any year in the past, or that the total number should never be allowed to exceed the number now there. As to limitation of time they meant, for example, that Chinese should be allowed to go in alternate years, or every third year, or, for example, that they should not be allowed to go for two, three, or five years."

At a subsequent conference the Americans said :

"The Chinese Commissioners have in their project explicitly recognized the right of the United States to use some discretion, and have proposed a limitation as to time and number. This is the right to regulate, limit, or suspend."

In one of the conferences the Chinese asked the Americans whether they could give them any idea of the laws which would be passed to carry the powers into execution. The Americans answered that this could hardly be done; that the United States Government might never deem it necessary to exercise this power. It would depend upon circumstances. If Chinese immigration concentrated in cities where it threatened public order, or if it confined itself to localities where it was an injury to the interests of the American people, the Government of the United States would undoubtedly take steps to prevent such accumulation of Chinese. If, on the contrary, there was no large immigration, or if there were sections of the country where such immigration was clearly beneficial, then the legislation of the United States under this power would be adapted to such circumstances. For example; there might be a demand for Chinese labor in the South and a surplus of such labor in California, and Congress might legislate in accordance with these facts. In general, the legislation would be in view of and depend upon the circumstances of the situation at the moment such legislation became necessary. The Chinese Commissioners said this explanation was satisfactory; that they had not intended to ask for a draft of any special act, but for some general idea how the power would be exercised. What had just been said gave them the explanation that they wanted.

With this entire accord as to the meaning of the words they were about to employ and the subject of the legislation which might be had in consequence, the parties signed the treaty, in article one of which—

“The government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to

Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration."

The first section of the act provides that :

"From and after the expiration of sixty days next after the passage of this act, and until after the expiration of twenty years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers be, and the same is hereby, suspended ; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come or, having so come after the expiration of said sixty days, to remain within the United States."

The examination which I have made of the treaty and of the declarations which its negotiators have left on record of the meaning of its language leaves no doubt in my mind that neither contracting party, in concluding the treaty of 1880, contemplated the passage of an act prohibiting immigration for twenty years, which is nearly a generation, or thought that such a period would be a reasonable suspension or limitation, or intended to change the provisions of the Burlingame treaty to that extent. I regard this provision of the act as a breach of our national faith, and being unable to bring myself in harmony with the views of Congress on this vital point, the honor of the country constrains me to return the act with this objection to its passage.

Deeply convinced of the necessity of some legislation on this subject, and concurring fully with Congress in many of the objects which are sought to be accomplished, I avail myself of the opportunity to point out some other features of the present act, which, in my opinion, can be modified to advantage.

The classes of Chinese who still enjoy the protection of the Burlingame treaty are entitled to the privileges, immunities, and exemptions accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation. We have treaties with many powers which permit their citizens and subjects to reside within the United

States and carry on business under the same laws and regulations which are enforced against citizens of the United States. I think it may be doubted whether provisions requiring personal registration and the taking out of passports which are not imposed upon natives can be required of Chinese. Without expressing an opinion on this point, I may invite the attention of Congress to the fact that the system of personal registration and passports is undemocratic and hostile to the spirit of our institutions. I doubt the wisdom of putting an entering wedge of this kind into our laws. A nation like the United States, jealous of the liberties of its citizens, may well hesitate before it incorporates into its policy a system which is fast disappearing in Europe before the progress of liberal institutions. A wide experience has shown how futile such precautions are, and how easily passports may be borrowed, exchanged, or even forged by persons interested to do so.

If it is, nevertheless, thought that a passport is the most convenient way of identifying the Chinese entitled to the protection of the Burlingame treaty, it may still be doubted whether they ought to be required to register. It is certainly our duty, under the Burlingame treaty, to make their stay in the United States, in the operation of general laws upon them, as nearly like that of our own citizens as we can consistently with our right to shut out the laborers. No good purpose is served in requiring them to register.

My attention has been called by the Chinese Minister to the fact that the bill as it stands makes no provision for the transit across the United States of Chinese subjects now residing in foreign countries. I think that this point may well claim the attention of Congress in legislating on this subject.

I have said that good faith requires us to suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers for a less period than twenty years; I now add that good policy points in the same direction.

Our intercourse with China is of recent date. Our first treaty with that power is not yet forty years old. It is only since we acquired California and established a great seat of

commerce on the Pacific that we may be said to have broken down the barriers which fenced in that ancient monarchy. The Burlingame treaty naturally followed. Under the spirit which inspired it many thousand Chinese laborers came to the United States. No one can say that the country has not profited by their work. They were largely instrumental in constructing the railways which connect the Atlantic with the Pacific. The States of the Pacific slope are full of evidences of their industry. Enterprises profitable to the capitalist and to the laborer of Caucasian origin would have lain dormant but for them. A time has now come when it is supposed that they are not needed, and when it is thought by Congress and by those most acquainted with the subject that it is best to try to get along without them. There may, however, be other sections of the country where this species of labor may be advantageously employed without interference with the laborers of our own race. In making the proposed experiment it may be the part of wisdom, as well as of good faith, to fix the experimental period with reference to this fact.

Experience has shown that the trade of the East is the key to national wealth and influence. The opening of China to the commerce of the whole world has benefited no section of it more than the States of our own Pacific Slope. The State of California, and its great maritime port especially, have reaped enormous advantages from this source. Blessed with an exceptional climate, enjoying an unrivalled harbor, with the riches of a great agricultural and mining state in its rear, and the wealth of the whole union pouring into it over its lines of railway, San Francisco has before it an incalculable future if its friendly and amicable relations with Asia remain undisturbed. It needs no argument to show that the policy which we now propose to adopt must have a direct tendency to repel oriental nations from us and to drive their trade and commerce into more friendly hands. It may be that the great and paramount interest of protecting our labor from Asiatic competition may justify us in a permanent adoption of this

policy; but it is wiser in the first place to make a shorter experiment, with a view hereafter of maintaining permanently only such features as time and experience may commend.

I transmit herewith copies of the papers relating to the present treaty with China, which accompanied the confidential message of President Hayes to the Senate of the 10th of January, 1881, and also a copy of the memorandum respecting the act herewith returned, which was handed to the Secretary of State by the Chinese Minister in Washington.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Max J. Kohler, late Assistant District Attorney for the city of New York, writes to the *New York Times* as follows:

Next May the Geary Chinese Exclusion Act, which passed Congress in 1892, expires by its own limitations, and the question of the advisability of continuing or modifying our present system of treating the Chinese is therefore now a particularly timely one. Our treaty with China of 1880 was the first national move in the direction of restricting Chinese immigration, but even this was in terms applicable only to Chinese laborers, and not to other vocations, and expressly provided only for regulation, and not for an absolute "prohibition" of Chinese labor immigration.

The Federal act of 1882 was, as recited in its title even, intended merely to "execute" these treaty provisions, and was limited in duration by its own express language to ten years, though continued at the expiration of that period for ten years more. It is thus apparent that our statutes heretofore have been only temporary and experimental, and that these tentative measures do not even purport to embody any definite, permanent policy of our Government. In the light of these facts, it is proposed to consider our laws on this subject, in their practical working, to show how they have failed of their ostensible purpose and worked much unintended injury to our own interests, and that they have built up the most un-American, inhuman, barbarous, oppressive system of procedure that can be encountered in any civilized land to-day for the treatment of fellow-men. It is only because the American people have not been truly familiar with the character of this

system, because the Chinese control few, if any, votes, to make them a force to be reckoned with in politics, and because they are popularly regarded as so unlike us as to render their rights a matter not even believed to be calculated to interest our vast reading public, that this system could exist among us for a day.

The writer hereof, during the past seven years, has been compelled by circumstances to make a close and continuous examination of the statutes, treaties, decisions, rulings, opinions, and problems bearing upon Chinese exclusion. During about four years, from 1894 to 1898, he was charged, as Assistant United States District Attorney in New York city, with the duty of representing the Government in this class of cases in the courts for the district including New York city, and since then he has considered and argued many cases under these laws on behalf of Chinese applicants.

INTENTION OF EXCLUSION ACTS.

The Chinese Exclusion Acts proceed, first of all, on the theory that our country and its laborers should be protected against the cheap labor of China. In this aspect the question is in its nature one that arises, though perhaps in less marked degree, with respect to immigrants from many other countries. General legislation, not alone applicable to Chinese persons, would be here more properly in order, and the result would be that we would not then run counter to such fundamental principles of democratic government as find expression in our Declaration of Independence in asserting the equality of all men, and in our existing statutes in proclaiming the inherent right of all men and races to come to reside here and become American citizens. (Sec. 1999 Revised Statutes, United States.) Nor can any one explain why the black man should enjoy all the "rights of man," and the man whose skin is yellow be treated by the law as an outcast because of such difference of shade.

Moreover, in their special application to Chinese persons, the question arises whether we are not sacrificing trade interests of enormous magnitude, involving millions of dollars per annum, in order to continue on our statute books ineffective prohibitions. In any event, it is apparent from an investigation of the workings of our present law that its real aims and ostensible purposes are obscured through faultily drafted laws, so that non-laboring Chinese merchants are, in fact, in chief

measure excluded by laws aimed only at laborers. But, whatever views may be entertained as to the propriety of excluding Chinese laborers, or even all Chinese persons, no one familiar with the facts can justify our present disgraceful exclusion procedure and its workings. It is without parallel in its injustice, brutality, and inhumanity.

Chinese persons, who have violated no law, municipal or moral, or, rather, persons appearing to be Chinese subjects—for they are as likely as not to be American citizens of Chinese extraction, and may not have left the country for years, or ever—are now constantly arrested and are treated, not merely as felons by our laws, but every restraint upon executive action embodied in our Federal and State Constitutions as Bills of Rights, for the defence even of felons, is here ignored and violated, notwithstanding the fact that we proudly point to these clauses, safeguarding individual liberty, as our dearest Anglo-Saxon heritage from the centuries past. A careful study of this procedure system convinces me that the system devised for the expulsion of the Moors from Spain and of the Jews from Russia in our day, which have aroused the indignation of humanity, are gentle and humane compared with the barbarities of our existing "American" methods for the deportation of alleged Chinese persons. That all this has been done by us in bold and unconcealed violation of our National faith, as expressed in solemn treaties, can scarcely palliate our actions. Of course the argument that because we once broke our National agreement, we are justified in doing so again, is beneath notice.

BUSINESS INTERESTS INVOLVED.

Naturally, one of the most important questions underlying this problem is that of the utility and value of international trade of this character. If these statutes could be regarded as designed to prevent free commercial intercourse between the United States and China, they would, of course, run counter to the whole trend of civilization and trade of the past few decades. European States have been vying with each other to secure for themselves these golden opportunities of trade with China, and the United States has eagerly sought and successfully secured its own standing in connection with the Chinese "open door" policy.

But, although the United States Supreme Court did, as recently as February, 1900, say that the purpose of our laws, re-

quiring certificates of admission from Chinese non-laborers "was not to prevent the persons named in the second article of the treaty (of 1880) from coming into the country, but to prevent Chinese laborers from entering under the guise of being one of the classes permitted by the treaty. It was the coming of Chinese laborers that the act is aimed against—" still there is, in its practical workings, only too much truth in the indictment of our policy, contained in a very able article by Ho Yow, Chinese Consul General at San Francisco, on this subject in the *North American Review* (September, 1901), in which he points out that we have built a Chinese wall around our territory, having none of the justifications of China's act of centuries ago, and that at a time when even China's ancient barrier is crumbling to ashes.

He further remarks: "The gala days of San Francisco's life and happiness were during the years that preceded 1880. The passage of the exclusion laws operated as a cone over a lighted candle. Chinese residents in California withdrew from industry, reduced their properties to coin, and with it returned to China, scrambling out of a country which they deemed inhospitable and unsafe. Business dried up. Trade with China, which had been advancing at the rate of a million a year, fell off \$7,000,000 in two years. It never revived until Dewey's victory. During the interim San Francisco lost \$200,000,000 of business in her trade with China alone. * * * Merchants of the Pacific Coast talk of the vast market of the Orient for their goods. That market is as truly closed to them as the life of a Shan-tung oyster. Prof. Davidson tells that in 1897 the trade of the Pacific amounted to over \$2,000,000,000. Of this, 50 per cent. went to England. The share of the United States was less than 7 per cent., and that part which fell to San Francisco was too fractional to consider; San Francisco could as easily have had the 50 per cent., but in order to get it she must have Chinese labor."

CERTAIN LABORERS EXCEPTED.

The treaty of 1894 absolutely excludes Chinese laborers, except that Chinese laborers registered in the United States are permitted to return to the United States when they have a certain amount of property or certain relatives here and have secured a specified certificate before leaving for China, evidencing their right to return; the limits upon this right, set forth

in the treaty and the regulations of the Treasury Department thereunder, need not be further considered. Under the act of 1882, as amended in 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1893, Chinese persons of the classes privileged to enter were permitted to come to the United States upon producing an appropriate certificate from their government, visaed by the United States consular or diplomatic officers at the port of departure for the United States; this class expressly includes "officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity, but not laborers."

The wives and minor children of Chinese persons themselves authorized to enter or remain in the United States, and not themselves laborers, may enter without the certificate in question (*United States v. Mrs. Gue Lim*, 176 United States, 459). Returning merchants, instead of giving the certificate above mentioned, were required to furnish certain evidence as to their status by means of non-Chinese witnesses by the later act of 1893. Of course, citizens of the United States by birth, of Chinese extraction, are not excluded by these laws, which, under the Constitution, are inapplicable to them. (*United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 United States, 649.)

The registration provisions of the act of 1892, amended in 1893, require no consideration here, as they merely obligated Chinese laborers to register, making it permissive for non-laborers to do so, the requirement being applicable only to Chinese laborers residing in the United States at those dates. This provision has become largely nugatory by mere lapse of time, and is seldom invoked to-day, because persons who were then laborers in the United States could, without much hardship, register within the six months provided to do so; those who neglected to do so have pretty nearly all been deported by now, and the act is not mandatory upon non-laborers nor persons who were not laborers residing within the United States in 1892 or 1893.

It is only in connection with the limitation to six months from November, 1893, within which to register, that this provision has, in itself, apart from its harsh penalties and procedure, worked much hardship, for only registered laborers can secure laborers' return certificates, and the Treasury Department has ruled that persons who are laborers, on leaving for China, or when they seek to re-enter the United States, are prohibited from entering, being without such certificates, although they were not required to register at the time of the passage of the acts. The result is that there is a class of per-

sons, authorized to be and remain in the United States, who forfeit their right of entry if they leave the country, although other laborers of the same kind may obtain leave to return to this country upon producing their registration certificates. If the fact of being a Chinese laborer be regarded as the evil aimed at, these unfortunates did not do enough evil to be permitted to return, because if they had been laborers already in 1892 or 1893, instead of merchants, and had registered as such laborers, their right of re-entry would be clear. Surely such an absurdity should be eliminated by granting a new opportunity to persons to register who did not register from 1892 to 1894.

TWO CLASSES OF APPLICANTS.

Summarizing existing provisions of law, then, we notice, roughly speaking, that there are two classes of persons with whose applications for admission into the United States the Government has to deal: (1) Those who are of the privileged non-laboring classes, seeking to enter for the first time, and (2) the class of Chinese persons returning to the United States. As to the former class, if it were clearly stated in our enactments that every member of the privileged classes must have a certificate from the Chinese Government or consular officers in order to enter, that all non-laborers are entitled to such certificates, and that the United States officers should visé the certificates with reasonable liberality and fairness, and not withhold the same capriciously, unreasonably, or for mere technical defects, there would be little hardship in such provision, apart from possible harshness in its administration. Moreover, such simplifications would do much to make our laws more effective.

But, in fact, only a small fraction of Chinese persons applying for admission during the past few years have applied under such certificates, partly because of the heavy obstacles put in the way of securing such certificates and their visé in China, partly because substantial merchants have been frightened off by our anti-Chinese policy, and partly because the great majority of persons have claimed to be Chinese persons returning to the United States, either (1) as returning merchants or non-laborers after temporary visits to China, or (2) as citizens of the United States by birth, whether laborers or non-laborers, and it has been obvious that the large majority of these "American citizens" are in fact laborers.

