

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
ETHELBERT STEWART, Commissioner

BULLETIN OF THE UNITED STATES } { **No. 340**
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS }

M I S C E L L A N E O U S S E R I E S

**CHINESE MIGRATIONS, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO LABOR CONDITIONS**

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JULY, 1923

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1923

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this study is twofold. (1) Since the Chinese are now residing in a number of countries, the following questions are of interest: Why and how have they gone there? What is the degree of their economic prosperity and social adaptation in their new environments? In what ways and to what extent have they benefited themselves, their fatherland and their adopted countries? An attempt is here made to answer these queries, at least in part.

(2) China is undergoing a stupendous social and political change which has brought to the fore, in greater and greater degree, the population problem. A high birth rate has been accompanied by a high death rate and infant mortality. Unsatisfactory socio-economic conditions have caused low wages, disease, poverty, and misery. In great numbers the needy have been forced out of the country. In this sense the outflow of the emigrants has arisen from the pressure of the home population. Wherever they have gone, clashes with other racial groups have been frequent. Inasmuch as the pressure of population is not likely to diminish in the immediate future, further conflicts are distinctly possible. The amelioration of the social and economic conditions in China are therefore desirable in order to insure social progress and promote international good will.

With these views in mind, inquiry has been made into the condition of the Chinese in important countries with reference to certain specific problems. A few countries have been chosen on the following more or less arbitrary grounds. First, the countries must lie within the Eastern Hemisphere as far as the mid-Pacific. Secondly, the maximum number of the Chinese in each country must at some time have reached 50,000 or more. This does not mean, however, that all the countries within the specified region to which 50,000 or more Chinese have gone have been included. The method has been to select certain ones which are fairly representative of a regional group and of a particular period of migration. Thus, in Sumatra the number of Chinese is reported to be over 50,000, but since their government, chief occupations and social activities are quite similar to those in Singapore and Penang, and their immigration methods and labor contracts like those in force in Banka and Billiton, no separate account of the Chinese in Sumatra is here given.

Other countries lie within the specified area, but difficulties in the gathering of data and insufficient and conflicting material make their inclusion in this volume impracticable. Such countries include Korea, Japan, Siam, French Indo-China, and some British territories in Australasia and Oceania. These countries, together with the Americas and other regions to which a considerable number of Chinese have gone, may be treated in subsequent studies.

The scope of this volume therefore narrows down to an account of the Chinese in Formosa, Dutch East Indies, British Malakka, the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, the Transvaal, and France (during the World War).

With respect to time, this study undertakes to outline the important overseas migrations of the Chinese of which important records are now available. These migrations seem to have begun in the seventh century, been reinforced in the fifteenth century, and continued with increasing importance during and since the nineteenth century. An endeavor has been made to bring the account up to the present time, and, as far as possible, special emphasis has been laid on the modern period. Although overland migrations in and near China had occurred before the first overseas migration herein treated, no attention has been given them here, for the effort has been to ascertain the causes and consequences of the contacts between China and other nations brought about by the Chinese emigrants beyond the seas.

The main inquiries of this study resolve themselves into three major divisions: Historic, social, and economic. The historic phase includes important conflicts, and the political and civil relations between China and the particular country to which the emigrants have gone. In tracing these events, the plan has been to terminate the account with the last significant clash whereby the Chinese either gained or lost socio-economic importance in their adopted country. In Java, for example, the failure of the Chinese revolt of 1740 led to the Dutch ascendancy in commerce and politics. Likewise, historic events in Formosa have been outlined up to the time of Koxinga's conquest of the island, and in the Philippines up to the third massacre of the Chinese by Spaniards.

Under the economic phase have been included the main occupations of the Chinese, and their activities in industry, commerce, and agriculture, in order to ascertain their economic importance in a given country. Owing to insufficient data, the accounts of the modifications of the Chinese guilds to suit the local needs and of labor organizations are deficient in part.

The discussion of the social conditions of the overseas Chinese includes population, education, government, social organizations, racial discriminations, customs and manners, and interracial marriage and fusion. An attempt is here made to show their assimilability, group solidarity, the changes in their mode of living, and social problems of various kinds. The chief inadequacies lie in the insufficient data on education and social organization, and the paucity of statistical material on racial amalgamation.

The findings of this investigation, based on a synthetic assemblage of facts, are summarized in the concluding chapter. The principal significant points disclosed are that by and large the Chinese emigrants have been forced out of China by the population pressure;

that under favorable social conditions they have been successful in business and trades; that by their aid in capital and labor they have initiated and developed important industries to augment the wealth of their adopted countries; that they have been handicapped by social and legal discriminations; that they have been loyal to their mother country; that there has been evidence to show the eugenic benefits of miscegenation between the Chinese and other nationals; that by frequent contact with other nations the Chinese abroad have complicated the international relations; and that owing to their idiosyncracies and persistent indulgence in certain vices they have created vexed problems of administration for foreign governments under whose jurisdiction they live.

The main sources of material of this study are the available official documents of the Chinese and other Governments. Authentic secondary sources, such as books, magazines, and articles, have also been used. A limited amount of material has been gathered from correspondence with cultural and commercial organizations and also with individuals in the several countries under survey. Great care has been exercised in the selection of sources.

The important treaties, conventions, laws, contracts, and other documentary data on Chinese emigration and labor not fully covered in each chapter are given in appendixes to the chapters. Also, for each chapter a selected bibliography is given.

Chapter I.—A SURVEY OF CHINESE MIGRATIONS.

HISTORY AND SCOPE OF CHINESE EMIGRATION.

The important overseas migrations of the Chinese as sketched in this study may be roughly grouped into three periods—those of the seventh, fifteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The movements of emigration are indicated in the accompanying map (Fig. 1). The first migration began during the seventh century, when Chinese colonists settled in the Pheng-hu Archipelago (Pescadores Islands) (35)¹ and Formosa (Taiwan). Most of the emigrants went from the seaboard cities of Foochow (27), Chuanchow (28), Amoy (29), Ningpo (21), Swatow (36), Canton (39), and Hainan (46). Port Litsitah, on the southwestern point of the Pêcheurs Islands in the west of the Pescadores, was a prosperous commercial center of the pioneer Chinese settlers. Tachì, a neighboring town, was another favorite resort of the junk tradesmen. Makung, the capital of the Archipelago, became the insular metropolis of Chinese culture. Soon the tide of an eastward movement set in. The Hakkas began to trade with the inhabitants of Takow, Tayouan, Kiirun (32), and Tansui (31), and laid the foundations of Chinese settlements in Formosa. As time went on, the Chinese in these places, with the cooperation of their friends at home, commenced to have trade relations with the neighboring countries. Three main trade routes were opened: One leading to British Malakka, one to the Dutch East Indies, and one to the Philippines. These routes paved the way for the second great migration of China.

Beginning with the fifteenth century, when the imperial eunuch, Cheng Ho, returned from his trips to the "western ocean," a great rush for Eldorado started on the coast of Fukien and Kwangtung. Miraculous tales were told of the "strange" countries the royal eunuch had visited. Much exaggerated and distorted, these fabulous stories were vividly retold in popular ballads and folk songs. In novels such as the *See Yang Chi* (a tale of the western ocean), by a Buddhist disciple, tales of the Yuan expedition to Java in 1293 and Cheng Ho's visits in the fifteenth century, were woven together incorrectly but entertainingly. During this period the junk trade was most flourishing. The power of the Ming emperors was extended to the neighboring nations, and Chinese nationals went out in large numbers to southern Asia and the sea countries for trade. The colonization of the Malay Archipelago, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Sulu Archipelago, and the Philippines, which began in a small way after the seventh century, was much stimulated. Short accounts of the Dutch East Indies, British Malakka, and the Philippine Islands are here included to illustrate the migration of this period.

About 1860, the third overseas migration was started with the legalization of the coolie trade. Spain, Portugal, Holland, Great Britain, and other European powers were bent on developing their colonies and possessions commercially and industrially. They

¹ Figures in parenthesis, following geographic names, correspond to the key numbers on the map.

