

# **MEAT vs. RICE**

**American Manhood against  
Asiatic Coolieism**

## **WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?**

BY  
SAMUEL COMBERS AND HERMAN CUTSTADT

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# MEAT vs. RICE

AMERICAN MANHOOD AGAINST ASIATIC COLOREISM. WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?

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 (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 Gutschadt 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 manifold 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 Tonges, 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 hanchetmen, 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 Lunderback, 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

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 Jong, 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 posted on the walls in Chinatown, San Francisco, that unless heavy restitution was made by a certain Chinese family to another, five members of the former would be murdered within ten days.

These are hardly the little, mild, innocent and inoffensive strangers Eastern pro-Chinese were wont to consider them, and we presume 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 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, the laundry from our poorer women and subsequently from the white steam cigarmakers, bagmakers, miners, farm laborers, brickmakers, tailors, slipper-makers and numerous other occupations. In the ladies' furnishing line 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 of the utmost abstemiousness; frugal; a born merchant; a first-class cultivator of the Middle Kingdom slowly, surely and unremitted, 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—now filling up with Chinese. The number of the sons of the Flower 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 invaders. 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:

"Europe with her 300,000,000, China with her 400,000,000, represent, with the exception of India, the two most over-populated parts of the world. Both send their sons to foreign climes. They consist of two mighty streams, of which one is white and the other yellow. In the annals of history there is no mention of the migration of such immense masses of people. A series of questions arise. How will the status of the old continent be affected by the emigration of so many of its sons? Now suffering from a plethora, after a severe bleeding will Europe remain in a full healthy condition, or, similar to Spain, will she lapse into a state of anarchy? 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? 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, everflourishing 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 IS 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 so profoundly impressed with the character of the people that he said:

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

Kipling saw Canton and says of it:

"A big blue sink of a city, full of tunnels, all dark, and inhabited by yellow devils; a city that Dore ought to have seen. I 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 fairest of our States. The check given to his advance by the exclusion law has saved us temporarily, and by reason of their gradual decrease \* (?) somewhat modified the economic condition, which for more than a generation made the State of California an outpost among its sister States.

To those of our citizens still in middle age the struggle of the Pacific Coast must yet be fresh in mind. A growing young giant, kept to the earth by a weight he found himself unable to rise with. His appeals, 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—not 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 higher 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 subtleties 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

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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 Lilian 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?"

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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 as a 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
Laundrymen .....	10.00 per month	with
Farmers .....	22.50 per month	with
Brickmakers .....	30.00 per month	without
Slipper makers .....	4.50 per week	without
Bag makers .....	5.25 per week	without
Miners .....	1.75 per week	without
Canneries .....	1.00 per week	without
Boot 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 in 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 other fields of industry. The ladies' furnishing and undergarment trade is almost entirely under the control of the Chinese. Their stores are scattered everywhere throughout San Francisco, and the American manufacturers have been driven out and every effort to regain the trade has been unsuccessful. In the manufacture of male garments and furnishings conditions are almost as 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-

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

In factories owned by white employers the Chinese employees 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 depopulating 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

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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 live 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 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-

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dix (VII) 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 [Asiatics].

"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 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 laborer, 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. The 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 domination among us. See Appendix Miscellaneous 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 with noxious vapors, sinks, urinals and sewers running the atmosphere in damp cellars, living close, stifling odors; with people herded and packed in damp cellars, daily and nightly the life of vermin, badly fed and clothed, addicted to the 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 'Cubie-air' or filth 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. 176.]

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. But the figures 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 of filth, step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of their's accumulations 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 the touch, tangible to the taste, and, oh, how tangible to the sight! 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 it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of horror as if 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 stupor, 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 defecation 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 hastes 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 less 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

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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 women are found in the pursuit 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 perpetration 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 of 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 ap-  
parent indiscriminate parental relations and no family classification—women 761, children 576. Professional women and children living together—women 507, 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 protectors, 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 intermingled 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 running 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

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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 shot by highlanders.

Another girl testified that her mother had sold her for about \$400. She saw the money paid and the bill received. 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 it proves beyond controversy 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 immigration. (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 sunk in their cavities furiously glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant and disordered attire, they sink 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 the street gamins 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 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 feld 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 worshippers 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 heretofore 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 portage.

#### 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 a letting down of the exclusion bars. The earlier declarations of Mr. Irish upon this 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-fields 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."

I 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-landed 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 hardly 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 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 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. Stanford 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 Department's figures estimated them at between 50,000 and 60,000 (1901). Taking the smaller figures, and assuming that of the 50,000, 20,000 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 declared 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 lawmakers 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 1890 they had increased to 21,746. The Japanese were not enumerated until 1894, 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, also, 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 12,938 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 workmen 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 Chinese 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; Burma, 134,560; Java, 1,825,700; Australia, 34,465; Europe, 1760; Corea, 11,260; Amoy, 74,500; Malaya, 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 of 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 "Breking 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."



"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 hand 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, the 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, and transcripts to his home 50 cents per day. Estimating that each Japanese saves 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 \$25,000,000 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 and women it would have passed through by Asiatics been received by white men 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. Haynes 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 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 decent families. Forty thousand white laborers would render



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—amongst 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 the 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 gutter, the gambling house, so 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 hell. So the meet the Chinese and compete with them in the footrace to hell. The Chinese 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 Juc who devoted their lives to the enlightenment of the Orientals, in their own hands, 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 on 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. Bates, 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 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, 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 Allenmeyer, 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 hear close watching. I think they will take things whenever they get a chance.\* I 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 accumulation 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 Metropolitan Bldg., San Francisco.

\* See opinion of Judge Bates, p. 21.