Most of the difficulties attending the Government's enforcement of the law have arisen with respect to these "citizen" cases, and the legal problems involved are such, in their nature, as defy treatment along the theory of the exclusion laws, as purely political, non-criminal proceedings, valid only as to aliens, in which jury trial is denied, and the burden of proof is thrown on the defendants to rebut every conceivable claim that the Government may make thereafter, unlike our much vaunted principles of law as to the burden of proof applicable even to civil cases.

Immigration of Chinese to the United States was invited by our treaty of 1868 and not restricted, even as regards laborers, till 1882, and thousands came to the United States from 1868 on, including many women, as shown by our census. There are now very many Chinese persons who, as citizens, are theoretically as effectively beyond exclusion by Congressional action as any white persons born here can be, under the decision of the Supreme Court. There were 105,000 Chinese in the United States in 1880, according to the census of that year, and 106,000 in 1890; while 48,000 more Chinese are supposed to have left the United States during this intervening decade than are reported as having been admitted by Treasury officers, and many thousands were barred by the act of 1888, which by such *ex post facto* action invalidated laborers' certificates, valid when their holders left the United States in reliance upon them. To-day, probably, a very large percentage of Chinese persons applying for entrance into the United States do so under the plea that they are citizens by birth; a claim that is undoubtedly true as to many.

CITIZENS OF CHINESE EXTRACTION.

Some efforts in the direction of limiting the entrance of American citizens of Chinese extraction were made recently in the shape of a bill which passed the House of Representatives at the last Congress on February 1, 1901, before its character was known, but failed of passage in the Senate, and was obviously unconstitutional, as well as oppressive and unwise.

The other class of returning Chinese persons is made up principally of merchants. They had commonly secured the certificates required of privileged persons on an original entry, until the Supreme Court came to their assistance by a liberal

construction of the statute in their favor, in 1892, by holding that the certificate provision was not applicable to Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States and returning here. To meet this, however, a new statutory provision was introduced into the McCreary law in 1893, without consideration in Congress, making it incumbent on every person basing his claim for re-entry upon the fact of being a returning merchant, to establish the fact as to his being such a merchant as defined by the act for at least one year before his departure from the United States by the testimony of at least two credible witnesses, other than Chinese.

The result of this provision has been, and still is, to make the difficulties in the way of a Chinese merchant's returning to the United States, after a trip for business or sentiment or other consideration to places outside of the United States, almost insurmountable, if he and his witnesses speak the truth.

The first difficulty they encountered was that nearly all Chinese merchants do business under corporate "fancy" names, denoting good luck and the like, and are in the nature of corporations, in which there are a number of co-partners: Yet was this law not a bar to their return, since each individual was bound to show that the business was "conducted in his name?" At first sight it seemed to be clear that this was the legislative intent; the Attorney-General so ruled (21 Opinions Attys. Gen. 5); the Treasury Department (Syn. Dec. 14,877) excluded thousands; the United States District Court in San Francisco so held (*in re* Quan Gin, 61 Fed. Rep. 395, 641.) But this was a matter of vital importance to the mercantile interests of the Pacific Coast; race jealousies and business envy on the part of the "labor" vote could not resist their pressure, and accordingly the Circuit Court of Appeals in California "liberally" construed this statute, and eliminated this requirement by judicial construction (*United States v. Lee Kan*, 62 Fed. Rep. 914.)

The United States Supreme Court declined to reverse this holding.

But there are more serious, practical difficulties than this. It is obvious, from the very nature of things, that few Chinese merchants are so placed as to be able to secure the evidence of credible non-Chinese witnesses as to all the requisite facts, including their non-performance of manual labor for a year before departure from the United States. Few credible white

witnesses could so depose about their own brothers, for instance, if this provision be construed too literally. Yet it is always in the power of any Chinese inspector to make a practically unreviewable decision on this question of fact, excluding the merchant. Moreover, whole classes of persons, including "traders," are excluded under the restrictive definition of the Treasury Department and the California courts.

Under these conditions it is obvious that Chinese merchants may well believe that something in the nature of "forty years' wandering in the desert" is before them, before they can re-enter this "promised land," and it is apparent that such conditions as these, added to the possibility of their entry being constitutionally cut off absolutely during a brief visit to China, by new *ex post facto* laws, such as Congress has in the past enacted, can scarcely serve to induce naturally clannish and conservative people like the Chinese to carry on extensive trade dealings with the United States. In fact, the difficulties of re-entry as merchants are so great that there is reason to believe that *bona fide* Chinese merchants do, on occasion, even make false claims to American citizenship by birth, in order to secure re-entrance!

BARBARITIES OF DEPORTATION.

As to the procedure to effect deportation now being pursued there is the greatest room for improvement and modification. If we had a National law easily understood and sustained by public opinion we would have no more trouble in this class of cases than arises as to alien immigration in general. Scarcely any of these general alien cases get into the courts. The laws are based on rational principles, and though errors in administration doubtless occasionally bar out persons whom the courts would admit, if the matter were open for consideration there, still paupers, prisoners, and contract laborers are dealt with definitely and finally upon arrival, without any need of subsequent deportation proceedings or of stirring up trouble as to alleged entries months or years after the person acted.

Of course, if such principles of non-reviewability were applied to Chinese exclusion, an efficient and reasonable as distinguished from an arbitrary, narrow, and technical administration of the law would be necessary to give satisfaction to both Chinese persons and our own people, and the present ideas imbedded in our statutes under which Chinese persons

are treated as people unlike all others, having practically no rights that our petty or high officials or other citizens need respect, must be first completely gotten rid of.

Our laws should no longer lend color to public judicial intemperances that the Chinese are "pariahs, wholly without rights under our laws," as concerns anything touching on deportation, and the present mockery of the language of our treaty with China giving them "for the protection of their persons and property all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation," should be transformed into what it is ostensibly, an international obligation, to which we have plighted our National troth, and not be contradicted by such deportation provisions, masquerading in the language of the treaty of 1894 as requirements enacted "with a view of affording Chinese laborers better protection!"

When it will no longer be regarded as tantamount to a high crime or felony to be a Chinese alien such purely administrative treatment of the rights of Chinese aliens can be safely authorized. Then presumably marshals executing warrants of deportation will not dare openly to say that if one of their victims escaped they would lose no time in going to "Chinatown" and grabbing any other to substitute for him to cover up their neglect, and Chinamen who have taken appeals allowed them by law with specific judicial provisions suspending execution of orders of deportation would not be spirited away, while the officers evade service and direct knowledge of the orders by keeping in hiding devising novel and mysterious methods of carrying off their "human prey" in evasion of writs of *habeas corpus* and notices of appeal with stays of execution. While such methods as these are resorted to by our many Government officials—and they are at present in numerous instances, to the personal knowledge of the writer—there is an atmosphere of oppression and prejudice and intolerance surrounding executive investigations which make them in fact "mockeries."

THE CHINESE PERSECUTED.

No one appearing to be a Chinese person is safe from these prosecutions and hardships. Though he may have lived for years in the United States, or even never left the country and be of the classes not able or not required to register in 1892 to 1894, nevertheless he may be arrested and subjected to such treatment without even hearsay evidence against him.

Judge Coxe, in the United States District Court for the Northern District of New York, in the case of the United States *v.* Wong Chung, 92 Federal Reporter, 141, in discussing one of these administrative determinations, well said: "He was turned back without even the pretence of a legal investigation. He was arrested, imprisoned, and ordered back to China without a single fact to warrant such a course appearing on the record. The action of the collector was based upon an irrelevant rumor. It would be a misnomer to call it hearsay evidence; it was not evidence at all. In an ordinary conversation, Mr. Clemenshire told the collector not what he knew, but what he had been told by some unnamed person. It was conjecture only. It was the merest shadow, not the shadow of anything tangible, nebulous, and attenuated shade. It was 'such stuff as dreams are made of,' and the collector could have justified his course as well by asserting that it was dictated by a communication from the spirit world, or that it was supported by the revelations of the Koran. No man whose brain is in a normal condition would regulate the most trivial affairs of life upon such information." (Compare similar criticisms by Judge Lacombe, *in re* Chinese Relators, 58 F. R. 554.)

Nor are these isolated cases. Such an unjust result is almost a foregone conclusion when it is remembered that the Treasury Department keeps its investigations, evidence, and reports in these cases secret under general regulations, and treats all this as confidential information, thus making it not merely impossible for the applicant and his attorney to refute the Government's claims or suspicions against him, but even to ascertain what these are. Moreover, it is obvious that the opportunities for blackmail, extortion, and corruption under such conditions of terrorism are infinite, and that these opportunities are in fact availed of on occasion is evidenced by the fact that the Government itself has been compelled to institute criminal prosecutions against such Government officers in at least three different States during the last few years, each case involving independent facts. Nor can any real relief be afforded except in very unusual cases, by the appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury provided by law, because of the overwhelming numbers of the cases, their *ex parte* treatment, and the circumstance that questions of fact are constantly presented which are in their nature almost non-reviewable.

Numerous suggestions and recommendations may, of course, be made as to the proper scope of proposed new legislation or treaty provisions regarding the Chinese. It should be noted that a strong reaction in favor of Chinese laborers and a recognition of their economic value to us seem to be marked throughout our country, not only in the East, but also in the South, and even somewhat along the Pacific Coast, where the trade interests at stake are now being recognized, and it is taking the shape in some portions of recommendations for a total repeal. Apart from considerations already noticed, it must be conceded that the Chinese laborers are honest, frugal, law-abiding, and amiable, and that often great intelligence is hidden under their docility. As Col. Ingersoll said of the deportation law: "This law makes industry a crime, and puts one who works for his bread on a level with thieves and the lowest criminals, treats him as a felon, and clothes him in the stripes of a convict."

To these facts may be further added the circumstances that our present system is expensive and wasteful, and that its general effects upon our administrative and judicial officers and people generally, are deteriorating and demoralizing. In fact, in the northern part of our State, at Plattsburg, where upwards of a hundred claimants to American citizenship, the right to which was in some instances subsequently sustained in the courts, were confined for months in one jail; several died this summer from a sickness which seized upon nearly all of them, as a result of their confinement and terrible treatment, having no justification except a differentiation in the color of their skin or the shape of a feature.

Perhaps the strongest indication of our demoralization is that the incident did not attract enough attention even to get into the newspapers. But the effects upon liberty and personal right and justice in general in our country are indeed serious, and bring them all into disrepute and disregard, when all the constitutional safeguards contained in our Bills of Rights, valued and praised by us so highly as the most cherished development of Anglo-Saxon liberty in effectually protecting individual rights against executive assault, can be ignored, violated, and scoffed at by a wholly unprecedented Frankenstein system, violative of every one of them.

The only reason that could be assigned for disregarding these safeguards, and permitting arrest upon warrants not under oath, unreasonable searches and seizures, an extraordinary

and oppressive reversal of burden of proof, denial of right to process for obtaining witnesses in one's own favor, denial of impartial and jury trial in the vicinage, opportunities to make one's defence where nearly all the witnesses for the prosecution and the defence, as well as friends reside, imprisonment for indefinite periods, running at times into years, and being put upon a diet and other conditions unusual and injurious to health and even life, denial of provisions for reasonable bail, the only reason that could be assigned, and that was assigned, is, that these cases, though in fact criminal, should be labeled otherwise and given a new name devised for the occasion and the emergency!

It is not surprising that distinguished lawyers like Joseph H. Choate and James C. Carter should have pronounced these laws unconstitutional, particularly in their bearings on aliens actually and peaceably living here, and that Chief Justice Fuller, Justice Field, and Justice Brewer should have vigorously dissented from the view that they are constitutional, and that the whole Supreme Court bench should have expressly disavowed any expression of opinion as to "the wisdom, the policy, or the justice of the measures enacted by Congress in the exercise of the powers confided to it by the Constitution over this subject" as regards aliens. (*Fong Yue Ting v. U. S.*, 149 U.S.) When our courts of justice find themselves bound to sustain laws notwithstanding their "injustice," conditions are indeed serious.

PROPOSED REMEDIES.

But the question of a total repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, including the labor exclusion provisions, as distinguished from a removal of these unnecessarily gross abuses and brutal penalties, involved serious objections. Many persons to-day doubtless favor placing restraints upon "pauper labor" immigration by new enactments, not merely discriminating against Chinese persons. Some of our greatest statesmen and thinkers are divided on this question, and the only possible justification, however inadequate, of our Chinese exclusion laws, lies in this economic consideration of injury to be wrought by further inroads of Chinese laborers, lowering wages, and competition with non-Mongolians.

Here, too, a medium course may be the wisest, and new temporary provisions, debarring Chinese laborers not provided with a certificate to be prescribed by law, may be still expe-

dient. But in any event, there is no occasion for a continuance of our present unjust, oppressive, and demoralizing deportation system. Either by statute or by a new treaty, all existing provisions might be repealed, and a new enactment substituted, providing that all non-laborers may enter upon production of a certificate of identity, to emanate, in the case of new arrivals, from the Chinese government and visaed by the United States Diplomatic or Consular officers at the port of departure for the United States, while in the case of Chinese consular officers here might be authorized to issue the certificate, and the visé be by our own Treasury officers. All persons not laborers ought to be permitted to secure such certificates.

If the certificate be made mandatory, reasonable opportunities for residence in the United States under reasonable bail for a few months ought to be afforded, so as to enable lost or technically irregular certificates to be replaced, so that such unfortunate will no longer be deported because, for instance, the Chinese government issues a certificate to him in Chinese instead of English, or because our consular officers fixed a defective visé.

While the statutory definition of "laborer" might be retained, if the strong arguments of the Chinese Consul General as concerns certain branches of labor at least be not accepted, and the provisions as to "skilled" labor at least dropped, in analogy to our contract labor law provisions, the oppressive statutory definition of "merchants" and the unwise enumeration of certain classes of non-laborers should be dropped. Right to review in the courts adverse decision excluding Chinese persons ought to be afforded, for some time at least, and the situation in that respect brought back to what it was before the act of 1894, made the executive officers' rulings non-reviewable. This would include the claims of Chinese persons, laborers or non-laborers, claiming American citizenship, which get into the courts even now in spite of the exclusion laws, pursuant to the Constitution, and to-day constitute the bulk of cases arising.

Chinese laborers who are residents of the United States, but not citizens, might be permitted to re-enter upon production of a certificate similar to that now exacted, but for the sake of simplicity of administration with the easily evaded property or relationship provisions eliminated, such certificate to be based upon registration certificates already issued, or

hereafter to be issued, to Chinese laborers. To-day conditions are such that Chinese laborers have learned to value and cherish their registration certificates and realize their protective character, and no serious antagonism would be aroused by a new law requiring registration *de novo*, much less by one authorizing Chinese residents not yet registered to register now.

LET THE GEARY LAW BE DROPPED.

The consular visé should be granted with reasonable liberality, and not be capriciously or for mere technical reasons withheld; it should be granted without expense so as to eliminate the danger of bribery in Oriental lands, and the certificate thus visaed ought to be made conclusive evidence against as well as for the Government of right of entry, except, of course, in the case of forgery. If judicial deportation proceedings should be insisted on still for unlawful entry—though they really would under such conditions be no more necessary than they are now necessary or resorted to in cases of non-Chinese aliens in general—they should be based upon complaint on oath and subject to the procedure applicable in criminal cases, and the oppressive and anomalous provisions of the Geary law, first introduced by that act in 1892 upon the comparatively harmless Chinese deportation provisions previously existing on our statute books, should be dropped.