CHINESE MIGRATIONS: SEVENTH, FIFTEENTH, NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

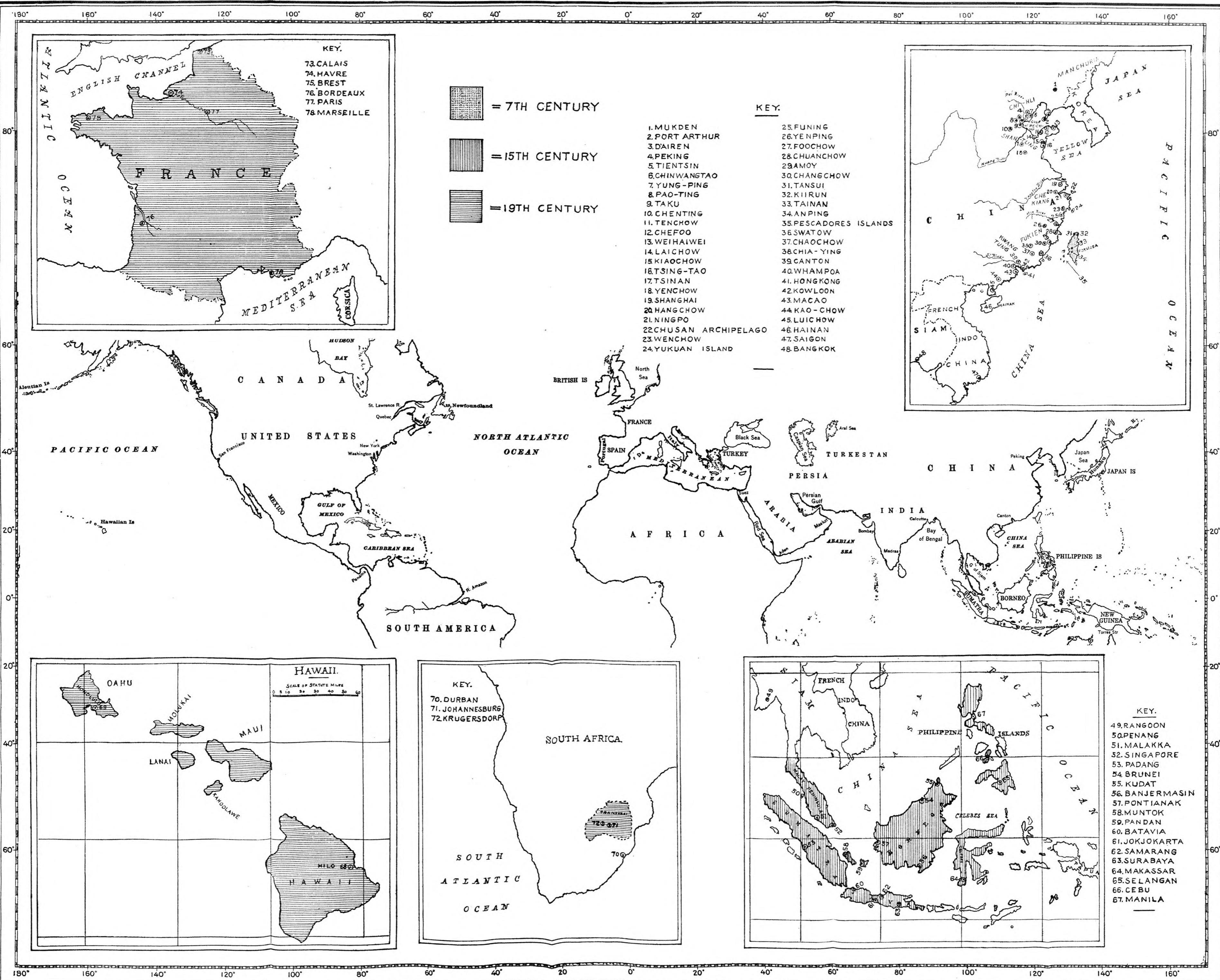


FIG. 1.

looked to China as an inexhaustible source of manual labor. Heretofore, most of the Chinese emigrants had gone to various countries independently and of their own free will. From this time onward, a new type of emigrants appeared. Frequently, these emigrants went out under either treaty provisions or labor contract. Their stay in foreign lands was usually for a limited period and their socio-economic status was minutely defined. Three examples are here given: The Chinese in Hawaii,^a in the Transvaal, and in France during the World War.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION.

The significant causes of these migrations are varied and intricate. What follows here is merely an outline. As regards special inducements which have attracted the Chinese emigrants to different countries, mention is made in the chapters which follow.

Driving forces.—(a) The pressure of population weighs heavily on the side of emigration. Although reliable statistical data on China's population are lacking, it seems reasonably clear that the population has been outstripping the food supply and forcing a vast number of people out of the country. The official estimates of Chinese population between 1749 and 1920 can be considered only rough indications of the actual conditions during these years. In fact, the data now available warrant nothing more than a statement of the obvious limitations of these figures and the making of very general observations based upon them. The figures referred to are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED POPULATION OF CHINA, 1749 TO 1920.

[Data for 1749 to 1780 are taken from China (by imperial edict), Ta Tsing Hui Tien (Constitution of the Tsing Dynasty). Those for 1812 are quoted by Zarkharov in Numerical Relations of Population of China during 4,000 Years of its Historical Existence, and originally from the same Chinese document. The figures for 1842, 1882, and 1885, supplied by the Chinese Ministry of Revenue, are quoted by W. W. Rockhill in "Inquiry into the population of China." The figures for 1910 are taken from the official estimate of the Mingchengpu (Ministry of the Interior) and those for 1920 from the estimate of the Chinese Post Office; they also appear in the China Yearbook for 1921-22. The figures are here given in thousands.]

| Province. | 1749 | 1760 | 1780 | 1812 | 1842 | 1882 | 1885 | 1910 | 1920 |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Anhwei | 21,568 | 22,848 | 28,456 | 31,165 | 36,597 | α20,597 | α20,597 | 17,300 | 19,833 |
| Chekiang | 11,877 | 15,612 | 21,035 | 26,257 | 30,438 | 11,589 | 11,684 | 17,000 | 22,043 |
| Chihli | 13,933 | 16,132 | 22,263 | 27,991 | 36,890 | α17,937 | α17,937 | 32,571 | 34,187 |
| Fukien | 7,620 | 8,065 | 12,399 | 14,779 | 25,800 | 25,000 | 23,503 | 13,100 | 13,158 |
| Honan | 12,848 | 16,399 | 20,553 | 23,037 | 29,070 | 22,116 | 22,117 | 25,600 | 30,832 |
| Hunan | 8,672 | 8,845 | 15,676 | 18,653 | 20,049 | 21,003 | 21,005 | 23,600 | 28,443 |
| Hupeh | 7,527 | 8,138 | 17,155 | 27,370 | 28,585 | 33,365 | 33,600 | 24,900 | 27,167 |
| Kansu | 5,580 | 7,471 | 15,159 | 15,355 | 19,513 | α5,411 | α5,411 | 5,000 | 5,928 |
| Kiangsi | 8,428 | 11,609 | 18,512 | 23,047 | 26,514 | 24,534 | 24,541 | 14,500 | 24,467 |
| Kiangsu | 20,972 | 23,284 | 30,361 | 37,844 | 39,647 | 20,905 | 21,260 | 17,300 | 33,796 |
| Kwangsi | 3,688 | 3,973 | 6,034 | 7,314 | 8,121 | α5,151 | α5,151 | 6,500 | 12,458 |
| Kwangtung | 6,461 | 6,819 | 15,635 | 19,174 | 21,153 | 29,706 | 29,740 | 27,700 | 37,168 |
| Kweichow | 3,075 | 3,411 | 5,111 | 5,288 | 5,679 | 7,669 | 7,669 | 11,300 | 11,216 |
| Shansi | 9,509 | 10,240 | 13,037 | 14,004 | 17,057 | 12,211 | 10,791 | 10,000 | 11,081 |
| Shantung | 24,012 | 25,293 | 22,013 | 28,859 | 29,530 | 36,248 | 36,546 | 29,600 | 30,803 |
| Shensi | 6,734 | 7,297 | 8,259 | 10,207 | 10,310 | α8,432 | 3,277 | 8,800 | 9,466 |
| Yunnan | 1,946 | 2,089 | 3,294 | 5,561 | 5,824 | α11,722 | α11,722 | 8,500 | 9,839 |
| Shengking | 407 | 675 | 797 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Kirin | ..... | ..... | 142 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 14,917 | 13,702 |
| Heilungkiang | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total | 174,857 | 198,210 | 275,891 | 339,045 | 390,767 | 313,596 | 306,551 | 308,183 | 375,377 |

α Figures are for 1879.
 b Up to 1780, data are for Kiangnan.
 c Now known as Manchuria, but data for 1749 to 1885 are incomplete.
 d Not including the Province of Szechwan.

^aA considerable number of the Chinese who went to Hawaii about 1860 were plantation laborers under contract. Thus, respecting both the time of migration and the character of the early population, the Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands should be classed under the modern period.

The general apparent decrease of population from 1842 to 1882, shown in Table 1, may be partially due to the tremendous loss of human lives from wars and famines, some of which are shown in Table 2. It is equally possible that the figures themselves are at fault. Since 1885, however, the population is believed to have increased, as there have been fewer wars and famines than in former years. No adequate cause can be assigned for the apparent large decrease of population in Kiangsi during the period 1885 to 1910, nor for the apparent phenomenal increase in Kiangsu in 1910 to 1920.³

TABLE 2.—WARS, FAMINES, AND ESTIMATED LOSS OF POPULATION.

[Quoted in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 47, p. 318, "Inquiry into the population of China," by W. W. Rockhill. Most of the figures are taken from other authorities, but the basis of these estimates is not stated therein.]

| Year. | Calamity. | Estimated loss of population. |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1846..... | Famine..... | 225,000 |
| 1849..... | do..... | 13,750,000 |
| 1854 to 1864..... | T'ai-p'ing rebellion..... | 20,000,000 |
| 1861 to 1878..... | Mohammedan rebellion..... | 1,000,000 |
| 1877-78..... | Famine..... | 9,500,000 |

Irrespective of the accuracy of the figures in Table 1, it is probable that the population has been and is too great for the arable land of the country, because, as shown in Table 3, 49,359,589 farmers are enumerated as cultivators of 1,617,318,458 mow (about 269,553,076 acres) of land. This is an average of about 5.5 acres per farm. Even if the average size of the farm be increased by the inclusion of the uncultivated areas tabulated in Table 4, it will nevertheless be almost impossible for the farmer to produce enough food to support and educate his children properly, for if one can trust the Mingchengpu (Ministry of the Interior) estimate of 1910, the average size of the family in China proper is 5.5, and in Manchuria, 8.3; and the farmers constitute about 75 per cent of the nation's population.

³ In fact, the estimates for Szechwan for these years are so confusing that it was thought best to exclude them altogether. See Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 47, p. 321, "Inquiry into the population of China," by W. W. Rockhill; and China Yearbook for 1921-22, p. 3, footnote.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF FARMERS, AND AREA OF LAND UNDER CULTIVATION IN THE VARIOUS PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS OF CHINA, 1917.

[Source: China: Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Sixth annual report. Peking, 1920. 1 mow=one-sixth acre.]

| Province or district. | Number of farmers. | | | | Area of farms under cultivation. | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| | Owners. | Tenants. | Part owners. | Total. | By owners. | | By lessees. ¹ | | Total. | | Gardens and fruit orchards | Total area. |
| | | | | | Wet land. | Dry land. | Wet land. | Dry land. | Wet land. | Dry land. | | |
| | | | | | Mows. | Mows. | Mows. | Mows. | Mows. | Mows. | | |
| Anhwei..... | 1,314,311 | 983,888 | 547,815 | 2,846,014 | 8,353,858 | 14,596,405 | 6,896,268 | 9,166,405 | 15,250,126 | 23,762,810 | 2,414,605 | 41,427,541 |
| Chekiang..... | 1,073,387 | 1,158,783 | 1,023,045 | 3,255,215 | 7,906,565 | 4,398,803 | 9,107,700 | 5,629,945 | 17,014,265 | 10,028,748 | 5,916,595 | 32,959,608 |
| Chihli..... | 2,890,897 | 523,003 | 552,861 | 3,966,761 | 2,966,162 | 57,402,290 | 1,091,226 | 15,620,010 | 4,057,388 | 73,022,300 | 4,946,560 | 82,026,248 |
| Chingshao..... | 307,874 | 125,348 | 154,545 | 587,767 | 48,076 | 5,886,418 | 23,347 | 7,847,131 | 71,423 | 16,733,546 | 2,294,556 | 19,099,258 |
| Fengtien..... | 686,281 | 501,731 | 498,634 | 1,686,646 | 84,759 | 24,655,038 | 67,265 | 19,260,268 | 152,024 | 43,915,306 | 1,126,845 | 45,194,175 |
| Fukien..... | 553,807 | 554,941 | 512,604 | 1,621,352 | 7,010,396 | 5,051,166 | 5,864,425 | 4,529,693 | 12,874,821 | 9,580,859 | 1,573,751 | 24,313,451 |
| Heilungkiang..... | 180,689 | 82,098 | 61,368 | 324,155 | 3 | 23,293,027 | | 12,080,430 | 3 | 35,373,457 | 1,791,554 | 37,165,014 |
| Honan..... | 3,453,552 | 1,596,937 | 1,079,926 | 6,130,415 | 17,152,755 | 242,715,715 | 9,176,859 | 78,867,865 | 26,329,614 | 321,583,570 | 51,311,398 | 399,224,592 |
| Hunan..... | 287,553 | 1,006,453 | 143,791 | 1,437,797 | 4,676,234 | 935,241 | 10,911,230 | 2,182,251 | 15,587,464 | 3,117,492 | 3,319,150 | 22,024,106 |
| Hupeh..... | 1,561,127 | 1,339,307 | 770,337 | 3,670,771 | 66,580,225 | 17,909,573 | 51,320,521 | 18,224,001 | 117,900,746 | 36,133,574 | 6,379,940 | 160,414,260 |
| Jehol..... | 416,962 | 95,135 | 103,340 | 615,437 | 203,400 | 10,808,988 | 96,657 | 5,099,632 | 300,057 | 15,908,620 | 686,645 | 16,895,322 |
| Kansu..... | 556,780 | 151,554 | 156,803 | 865,137 | 5,288,509 | 12,213,186 | 2,250,764 | 7,219,705 | 7,539,273 | 19,432,891 | 416,406 | 27,388,570 |
| Kiangsi..... | 1,714,401 | 1,241,202 | 1,109,244 | 4,064,847 | 9,725,143 | 8,023,754 | 9,301,422 | 8,793,692 | 19,026,565 | 16,817,446 | 4,536,899 | 40,380,910 |
| Kiangsu..... | 2,234,278 | 1,641,211 | 1,096,495 | 4,871,984 | 11,205,639 | 32,220,268 | 10,446,127 | 16,130,600 | 21,651,766 | 48,350,868 | 7,093,197 | 77,095,831 |
| Kirin..... | 251,676 | 165,079 | 122,143 | 538,898 | 10,098 | 28,393,588 | 32,118 | 54,790,663 | 42,216 | 83,124,251 | 2,819,301 | 85,985,768 |
| Kwangsi..... | (1) | (1) | (1) | 2,273,896 | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 82,474,993 |
| Kwangtung..... | 1,316,500 | 1,463,865 | 1,144,842 | 3,926,207 | 5,602,707 | 4,112,599 | 7,914,334 | 5,275,983 | 13,517,041 | 9,388,582 | 3,096,277 | 26,001,900 |
| Kweichow..... | (1) | (1) | (1) | 190,653 | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 1,471,038 |
| Shantung..... | 3,819,135 | 717,632 | 917,963 | 5,454,730 | 547,213 | 93,764,051 | 303,060 | 48,009,436 | 850,273 | 141,773,487 | 4,473,827 | 147,097,587 |
| Shansi..... | 1,078,697 | 238,696 | 212,151 | 1,529,544 | 2,843,842 | 24,598,210 | 1,135,598 | 11,243,341 | 3,979,350 | 45,841,551 | 968,536 | 50,780,437 |
| Shensi..... | 771,247 | 304,975 | 258,954 | 1,335,176 | 1,322,576 | 19,390,319 | 662,053 | 10,158,777 | 1,984,628 | 29,548,026 | 1,192,987 | 32,727,712 |
| Sinkiang..... | 343,998 | 62,606 | 451,738 | 395,270 | 8,337,601 | 8,337,601 | 100,796 | 1,882,375 | 496,006 | 10,219,976 | 1,068,823 | 11,864,855 |
| Sueiyuan..... | 35,332 | 14,884 | 14,871 | 64,587 | 967,532 | 2,235,832 | 731,520 | 1,091,563 | 1,766,052 | 3,330,415 | 6,208,982 | 5,208,490 |
| Szechwan..... | (1) | (1) | (1) | 6,099,594 | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 124,854,906 |
| Tsahar..... | 83,099 | 13,822 | 13,490 | 115,411 | 246,481 | 7,734,814 | 369,093 | 3,407,076 | 615,574 | 11,141,884 | 17,633 | 11,775,111 |
| Yunnan..... | (1) | (1) | (1) | 1,300,252 | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 11,496,856 |
| Total..... | ² 24,931,583 | ² 13,888,150 | ² 10,539,856 | 59,223,984 | ² 153,137,443 | ² 661,679,906 | ² 127,812,293 | ² 346,450,836 | ² 280,949,736 | ² 1,008,130,742 | ² 107,910,487 | 1,617,318,458 |

¹ Not reported separately.² Not including information for four Provinces not separately reported.³ The land owned by part owners constitutes a relatively small proportion. This class is here grouped with the lessees.

TABLE 4.—UNCULTIVATED LAND IN CHINA, BY PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS, 1917.