Above all, both in the interest of the applicants and the Government, these cases should be tried at the large cities where the defendants reside or were bound to, where the witnesses reside, where the friends of the prisoners are to be found, where bail is reasonably obtainable, where the judicial facilities are better, where a fair trial is most assured, and where the expenses of securing attendance of witnesses and proceeding in general are lowest, and thus the corrupting opportunities for "mileage" and "expenses," arrangements by which Government witnesses in these cases are now often suborned to testify falsely, will be minimized and perjury avoided. The Government itself at one time saw the advantage of this course, and by Treasury regulations directed it to be taken; but in the search for more "efficient" administration of the law the rights of the accused were ignored, this direction was rescinded, and the present system adopted.

In fact, however, it is a remarkable fact that in the course of the treaty negotiations which culminated in the treaty of

1894 between our Secretary of State and the then Chinese Minister, China protested against the oppressive character of these judicial proceedings after entry, even in the mild form in which they were established before the Geary law, and required that judicial deportations should cease. Secretary Bayard acquiesced in the proposition, and Article III of the subsisting treaty was framed by changing a prior draft thereof and substituting the words "may produce a certificate" for "shall, in accordance with Section 6 of the law of July 5, 1884," and the words "as required in said section" were eliminated, so that the old certificate of non-laborers was replaced by a new one, the provisions were turned into a directory instead of a mandatory one, and the old-time penalty of the statute "for entering without the certificate in this act required" fell because the old certificate was no longer required at all, and the new one was made directory merely, and no lawful deportation for entry without it has been provided for, either in the treaty or by subsequent statutes. (See Foreign Relations of the United States, 1888, Vol. I, pages 368, 370, and 371-3.)

MEANING OF TREATY IN DOUBT.

The question whether the treaty has not eliminated this deportation provision and left the enforcement of the law to executive action by way of exclusion alone is now before the courts, but whatever may be decided on this question of law, it is clear that both China and our country desired to eliminate this procedure provision, and if the treaty does not, in fact, express such intent, it was because either one or both of the contracting parties failed clearly to express their avowed intention. Of course, provisions for counterfeiting certificates prescribed by law and for punishing, knowingly introducing, or aiding in introducing Chinese persons forbidden by law to enter, should be continued. Reasonable bail should be specifically authorized, and every other provision of the law and the treaties as to immigration, registration, and procedure should be specifically repealed.

This system would eliminate all complications from every source, except perhaps false claims of citizenship, but even these would drop, under a rational law, unoppressive in character, and they would be easily refuted, since nearly every Chinaman in the country, including citizens of the United States by birth, of Chinese extraction, would be glad to regis-

ter in self-protection, and thus there would be convenient methods at hand for rebutting such claims. These claims would further decrease if an additional step be taken to solve this Chinese problem, eradicate the evils supposed to be underlying it, and Chinese residents of the United States placed on an equality with negroes by giving them an opportunity to become American citizens upon compliance with all the conditions applicable to all other races.

Our civil war, it may reasonably be stated, went far to establish the fact that statements in our Declaration of Independence regarding "all men being created free and equal," were no mere glittering generalities, but an essential foundation stone of our democracy. It carried with it, as a result, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which placed citizenship by birth upon a firm and unassailable basis, and compelled a holding in the case of the United States *v.* Wong Kim Ark, 169 U. S., that non-diplomatic Chinese persons born in the United States were "persons born within the United States, subject to the jurisdiction thereof," and as such "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

CHINAMAN AND NEGRO.

Among their privileges and immunities as citizens by birth is, as we have seen, exemption from our Chinese Exclusion Acts. Unfortunately, in framing the revision of our naturalization laws in 1870, by expressly conferring the right of naturalization upon negroes, the original statute was amended by adding to the clause making the naturalization clause applicable to "white aliens being free white persons," merely the words "and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." It has commonly been assumed and decided, though without much consideration, that Chinese persons were never authorized by our general laws to become citizens by naturalization (but see *in re Rodriguez*, 81 F. R. 337, 349), and a prohibition upon their naturalization was expressly placed upon our statute books in 1882, and is recognized in our treaty with China of 1894.

In fact, however, already in 1870, when blacks were granted the right of naturalization, Senator Sumner had urged the use of terms that would have included all races, and it was partly because of prejudice against the Chinese and Japanese on the part of a few, then already making itself felt, and principally

because of general indifference, except as concerned negro-voters' rights, that the exclusion of Mongolians from the privilege resulted. (Cong. Globe, 1869-1870, Pt. 6, p. 5121.) It is apparent, however, that the element of maintenance of national faith involved wholly escaped attention, and that all Chinese persons who came to this country from 1868 until 1882 came here not merely in reliance upon abstract American principles of equality of men and equal rights to citizenship, but under the pledge of the treaty of 1868, which in terms contained a recognition by both countries of "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from one country to the other, for purpose of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents." If, in the past, naturalization of Chinese has not been authorized by our statutes as a matter of national good faith, it should have been certainly as regards people who came over from China between 1868 and 1882, and there are still many of these in this country anxious to become American citizens and to rebut the assumption that they cannot be Americanized or assimilated.

TRUE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

But this measure is urged, not simply upon considerations of abstract justice and good faith, but as looking to the true solution of this Chinese immigration problem. These exclusion laws have, in the past, been justified on the score of economic necessity, in order to check lowering the rate of wages of labor in general, and because the Chinese are supposed to be unwilling to assimilate with us. The latter proposition can be disposed of in a few words.

Instead of welcoming them like other aliens, we have denied American citizenship to the Chinese, discriminated against them as against no other race, degraded, oppressed, and insulted them, and established this monstrous deportation and exclusion system against them, which is based upon the assumption that they have none of the "rights of man." How could we possibly expect them to be assimilated, as other people are? Yet, in fact, in each of our large cities well-attended schools have been opened specially for their instruction, particularly by different Christian missions, and especially their minor children are becoming masters of our language, our habits, our customs. Numbers of them have left their "China-

towns" and settled "up town" among us; many have adopted our costume, even cut off their queues, and have become converts to Occidental religious faiths.

Their women, as far as we permit them to, are coming over in increasing numbers to settle here permanently. Some of the men have entered our professions, are to be found at our colleges, have chairs in Chinese opened for them at our universities, even marry worthy American wives, whom they encountered in Chinese Christian missions. The remarkable fact is, not that they are not willing to assimilate with us, but that they should have assimilated with us as much as they have. And herein lies also the solution of the Chinese labor question.

Even of their laborers, those that mingle with us and become more or less fully Americanized, particularly those living outside the Chinese quarters, to which custom and assaults from without direct them, rapidly learn that they are economically equal to other men of other races, and their ideas of equality assert themselves first of all in their charging as much as other men, as much as our general economic laws of supply and demand permit. Americanization and assimilation are the deadliest foes of "starvation wages." If it be deemed best to continue excluding laborers, while abolishing our present iniquitous procedure system, rapid assimilation and Americanization will go on. The more Americanized and intelligent among them, whose lives are in fact, if not in name, linked to this country and not to China, and who are clamoring for an opportunity to become American citizens in name as well, would be most useful allies in such work of Americanization. And, needless to say, an enormous increase in our percentage of the Oriental trade would follow in the wake of a rational and satisfactory solution of the immigration problem.

THE NATURALIZATION QUESTION.

The rights of Chinese merchants residing here, too, would be protected, if they were permitted to become naturalized American citizens, and thus taken outside of the operation of these laws, to the same extent that Chinese born here are now. Through some recent Congressional legislation, perhaps by mere inadvertence, all Chinese residents of Hawaii have become citizens of the United States (Synopsis Treasury Decisions, No. 22,913), though the wisdom of such a general and indiscriminate naturalization is doubtful. Yet have we a right

to deny this privilege, while granting it unconditionally and without discrimination to all Chinese in Hawaii, to Chinese non-laborers who have resided here at least five years, who, even under existing laws, would be required to prove the facts under close scrutiny as to their residence in courts of law, in part at least by non-alien testimony, and place themselves on record, as wanting to adopt as their permanent home this land, which has welcomed with open arms all other aliens wishing to settle here and ostensibly still seeks to enjoy the reciprocal value of their residence and trade here, and our domiciles and trade in their fatherland?

That Chinese persons would welcome such an opportunity to become citizens is evidenced, not merely by their own wishes, freely expressed from time to time, but by their futile applications in the past and by the few cherished naturalization certificates possessed by a handful of their number, void, perhaps, on their face, but issued here and there by order of some magistrate, who was ignorant of the fact that he was violating the law of the land in failing to discriminate against Chinese applicants for naturalization because of their "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"! Of course, the naturalization certificates purposed to be issued to Chinese persons, like all other certificates herein referred to, may properly be required to have attached to them a photograph of the Chinese applicant, such as is required under the registration certificate under the McCreery Act of 1893, in order to prevent fraud and false personation.

Charles Sumner's words, spoken in the Senate in 1870, before the exclusion acts were framed, are still pertinent, and in view of our labor exclusion laws to-day, still more unanswerable:

"Senators undertake to disturb us in our judgment by reminding us of large numbers swarming from China, but the answer to all this is very obvious and very simple. If the Chinese come here, they will come for citizenship or merely for labor. If they come for citizenship, then in this desire do they give a pledge of loyalty to our institutions, and where is the peril in such vows? They are peaceful and industrious. How can their citizenship be the occasion of solicitude?"

In such ways we could not merely give relief to the oppressed Chinese residents, while restricting further Chinese labor emigration, and do away with a system of exclusion and deportation that is a blot and disgrace upon our national fame,

but a simple, inexpensive, just, and unoppressive mode of treatment of Chinese aliens would be assured, and exclusion laws would be made more effective, and we would secure valued Chinese trade concessions and connections of incalculable value, and we would best serve the aims of our own American laborers by preventing "cheap Chinese labor" now in the country from injuring laborers of other races, by lowering or keeping low standards of wages! And it would no longer be necessary for our Government to hide itself shame-facedly behind other governments, while making requests for trade privileges and concessions and right of residence for American citizens in China, in order to avoid the inquiry as to whether American civilization has afforded similar rights in America to Chinese merchant princes!

His Excellency, the Chinese Minister, Wu Ting Fang, in his address at Ann Arbor, to the students of the University, spoke as follows:

Confucius said: "When I walk along with two others, they will serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them; as to their bad qualities, I will avoid them."

This is the mental attitude of an observing student bent upon self-improvement. In the study of your institutions, I have striven to hold myself always in readiness to learn, with a view to profitable comparison. I fully appreciate the excellence of your political, economical and educational systems. Too much praise cannot be accorded to the founders and statesmen of this great Republic for their wisdom and foresight in providing for the growth, development and government of the country. But it cannot be denied that, excellent as those systems are, they are not yet perfect, that is, suited to all requirements, at all times; for the work of man cannot be perfect. All things in this world are in course of change, and we must change with them to keep up with the times. Progress is essential to life. China has been too much wedded to the past. The result is that she has to suffer for it. Her institutions, system of education, literature and government are all products of an age that is past. They were amply sufficient, indeed, to meet the demands of national development when the country was practically isolated from the rest of the world. But in these days of progress and international

intercourse, they are woefully inadequate to satisfy the present needs. So some defects have, no doubt, been found in the past in the working of the American system of government, and it is not unlikely that other defects may be discovered in the future. It is the part of wise statesmen to rectify them to suit the circumstances and requirements of the times. I am sure you would show more respect to the man who as a sincere friend points out the faults he has found in you, than to the man who glosses over your shortcomings and overloads you with fulsome flattery.

I have come to this University at the joint invitation of the Students' Lecture Association and the Good Government Club. As these societies, if I am not mistaken, are founded chiefly for the discussion of questions affecting the welfare of this country, it may not be inappropriate for me, as an outsider, to venture to lay before you the results of some of my observations.

The freedom of speech and of the press, I understand, is the corner-stone of American liberty. The Constitution of the United States rightly forbids the Congress of the United States to abridge this valuable right. In this connection, I may mention an incident from ancient Chinese history, in support of the freedom of speech: About eight centuries before the Christian era, there ruled over China a king whose oppressive measures stirred up a great deal of public discussion and adverse criticism among the people. One of his ministers, the Duke of Chao, informed the monarch of the dissatisfaction of the people. The king was very angry and employed soothsayers, who were supposed to have the power of reading minds (as some clever people profess to be able to do nowadays), to keep a sharp lookout for what was said against him. Every offender reported to him was at once put to death. The people were for a time awed into silence, and could only communicate their dissatisfaction by expressive looks in the streets. The king was quite pleased with his success in this regard and boasted to the Duke of Chao, that he had put a stop to all criticism of his acts and measures. His minister at once replied: "This is gagging, pure and simple. To stop up the mouth of the people is worse than stopping up the mouth of a stream. A stream when obstructed will break down all barriers, and spread devastation on all sides. So it is with the people. For this reason those who have to do with streams always endeavor to

ear the channel of every obstruction and allow the water to have an uninterrupted way to the sea. It is in like manner the interest of those who have to do with the people to be tolerant and permit the utmost freedom of speech. The mouth speaks what the heart dictates. Why, then, resort to gagging?" This sensible advice and warning was not heeded by the prince, and it is recorded that soon after he had to flee from his kingdom to save his life.

It will be seen that the Chinese, as well as the people of this country, regard freedom of speech as a political possession of paramount importance. Indeed, they do not hesitate to use all the resources of the Chinese language in exposing dishonestness and corruption in high quarters. Oftentimes even the Emperor does not entirely escape their fearless criticism. But, so far as my observations go, I believe that freedom of speech is carried to a much greater length in this country than in China. I have observed that libellous attacks upon the reputation of private men have often been allowed to go unpunished. In these days of sensational journalism, no one is safe from invasions upon his privacy. All of a sudden a search-light may be turned upon a man's private life, and a long-buried past is exposed to the public view. This is not all. Sometimes stories which have no foundation in fact are printed in the newspapers which are calculated to hold a person up to public ridicule and scorn. The victim of such an outrage has practically no adequate remedy. The mischief is already done. To vindicate himself before the public by resorting to legal proceedings is an expensive, and, on the whole, unsatisfactory and tedious process. As a rule the publicity of such a step is like jumping from the frying-pan into the fire.

But there is a more serious consequence to which the abuse of this fundamental right leads. I have in mind the spread of pernicious doctrines through the country. The creed which aims to destroy government should not be allowed to gain foothold anywhere. It is like an epidemic which must be stamped out; else it will spread by infection. It is hardly necessary for me to remind you of the great calamity that has lately befallen the American nation. The blow has come to every good citizen who has the welfare and prosperity of the country at heart. Every intelligent and thinking man cannot but perceive that the assassination of President McKinley is the natural fruit of the anarchistic propaganda:

this country. It seems there is urgent need of enacting laws to stop the further spread of anarchism. But how to attain this end and at the same time not to abridge the freedom of speech and of the press is a problem that wise statesmen and legislators of this country have to solve, which I do not doubt they will be able to do.

The contest between capital and labor is one that deserves the serious attention of every public man. There is no denying that capital is a power, and as a species of power it is liable to abuse. It may be the means of oppressing the poor as well as that of benefiting the needy. It has been said that capital is antagonistic to labor. Why this is so is difficult to comprehend. In the production of wealth, one is as essential as the other. Without labor, capital will have to lie idle. Without capital, labor will remain unemployed. One is the complement of the other. There should be a better appreciation of the rights and duties of both. I have been struck with the tremendous power wielded not only by big combinations of capital, called trusts, but also by combinations of labor, called labor unions. The industrial and economic conditions in America require the organization of labor as a practical necessity. When properly conducted labor organizations are productive of much good; for here as well as elsewhere, "union is strength." But I must confess that I do not always see the necessity of resorting to strikes as a means of bringing employers to terms. When a strike is ordered, it inconveniences the public. The strikers, moreover, have families to support, and have need of their wages. Thus, their action is as injurious to themselves as to their employers. What, then, it may be asked, should be the means adopted to adjust their differences with their employers? To my mind the answer is not far to seek. When a man has a quarrel with another, the matter is taken to a court of law where justice is administered. A decision of the court settles the matter. Why could not some such course of action be taken in disputes between employers and employees? I fail to see the reason why it should not be so. If it is feared that the judges may all belong to one class, why not then appoint some from the other class? In my humble opinion, some such pacific means might be devised for the settlement of all disputes between capitalists and laborers.

According to the American Constitution every legislative power not granted to the Federal Government is reserved to

the States. Every State, therefore, has the power to enact laws on all subjects not expressly forbidden by the Constitution. Now there are forty-five States. The result is that there are forty-five independent codes of law. Even in criminal legislation there is no uniformity in the different States. An act which committed in one State is criminal may be entirely free from that taint in another State. Certain benefits or exemptions which are denied by one State to its inhabitants may be enjoyed by the inhabitants of another State. Moreover, I find that the States are independent of Federal control. They are truly sovereign in their own sphere. But if anything happens in any of the States affecting a foreigner, then the procedure is somewhat peculiar. Suppose a foreigner should be the victim of a riotous attack by some inhabitants in a State and unable to obtain justice and satisfaction from the local authorities, which is quite possible, though very rare, the Federal Government, upon representation of the foreign government concerned, could do nothing more for the foreign victim than to request the governor of that State to take up the matter. It is a credit to the authorities of the different States that notwithstanding the anomalous state of things as above mentioned no cases of serious consequence have so far happened, which might have involved foreign complications, but have been satisfactorily settled. Whether legislative steps should be taken to remove this possible cause of friction with foreign countries, and laws on crimes and other matters should be made uniform in all the States, is for the good sense of the people to decide.

One of the most puzzling problems that confronts this country is the immigration question. In days gone by, when the country was young, there were forests to be cleared, wild animals to be killed, and savages to be driven away, before the land was ready for human habitation. Then it was that immigrants were absolutely necessary for its development. Under such circumstances, your forefathers wisely encouraged immigration from all countries, and held out the inducements of a new home to settlers from every quarter of the globe. Under this liberal policy the United States grew from a confederacy of thirteen States to a mighty nation, and expanded, by rapid strides, from ocean to ocean. The population has risen from 5,000,000 to nearly 80,000,000. Millions of acres of land have been brought under cultivation. Even deserts have been made to bloom by irrigation. The result is that the whole

country is occupied by a busy and enterprising population. Now a different phase of the immigration question presents itself. The times have changed, and the condition of the country has changed with them. It would be a suicidal policy to give as much encouragement to immigration, now that the country is fairly populated, as when there was not one inhabitant to a square mile. Congressional legislation, having for its purpose the restriction of immigration, is the natural outcome.

You observe that I agree with those who hold that this country needs restrictive immigration laws. But in order to produce good results such laws should be general in their scope. They should not single out any one people for exclusion or make invidious distinction between nations or countries. In the second place such laws should be so enforced as to remedy the evil aimed at. They should be effective in keeping out the undesirable element without obstructing the entrance of the worthy and desirable class. Criminals, paupers, illiterates, and those who are liable to become a public charge ought not to be allowed to land, irrespective of race and nationality. In this connection, I cannot help touching upon a subject which concerns the welfare of my countrymen. You know, of course, that I refer to the exclusion of Chinese from this country. Their exclusion is brought about, you are probably aware, by special, and not by general, laws. It is a discrimination against the people of a particular country. It is not necessary for me here to go over all the arguments that have been urged against the immigration of Chinese into this country. Suffice it to say that they are all more or less unfounded and unsound, and can be easily traced to misunderstanding and to ignorance of facts. It has often been contended, for example, that if the bars of exclusion were to be let down, this country would be flooded with millions upon millions of China's surplus population. If such fears were based upon a more solid foundation than upon a fertile imagination, it would indeed constitute a menace to the political existence of the American Republic; then it would be natural and proper that strict measures should be adopted to prevent such a catastrophe, and no reasonable person would raise any objection. But let us examine the facts of the case. The population of the whole Empire of China is commonly supposed to be in round numbers 400,000,000, but conservative estimates by foreigners who have been residing in China make it considerably smaller,

no more than 300,000,000. It should be remembered that China is a country that occupies an immense territory and is fully able to support this immense population. The Chinese long ago acquired the habits of an agricultural nation. Mencius, the most revered of the Chinese sages next to Confucius, went so far as to say that burial of the dead and change of abode should not go beyond the limits of the native village or city. Thus all Chinese from their childhood have the notion of firm attachment to their native home thoroughly instilled into them. They also have a horror of travelling abroad, and their education, habits and environments all tend to make them remain in the places of their birth without change. The inducements must be very great indeed to tempt them away from their ancestral homes. The truth is that all the Chinese that are in the United States come from only one single province in China, nay, from a few districts of that province. Who has ever met a Chinese in this country, outside of the consular and diplomatic service, who hails from any other province than the Province of Kwangtung? This province has a population of 25,000,000, according to the most trustworthy estimate. But of this population only about 5,000,000 live in those districts which solely supply Chinese immigrants to this country.

Suppose every obstacle to the free admission of Chinese to the United States should be removed; does any man in his sober senses really believe that the entire population of 5,000,000 of those districts would immigrate to this country.

Let us briefly state what first led the Chinese to come to the United States.

Some years after the discovery of gold in California, the report reached China. A few adventurous spirits of those days in Canton, the capital of Kwangtung Province, buoyed up by the hope of finding gold and making their fortunes, braved the hardships and privations of a long ocean voyage and landed upon American soil. These early Chinese gold seekers returned to their native land after years of unremitting toil, with the fruits of their labor, and regaled their kindred with tales of fabulous wealth and glowing accounts of fortunes quickly dissipated and quickly won. Now, to this day, California, and particularly San Francisco, is known among the Chinese as "Gold Hills." It was the glitter of gold that first attracted the Chinese of Kwangtung to American shores. Soon after the gold fever had subsided, a tremen-

dous demand for labor was created by the construction of the transcontinental railroad lines, and American agents were sent to China to procure Chinese laborers, who are known to be patient, obedient, and sober workmen. It will be seen that the discovery of gold in California brought Chinese to America, and the presence of Chinese laborers in this country alone made the construction of the transcontinental lines possible. In order to produce an influx of Chinese there must be some demand in this country similar to that created by the discovery of gold and the construction of railroads. There is none of this character nowadays. Under such circumstances the influx of Chinese cannot be very great. The Chinese are a people that have an eye to business. If they hear that they cannot find in this country better opportunity for making money, they will remain in their own country.

It is a curious fact that the economical conditions of China at the present day resemble those of the United States immediately after the Civil War. The prospect of a settled period of peace has given a tremendous impetus to the launching of great industrial and engineering enterprises. Railroad building is sure to engross the resources and energy of the whole empire for some years to come. This means that China will have need at home of all the labor at her command. In proportion as the demand for labor increases there will be less labor available for emigration to other countries.

It has been said that Chinese labor is cheap. Chinese cheap labor is a misleading expression. As an element in the cost of production the price paid for labor in China is exceedingly high, in comparison with the price paid for labor in this country. Let me illustrate my meaning. To harvest an ordinary crop of rice in China requires ten men in five days. But the same amount of work can be done by a modern harvesting machine tended by a single man in one day. In other words, the machine does the work of fifty men. Suppose such laborers in China get ten cents a day, the American laborer with his machine ought to get fifty times as much, or \$5.00. As a matter of fact he does not get half as much, while day laborers in China get their ten cents a day for doing just one-fiftieth the amount of work. It will be seen that the price paid for labor is at least twice as much as that paid in the United States reckoned as part of the cost of production. But, of course, the amount each laborer gets in wages is many times less in China than what the American laborer gets in America.

There is another consideration that is often overlooked by those who make comparisons between the wages of Chinese laborers and American laborers. I refer to the purchasing power of money. In China the purchasing power of silver, the common metal used for monetary purpose, is high. A man in China with ten cents in his pocket could get as many necessaries of life as a man in America with fifty cents or a dollar. So far as living is concerned, the laboring class of China with the wages current there has not much difficulty in satisfying their daily needs. Chinese labor can hardly be said to compete with American labor. Competition can only take place between individuals of the same class. Is it correct to say that doctors compete with lawyers? Chinese laborers are not in the same class with American laborers, for the work that American laborers do, requires greater intelligence and skill than that done by Chinese laborers. The Chinese laborer is more or less a machine. He competes with machines, while the American laborer is the guiding hand that directs the various motions necessary to produce a given result. I do not say there are no Chinese laborers that can compete with American laborers, but such can find plenty of work in China, and it is not necessary for them to come to this country to earn a livelihood.

The Chinese laborer has a place in the development of this country. Without him, thousands of acres of waste land in the West would never have been reclaimed, and thousands of miles of railroads would never have been built. If he had never set foot upon American soil the development of the West would have been set back at least ten years. It may be asked whether those public works could not have been done by American labor. But in that case, for lack of sufficient labor, the cost of construction would have been so enormously increased as to render such undertaking out of the question. From an economical point of view, the Chinese are regular pioneers in preparing the way for the advent and establishment of a community of more advanced development. Now that the transcontinental lines have been completed, how many Americans have derived their daily bread from the working of these lines? It is Chinese labor in the first place that rendered the employment of white labor possible.

It is generally laid down by economists that land, labor, and capital are the three principal requisites for the production of wealth. No one will say that a country can have too

much land and capital. It is clear that land and capital are good things of which no country can have too much. Why should we complain of having too much of the third element in the production of wealth? Is not labor a good thing? The truth is that it is not the superfluity of labor, but the dearth of labor that is detrimental to the interests of a country. It is currently reported that in many sections of this country, especially in the farming districts, there is a great demand for laborers, which cannot be supplied. This clearly shows that there are not laborers enough to meet the needs and requirements of the country. Some laboring men in this country make the mistake of supposing that the amount of wages to be divided among the laborers in the country is a constant quantity. According to this theory, it is to their interest to shut others out, so that they have more wages to divide among themselves. But this is a wrong assumption. Labor produces wealth. The more wealth labor produces, the greater will be their opportunities. Every industry that comes into existence creates a demand for labor. Take the California fruit industry, for example. It is true that gives work primarily to those who work in the groves. But consider the thousands outside, who handle the products before they reach the consumers, the packers, the shippers, the train hands, the men that load and unload the cars, the jobbers and the fruit sellers on street corners, all making their living more or less out of the raising of fruits. The same may be said of every application of labor, which scatters benefits far and wide. But it may be asked, "What is to prevent over-production?" Over-production seems to be the bugbear of some people. Can there ever be a superfluity of good things? Only some years ago the fruits of California could only be found on the tables of the rich, while tons of the most delicious kinds rotted under the trees for lack of transportation facilities. Now the prices of California fruit are within the reach of all. Is not this a blessing? By all means let the good work go on. Let labor produce as much as possible without let or hindrance. Then all the comforts and conveniences of life will be within the reach of not only the rich but also of the general mass of people. We are all consumers. We cannot have too many of the good things of life. I am sure that even the working men in this country, who are intelligent, if they study the question dispassionately and carefully, will see that instead of harm only good comes to them from abundance.

In any case it will be found that the presence of Chinese laborers is not detrimental to the interests of this country. If, however, it be considered advisable to legislate against the coming of laborers to this country, let such a law be made applicable to all Asiatics and Europeans as well as Chinese. The aim of the American Government at first was only to regulate, limit and suspend the coming of Chinese laborers. For this purpose, three high commissioners, one of whom was the distinguished president of your university, were sent to China to negotiate a treaty with China. Your President will bear me out that the Chinese government was very unwilling to make such a treaty, and only consented after a great deal of persuasion. The treaty thus concluded expressly states that "the limitation shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may come to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitation." These are the words of the solemn treaty agreed to by the governments of the United States and China in 1880. What has happened since? We find that laws have been enacted one after another, each being more severe than the one before, against Chinese laborers, but the most surprising fact is that the exclusion laws, as now interpreted by the judicial officers and carried out by the customs officers has the effect not only of stopping the coming of Chinese laborers, but also of preventing merchants and other classes of Chinese from entering the country. This was not the intention of the treaty and the law, nor, I venture to think, the wish of the people of this country. But according to the opinion of a very high legal official, who had no doubt given it conscientiously, it was decided some time ago that the law prohibited the coming not only of Chinese laborers, but also of *all other Chinese*, except officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers; and these, in order to be admitted, must have certificates issued by the proper officials of their own government and visaed by the American Consul at the port of departure. In consequence of this high legal opinion, a respectable Chinese, whether a banker, or a lawyer, or a physician, cannot gain admission to this country, and instructions have been issued to that effect. In many cases great hardships have resulted. I will state a case that will show what difficulties Chinese merchants and others have to encounter in their lawful attempt to enter this country, even when there is no suspicion of fraud. Not long ago two Chinese students were brought over to this country by an American lady mis-

sionary, bearing passports issued by Viceroy Li Hung Chang in Peking. These passports were duly visaed by the American Consul at Tientsin, but the students were denied admission on the ground that passports were not the certificates required by law. It was urged on their behalf that their failure to get the proper certificates was not their fault, nor the fault of their guardian who brought them here, because they did not know the law; but the American Consul should have told them that they did not have the proper certificates. Under the impression that their passports were valid, they came over ten thousand miles of ocean at great expense. It was pleaded that the spirit of the law had been complied with, and that they should be allowed to land. This was refused and they were in danger of being sent back to China, when another and final effort was made to induce the executive officers to alter their decision. It was finally arranged only as a favor that the two students should be allowed to remain temporarily under the charge of the Chinese Consul-General, pending the arrival of the proper certificates to be obtained from China. In stating this case, it must not be presumed that any blame is attached to the officers charged with the execution of the exclusion laws. They saw that hardship caused by their action and showed every disposition to solve the question, but they could not override the opinion of the law officer of the Government. This is only an instance of the law standing in the way of Chinese merchants, students, and other classes of respectable Chinese who wish to come to America. It must be conceded that the existing law works not only hardships to the persons concerned, but it is injurious to the commercial interests of this country also. It is to be hoped that some steps will be taken to remedy the unsatisfactory state of things.

The Chinese immigration question is a complicated one. To solve it satisfactorily is not easy. It is necessary to look deeply into the subject, and not allow oneself to be swayed by prejudice and bias. Prejudice is the mother of mischief and injustice, and all intelligent men should guard against it. In order to get at the truth, it is necessary to study the facts of the case and not to jump at any conclusion, however plausible it may be. Let all preconceived notions be laid aside, and pains be taken to weigh all the arguments pro and con. I am sure that with the intelligence of the American people and their sense of fair play, they will not enact any measure in guarding their supposed interests for the purpose of oppressing

a people who are not in a position to retaliate. I feel confident they will conscientiously do what is right. The best principle to follow in government and legislation is to put oneself in the position of another. In other words, it is the golden rule that ought to govern the action of legislators and statesmen. If this principle of action is adopted in all cases, the American people will have not only a good government but the best government in the world.

These are some of my crude observations, and I lay them before you for what they are worth. Universities are the nurseries of statesmen. Never has this been more true than at the present day. Gentlemen, those of you who are students of this noble institution, it will not be long before you will enter upon the active duties of life. As citizens of this great Republic, you may be called upon to grapple with intricate questions and solve knotty problems in the nation's council. Then you will find that the educational advantages you have received from this great university will stand you in good stead, and enable you to render such valuable services to your country as to do credit to yourselves and reflect honor upon your Alma Mater.

These words of the Minister appeal to the highest sense of American manhood, and show conclusively that the Chinaman needs but to be understood and to be humanely treated, and he will then cheerfully and willingly become a citizen of the United States, and, in common with millions of other men, will assimilate and become an integral part of our great Government.

There has been no encouragement whatsoever for the Chinaman to forget or forego the land of his birth. The laws are restrictive, and such of the Chinamen as are permitted to land are harrassed and persecuted in a manner that borders on the inhuman. The officers of the law who are to define the admissibility of a Chinaman under the law, are in the main prejudiced and not impartial. The condition of the traduced Chinamen is made infinitely worse by those who ought to protect them. In other words, the officers of the

law are extrajudicial and do not exhibit that disinterested spirit, which is expected from the servants of the Government.