[Source: China. Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Sixth annual report. Peking, 1920. Government land includes unclaimed lands, lands originally belonging to the State, and waste lands; public land includes undeveloped properties of public institutions. 1 mow equals one-sixth acre.]

| Province or district. | Area of land (in mows). | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Government. | Public. | Private. | Total. |
| Anhwei..... | 1,503,617 | 286,778 | 2,687,936 | 4,478,331 |
| Chekiang..... | 287,737 | 149,047 | 1,311,009 | 1,747,793 |
| Chihli..... | 3,938,905 | 2,269,777 | 621,460 | 6,830,142 |
| Chingshao..... | 342,359 | 5,400 | 301,494 | 649,453 |
| Fengtien..... | 1,672,486 | 97,703 | 14,420,405 | 16,190,594 |
| Fukien..... | 130,262 | 513,247 | 41,372 | 684,881 |
| Heilungkiang..... | 83,678,329 | 5,802,960 | 645,028,441 | 734,509,730 |
| Honan..... | 228,456 | 102,193 | 4,009,479 | 4,340,128 |
| Hunan..... | 55,716 | ..... | 2,430,781 | 2,486,497 |
| Hupeh..... | 22,578 | 84,569 | 3,928,297 | 4,035,444 |
| Jehol..... | 485,015 | 51,880 | 857,117 | 1,394,012 |
| Kansu..... | 12,696,734 | 81,397 | 2,054,248 | 14,832,379 |
| Kiangsi..... | 41,931 | 11,862 | 2,654,730 | 2,706,523 |
| Kiangsu..... | 897,688 | 134,557 | 1,299,346 | 2,331,591 |
| Kirin..... | 26,993,115 | 12,307,298 | 64,738,006 | 104,038,419 |
| Kwangtung..... | 2,810,357 | 556,931 | 534,675 | 3,901,963 |
| Kwangsi ¹ | 4,092,303 | ..... | 10,166,810 | 14,259,313 |
| Kweichow ² | 4,488 | (9) | 27,268 | 31,756 |
| Shansi..... | 632,586 | 16,680 | 3,878,832 | 4,528,148 |
| Shantung..... | 2,027,119 | 161,588 | 70,459 | 2,259,166 |
| Shensi..... | 361,354 | 13,470 | 1,244,802 | 1,619,626 |
| Sinkiang..... | 7,484,136 | 7,147 | 168,591 | 7,659,934 |
| Susiyuan..... | 464,531 | ..... | 37,963 | 502,494 |
| Szechwan ³ | 425,309 | ..... | 21,459,975 | 21,885,284 |
| Tashar..... | 1,921,179 | 19,335 | 914,137 | 2,854,651 |
| Yunnan ⁴ | 182,124 | ..... | 2,338,049 | 2,520,173 |
| Total..... | 153,380,874 | 22,673,819 | 787,225,732 | 963,280,425 |

¹ Data for 1916.

² Date for 1915.

³ Not reported.

⁴ Data for 1914.

⁵ Not including 1 Province, character of ownership not reported.

(b) In addition to the general conditions as above outlined, it appears desirable to survey briefly the situation in the four Provinces from which most of the emigrants included in this study were drawn. Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the outflow of emigrants from the Provinces was continuous and active, the operation of the positive checks to population, such as droughts and famines, were frequent. The extent of these checks may be indicated by a few examples of drought and famine in the four Provinces as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5.—DROUGHTS AND FAMINES IN CHIHLI, SHANTUNG, FUKIEN, AND KWANGTUNG.

[Source: China (by imperial edict). T'u Shu Tsi Cheng (Encyclopedia), section on various manifestations, book 91, chapter on droughts, and books 110, 111, chapter on plenty and dearth.]

DROUGHTS.

| Year. | Province and district affected. | Remarks. | Year. | Province and district affected. | Remarks. |
|-------|---------------------------------|---|-------|---|--|
| | <i>Chihli.</i> | | | <i>Fukien—Concdl.</i> | |
| 1369 | General..... | | 1487 | (1) | No wheat crop in spring, no rice crop in autumn. |
| 1375 | Peking..... | | 1501 | (1) | No rice crop. |
| 1393 |do..... | | 1513 | (2) | |
| 1440 |do..... | | 1526 | (1) | Severe. |
| 1472 | Shuntah, Chenting. | | 1536 | (1) | Famine. |
| 1484 | Peking..... | Government granaries opened for relief. Sufferers migrated southward. | 1537 | (1) | Every sufferer given 3 tow ² of rice by Government. |
| 1487 |do..... | | 1538 | (1) | Severe; starvation. |
| 1503 |do..... | | 1544 | (1) | Do. |
| 1510 | Peking, Tientsin... | | 1545 | (1) | In autumn and winter; late crops of rice all failed. |
| 1541 | (1) | Plague of locusts also. Government treasury sent relief fund. | 1566 | (2) | Severe. |
| 1628 | Paoting..... | Severe. | 1568 | (1) | Severe; no rice crop. |
| | <i>Shantung.</i> | | 1578 | Houkian, Hulan... | Do. |
| 1369 | General..... | | 1579 | (1) | Do. |
| 1483 | Kuan..... | Famine; cannibalism. | 1586 | (1) | Severe; no rice crop. |
| 1484 | General..... | Government granaries opened for relief. | 1587 | (1) | Do. |
| 1485 | Sing..... | Cannibalism. | 1588 | Hinghwa..... | Severe. |
| 1492 | Tung-chang..... | Severe famine. | 1589 |do..... | Do. |
| 1504 | Wuting..... | Want of rain from first to ninth moon. | 1590 | (1) | No rain from first to eighth moon. |
| 1516 | Tehping..... | Want of rain in seventh moon. | 1591 | (1) | Severe. |
| 1523 | (1) | Severe. | 1606 | Hinghwa..... | Ten per cent of land tax exempted. |
| 1528 | (1) | Do. | 1613 | (1) | Severe. |
| 1538 | General..... | Every sufferer given 3 tow ² of rice by Government. | 1614 | Loguan..... | Do. |
| 1560 | (1) | Severe; emigration of sufferers. | 1615 | (1) | Do. |
| 1573 | (1) | Severe. | | <i>Kwangtung.</i> | |
| 1615 | (1) | Severe; cannibalism. | 1369 | General..... | |
| 1640 | (1) | Cannibalism; robbery and thefts frequent. | 1470 | Kwangchow..... | |
| | <i>Fukien.</i> | | 1498 | Hingning..... | |
| 1360 | General..... | | 1502 | (1) | |
| 1387 |do..... | | 1536 | Kwangchow, Shaoking, Nanksiung, Shaochow. | Severe. |
| 1451 |do..... | | 1543 | Hingning..... | No rain from eighth moon in 1543 to fifth moon in 1544. |
| 1468 |do..... | | 1560 | General..... | |
| 1476 |do..... | | 1596 | Lulchow..... | Severe. |
| 1486 | (1) | In spring, summer, and autumn; no harvest; great emigration. | | | |

¹ District not reported.

² About 3.5 pecks.

TABLE 5.—DROUGHTS AND FAMINES IN CHIHLI, SHANTUNG, FUKIEN, AND KWANGTUNG—Concluded.

FAMINES.

| Year. | Province and district affected. | Remarks. | Year. | Province and district affected. | Remarks. |
|-------|---------------------------------|---|-------|---------------------------------|--|
| | <i>Chihli.</i> | | | <i>Fukien—Concl'd.</i> | |
| 1416 | Peking..... | Total sufferers numbered 999,380 (including Honan and Shantung). Government gave 1,779,009 piculs (118,600 tons) of rice. | 1476 | Nanping, Shunchang, Sha. | Petitioned to Emperor for relief. |
| | | | 1499 | do..... | Do. |
| | | | 1531 | Three districts.... | Robbery. |
| | | | 1536 | (1) | |
| | | | 1537 | (1) | |
| 1465 | Peking and vicinity. | | 1542 | Changluh..... | Pestilence. |
| 1472 | Shunteh..... | Severe. | 1544 | Hengchow, Anluh. | |
| 1484 | Southern Chihli..... | | 1556 | (1) | |
| 1500 | Yunping..... | Flood and famine. | 1558 | (1) | Severe; food brought from Liao (now Manchuria). |
| 1511 | Peking..... | Severe. | | | Severe. |
| 1513 | Yunping..... | | 1575 | (1) | Do. |
| 1526 | (1) | | 1576 | (1) | Sufferers robbed city for three days. |
| 1553 | Paoting..... | Cannibalism. | 1594 | Hsinglung..... | Severe. |
| 1640 | Peking..... | Do. | | | 10 per cent of land tax exempted. |
| 1641 | (1) | Pestilence; cannibalism. | 1596 | (1) | Severe. |
| | <i>Shantung.</i> | | 1606 | (1) | Severe. |
| 1412 | Laichow..... | Board of Records sent 583,080 piculs (38,872 tons) of rice. | 1608 | (1) | Do. |
| | | | 1616 | (1) | |
| | | | 1628 | (1) | |
| | | | 1635 | (1) | Do. |
| 1415 | (1) | | | | |
| 1425 | Several districts.... | Government relief. | | <i>Kwangtung.</i> | |
| 1452 | Tsinan, Tehping.... | | | | |
| 1468 | Tsimoh..... | | 1390 | Tehching..... | Severe; magistrate ordered rich to loan money to sufferers. |
| 1470 | Four districts..... | Severe. | | | |
| 1473 | (1) | Viceroy of Honan was ordered to emigrate sufferers there; no land tax. | 1430 | Nanhai..... | |
| | | | 1435 | Chungchow..... | |
| 1481 | Pingtoo..... | Cannibalism. | 1443 | Kwangchow..... | |
| 1487 | (1) | Severe. | 1458 | Lienchow..... | |
| 1492 | Tsinan..... | Severe; The Yellow River changes course. | 1468 | (1) | |
| | | | 1486 | Shunteh..... | Severe. |
| 1508 | Changyih..... | Severe. | 1492 | Nanhai..... | Sea walls broken; sufferers numbered more than 10,000. |
| 1524 | Pingtoo..... | Do. | | | Severe. |
| 1528 | (1) | Do. | 1499 | Nahai, Panyu.... | |
| 1561 | (1) | Do. | 1519 | Singhui..... | |
| 1562 | (1) | Do. | 1528 | Hakfung..... | Starvation. |
| 1569 | Three districts.... | Flood. | 1535 | Four districts.... | Flood; severest in 100 years; no land tax; Government granaries opened for relief. |
| 1579 | (1) | Severe frost; flood. | | | |
| 1584 | (1) | Earthquake. | 1572 | Kwangchow..... | |
| 1600 | (1) | | 1586 | (1) | |
| 1615 | Tsingchow..... | Cannibalism. | 1590 | Tungkuan..... | Severe. |
| 1641 | Chengwu..... | Eating bark of tree; cannibalism. | 1596 | (1) | |
| | <i>Fukien.</i> | | 1617 | Luichow..... | |
| 1416 | (1) | | 1626 | (1) | Do. |
| 1469 | Three districts.... | Rich men's grain elevators robbed. | | | |

¹ District not reported.