The archives of the Chinese Legation and the Consul Generals of the different ports, notably that of San Francisco, are full of statistics showing the inhumanities practiced upon the Chinese. His word and statement count for nothing. He must prove his innocence instead of the Government proving his guilt, a doctrine repugnant and repulsive to every Anglo-Saxon. Joaquin Miller, in an article on the Chinese Exclusion Act, published in the December number of the *North American Review*, and from which extracts have been taken and appear in another part of this pamphlet, shows conclusively that the Chinamen under present conditions are far better than any other class could possibly be, if treated in a like harsh manner; that they are willing to become citizens of the United States; that they have no desire to under-bid American labor; that they are willing to join the labor unions and thus uphold the dignity of American labor; that the better class of Chinamen have no sympathy for the highbinders; on the contrary, they are in favor of very rigid execution of the laws, and that if found guilty of any crime or misdemeanor, that they shall not only be punished according to law, but that upon their release from imprisonment they should be deported to China under penalty if returning that they be imprisoned for life, or summarily executed, thus proving conclusively that there is no desire on the part of any decent or respectable Chinaman to flood the United States with criminals or with coolie labor. It is a mere hue and cry, gotten up in the spirit of mediæval prejudice and not in the spirit that desires prosperity for the United States.

The following synopsis gives rules of the Treasury Department construction by the Attorney-General, and the facts as they stand to-day in regard to the enforcement and administration on the Pacific coast especially.

In an opinion dated the 15th of July, 1898, Attorney-General Grigg says :

“It may be stated comprehensively that the result of the whole body of these laws and decisions thereon is to determine that the true theory is not that all Chinese persons may enter this country who are not forbidden, but that only those are entitled to enter who are expressly allowed.”

The Treasury Department, in pursuance of this opinion, issued the following instructions to Collectors of Customs :

“Collectors of Customs are directed to admit only Chinese whose occupation or station clearly indicates that they are members of the exempt class of Chinese named in Article III of the treaty with China, viz: ‘Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure,’ and to deny admission to Chinese persons described as salesmen, clerks, buyers, bookkeepers, accountants, managers, storekeepers, apprentices, agents, cashiers, physicians, proprietors of restaurants, etc.”

From an examination of the following cases it will be seen that the rights of the Chinese to come to and reside in this country have been constantly ignored by officers of the United States Government.

1. In September, 1900, Hong Sling, a well-known Chinese merchant of Chicago, had occasion to go to Decatur, Illinois, on business. Upon his arrival at Decatur he was pounced upon by a deputy marshal at the depot, who demanded the production of his certificate of registration and residence, and threatened him with arrest in case of non-compliance. It must be remembered that the law makes registration optional with merchants and obligatory only upon laborers. To the demand of the deputy marshal Hong Sling answered that he was a merchant, and at once pulled out of his pocket a number of letters of introduction given him by prominent business men of Chicago, among which was one given him by the Hon-

orable L. J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, to substantiate his statement. But the deputy marshal insisted upon seeing his certificate of residence. In the meantime the commotion thus created in a public place attracted a large crowd. To make a search for the certificate Hong Sling had to open his valise in the presence of a gaping and jeering crowd, and at last found it after a great deal of rummaging. Then the deputy marshal, with a kick and an oath, allowed Hong Sling to go his way.

2. So Ho Luck, a young man who had worked hard to support himself while trying to obtain an education in this country, was not permitted to land upon his return in 1898 from a temporary visit to China. He first came to the United States when he was nine years old, with his father, who was a merchant. His father remained in the United States about a year, and then returned to China, and So Ho Luck was left in the charge of his uncle. When he was thirteen years old he went to work in canneries to earn his living. After five years in this business he succeeded in saving about \$600 from his wages, and used \$500 of it to buy an interest in the business of a restaurant in Portland, Oregon. From 1890 to 1895 he gave his whole attention to the restaurant business. But being an ambitious young man, he was desirous of bettering his condition, and determined to get an English education. The income from his restaurant business, however, was not sufficient to pay for his tuition and books in addition to his board and lodging. Accordingly he obtained work in the Portland hotel as a bartender. He had to work from 4 P. M. to 1 A. M. every day in the barroom, and hire some one to take his place from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M., in order that he might attend school from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. every day. He continued to work in the hotel until July, 1897, when he gave up his position as a bartender, and devoted more attention to his restaurant business. He kept on going to school as before. In December, 1897, he received a letter from his parents in China, desiring him to make them a visit, and he left the

United States temporarily for this purpose. Upon his return from China, in October, 1898, he was refused landing by the collector of customs at Portland, Oregon, on the ground that he had changed his status as a person other than a laborer by working as a bartender. The result was that he had to go back to China.

3. On the night of January 28, 1900, over forty Chinese, most of them living on Race Street between Ninth and Tenth Streets, Philadelphia, were, without any lawful authority or legal warrant, forcibly and publicly removed from their homes and places of business, taken before a Committing Magistrate, and, with little or no evidence, sent to the County Prison. About thirteen of them succeeded in obtaining their release on writs of Habeas Corpus within a month, and the rest were detained for a longer period. The Police Department of Philadelphia seems to exercise an unwarranted surveillance over the Chinese. The houses and private apartments of Chinese residents are invaded by police officers at all hours of the day and of the night. There are numerous instances in which, owing to the misconduct of Americans in a Chinese restaurant, police officers ejected every person from the establishment and peremptorily closed the place. Such interference on the part of the police has had a very injurious effect upon the business of Chinese merchants in Philadelphia.

4. On the 22d of October, 1897, a large body of armed deputy United States marshals, police officers and detectives, under the direction of a special agent of the United States Treasury, with the co-operation of the United States District Attorney and Marshal, surrounded the Chinese quarter in the city of Denver, Colorado, suddenly broke into the house of Chinese residents and carried off all Chinese as prisoners without distinction of age or sex excepting only a few well-known merchants and physicians. No charge or complaint had been preferred against any of them; no warrants were issued; no cause was assigned for their arrest. It was

rely conjectured that some one or more of them might be without the certificates entitling them to residence in this country. Thus arrested without any authority or pretense of law or right whatever, they were hunted, herded, and driven through the streets of Denver like red-handed criminals and fugitives from justice, taken before a United States Commissioner, and there subjected to a trial and examination as to their right to reside in this country. All but five or six were unable to find and produce their certificates readily, but notwithstanding this conclusive proof of their rights they were detained and incarcerated until the District Attorney had completed his examination of them all.

5. On the 7th of August, 1900, some time after the hour ten o'clock P. M., all the Chinese residents of the city of Jacksonville, Florida, were arrested by the United States Deputy Marshal on the general charge of having violated the Chinese exclusion laws. Both the mayor of Jacksonville and the United States District Attorney of that district wrote to the authorities at Washington in behalf of these unfortunate men, setting forth the facts that all the men arrested and put in jail were quiet, peaceable, energetic, and law-abiding men, and that it was the wish of the general public that they should be allowed to remain with them. Even the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who had charge of the execution of the exclusion laws, when the matter was brought to his notice, thought that while there might be technical grounds for making the arrests, a grave injustice had been done inasmuch as no instructions had been issued to that end. Assistant Attorney-General Hoyt also was willing to do everything in his power to give the men the needed relief. This is only one of many instances in which the subordinate officials of the United States Government made use of the exclusion laws as a pretext to harass and injure the law-abiding Chinese in every American city.

6. Ho Mun, a Chinese merchant of Macao, arrived at San Francisco on September 17, 1899. In his application for ad-

mission into the United States, he presented a certificate issued by the Portuguese authorities at Macao, and visaed by the United States Consul-General at Hong Kong. His application was rejected because his certificate did not give the length of time for which he had been a merchant in Macao before his departure for the United States. Accordingly, he was removed by the customs authorities to a place of detention on the steamship company's dock to await orders for his deportation. Almost immediately afterwards he became sick. His friends and relatives tried to give him the necessary medical care and attention, but the customs authorities would not allow a regular physician to see the sick man. Ho Mun remained two months in the place of detention, and his condition grew worse and worse from day to day. At last an application was made to the United States District Court for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted on the 16th of November, 1899, and Ho Mun was then taken to the county jail, where he died on the 21st of November.

7. Tom Kem Poy and Wong Sun Chune, two Chinese merchants who had been in business a number of years at Mazatlan, Mexico, and members of the firm of Simon Ley & Company, came to Los Angeles, Cal., in February, 1899. They were provided with certificates from the Mexican government, visaed by the American Consul at the port of departure, and also with a certificate from the Registrar of Commerce of Mazatlan, showing that they were merchants of good standing. They were arrested on their arrival and thrown into jail by the Chinese inspector, because, as he testified at their preliminary examination, he had felt their hands and knew that they were not merchants. They were in jail from February 6th, to the day of their deportation, which was not ordered till August. Thus they were kept in jail for seven months merely for crossing over into the United States from Mexico.

8. Yee Ah Lum and some thirty Chinese merchants of Canton arrived at San Francisco in August, 1899. The Col-

lector of Customs refused them admission into the country on the ground that their certificates were defective. The defect was simply the omission of the particulars respecting the nature and character of their business in the English portion of the certificates, though such particulars were fully given in the Chinese portion. These cases were appealed to the Secretary of the Treasury, but the action of the collector was sustained. They were accordingly deported. It must be remembered that these merchants came to the United States to buy American goods. Having been turned back from the American shores, they were forced to go to Europe to get what they wanted.

9. Yip Wah, a Chinese student, arrived at San Francisco in November, 1900. He applied for admission by presenting a student certificate from the Chinese government as required by law. But the Collector of Customs at San Francisco refused him permission to land. No allegation was made that the certificate was not in due form. The grounds on which his application was rejected were that he had merely attended the native schools of China and intended to continue his studies in this country; that he was entirely ignorant of the English language; and that he proposed to work for his father, a merchant in Canton, upon his return to China after completing his education in this country. The case was appealed to the Treasury Department, and the action of the Collector was sustained by that department. Every effort made in Yip Wah's behalf proved to be of no avail; for the law provides that "in every case where an alien is excluded from admission into the United States under any law or treaty now existing or hereafter made, the decision of the appropriate immigration or customs officers, if adverse to the admission of such alien, shall be final, unless reversed on appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury.

10. Two Chinese officials, Mr. Lew Ynk Lin, Acting Consul-General of China at Singapore, and Commander Chen En Tao, Naval Attaché to the Chinese Legation at London, left

China for London on business of the Chinese government in the latter part of 1899. They landed at Vancouver, and while proceeding to New York to take steamer there for London they were stopped at Malone, New York, by officers of the customs. To show their official character, they exhibited their credentials and, in addition, certificates issued to them by the British authorities at Hong Kong and Shanghai and by the United States Consul-General at Hong Kong. The customs officials were, however, obdurate and insisted upon detaining them. They were forced to get off the train and pass the night in a hotel. For over twenty-four hours they were kept under surveillance, and were not allowed to continue their journey until a strong protest had been made by the Chinese Minister at Washington and instructions issued by the Treasury Department. But no satisfaction was offered to the Chinese officials for the inconvenience and extra expense to which they had been subjected.

The above-cited cases are taken from a large number. They show that even the members of the exempt classes of Chinese are harshly dealt with in the enforcement of the exclusion laws. These certainly can do no possible harm to this country. It is true that there may have been cases of fraud. But innocent Chinese should not be treated as if they were law-breakers.

The *Farm, Field and Fireside*, published in Chicago, Illinois, has the following to say :

“The Chinese Exclusion Act is to expire by statute limitation. The question is up whether it shall be renewed. It was passed under the theory that our country was liable to be overrun by Orientals; that millions of them would flock in and bury our laboring population, as it were; that they were, also, an undesirable element of population; that they did not, as a rule, bring their wives, did not make American homes, did not contribute to the general welfare, but usually packed up after they had saved a little money and went back to China. There is doubtless a good deal of truth in this. But it is a fair

question, also, whether there are not other people coming in that do not contribute to our general prosperity. Some are asking this question as to the tens of thousands of the poorest of the Italians. It is natural also to compare the Japanese. We have no exclusion law against them. In Hawaii they number 61,000, while the Chinese number but 26,000. The Japanese in this country have greatly increased. In 1890 there were but 1,147 and in 1900 there were 24,875. It is doubtful if the Chinese ever increased at a greater ratio than this. Comparing the characters and the work done, it is extremely doubtful whether the Chinese may not be more desirable than the Japanese. They are of better manners, more industrious, and even more reliable and trustworthy. The bankers in the Orient and even in the cities of Japan are (usually) Chinese. The European and American residents of China and Japan regard the Chinese as the better business men, and they employ them in preference in banks and places of financial responsibility. Coming back to the question of the Exclusion Act, it is a fair question whether in simple justice it should not be made to apply to some other races if it shall be re-enacted at all. Philanthropists have always opposed it as inhuman and unjust. As a matter of fact the Chinese have diminished from 107,475 in 1890 to 93,283 in 1900."

The *Emanu-El*, published in San Francisco, says:

"Whatever may be the political or economical aspects of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Government of the United States cannot overlook its moral features, and these, so far as possible, should be made to harmonize with the others. We are by no means united on the Chinese question. Admitting the necessity of controlling Tartar immigration, it is by no means certain that a stern absolute prohibition would strengthen the position of this country abroad, nor be satisfactory to a very large number of citizens who believe in justice, even to a Chinaman, who think that a wise and just discrimination is safer than a stern closing of the gates. Time has changed and shifted opinions, and the sentiment which

was prevalent in the East ten years ago may, after all, be right now. It remains true that as a matter of abstract and absolute justice, no discrimination should be practiced against foreigners of any particular race or confession, unless that discrimination is warranted by necessity. There are elements in the United States far worse than the Chinaman, and none as assimilative. The Chinese are limited. There is barely one hundred thousand in all the country. If they exercise no influence upon the commerce of the country or its educational growth, they have not done us as much harm as others.

“If the things that are practiced among them are not suppressed by an indulgent police, we can only blame that tolerant spirit that looks with placid eye upon many things that are not Chinese. If he labors for a wage that the American workingmen reject as incompetent, it needs to be investigated whether the greater ratio of the trades in which he is engaged are not rather spurned by the American. It is not yet exactly determined whether the Chinaman is a competitor of the American. Cotton picking in the South and fruit picking in the West are no desirable occupations for Americans, who, like the English, begin to prefer city life and fixed hours of employment.”

The public, unfortunately, in the direction of the Chinese, as on all other subjects in which it shows prejudice, is ignorant of the real conditions of China and the Chinaman. Senator Matthew S. Quay, in an address delivered to the State League of Republican Clubs of Pennsylvania, on the 14th of May, 1901, says, among other things:

“During all these ages China grew, developing and sustaining civilization and a resistance to decay such as marked no other nation. When our forefathers, clad in the skins of beasts, were earning their sustenance in the European forests by the chase, armed with flint-headed weapons, China had Confucius and astrolabes, and was calculating eclipses. We should respect China and sympathize with her in her trials, and look forward to her future and the fulfillment of her mission.”

Senator Quay is a far-seeing statesman, who has grasped the destination of his country, who knows that our mission is eastward, not only in the christianizing of the Tartar, but also in the civilizing influences that the United States so lavishly possess, and which they should so generously extend. Senator Quay is also aware of the fact that we are in treaty relations with China, and that pending this treaty there should be no exclusion laws enacted. On the contrary, whatever laws exist should be modified to meet conditions that exist to-day, different from those of ten years ago. Then we had no insular possessions, we had no territory outside the Pacific Coast in which the Chinaman, to any extent, was domiciled. We now have a large number in the Philippine Islands and in Hawaii, where they are needed, where they are useful, and where they add to the prosperity of those respective countries. We know that commerce is not sentimental, that if we are going to drive a hard bargain with China and her citizens, the trade that would naturally flow to us will be directed to other countries, and the splendid feeling of good will caused by our military and diplomatic triumphs in the recent struggle in China, will count for nothing, and we will stand, as we did years ago, outside of the wall, looking longingly for a chance to trade and traffic with China, and what will be gained for the moment, and what will be yielded to the demands of the unthinking, will be poor compensation for the national loss, not only in commerce, but in fairness and justice. We should be impartial and treat the Chinaman as we do the Japanese, as we do the Irishman, the Hungarian, the German, or any other immigrant who seeks the benefits of our American civilization. Give the Chinaman a chance, not in unlimited numbers; no one wishes that. Let those that come be assimilated; let them prove their right to be American citizens; give them a chance in the jury box. If the devout and sincere Christian is correct that they are fit and worthy to become Christians of the different sects, that they are worthy of enjoying the proud inheritance of a Christian life, then they surely are capable of and fitted for American citizenship.

Chinese Farmers are very much needed in the South, and as they have been agriculturists from time immemorial, it well behooves the Members and Senators from that section to investigate before they give their votes on any rigid exclusion laws.

The subject is well treated in the following letter which is from the *Virginian-Pilot*, of Norfolk.

Chinese Exclusion Act.

NORFOLK, VA., December 16, 1901.

Editor Virginian-Pilot:

Referring to proposed action by Congress on the "Chinese Exclusion Act," "Tobacco Planter," in his communication on "Scarcity of Farm Labor," published in the *Virginian-Pilot* under date of November 27th ultimo, states the case clearly, and, in the opinion of the writer, reflects the sentiments and wishes of the land owners on the eastern seaboard farming districts of the country when he declares the necessity for an amendment to the exclusion act which would authorize the immigration to this country of a good class of farm labor. There are always, Mr. Editor, two sides to a question, and while our farmers and planters, in their present stress for field labor, would not urge the passage of any statute by Congress which would be detrimental to the interests of other sections, especially where it might tend to "competitive labor," we can surely, in fairness and equity, ask Congress for a restrictive amendment which would fill our needs. In this case farm labor in our districts would not be "competitive," from the simple fact that there is comparatively no field labor with us with which to compete. Some politicians, in their desire to cater to a prejudiced sentiment which prevails in the city centres, lose sight of the interests of the "horny-handed sons of toil;" they overstep the mark, sir. Farmers and agriculturists will not long lay supine under present conditions.

They ask no charity! They need no appropriation!

But cry aloud for such legislation as will enable them to secure reliable field labor for their plantations and estates.

Our consuls in China speak in high terms of the farm laboring class in some of their agricultural districts. Consul Ragsdale, Tien-Tsin, China, reports (see advance sheets of Consular Reports No. 602): "As market gardeners the Chinese excel!" "Have for ages understood the art of grafting!" Again: "Chinese agriculture illustrates the talent of this race!"

Much more could be cited to show the adaptability of this farm labor to the requirements of our farming districts. Give our impoverished land holders reliable field labor, Mr. Editor, and we would become, as of yore, the finest agricultural community on the globe.

Can the Chinese be assimilated and become a Patriotic Citizen?

This is best answered by a letter received in this City from one of the leading citizens of Portland, Oregon, who says:

"The 4th of July, 1898, was celebrated in Portland, Oregon, with more than usual fervor, and in the procession there was a company of Chinese boys, born in Portland, ranging from eight to twenty-one years. They were all in uniform and had little guns and numbered forty. They received great and kind attention from all the people, and the grown Chinamen seemed to be very proud of them. These boys are native born American citizens and, when they become of age, will vote in Oregon. They are handsome, honest, intelligent boys. When it is considered that a few years ago there was great feeling in the city against the Chinese, this occurrence is remarkable. The company was organized by a young Chinaman named Sied Bach, whose father has been, for many years, an Americanized Chinaman, and a merchant of extensive business operations. The little company is still in existence. I consider the assimilation of the Chinese, on an intelligent basis, practicable and proper. We in Oregon do not now share the feeling of animosity that is entertained in California."

This, as our beloved President McKinley said, is the era of reciprocity, and where does reciprocity come in with China if we deny them the rights and immunities that we expect to receive at their hands?

It has been stated, and truthfully, by one of the past masters of philosophy, that next to injustice is ingratitude, and that certainly exists at this moment on the Pacific Coast when they close their eyes to the fact that it was Chinese labor that made the Pacific railway a possibility, and that gave to the Pacific Coast that impetus and prosperity, which from that date to this has never flagged and is in a state of constant advance.



A DIGEST
OF THE
TREATY, LAWS, AND REGULATIONS
GOVERNING THE
ADMISSION OF CHINESE
THEIR RESIDENCE IN AND TRANSIT THROUGH
THE UNITED STATES AND ITS
INSULAR POSSESSIONS

FOR THE USE OF DIPLOMATIC AND
CONSULAR OFFICERS

BY
FRÉDERICK D. CLOUD
American Vice-Consul-General, Shanghai

APPROVED MAY 5, 1908

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1908

ORIGIN OF CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAWS.

The immediate basis of American laws restrictive on Chinese immigration was the treaty of the United States with China of November 17, 1880, which reads as follows:

IMMIGRATION TREATY.

ARTICLE I. Whenever, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

Preamble.
Immigration
treaty of 1880.

Laborers ex-
cluded.

Legislation.

ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are 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 nation.

Privileged
classes.

Resident la-
borers.

ART. III. If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States meet with ill treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty.

Ill treatment
of Chinese.

ART. IV. The high contracting powers having agreed upon the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance therewith such measures will be communi-

Correction of hardships.

cated to the Government of China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hardship upon the subjects of China, the Chinese minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States, who will consider the subject with him; and the Chinese foreign office may also bring the matter to the notice of the United States minister at Peking and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result. (22 Stat., 826.)

LEGISLATION.

Act of May 6, 1882. In pursuance of the above treaty Congress enacted a law entitled "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," which was approved May 6, 1882 (22 Stat., 58). This law, being largely experimental, was soon found to be inadequate and was, by the act of July 5, 1884 (23 Stat., 115), amended and added to. This latter act by its terms was to stand for a period of ten years but it was continued in force for an additional period of ten years from May 5, 1892, by the act of May 5, 1892 (27 Stat., 25), and was, with all laws on the subject in force on April 29, 1902, reenacted, extended, and continued without modification or condition by the act of April 29, 1902 (32 Stat., 176). And finally the act of April 29, 1902, was amended by the act of April 27, 1904 (33 Stat., 428), which is the law that governs at the present time.

Act of April 27, 1904. Section 5 of the said act of April 27, 1904, reads as follows:

Laws reenacted without limitation.

"All laws in force on the twenty-ninth day of April, nineteen hundred and two, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of the Chinese descent into the United States, and the residence of such persons therein, including sections five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, thirteen, and fourteen of the act entitled 'An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States,' approved September thirteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, be, and the same are hereby, reenacted, extended, and continued, without modification, limitation, or condition; and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States, whether in such island territory at the time of cession or not, and from one portion of the island territory of the United States to another portion of said island territory: *Provided, however,* That said laws shall not apply to the transit of Chinese laborers from one island to another island of the same group; and any islands within the jurisdiction of any State or the district of Alaska shall be considered a part of the mainland under this section."

Proviso.
Transit permitted in insular possessions.

“ SECTION SIX ” CERTIFICATES.

Section 6 of the act of July 5, 1884, which, as we have seen, is still in force reads as follows: “ Section 6 ”
certificates.

“ SEC. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of the provisions of this act, every Chinese person, other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty or this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government, or of such other foreign government of which at the time such Chinese person shall be a subject, in each case to be evidenced by a certificate issued by such government, which certificate shall be in the English language, and shall show such permission, with the name of the permitted person in his or her proper signature, and which certificate shall state the individual, family, and tribal name in full, title or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, when and where and how long pursued, and place of residence of the person to whom the certificate is issued, and that such person is entitled by this act to come within the United States. Persons other than laborers.
Permission and identification by Chinese Government.
Certificate.

“ If the person so applying for a certificate shall be a merchant, said certificate shall, in addition to above requirements, state the nature, character, and estimated value of the business carried on by him prior to and at the time of his application as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing in this act nor in said treaty shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word ‘merchant.’ hucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation. Merchants.

“ If the certificate be sought for the purpose of travel for curiosity, it shall also state whether the applicant intends to pass through or travel within the United States, together with his financial standing in the country from which such certificate is desired. Travelers.

“ The certificate provided for in this act, and the identity of the person named therein, shall, before such person goes on board any vessel to proceed to the United States be viséed by the indorsement of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the foreign country from which such certificate issues, or of the consular representative of the United States at the port or place from which the person named in the certificate is about to depart; and such diplomatic representative or consular representative whose indorsement is so required is hereby empowered, and it shall be his duty, before indorsing such certificate as aforesaid, to examine into the truth of the statements set forth in said certificate, and if he shall find upon examination that said or any of the statements therein contained are untrue it shall be his duty to refuse to indorse the same. Consular visé.

Certificate prima facie evidence against United States and sole evidence for holder. "Such certificate visaed as aforesaid shall be prima facie evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive, and afterward produced to the proper authorities of the United States, whenever lawfully demanded, and shall be the sole evidence permissible on the part of the persons so producing the same to establish a right of entry into the United States; but said certificate may be controverted and the facts therein stated disproved by the United States authorities."

"Every Chinese person" clause. According to the stipulations of the above statute *every Chinese person* other than a laborer, entitled to enter the United States, must, before proceeding to the United States, obtain a certificate from a properly authorized official of the government under which the applicant is domiciled and which said certificate must be duly examined and visaed by the diplomatic or consular representative of the port or district from which the person named in the certificate is about to depart.

Exceptions. There are, however, certain exceptions to the "every Chinese person" clause. The following classes are not required to procure section 6 certificates, viz:

(a) Diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese or other governments, together with their immediate families, body and household servants. (Sec. 13, act July 5, 1884; sec. 14, act Sept. 13, 1888.)

(b) Persons of the Chinese race who are American citizens. (169 U. S., 653-705.)

(c) Chinese children who have been regularly adopted by Americans. (Op. Dept. C. and L., Oct. 14, 1907.)

(d) Laborers lawfully domiciled in the United States and holding a return certificate. (Sec. 7, act Sept. 13, 1888, and rules 15-22. Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

(e) Merchants returning to resume a formerly acquired domicile in the United States. (Sec. 2, act Nov. 3, 1893.)

(f) Lawful wife and minor children of Chinese merchants domiciled in the United States. (Rule 29. Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907; 176 U. S., 459.)

ISSUANCE.

By whom issued. Section 6 certificates are issued by Chinese or other officials who have been specially designated to do so and by none other. The officers whose titles are given below have been authorized by their respective governments to issue "section 6" certificates to Chinese subjects or citizens of such governments, viz:

Brazil: Chief of police, or corresponding officers in the municipalities and civil subdivisions.

Canada :

Vancouver—Collector of customs.

Victoria—Collector of customs.

Ottawa—Chief controller of Chinese, or chief clerk in the department of trade and commerce.

China (in Chinese Empire) :

Viceroy of Hu Kuang (Hunan and Hupeh).

Viceroy of Sze Ch'uen.

Viceroy of Liang Kuang (Kuangtung and Kuanghsi).

Tartar-general of Fu-chou and customs superintendent of Fu-k'ien.

Governor of Anhui.

Governor of Honan.

Governor of Shantung.

Governor of Kiangsi.

Customs taot'ai of Tientsin.

Taot'ai of the Hui-Ning-Ch'ih-T'ai-Kwang circuit (Wuhu).

Taot'ai of the Hang-Chia-Hu circuit (Chiahsingfu, Chekiang).

Taot'ai of the Ning-Shao-T'ai circuit (Ningpo).

Taot'ai of the Wen-Ch'u circuit (Wenchow).

Taot'ai of the Yue-Ch'ang-Li circuit (Yochow).

Taot'ai of the Teng-Lai-Ch'ing circuit (Chefoo).

Taot'ai of the Su-Sung-T'ai circuit (Shanghai).

Taot'ai of the Hsing-Ch'uan-Yung circuit (Amoy).

China (in countries foreign to China) :

Austria-Hungary—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Vienna.

Belgium—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Brussels.

Cuba—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Habana.

England—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, London.

France—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Paris.

Germany—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Berlin.

Hawaii—Chinese consul, Honolulu.

Italy—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Rome.

Japan—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Tokyo; Chinese consul-general, Yokohama.

Korea—Chinese consul-general, Seoul.

Mexico—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Mexico City.

Netherlands—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, The Hague.

Peru—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Lima.

Philippine Islands—Chinese consul-general, Manila.

Portugal—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Lisbon.

China (in countries foreign to China)—Continued.
 Russia—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, St. Petersburg.
 Siberia—Chinese commercial agent, Vladivostok.
 Spain—Chinese minister or chargé d'affaires, Madrid.
 Straits Settlements—Chinese consul-general, Singapore.
 Transvaal—Chinese consul-general, Johannesburg.
 Cuba: Chief of immigration department.
 German protectorate of Kiautschou: Commissioner for Chinese affairs to the Government, civil commissioner, or oberrichter.
 Guatemala: Minister of foreign affairs or subsecretary of state.
 Hongkong: Registrar-general.
 Jamaica: Deputy inspector-general of police, Kingston.
 Japan:
 Governor of any fu (district) or ken (prefecture).
 Hokkaido—Governor-general.
 Formosa—Chief of prefecture having jurisdiction.
 Macau, Portuguese province of: Secretary-general.
 Mexico: Department of foreign affairs.
 Philippine Islands: Collector of customs.
 Society Islands: Commissioner of police of the municipality of Papeete, Tahiti.
 Straits Settlements: Colonial secretary.
 Federated Malay States: Colonial secretary, federal secretary, or secretary for Chinese affairs.
 Trinidad: Governor.
 Venezuela: Mayors of cities or governors of provinces. (Rule 30, Dept. C. and L. Regulations, Feb. 26, 1907.)

• VISÉ.

Diplomatic or consular visé.
 Personal investigation required.

When a section 6 certificate is presented to a diplomatic or consular officer to be viséed it becomes the duty of such officer to make a *personal* and rigid investigation as to the truth of the statements contained in the certificate. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.) The visé is not to be given merely because a Chinese or other official has seen fit to issue a certificate; nor is it permissible for a diplomatic or consular officer to shift the responsibility of the investigation mentioned upon a subordinate. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.)

Before viséing a certificate a diplomatic or consular officer must be thoroughly satisfied upon the following points, viz:

1. That the applicant belongs to one of the classes entitled to enter the United States under the law.

Students.

(1) In the case of a student: (a) That he (or she) has been pursuing in good faith some regular course of study; (b) that when he reaches the United States he will enter some one of the recognized institutions of learning; (c)

that he intends to fit himself for some profession or occupation requiring special mental training; or (d) that he is a person already possessing a liberal education, but who desires to specialize along some particular line or lines:

And who in any case is also a person for whose maintenance and support as a student in the United States adequate financial provision has been made or satisfactorily assured, or a person who, if he undertakes to provide for his own support, will not become a "laborer," or acquire any other status which would bring him within the class of Chinese persons excluded by statute or treaty; and who, in any case, is also a person whose intention it is, upon the conclusion of his studies, either to depart from the United States or, if he remains, to engage in no pursuit or calling which would render his presence in the United States unlawful. (Rule 31a, Dept. C and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

(2) In the case of teachers: (a) That he is a bona fide teacher of good standing; and (b) that teaching is his regular profession.

Teachers.

(3) In the case of a merchant: (a) That he is a bona fide merchant of fairly responsible and substantial status and not a petty tradesman, such as, for instance, a hawker, huckster, or peddler, who might readily become a "laborer;" (b) that the business connections he gives are not fictitious and that his name is duly entered in the company's books, to which he alleges he belongs, as one of the partners thereof; (c) that he has ample funds to support him for a considerable time after arriving in the United States; and (d) that his statements are borne out by the testimony of independent witnesses, preferably not Chinese.

Merchants.

(4) In the case of a traveler: (a) That he is a man of good standing in his community and has adequate means for going abroad. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.)

Travelers.