The data given in Table 5 may be summarized as follows: In Chihli there were 11 droughts in 259 years, or one in every 23.5 years; in Shantung there were 14 in 271 years, or one in every 19.4 years; in Fukien there were 29 in 246 years, or one in every 8.5 years; and in Kwantung there were 8 in 227 years, or one in every 28.4 years.

As to famines, in Chihli there were 11 in 225 years, or one in every 20.5 years; in Shantung there were 21 in 229 years, or one in every 10.9 years; in Fukien there were 20 in 219 years, or one in every 11 years; and in Kwantung there were 18 in 236 years, or one in every 13.1 years.

It was natural, therefore, that the young and adventurous people in these Provinces should leave their poverty-stricken homes to seek better opportunities in countries beyond the seas.

Environmental forces.—All of the four Provinces have easy access to the sea and have excellent seaports, as Tientsin and Chinwangtao in Chihli; Chefoo, Tsingtau, and Weihaiwei in Shantung; Amoy and Foochow in Fukien; and Swatow, Canton, Hainan, and Hongkong in Kwangtung. Therefore geographical conditions are conducive to emigration. People living near these ports naturally have better opportunities of going abroad than their compatriots in the interior.

Psychic forces.—As will be shown in Chapter II, these emigrants have generally been energetic men, with a romantic craving for adventure. Robust and healthy, the "raw material" of the farms and fishing boats welcome change of habitation, so that they may see new things and live new lives. Vitality and perseverance push them on.

In addition, their business acumen, coupled with grit and gumption, contributes to make their wanderings successful. The heritage of Chinese society, so far as they are able to appreciate, evaluate, and assimilate it, has made them helpful members in new communities as tradesmen and in other positions.

Then, too, it should not be overlooked that the Chinese as colonizers are unusually successful in acclimatization. They generally thrive in tropical as well as temperate climes.

Controlling forces.—Besides the biological and social traits of the Chinese, which are here called psychic forces, and the environmental influences which induce them to emigrate, the attractions which control the direction taken by the movement of emigration should be considered. The most obvious of these is the question of wages. The Chinese abroad invariably receive higher wages than their brethren in the same occupations at home, although the fact should be borne in mind that the Chinese at home have a comparatively lower cost of living and are able to get along with lower wages. Adequate statistical data for earlier periods are lacking, but information for comparatively recent times is shown in Table 6. Since the currencies of the various countries fluctuate in exchange value, no attempt is here made to convert them into a unified system of currency of any one country.

TABLE 6.—WAGES OF CHINESE LABORERS AT HOME AND ABROAD.

[Data for China are from China, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, sixth annual report, Peking, 1920; for Dutch East Indies, from China, Emigration Bureau, Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Banks, 1920, and on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Billiton, 1919; for France, from China, Emigration Bureau, Conditions of Chinese Laborers in France, Report No. 2, pp. 18, 19; for Hawaiian Islands, from Labor conditions in Hawaii, S. Doc. No. 432, 64th Cong., 1st sess.; for Philippine Islands, from Boletín Trimestral de la Oficina del Trabajo, Manila, 1919; for the Straits Settlements, from Blue Book for Straits Settlements, 1919; for Transvaal, from Transvaal, Lieutenant Governor's Office, Handbook of Ordinances Connected with the Importation of Foreign Labor into the Transvaal, pp. 53, 54. Data are for the following years: China, 1917; Dutch East Indies and France, 1918-19; Hawaiian Islands, 1915; Philippine Islands and Straits Settlements, 1918; Transvaal, 1904 to 1909.]

| Locality and occupation. | Daily wage (in currency of country named). | Locality and occupation. | Daily wage (in currency of country named). |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>China.</i> | | <i>France.</i> | |
| Rice millers: | | Coolies | <i>Francs.</i> \$ 1.00 |
| Chihli— | | Undergangers | \$ 1.25 |
| Koupeh | \$0.10-0.50 | Gangers | \$ 1.50 |
| Paoting | .20- .24 | English-speaking foremen | \$ 2.00 |
| Taming | .10- .40 | | |
| Fukien— | | <i>Hawaiian Islands.</i> | |
| Amoy | .35- .45 | Cane cutters | \$1.17 |
| Chienan | .25- .40 | Contract cultivators | 1.22 |
| Minhai | .30- .40 | Field hands | .78 |
| Tingchang | .24- .36 | Others | 1.02 |
| Kwangtung— | | <i>Philippine Islands.</i> | |
| Ch'ung yai | .29- .41 | Common laborers: | <i>Pesos.</i> |
| Lingnai | .25- .45 | Bulacan | 0.55-0.65 |
| Tsaoshun | .26- .50 | Cavite | .80-1.20 |
| Shantung— | | Iloilo | .50- .70 |
| Kiaotung | .07- .12 | Mindoro | .80 |
| Tsinan | .16- .30 | Sulu | .75-1.00 |
| Tsinang | .20- .30 | | |
| Tungling | .14- .20 | <i>Straits Settlements.</i> | |
| <i>Dutch East Indies.</i> | | Agricultural laborers: | |
| Tin miners, contract: | | Dindings | \$ 144.00-\$160.00 |
| Banks— | <i>Florins.</i> | Malakka | .70- 1.50 |
| First 180 days | 0.24 | Penang | \$.90- 1.00 |
| Second 180 days | .36 | Singapore | \$ 2.40- 3.60 |
| 3 years | .41 | | |
| 5 years | .46 | <i>Transvaal.</i> | |
| Billiton— | | Gold miners | <i>s. d.</i> 1 6 |
| First year | .25 | | |
| Following years | 1 7.50 | | |
| | 1 9.00 | | |
| | 1 21.00 | | |

¹ Per month.

² And an allowance of \$10 per month.

³ And an allowance of \$15 per month.

⁴ And an allowance of \$20 per month.

⁵ Per year, with food.

⁶ With food.

METHODS OF EMIGRATION.

THE JUNK.⁴

The earliest known means of ocean transportation by which the Chinese were taken to various countries were the junks. As early as the thirteenth century, junks were built for defense against the raids of pirates along the seacoast. When ocean trade was gradually developed, the junks were adapted to more specific uses and were differentiated into fruit junks, rice junks, tea junks, fishing junks, and passenger junks. Small junks were engaged in river or coast trade, while larger ones were built for commerce overseas. Although

⁴ The "junk" (meaning, in the Cantonese dialect, a large vessel) was used in the early days for the overseas trade. The same vessel was called by the Portuguese "soma," and by the Indian Islanders "wang-kang." Many junks for the Malay Archipelago were built by the Chinese in Bangkok. See John Crawford: History of the Indian Archipelago, Vol. III, pp. 173-180.

Regarding the origin of the junks, Chinese authorities are not explicit. It is claimed by some that the first junks were built in 139 B. C. See Western Origins of the Chinese Civilization from 2300 B. C. to 200 A. D., by Albert Terrien de Lacouperie, London, 1894, and Ships as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture, by G. Elliot Smith, Manchester University Press, 1917.

passenger junks took most of the emigrants to various countries, other ocean-going junks occasionally carried passengers as well as cargo.

Before the invention of steamers ocean-going junks carried on considerable commerce between China and the neighboring countries. Not infrequently wealthy proprietors owned one hundred or more junks. To-day most of these vessels are used for coastwise commerce in the Eastern and Yellow Seas, and also in the Formosan Channel. Formosa has four large junk companies, and Chinese merchants in the Province of Fukien have 10.

The junk is usually 5 to 9 chang (about 75 to 106 feet) long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 chang (about 17 to 35 feet) wide, with a depth of from one-half to 1 chang (about 6 to 12 feet) below the water line; the displacement varies from 350 to 750 tons. The boat is usually painted black.

When a junk enters a port it pays a tax, the rate increasing with its tonnage; one having a length of 40 feet and a width of 20 feet has to pay a tax of about \$100 (Chinese currency).

EMIGRATION BROKERS AND EMIGRATION COMPANIES.

As the number of Chinese going abroad increased year by year, the junk tradesmen found it difficult to accommodate them, and emigration companies soon came into existence. They have brokers or agents stationed in important cities, who undertake to recruit emigrants, to provide food, lodging, and steamship accommodation for them, and to send them to their destination.

When labor is needed in a certain foreign country, it has been customary for that country to send a labor contractor, representing the Government or an important firm, to sign a contract with the Chinese broker, specifying the number of persons needed, conditions of employment, and the length of the term of service. The broker then advertises the labor terms at the various emigrant communities. Emigrants willing to accept the terms are then brought to the port of embarkation for a medical examination. In some cases this examination is given after the emigrant arrives in the employing country. In the latter case the broker assumes the task of repatriating those who are rejected for physical infirmities or other defects. For the services rendered between the recruiting and the signing of the contract by the employer and the emigrant, the broker is paid a certain commission at varying rates.

At the port of embarkation, such as Amoy and Hongkong (41), emigrant hotels are provided. At Amoy, the hotels fall naturally into two groups, according to the class of emigrants taken, the Manila (67) group and the Singapore (52) group. The Manila hotels cater to migrants to and from Manila and other cities in the Philippines. The Singapore hotels are patronized by those who come from and go to British colonies, Dutch East Indies and other islands in the Indian Ocean, and also Oceania.

The hotel charges 20 cents per day per person for lodging. It serves no food, and many of the lodgers cook their food themselves.

Emigrants returning from the Philippines usually get better rooms at about 30 cents a day per person, exclusive of meals. The Chinese customs service charges \$1 per trunk when an emigrant brings one to the port of entry.

Banks at Amoy loan money to the brokers at rates varying from 4 to 5 per cent per month. If the credit of the broker is good he can get it at about 3 per cent per month. At the second month the interest is reduced to 2 per cent, and during the subsequent months further reductions are made. The broker then loans the money to emigrants at rates from 10 per cent to 30 per cent higher than he pays the bank.

Not infrequently the broker takes a group of 10 or 20 men to the Philippines under his personal direction at an expense of about \$80 (Chinese currency) per man.

The broker at the port of embarkation cooperates with emigration companies in other cities to facilitate emigration. At Fooching, Fukien Province, an emigration company has recently contracted to carry farmers to Singapore under the following terms: (1) The company is to pay the traveling expenses of the emigrants; (2) at the time of recruiting each emigrant is to be entitled to a sum of \$10; (3) after reaching his destination, each emigrant is to receive an annual amount of \$10; (4) when an emigrant has cultivated the land allotted in Singapore for a certain designated number of years, one-half of the value of the land is to go to him.

At the Minching district in Fukien, another contract was recently signed between an emigration company and the Government of Sumatra for farm laborers under these terms: (1) The company is to advance traveling and other necessary expenses to the emigrant; (2) these sums are to be deducted from his wages after he has arrived at his destination and a sufficient time has elapsed so that he is able to pay; (3) the land allotted to the emigrant for cultivation is to belong to him; (4) 20 per cent of the value of this land is to be given to the emigration company as a commission.

Emigrants who go to foreign countries without the assistance of emigration companies secure necessary help from their relatives and friends abroad. Tradition, attractions of climate, relationship, and kinship between new emigrants and those who are already in foreign countries have influenced the selection of certain places for colonization. For example, people of Kwangtung have a strong tendency to go to the Malay Archipelago, Dutch East Indies, and countries of the American Continent, because at these places emigrants from that Province predominate. Likewise, the Fukienese have colonized Formosa, the Philippine Islands, the Sulu Archipelago, and Borneo. The Chinese laborers in the Transvaal have been recruited mainly from Shantung, Chihli, and Manchuria, and those in France during the Great War, from Shantung, Chihli, and a relatively small number from Manchuria. The emigrants sailing from the port of Amoy in recent years are shown in Table 7:

TABLE 7.—CHINESE EMIGRANTS SAILING FROM AMOY, 1886 TO 1917.

[Source: China. Inspectorate general of customs. Annual reports, statistical series. Data for certain years are not available.]

| Year. | To Singapore, etc. | To Manila, etc. | To Formosa, Hongkong, etc. | Total. | Year. | To Singapore, etc. | To Manila, etc. | To Formosa, Hongkong, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|---------|
| 1886..... | 42,845 | 8,365 | 14,082 | 65,292 | 1900..... | 80,313 | 10,044 | 15,059 | 105,416 |
| 1888..... | 48,369 | 13,269 | 12,025 | 73,663 | 1902..... | 78,232 | 7,431 | 16,853 | 102,516 |
| 1890..... | 42,723 | 11,559 | 16,415 | 70,697 | 1908..... | 46,937 | 5,184 | 27,122 | 79,243 |
| 1892..... | 46,641 | 9,702 | 13,135 | 69,478 | 1912..... | 91,807 | 5,720 | 28,481 | 126,008 |
| 1894..... | 53,649 | 7,633 | 24,625 | 85,907 | 1915..... | 29,465 | 7,272 | 30,170 | 66,907 |
| 1896..... | 61,475 | 4,461 | 4,960 | 70,896 | 1917..... | 48,139 | 4,042 | 25,600 | 77,781 |

The total number of Chinese emigrants resident abroad in 1922 has been estimated to be 8,179,582, distributed geographically as follows:⁵

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Anam..... | 197,300 | Java..... | 1,825,700 |
| Australia..... | 35,000 | Korea..... | 11,300 |
| Brazil..... | 20,000 | Macao..... | 74,560 |
| Burma..... | 134,600 | Mexico..... | 3,000 |
| Canada..... | 12,000 | Peru..... | 45,000 |
| Cuba..... | 90,000 | Philippines..... | 55,212 |
| East Indies..... | 1,023,500 | Siam..... | 1,500,000 |
| Europe..... | 1,760 | Siberia..... | 37,000 |
| Formosa..... | 2,258,650 | Straits Settlements..... | 432,764 |
| Hawaii..... | 23,507 | South Africa..... | 5,000 |
| Hongkong..... | 314,390 | Continental United States..... | 61,639 |
| Japan..... | 17,700 | | |

Certain communities send their sons and daughters to foreign countries in much larger numbers than do other localities. In Fukien, for instance, it is said that every year the majority of the able-bodied men in the Yungching district emigrate to seek better opportunities overseas. In recent years, the district of Fooching has sent out about 20,000 people, or about one thirty-third of its total population. The district of Changluh has sent out 10,000, or one-thirtieth of its total population. Those living in mountain districts do not as a rule emigrate so readily as those who live near the trading ports on the seacoast.

CONTRACT LABOR UNDER GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION.

A third method of emigration, which is here illustrated in the chapters on the Chinese in the Transvaal and in France, is that of contract labor under a certain degree of government supervision. In these cases contracts are signed between representatives of the contracting Governments, which specify the period of engagement of laborers as well as the terms of employment. During the first stages of recruiting, the services of the emigrant broker are relied upon to a certain extent, particularly in making known the terms of contract to emigrant communities as well as in bringing the emigrants to the recruiting agencies at the port of embarkation.

⁵ Data are from China Yearbook for 1921-22, p. 91. But the Chinese estimate is discarded wherever census figures are available, such as Hawaii, the Philippines, Straits Settlements, and Continental United States. Although the Chinese estimate is inaccurate in some places, it is the only source showing a large number of countries where the Chinese population is considerable.

From that point, the recruiting machinery and the control of the labor during the period of employment is that of the employing country; a certain degree of supervision during that period and the dispersion of the returning emigrants fall upon the Chinese Government.

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF CHINESE EMIGRATION AND LABOR.

In the periods when the emigration companies were most active and when the contract labor system was most efficient, as during the European War, a large number of treaties, conventions, and laws have been formulated which have defined the status and restricted the activities of the Chinese emigrants in foreign countries. Some of the salient points of these should be mentioned here. Before doing so, however, it may be well to indicate the folk psychology of the Chinese people, which unconsciously reflects itself in popular sentiment and exerts its influence on the formation of early emigration laws.

POPULAR VIEWS ON EMIGRATION.

A great majority of the Chinese people are engaged in agriculture and their love of the soil is proverbial. They are generally satisfied to stay at home, and, except for urgent needs, do not love travel. The population is manifestly immobile. Rarely have there been interprovincial migrations of magnitude and importance. The Emperor Yuan-ti voiced the feeling of the people precisely when he said: "It is instinctive for our subjects to be content with the soil and be cautious of migrations."⁶ Likewise, Laotse, a contemporary of Confucius, remarked: "The good people are those who live in countries so near to each other that they can hear each other's cock crow and dog bark, yet they never have had intercourse with each other during their lifetime."⁷

The Chinese are bound to the home by a strong family tie which creates an intimate relationship among the members. There is a multitude of duties which tradition decrees that members of the family should perform, and any evasion of these provokes disapproval and adverse comment from neighbors, friends, and relatives. For the dead members, too, ceremonies and other religious rituals in conformity with ancestor worship are periodically observed. These constitute another source of hindrance to members leaving the home.

A common view of the inconvenience and discomfort of leaving one's home is expressed in these words: "To be away 1 li [about 0.4 mile] from the home is not so good as home." In time, this tradition becomes embodied in the laws of the land, and State ways and folk ways both discredit emigration. In 1712, during the reign of Yung-ching, when considerable numbers of Chinese were residing abroad, an edict was issued which prohibited them from returning home, and inflicted a death sentence for those who violated this law. Two points may be advanced for the explanation of this edict: In the first place since the mass of people did not like to emigrate, those

⁶ China. Bureau of the National History. The Han Records, Book IX, p. 7a.