2. That the applicant is a bona fide resident of the port or consular district where he makes application for a certificate, and that he has been such for a reasonable length of time prior to making the application. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.)

Residence of applicant.

INFORMATION IN WRITING.

The information concerning students, teachers, merchants, and travelers, as above outlined, must be committed to writing and four complete copies made, to be used as follows: One copy (the original) is kept for the office files, two copies are forwarded to the Department of State, and one copy is forwarded to the immigration officer in charge at the port in United States territory at which the immigrant intends to land. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.)

Information in writing.

Where an applicant has been rejected, a copy of the precis should be forwarded to neighboring American offi-

Copies to neighboring consuls.

cials for their information and guidance. (Dept. of State Cir., Mar. 25, 1907.)

Seattle—re-
quirements of.

Section 6 certificates for applicants who intend to land at Seattle must be issued in duplicate for the convenience of the immigration officers at Port Townsend and Seattle; while for all other ports one copy is sufficient.

FORM OF "SECTION 6" CERTIFICATE.

"Section 6" certificates should be in the following form, viz:

Form of
"Section 6"
certificates.

In compliance with the provisions of Article II of the treaty between the United States and China of November 17, 1880, and section 6 of the act of the Congress of the United States approved July 5, 1884, entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved May 6, 1882:"

This certificate is issued by the undersigned, who has been designated by the Government of _____ to issue such certificates to citizens or subjects of such government being Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent to show that the person named hereinafter is a member of one of the exempt classes described in said treaty and act and as such had the permission of said government to go to and reside within the territory of the United States, after an investigation and verification of the statements contained herein by the lawfully constituted agent of the United States in this country.

The following description is submitted for the identification of the person to whom the certificate relates:

Names in full, in proper signature of bearer _____
Title or official rank, if any _____
Physical peculiarities _____

Date of birth _____
Height _____ feet _____ inches.
Former occupation _____
When pursued _____
Where pursued _____
How long pursued _____
Present occupation _____
When pursued _____
Where pursued _____
How long pursued _____
Last place of actual residence _____

(NOTE.—If a merchant, the following blanks should be filled out:)

Title of present mercantile business _____
Location of said mercantile business _____
How long said business has been pursued _____
Amount invested (gold) in said business _____
Present estimated value of said business _____
Specific character of merchandise handled in said business _____

(NOTE.—If bearer is a traveler, the following blanks should be filled out:)

Financial standing of bearer in his own country _____
Probable duration of his stay in the United States _____
Issued at _____ on this _____ day of _____

(Signature of Chinese official.)

(Visé.)

I, the undersigned duly authorized diplomatic (or consular) officer of the United States Government for the territory within which the person named in the above certificate resides, have made a thorough investigation of the statements contained in the foregoing certificate and have found them to be in all respects true, and accordingly attach my signature and official seal in order that the bearer may be admitted to the [Photograph.] United States upon identification as the person represented by the attached photograph, over which I have partly placed my official seal.

(Signature of United States official.)

It has been found of great assistance also to have a translation of the certificate in the Chinese language printed on the back of each certificate. This arrangement is not only helpful in identifying the applicant, but is much appreciated by Chinese officials who are averse to signing documents in English only.

Chinese text.

A photograph of the person applying for a "section 6" certificate must in every case be affixed to each copy of the certificate issued.

Photographs.

Section 6 certificates must be numbered by the viséing officer, a new series being begun at the beginning of each calendar year and a complete record of all certificates viséed must be kept by him. This record should contain all the information given in the certificate, besides a copy of all letters and papers pertaining to the application.

Numbering.

Record to be kept.

ADMISSIBLE CLASSES.

1. The treaty and laws in relation to the exclusion of Chinese, permit only the following-named classes to land at any port of the United States, to wit:

Ex e m p t
classes.

(1) Students. (Rule 1, Dept. of C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

(2) Teachers. (Id.)

(3) Merchants and their lawful wives and minor children. (Id.)

(4) Travelers, for curiosity or pleasure. (Id.)

(5) Chinese officials, together with their immediate families, body and household servants. (Id.)

(6) Chinese persons holding "return certificates" issued by an immigration officer in charge. (Rule 15, Id.)

(7) Chinese seamen who are under bond to leave the United States within thirty days. (Rule 32, Id.)

(8) Chinese persons, who, in good faith, desire to pass through the United States. (Rules 32-37, Id.; 185 U. S., 296.)

(9) Chinese persons whose physical condition necessitates immediate hospital treatment. (Rule 1, Id.)

(10) Chinese who desire to enter in connection with any fair or exhibition authorized by Congress, whether as an exhibitor or workman. (Sec. 3, act of Apr. 29, 1902.)

Only those
specially ex-
empted admis-
sible.

2. The rule at present adopted with respect to the admission of Chinese is that *only* those classes of persons who are expressly specified by the treaty and laws are admissible to enter the United States, and those only upon compliance with the requirements of the said treaty and laws and of regulations issued thereunder. (22 Op. At. Gen., 132, and Rule 2, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

Exclusion
laws not ap-
plicable to per-
sons of Ameri-
can birth.

3. Neither the immigration acts nor the Chinese exclusion acts apply to Chinese persons born in the United States of parents who, at the time said Chinese persons were born, were permanently domiciled therein. (169 U. S., 653-705, and Rule 2, Dept. of C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

PORTS OF ENTRY.

Ports of en-
try.

No Chinese person other than a Chinese official and attendants shall be permitted to enter the United States except at the following-named ports, to wit:

San Francisco, Cal.
Portland, Oreg.
Boston, Mass.
New York, N. Y.
New Orleans, La.
Port Townsend, Wash.
Richford, Vt.
Malone, N. Y.
Portal, N. Dak.
Sumas, Wash.

Honolulu, Hawaii.
San Juan and Ponce, P. R.
San Diego, Cal.
Tampa, Fla.
Cebu, P. I.
Iloilo, P. I.
Jolo, P. I.
Manila, P. I.
Zamboanga, P. I.

(Rule 4, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907, and Cir. No. 202, Chinese Immigration, Philippine Government.)

REGISTRATION OF CHINESE DOMICILED IN THE UNITED STATES.

Registration
of laborers.

By the act of May 5, 1892, as amended by the act of November 3, 1893, all Chinese laborers entitled to reside in the United States are required to obtain from the proper officer a certificate of residence showing the name, age, and local residence of the applicant; and Chinese persons other than laborers entitled to be and remain in the United States may also apply and obtain a certificate of residence if they so desire.

Persons
other than la-
borers.

Registration, as above indicated, is also required in all insular possessions of the United States. (Act of Apr. 30, 1900; also act of Apr. 29, 1902, sec. 4.)

REENTRY OF CHINESE DOMICILED IN THE UNITED STATES.

Laborers.

By the act of September 13, 1888 (25 Stat., 476-477), Chinese laborers under certain specified conditions are permitted to reenter the United States after having left it.

For this purpose the Chinese inspector in charge of the district from which the applicant wishes to depart is

authorized to issue a "return certificate" which constitutes the sole evidence given to such person of his right to reenter the United States; and the holder of such a certificate will be admitted only at the port from which he departed. (Rules 15, 17, 22, and 23, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

Return certificates.

A "return certificate" is good for one year, but may be extended on account of sickness or other disability beyond the control of the holder by a certified statement setting forth the facts in the case by a consular officer. This statement should be addressed to the immigration officer in charge at the port of return, and delivered to the master of the vessel on which the laborer departs for the United States. (Rule 24, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

Good for one year.

"Overtime certificates."

Where, however, the holder of a "return certificate" has been afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease and delayed from returning beyond the period of one year, an "overtime certificate" is to be issued by the consular officer according to the form prescribed in Department of State Circular of September 24, 1907.

Chinese merchants resident in the United States who go abroad temporarily, with no intention to abandon the domicile acquired in the United States, are entitled to reenter on proving that during the year antedating their departure they were continuously engaged in the buying and selling of merchandise at a fixed place of business. (Sec. 2, act Nov. 3, 1893.) Returning merchants are not required to present a section 6 certificate. (23 Fed. Rep., 329.)

Merchants.

To avoid unnecessary delay such merchants may transmit to the proper officer in charge of the district wherein their business is located, not less than thirty days prior to the date on which they intend to depart, affidavits of two credible witnesses, other than Chinese, showing their status as merchants and that they have not been engaged in manual labor during the entire year just previous to the date of the affidavits. (Rule 25, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

Affidavits.

Two witnesses other than Chinese.

CHINESE RESIDING IN UNITED STATES INSULAR TERRITORY.

According to the act of April 30, 1900 (31 Stat., 141), *all persons*, who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898, are declared to be citizens of the United States.

Hawaii.

Hence all Chinese persons, who were citizens of the Hawaiian Republic on August 12, 1898, are citizens of the United States, and as such are entitled, upon proper identification, to admission at any port of entry for Chinese either of the mainland or insular territory of the United States.

Chinese aliens of the exempt classes residing in Hawaii who desire admission to the mainland or insular territory

Exempt aliens.

of the United States must obtain "section 6" certificates from the representative of their own government in Honolulu and have them viséed by the Chinese inspector in charge of the port. (Rule 38, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

Laborers. But alien Chinese laborers resident in one insular territory can not enter the mainland territory or any other island territory of the United States for the purpose of residing therein. (Sec. 1, act Apr. 29, 1902.)

Philippines.

Philippines and other insular territory. Chinese persons of the exempt classes residing in any insular territory of the United States other than Hawaii who desire to enter any other of the island territories or the mainland territory must first obtain from the proper officer a "section 6" certificate. (Rule 38, Dept. of C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

TRANSIT OF LABORERS.

Conditions of transit. By producing to the officer in charge of Chinese immigration at the port of arrival a prepaid through ticket across the whole territory of the United States to be traversed, and by furnishing a bond in the penal sum of \$500 (gold), together with such other reasonable proof of honest intention as may be required, a Chinese person, although not holding a "section 6" certificate shall be accorded the privilege of transit through the United States. (Rules 33-37, Dept. C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907, practically confirmed by Sup. Ct., 185 U. S., 296.)

Personal servants. Personal servants being "laborers" within the meaning of the law are entitled to accompany their employers through the United States under the above conditions.

Time limit. The limit of time within which the transit must be completed is twenty days from the date upon which the privilege is granted.

IN GENERAL.

"Laborer" defined. 1. The word "laborer," when used in this connection shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including those engaged in mining, fishing, huckstering, peddling, laundrymen or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish. (Sec. 2, act of Nov. 3, 1893, 28 Stat., 7.)

"Merchant" defined. 2. The term "merchant" means a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise at a fixed place of business, which business is conducted in his name, and who, while so engaged as a merchant, does not perform manual labor except such as may be necessary in the conduct of his business as a merchant. (Sec. 2, act of Nov. 3, 1893.)

Laws apply to all Chinese aliens. 3. The Chinese immigration laws and regulations apply to all Chinese aliens whether subjects of China or any other foreign power. (Sec. 15, act of July 5, 1884, as amended by act of Nov. 3, 1893.)

4. Chinese aliens are subject to examination under the provisions of the general immigration laws as well as under the laws relating to the exclusion of Chinese persons. (24 Op. At. Gen., 706, and Rule 3, Dept. of C. and L. Reg., Feb. 26, 1907.)

General immigration laws apply to all Chinese aliens.

WHO HAS JURISDICTION.

The authority, power, and jurisdiction in relation to the exclusion of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent have been conferred upon and vested in officers in charge of districts as follows:

Title of officer.	Location of headquarters.	Extent of districts.
Commissioner of Immigration.....	Boston, Mass.....	Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, and Rhode Island.
Chinese inspector in charge.....	New York, N. Y.....	New York and New Jersey.
Commissioner of Immigration.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.
Chinese inspector in charge.....	Mobile, Ala.....	North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama.
Do.....	New Orleans, La.....	Louisiana and Mississippi.
Do.....	Toledo, Ohio.....	Ohio.
Do.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

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THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

By ROBERT DEC. WARD

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THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

BY ROBERT DE C. WARD.

IN the April number of the REVIEW, Mr. O. P. Austin answers in the negative the question, "Is the New Immigration Dangerous to the Country?" and arrives at his conclusions by an analysis of numerous statistics, of which he is a well-known and acknowledged master. Mr. Austin says that it is hard "to apply the statistical measuring rod with an assurance of obtaining exact results in the way of conclusions." To this the present writer cordially agrees, for he is convinced that the immigration problem is so vast and so complex that present statistics cannot give any satisfactory solution of it. This problem, however difficult it may be for us to deal with here and now, is essentially a problem not of the present, as most writers assume, but of the future. And because the problem is of the future rather than of to-day, present statistics of immigration, of the character of our immigrants, and of their relation to pauperism and crime, cannot furnish satisfactory answers to questions arising out of this problem. Again, the assimilation of our immigrants cannot possibly be treated by means of statistics alone. Whether our recent immigrants are or are not becoming satisfactorily assimilated can only be determined by those who have constant close personal relations with them.

Thus we are ready to take up the first of the conclusions reached by Mr. Austin, "that the present immigration, large as it is, is not beyond our power of assimilation, and probably of healthful assimilation." The first comment which suggests itself in this connection concerns the numbers, not of last year's immigration, nor of this year's, but of the immigration of 1925, 1950, and of other years still farther off in the future. It is perfectly certain that emigration to this country will not decrease in the

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future, except during occasional periods of financial depression, but that it will and must increase, unless the United States take some steps towards further restriction. No one who has watched the trend of passenger-steamship traffic between the United States and European ports within the past few years, and especially within the past year, can have failed to be impressed by the increase in the number of sailings in general, and especially by the marked increase in the number of sailings to and from Mediterranean ports. Within a few months the White Star Line has inaugurated a new service between Mediterranean ports and the United States; the Cunard Line has entered into competition for the steerage traffic from southern Europe, northern Africa and Asia, and has closed a contract with the Austro-Hungarian Government by which the Cunard ships are guaranteed 30,000 emigrants from Austria-Hungary every year;* a new line of steamers has been established between Odessa and New York; the Austro-American steamers which formerly plied as cargo-boats between Trieste and Central America have been transferred to run as passenger-ships between Trieste and New York; the number of Mediterranean sailings of the Hamburg-American, North German Lloyd and other companies, has been largely increased. All this is evidence of a very large growth in the steerage-passenger traffic from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia. The building of new railroads in Asia; the easier communication with the sea thus resulting; the increase in the number of steamship agents all over eastern Europe, northern Africa and Asia Minor—all this likewise means more immigrants.†

Our fathers, who witnessed a total immigration of 128,393 in the decade 1820-1830, would probably have thought it beyond the range of human possibility to have 1,000,000 people brought across the ocean in a year. Yet, in view of the rapid increase in the size of ocean steamships, some of which now accommodate over 2,000 immigrants at once, may we not with reasonable cer-

* That part of the contract which concerns the guarantee of 30,000 emigrants annually has since been modified, according to cabled reports from Europe.

† The competition between the rival steamship lines has recently resulted in a rate-war, and in an accompanying reduction of the cost of a steerage passage from many European ports to the United States to ten dollars, and even less. The natural consequences have been an increase in the number of immigrants, and a marked deterioration in their quality.

tainty expect an annual immigration of 2,000,000 within ten or fifteen years? Do any statistics as to numbers of foreign-born now here help us to solve the immigration problem of the future, which is going to be so immeasurably more difficult? Furthermore, the new immigration from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Poland, Greece, the Balkan Peninsula, Syria, etc., which has only just begun, will continue to increase with increasing facility of transportation. If we have an Italian slum problem, and a Jewish slum problem now, what shall we have when perhaps 3,000,000 Russian Jews have come to us, and when 5,000,000 Italians are living here? Not only so, immigration from Asia has only just begun. Within a few years it may increase until we have more Asiatic immigrants in a year than we now have Italians. Is this not reasonably certain, and was not the late General Francis A. Walker right when he said that the tide of immigration will flow on as long "as there is any difference of economic level between our own population and that of the most degraded communities abroad"? This, it seems to the writer, is the view of the future which ought to be taken by every one who thinks seriously of this vast problem of immigration. James Bryce was not far wrong when he spoke of the more and more thorough "drainage" of the inland regions of Europe which is illustrated for us in the new immigration, and General Walker's apt phrase, "Pipe-Line Immigration," is as true as it is suggestive; for, although many thousands of immigrants still come here every year who may be ranked with the pioneers who came fifty years ago, when the journey was long, hard and expensive, a very large number now come because they are persuaded to come by some steamship agent; or because they find it easier to leave their home problems and take a fresh start, or indeed because their own communities make it easy for them to leave for the good of those communities. It appears, then, that statistics of present immigration are of little help in a broad view of the immigration problem of the future.