⁷ Quoted in the International Development of China by Sun Yat Sen. New York, 1922, p. 218.

who had sailed beyond the seas were presumably the socially undesirable, such as Koxinga's followers, exiles of wars, and criminals who were banished from the country. In the second place, China's traditional policy of the closed door has led her to shut out all strangers, of whom she has been very suspicious. Because some Chinese had been abroad for a long time, the State entertained a fear that they might, upon their return home, act as spies for foreign countries.

Not only did the Government punish the returning emigrants, but the emigrants themselves were afraid to return to their fatherland:

We are afraid of the so-called inspection of mandarins, the oppression of their sub-officials, and the ill-treatment of our own clansmen and neighbors. At our return to China, we would be falsely accused as robbers and pirates, as spies of the barbarians (foreigners), as purchasers and abductors of slaves. Many who have savings of long years would be robbed, others would have their homes torn down and would be prohibited from building new ones; still others would be compelled to be responsible for forged documents of debts and liabilities. Alone and helpless, we are considered strangers by our relations. Upon whom shall we rely for help in a country where we are surrounded on all sides by thieves?⁸

EMIGRATION RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE AND CHINA.

Of late years the gradual diffusion of eastern and western cultures has forced China to abandon her time-honored policy of isolation. Diplomatic and commercial intercourse between China and the West has, in a large measure, changed China's stand on the question of emigration. European nations planning the industrial exploitation of their colonies and dependencies have turned to China for manual labor. By treaties and covenants they have induced and persuaded (or coerced) China to yield to their demands.

In 1859, the coolie trade was first legalized by Peh-kwei, governor of Kwangtung, who had consented to let British and French authorities recruit Chinese laborers from the Province under indenture. During the following year the legality of this traffic was rendered national by Article V of the convention of that year, which provides—

As soon as the ratification of the treaty of 1858 shall have been exchanged, His Majesty the Emperor of China will, by decree, command the high authorities of every Province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese, choosing to take service in the British colonies or other parts beyond the sea, are at perfect liberty to enter engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China. Also that the high authorities aforesaid, shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's representatives in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese emigrants as above, as the circumstances of different open ports demand.⁹

Six years later, the convention to regulate the engagement of Chinese emigrants by British and French subjects was signed in Peking (on March 5, 1866) by France, Great Britain, and China. This convention contains the rudiments of later treaties or contracts of emigrant labor specifying (1) the place of destination and the length of employment, (2) a free passage for the emigrant and family (if any) to and from the port of embarkation, (3) working hours per

⁸ Translated from H. Gottwaldt: *Die Überseeische Auswanderung der Chinesen und ihre Einwirkung auf die gelbe und weisse Rasse*, Bremen, 1903, p. 7.

⁹ China. Inspectorate General of Customs. *Treaties between China and foreign States*. Shanghai, 1917, Vol. I, p. 432.

day and working-days in the year, (4) wages, food, lodging, and medical attendance, and (5) monthly remittance to the family at the desire of the emigrant.

By the declarations appended to this convention, China has reiterated her old position on the question of emigration in language more explicit than her former edicts:

First, the Chinese Government throws no obstacle in the way of free emigration, that is to say, to the departure of Chinese subjects embarking of their own free will and at their own expense for foreign countries; but that all attempts to bring Chinese under an engagement to emigrate otherwise than as the present regulations provide, are formally forbidden, and will be prosecuted with the extreme rigor of the law. Secondly, a law of the Empire punishes by death those who by fraud or by force may kidnap Chinese subjects for the purpose of sending them abroad against their will. Thirdly, whereas the operations of the emigration agents, with a view to supply coolie labor abroad, are authorized at all the open ports when conducted in conformity with these regulations, and under the joint supervision of the consuls and the Chinese authorities, it follows that where this joint supervision can not be exercised such operations are formally forbidden.¹⁰

France and Great Britain refused to ratify this convention as it permitted Chinese emigration only under Government supervision and imposed the death penalty for unauthorized and illegal emigration. The development of the colonies of these countries made necessary a large supply of Chinese labor, and private recruiting agencies were doing a considerable portion of this work. Quite a number of these companies would have been liable to punishment under this law. Towards the end of 1867, the French and British Governments drafted 23 articles of "Projet de Règlement International d'Émigration" and presented them to Peking as a substitute for the convention. Owing to several features objectionable to China, this document was buried in the Government archives of the Chinese capital. Meanwhile, the convention of March 1, 1866, was proclaimed by the Chinese Government as the law of the land regarding emigration.

Up to this time, China persisted in punishing those emigrants who planned to return home. However, Chinese statesmen soon saw the folly of this policy and urged the nullification of the old emigration laws. His Excellency, Hsueh Fu-Ching, minister to England, memorialized the throne in these words:

To drive fish into others' nets, or birds into others' snares (says Mencius), is not clever policy, but it is what we have been doing for England, Holland, and other countries. These get Chinese labor and great towns spring into being on desert islands. Foreign countries thus make us into instruments for their aggrandizement. We, the while, drive away Chinese skill and the profits of it into their arms.¹¹

Diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, in Peking, jointly petitioned the Chinese Emperor for the annulment of the edict of 1712 "to end all suspicion and misunderstanding among the several nations." This was granted by an edict of September 13, 1893, whereby Chinese emigrants in foreign countries were permitted to return home at will. This marked a great step toward liberalizing emigration policies of China.

Shortly, the Governor of Fukien, memorialized the throne for the establishment of a chamber of commerce to look after the welfare

¹⁰ Appendix to Chapter I, A, pp. 165 to 167.

¹¹ Chu Shiu-p'un: Tung Hua Luh (Supplement for the Reign of Kuang Hsu), Shanghai, 1909, vol. 35, book 114, pp. 13a-14b; and Shun Pao, Shanghai, Nov. 14, 1893 (published in Chinese). See also The China Review, Vol. XXI, pp. 133-141, "Chinese emigrants abroad," by Sieh [Hsueh] Fu-Ching.

of returning emigrants, which was granted by an imperial edict of May 24, 1899.¹²

Henceforth, the Government of China took a more sympathetic interest in her subjects overseas and ordered high authorities to grant them protection wherever possible. An edict of October 12, 1899, reads:

Since the opening of the treaty ports many of our subjects have been drawn into foreign countries to engage in trade. In the foreign land, they retain, however, with unshakable loyalty, their memory of the fatherland. They can not treasure their native country too highly and this is most commendable. In a former message we requested the governors of the Provinces to take all returning emigrants under their special protection so that they might enjoy in peace in their homes the money earned in the foreign countries. In our anxiety for the welfare of our subjects, and especially those sojourning in foreign countries, we, herewith, command our ambassadors and consuls as far as in their power, to extend help and protection to the Chinese in their districts.¹³

In 1904, when labor was urgently needed in the development of the Witwatersrand gold mines in the Transvaal, the Transvaal Government succeeded in persuading the British Government to sign a convention with China "respecting the employment of Chinese labor in British colonies and protectorates," which purported to be detailed regulations in pursuance of Article V of the convention of 1860 above referred to. Besides definite stipulations of conditions of work, including wages, food, lodging, and medical care, the term of engagement and a free passage to and from the port of embarkation, the convention contained several special features. Article VI provided that "for the better protection of the emigrant, and of any other Chinese subject that may happen to reside in the colony or protectorate in which the emigration is to take place, it shall be competent to the Emperor of China to appoint a consul or a vice consul to watch over the interests and well-being, and such consul or vice consul shall have all the rights and privileges accorded to the consuls of other nations." However, the Chinese officials to whom, in pursuance of the agreement, were intrusted the duties of "watching the interests and well-being" of their fellow countrymen in the Transvaal fell far short of executing their duties efficiently. This is shown elsewhere in this study. Articles II, III, and VIII of the convention provided for joint supervision of recruiting Chinese labor by British diplomatic and consular authorities and the Chinese inspector and his representatives.¹⁴ This was clearly a step away from private recruiting toward Government supervision of emigration questions between Great Britain and China.

The World War brought the British and French Governments face to face with a great shortage of labor in these countries and compelled them to recruit laborers in China. As a result of deliberations and conferences between the French and British diplomatic representatives in Peking and the Chinese Government, a set of new regulations was promulgated by the Chinese Emigration Bureau, upon which terms of employment of Chinese laborers by the French and British Governments were based. As these regulations were drawn before China entered the war on the side of the Allies, it was

¹² For important regulations of the Chamber of Commerce, see H. Gottwaldt: *Die Überseische Auswanderung der Chinesen und ihre Einwirkung auf die gelbe und weisse Rasse*, Bremen, 1903, pp. 9-12.

¹³ Payne, E. George: *An Experiment in Alien Labor*. Chicago, 1912, p. 3, footnote 2.