As to the assimilation of our alien population, that, likewise, cannot be expressed statistically. In this matter, there has been no more authoritative expression of opinion, by a large body of competent judges, than is contained in a series of resolutions sent to the last Congress from most of the Boards of Associated Charities throughout the United States. These resolutions, which em-

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bodied the views of voluntary and paid charity workers who every day are brought into close contact with the immigrant, and who, if anything, are prejudiced in his favor, held that "it is impossible to make the conditions of the very poor substantially better when every arriving steamer brings more of the ignorant and unskilled to compete for the employments that are open only to the ignorant and unskilled"; and that "the difficulty of securing universal education is greatly increased when every year sees landed an army of one hundred thousand illiterates, whose children will start upon their career as American citizens from ignorant homes, under practically foreign surroundings." It is significant to find in the last Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Boston the following:

"With an immigration as unrestrained as at present, we can have little hope of permanent gain in the struggle for uplifting the poor of our cities, since newcomers are always at hand, ignorant of American standards."

Again, in the 27th Annual Report of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, after statistics concerning pauperism, is the following:

"It is unnecessary to introduce . . . the causes that underlie these conditions. The horrible congestion in which so many of our coreligionists live, the squalor and filth, the lack of air and sunlight. . . . Even more pronounced are the results accruing from these conditions: the vice and crime, the irreligiousness, lack of self-restraint, indifference to social conventions, indulgence of the most degraded and perverted appetites, which are daily growing more pronounced and more offensive."

It is clear that we are not properly assimilating our foreign population when a judge in New York State rejects the naturalization papers of sixty persons, on the ground that "when a man has been in this country five years, and is unable to speak our language, . . . he is not fitted to be admitted to citizenship;" or, when we find in the factories of the Empire State young men and women of seventeen to twenty who have lived here since they were four or five and who cannot yet understand or speak English. It must, furthermore, always be remembered that even if all the "unabsorbed" immigrants are brought to the point of demanding the same standards of living as those of the older part of the population, there is, as the late Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith so

clearly pointed out, an inexhaustible supply behind, which in its turn must also be raised up.

Thus, there are two sides to the question, Has the new immigration become assimilated? Whatever may have been our success in assimilating those who have come in the past, it must be remembered that our work thus far is small compared with what is before us. No wonder that General Walker, who had intimate acquaintance with this problem through his work as Superintendent of the United States census, wrote:

“That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and without great danger to the life and health of the nation.”

In connection with assimilation, Mr. Austin makes use of the argument that, “while the immigration is larger now than ever before, it is no larger in proportion to the population than on many former occasions.” The difficulty about this argument is that, whereas in the early days of the “new” immigration, twenty years or so ago, the “new” immigrants found themselves merged in a great mass of many millions, consisting almost wholly of Anglo-Saxons, it is becoming increasingly true that our new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia come less and less in contact with the older part of our population. What difference does it make to the 200,000 Italians, Hebrews and Poles who were last year destined to New York State, and mostly to New York City, that there is a total population in the country of 80,000,000? The path of an immigrant is very easy from his European village to a settlement of his own countrymen in some American city. He naturally goes where his relatives and friends have already settled; he may live for years in an American community without coming very directly in contact with the older portion of the population, and sometimes even without finding any necessity of learning the English language. Thus it appears that statistics of annual immigration, in its relation to the total population of the country, cannot give any idea of the capacity of our people for the assimilation of the million of immigrants who came last year, nor of the possible future assimilation of the millions who will later come to us.

In regard to Mr. Austin's second conclusion, “that the so-

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called 'objectionable class' is not the class which is filling the jails and almshouses," it should be noted that the census statistics of criminality are defective in that they do not make adequate distinction between criminals of foreign birth and of foreign parentage, and that crimes are not properly classified in respect of their being petty or serious. Secondly, it is yet too early to determine statistically what the relation of the new immigration to crime and pauperism will be, there being a good deal of evidence that the children of our recent immigrants are less law-abiding than their foreign-born parents. Thus, in the Final Report of the United States Industrial Commission, page 967, it is stated that "the second generation, *i. e.*, the native children of foreign parents, furnish the largest proportion of commitments and prisoners of all race elements in the population." Thirdly, a good deal of evidence can be adduced to show that the new immigration is a good deal of a financial burden, after all. In New York City there is, of course, the greatest congestion of recent immigrants, and here the rest of the country may well learn a lesson as to the conditions which are pretty certain to prevail elsewhere, as our other cities become more and more filled with the "Pipe-Line" immigrants from the slums of Europe and of Asia. One of the managers of the "House of Refuge" in New York City says:

"I notice the large number of children that are placed in charitable institutions for no crime or misdemeanor, but to relieve their parents of their support. They are principally from southern and eastern Europe."

There are estimated to be 40,000 cases of trachoma in New York City, imported almost entirely by aliens from southern and eastern Europe, and this danger is so great that the Boards of Education and of Health have found it necessary to examine the pupils in the public schools at frequent intervals, in order to check the spread of this disease among the children. Dr. H. J. Shively says:

"Infection from trachoma and favus is readily traced to immigrant sources; in tuberculosis the course of the disease is slow and insidious, and immediate sources of infection are less readily recognized. It is perhaps for this reason that the danger of the tuberculous immigrant to the health of the community has not been emphasized as it should be."

When all has been said, *pro* and *con*, it still remains a fact that, whether the new immigration does or does not add *unduly* to the number of criminals and dependents, it certainly adds considerably to them, and finally, that the present gives but little idea of what the future will bring forth. The fact that our newer immigrants have so far not furnished a disproportionately large number of paupers is doubtless in part due to their lower standards of living. But, meanwhile, these same lower standards of living work detrimentally with regard to the community as a whole.

Mr. Austin's third conclusion as to the "new" immigrants is "that, while they are somewhat deficient in the matter of education, that of their children is likely to compare favorably with that of our own population, and that they will thus contribute a safe and valuable element to the future population of the country." This opinion is based on the fact that a larger percentage of the children of immigrants go to school during the years between five and fourteen than of the children of native whites, and that the percentage of illiterates among children born in the United States of foreign parents is smaller than among the children of native whites. These facts are well known, and are among the most hopeful and most encouraging signs for the future. On the other hand, however, ought we to make our already heavy burden of native illiteracy any heavier by adding to it several hundred thousand foreign illiterates, for the reason, forsooth, that the children of these foreign illiterates will form "a safe and valuable element" in the population? We have the burden of native illiteracy, adult and child; we have the burden of negro education. Our first duty is, obviously, to our own people. Shall we deliberately add to these burdens the education of the illiterate millions who are coming and will continue to come from foreign lands? Miss Adele Marie Shaw, who has recently made a thorough study of the New York City public schools, concludes that the only remedies for the conditions there existing are the restriction of foreign immigration and a vast increase in expenditure—"larger than any yet dreamed of." "With eighty-five per cent. of its population foreign or of foreign parentage, its salvation dependent upon the conversion of a daily arriving cityful of Russians, Turks, Austro-Hungarians, Sicilians, Greeks, Arabs, into good Americans . . . the city has a problem of popular education that is staggering." Furthermore, it is to be remembered that

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the very statistics which show the small illiteracy of the children of foreign-born immigrants also show a high percentage of criminality of these same children when they grow up.

Fourthly, regarding the relation of the newer immigrants of the "objectionable class" to politics, it is claimed by Mr. Austin "that they are not, as a class, as dangerous an element in politics as has been frequently asserted." To confirm this view, statistics are given to show that the recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have not, as a whole, become naturalized to any great extent, and hence do not exert a bad political influence, because they do not vote. This is a curious argument, from an American point of view: that there is no objection to having a large number of immigrants of certain races in our population as long as these people do not vote. Can that be a very desirable class of immigrants which we are anxious to have remain outside the body politic? The fact that many electoral votes against free silver in 1896 came from States having a large number of foreign-born voters is not an argument against the further restriction of the immigration of races least closely allied to us, for these foreign-born voters were almost altogether from northern and western Europe, the others, as Mr. Austin himself points out, not generally being naturalized.

Mr. Austin's last conclusion is "that they are an important factor in the development and wealth-producing power of the country," and this conclusion he supports by means of statistics showing that in the States having a large proportion of foreigners there has been a very great production of wealth. No one can, or would, deny the fact that recent immigrants have contributed to the wealth of the country, but to argue from bare statistics that, because these States have witnessed a very large production of wealth, therefore the "new" immigration should be allowed to continue practically as at present, is rather illogical. Cheap labor is usually considered by the capitalist to be an advantage, and large employers of labor have always used their influence in Congress to ward off impending immigration legislation. But, as Mr. Edward T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, has recently well said:

"While it is true that cheap labor may be profitable from the employer's point of view, it does not follow that those who are considering the interests of the community as a whole can look with favor upon

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it. . . . The effect of utilizing underpaid immigrant labor under conditions which, in order to afford a living at all, make excessive demands upon adult men, and lead irresistibly to the employment of women and children, is directly to increase the number who sooner or later require relief. . . . The plain tendency is to augment the number of those who break down prematurely; of those who in advanced years have made no provision for their own maintenance; of the children whose support must be supplied by others than their own parents, and of those who, meeting with unexpected misfortunes of any kind, have no resources except the generosity of strangers."

In other words, labor which is economically "cheap" is not socially "cheap." Concerning the character of much of our present immigration we have the testimony of the Commissioner of Immigration at New York, one of the most efficient, capable and honest officers who have ever been in the Government service, who holds that "capital cannot, and would not if it could, employ much of the alien material that annually passes through Ellis Island." These people "are neither physically nor mentally fitted to go to the undeveloped parts of our country."

"At least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came in (last year) who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here."

The writer is not a believer in the total prohibition of immigration, nor even in a large measure of restriction; he realizes that good immigration always has been and always will be an advantage to this country; he does not for a moment wish to appear as opposing Italian immigration, or Jewish immigration, or Hungarian immigration as a whole; he has come into too close contact with many of our newer immigrants to have failed to see the many excellent qualities which distinguish large numbers of these people. He merely wishes to present, for the consideration of the readers of the *REVIEW*, the other side of the conclusions which Mr. Austin has reached. He feels that any one who makes a thorough study of the whole immigration problem,—not of a few alien families in one city only—without the prejudice of mere sentiment or of selfish and pecuniary interests, and who looks to the future

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rather than at the present, must reach the conclusion that some reduction in the volume of immigration is necessary, if American standards of living, and American ideals generally, are to be maintained for all time. This reduction may be accomplished by means of a law limiting the number of immigrants from different countries who shall come here each year, as has been suggested by Congressman Robert Adams, Jr., of Pennsylvania; or, less arbitrarily, by means of the illiteracy test, which has the support of President Roosevelt, of the Commissioner of Immigration, and of a large majority of those who have given the subject serious thought. This test is in line with our ideas of universal education; will enormously stimulate the demand for popular education in Europe; will reduce the number of immigrants to a volume which there is some possibility of our being able to assimilate; will, with reasonable exceptions to prevent the separation of families, admit those only who, possessing the rudiments of an education, will certainly have a valuable asset in the struggle for existence.

After all, the fundamental question which underlies everything else in this immigration problem has not even been alluded to in Mr. Austin's article. No statistical study of immigration can ever be complete because there is one element, more important than all the others, concerning which no statistics can ever be compiled. That element is the number of American children who, because of the pressure of foreign immigration, *have never been born*. Back of all statistics of the criminality, pauperism, assimilation, illiteracy, naturalization and economic value of immigrants, lies the great question of the effect of immigration upon our native, or older, stock. No discussion of this question can be at all complete which leaves this out of consideration. The immigration of the last fifty years has contributed millions to our population; has undoubtedly added enormously to the wealth of the country, but these things have been accomplished at the expense of the native stock. The decreasing birth-rate of our native population, the complex resultant, without doubt, of many factors, has been very largely due to the effect of foreign immigration. The late General Walker first advanced this view; that, as newer and lower classes of immigrants came to this country, Americans shrank more and more from the industrial competition which was thus forced upon them; they became unwilling to subject their

sons and daughters to this competition, and *hence these sons and daughters were never born*. The stronger the competition, the greater the effort to maintain and raise the standard of living and the social position above that of the majority of recent immigrants; and the greater this effort, the greater the voluntary check to population. This competition is most serious in its consequences when it is due to the immigration of races which are able and content to live under wholly inferior conditions, and when this immigration continually feeds the lower strata of the population, however rapidly the intermediate strata may be raised in their standards of living. The question is a race question, pure and simple. Many of our recent immigrants, not discouraged by the problem of maintaining high standards of living with their many children, are replacing native Americans. It is fundamentally a question as to what kind of babies shall be born; it is a question as to what races shall dominate in this country. The American birth-rate is decreasing. Mr. R. R. Kuczynski, after a very careful study of the population statistics of Massachusetts, concludes that the native population is dying out. General Walker believed that foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, not reinforced our population, but replaced it. The United States Industrial Commission, which made one of the most thorough studies of immigration ever undertaken, says in its Final Report that "it is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population." In his new book, "The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers," Dr. P. J. Warne says that the coming of the Slavs into the mining districts of Pennsylvania since 1880 has determined the number of births in the older, English-speaking portion of the population. More recently still, Mr. Henry Gannett, well known for his statistical work in connection with the Census, in a hitherto unpublished statement, says:

"I do not think that our population has been materially, if at all, increased by immigration. On the contrary, I think that our population would be almost, if not quite, as numerous if the great flood of immigration which began in 1847 had never reached our shores."

Mr. Gannett believes that the mixture of our blood with that of Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia has been an advantage, but he

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also believes that a mixture with the blood of the "new" immigration "can have only a bad effect." Finally, in a recent article, Mr. Robert Hunter, of the University Settlement in New York, puts the case very clearly as follows:

"The fathers and mothers of the American children can be chosen, and it is in the power of Congress to decide upon what merits. . . . No nation has ever had a social responsibility of greater magnitude. The future of American society, industry, religious faith, political institutions, may be decided in a way quite marvellous by the governing powers of this country. The worst aspect of the whole matter is that the selfish forces interested in promoting immigration in every conceivable way, are deciding all these questions for us. The ones who come and the numbers who come depend largely upon the steamship companies. Whether we have more Hungarians than Italians, or Syrians than Greeks, or Scandinavians than Slavs, depends to a very large extent upon their ports, their passage rates and their success in advertising and soliciting. . . . I believe that this country may be ruined by leaving the volume and quality of immigration almost entirely to the decision of the steamship companies. . . . The skill of their agents decides whether we shall have one race or another come in great masses to our shores. . . . If we let the steamship companies and the railroads, wanting cheap labor, alone, we shall not decide what immigrants will be better for coming, and what ones the country needs. They will decide it for us. . . . Our governing bodies . . . in the past . . . have failed to consider the welfare of the people, either immigrants or Americans. The decision has been made as a result of pressure brought to bear upon public officials by private and selfish interests. Our national characteristics may be changed; our love of freedom, our religion, our inventive faculties, our standard of life. All of the things, in fact, for which America has been more or less distinctive among the nations, may be entirely altered. Our race may be supplanted by another, by an Asiatic one, for instance, and not because it is better so, nor because it is for the world's good. On the contrary, it is in order that individuals interested in steamships may be benefited, and in order that employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there."

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