¹⁴ See Appendix to Chapter I, B, pp. 168 to 171.

stipulated that no Chinese laborer so recruited was to be engaged in "military operations of any sort." After August 14, 1917, when China declared war upon Germany, no insistence upon the strict observance of this condition appeared necessary, and both the French and British armies employed Chinese workers in the danger zone as well as in other kinds of work in connection with the war.

Several features of the laws of the Chinese Emigration Bureau deserve consideration: (1) Hereafter, emigrant laborers shall be limited to (a) those selected and sent abroad by the Government; (b) those directly recruited by agencies; and (c) those recruited by contractors. Foreign Governments which establish agencies in China to recruit laborers must obtain licenses from the Chinese Emigration Bureau and must, under a heavy penalty, conform to the labor recruiting agency regulations promulgated by the bureau.¹⁵ (2) Recruiting by contractors is conditional upon securing permits from the emigration bureau and upon securing its approval of the essential parts of labor contracts that the contractors may secure for the emigrants from their employers.¹⁶ (3) With special reference to the Chinese laborers in France the bureau has promulgated a law, entitled, "Principal Contents of the Agreement on the Employment of Chinese Laborers," with many clauses embodied in the Hui Min contract and the British contract under whose terms the Chinese laborers worked.¹⁷

These laws clearly show the attitude of the Chinese Government on the question of emigrant labor. On the one hand, it seeks to regulate and prohibit emigration under private companies, for a number of them have up to the present ruthlessly exploited Chinese emigrants. On the other hand, the Government of China is more and more inclined to supervise and administer matters concerning emigration. The experiment in Chinese labor in France during the European War, which was to a large extent under Government supervision, has in a large measure justified this attitude.

EMIGRATION RELATIONS BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND CHINA.

The first legal document relating to the American-Chinese emigration situation seems to have dated back to 1862, when an act was passed by the American Congress to prohibit the "coolie trade by American citizens in American vessels." Although it prohibited American ships from shipping or transporting Chinese from China to any other country, it did not prevent "voluntary emigrants" from boarding American vessels, providing they secured permits or certificates from the United States consulate at the port (or ports) whence such vessels departed.¹⁸

The treaty of 1880, signed between the United States and China to regulate, limit, or suspend the coming of Chinese laborers to, and their residence in, the United States was followed, in 1894, by a convention which absolutely prohibited the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, except under special conditions mentioned in that convention.¹⁹ The recent legal status of Chinese immigration

¹⁵ See Appendix to Chapter I, F, pp. 174 and 175.

¹⁶ See Appendix to Chapter I, F, especially article 6.

¹⁷ See Appendix to Chapter I, H, pp. 177 to 179, and Appendix to Chapter IX, A, pp. 207 to 210.

¹⁸ See Appendix to Chapter I, E, pp. 171 and 174.

¹⁹ See Appendix to Chapter I, C and D, pp. 171 to 173.

in American dependencies as treated in this monograph is defined by the Chinese exclusion act and allied legislation. A good illustration which brings out this phase of the subject is the Hawaiian sugar planters' attempt to import Chinese labor into the Territory in 1921.²⁰

EMIGRATION RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NETHERLANDS AND CHINA.

There seems to have been no special treaty or convention between the Netherlands and China treating of Chinese emigrants in the Dutch colonies and possessions. Private emigration companies have been the chief agencies upon which Chinese emigrants have relied for information and assistance. Their friends and relatives who are familiar with socio-economic conditions in the Dutch colonies contribute a certain amount of information, by way of correspondence and other means of communication, regarding opportunities and attractions in those colonies.

Most of the contracts signed between Dutch employers and Chinese emigrants now residing in the Dutch East Indies have been drawn up by emigration companies and have not the sanction of the Chinese Government. The emigration situation there is in certain respects more unsatisfactory than in British possessions or in American dependencies.

²⁰ See Chapter VII, pp. 119 to 121, and Appendix to Chapter VII, A and C, pp. 192 and 194.

Chapter II.—HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE CHINESE EMIGRANTS.

The scope and history of Chinese migrations having been outlined with special reference to causes, methods, and legal limitations, attention is now directed to the home environment of the emigrants, especially those of the Provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Shantung, and Chihli. A short account of the topography, products, customs, and industrial conditions will serve as a useful background for the measurement of the adaptation of the emigrants and their assimilation in foreign lands. Effort is made to emphasize recent conditions.

In certain portions of Chapters I and II data are introduced to answer two questions: First, what geographical influences in these regions have induced the Chinese to emigrate? Second, what manner of men are these emigrants?

PHYSIOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS.

KWANGTUNG.

AREA AND POPULATION.

Kwangtung has an area of 100,000 square miles and a population of 37,167,701 people or 372 persons per square mile. In other words, the Province has a territory a little larger than that of Wyoming and supports about 138 times as many inhabitants. It is bounded on the east by the South China Sea, on the south by the Gulf of Tonkin and the South China Sea, on the west by Kwangsi and Tonkin, and on the north by Hunan, Kiangsi, and Fukien.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Province may conveniently be subdivided into three sections: (1) The lower part of the basin of the Si River covers an area of about 200 miles from west to east, and 150 miles from north to south. This territory is washed by the Si River and the Pe River. The upper course of the Si River is obstructed by the Chungking-Ichang gorges and makes a very rapid descent from the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau. Consequently, floods are common in this district, in spite of numerous dikes along the river banks.

At the Boca Tigris in Samshui, the Pe River joins the Si River. Below this junction lies Hongkong, one of the world's finest harbors.

Fairly large steamers can ply up to Shao-chow and shallow draft vessels can navigate up to the Kiangsi-Hunan borders.

(2) The coast plain which lies east of the Tung River is about 100 miles square and contains cities like Swatow and Whampoa (40), which are important for commerce and emigration. There are no high mountains in this region. The whole area is easily accessible to steamships and other means of transportation.

(3) The coast area south of the Si River, including the island of Hainan, comprises about 10,000 square miles. From this region

many emigrants have gone to the Malay Archipelago and the East Indies. The plain has a network of small rivers and no large mountains.

Aside from the Si River described above, the Tung River, which connects the Boca Tigris with a canal, is also of commercial importance. It rises in Kiangsi and makes several bends westward until it reaches Hwei-chow. Then it flows through a small delta into the large delta of the Si River. With its several tributaries it forms an excellent network of navigable streams.

The Han River, though not important from the standpoint of navigation, possesses a good harbor, Swatow, which is about 5 miles from the sea.

SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

Most of the soil of the Province is fertile and produces three crops annually. The climate is very changeable, being affected by the dry northeast wind and the moisture-laden southwest wind. From October to April the former prevails, and in the neighborhood of Canton the temperature seldom falls below 32° F., but the high ridges in the Province are occasionally covered with snow.

The leading agricultural products are silk, tobacco, rice, vegetables, fruit, tea, sugar, groundnuts, hemp, indigo, cassia, camphor, and sesamum. The chief minerals of the Province are coal, iron, antimony, zinc, graphite, quicksilver, silver, gold, tin, lead, and copper.

Recently in Tsing Yun and Szewui on the Pe River bamboo plantations have been developed, the bamboo being raised for export to Hongkong and the Straits Settlements. At Kongmoon mulberry cultivation is greatly increasing. Usually there are two yields a year, in June and October, which are sold to caterpillar raisers. About one-fifth of the fields formerly devoted to rice culture have been converted into orchards or palm-leaf plantations.

FUKIEN.

AREA AND POPULATION.

Fukien has an area of 46,332 square miles and a population of 13,157,791 people, averaging 284 persons per square mile. In other words, within an area no greater than that of the State of Mississippi live seven times as many inhabitants. The Province is bounded on the northeast by the watershed summit of the Min basin, on the southeast by a much indented seacoast, on the southwest by Kwangtung Province, and on the northwest by the Tayuling Ranges, which lie between it and Kiangsi Province.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Tayuling Ranges run in the general direction of southwest to northeast and make the whole Province mountainous. Many ridges are 3,000 feet high and several peaks along the northern boundary are as high as 9,000 feet. Indeed, the Province is so rocky that almost every important river bears the name "ch'ee," which means a "mountain stream." The surface rises generally from east to west; thus Yen-ping (26), about 90 miles west of Foochow, is from 400 to 600 feet higher than Foochow.

The Min, the principal river, has a length of about 350 miles. Its main tributaries—the Chien ch'ee, Shaowu ch'ee, and Ninghua ch'ee—unite at the city of Yen-ping, about 100 miles from the sea. Near Yen-ping shoals, rocks, and rapids render the river dangerous for navigation. Large junks make voyages from Shuikow down the river. Fair-sized steamers can ply freely between the bay and Pagoda Anchorage, 9 miles below Foochow and 35 miles from the mouth of the river.

The tide off the coast of Fukien is considerable, because the tidal wave is divided by the island of Formosa and runs into the channel from both the southwest and the northeast.

Other rivers in the Province are relatively unimportant. On the Chang River is situated the city of Amoy, a center of commerce and emigration.

SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

The eastern part of the Province is semitropical, the temperature rarely falling below the freezing point in winter. In the western part the climate is more temperate and is occasionally severe in winter.

The leading agricultural products are camphor, black and green tea, tobacco, sugar, oranges, wheat, and ginger, and the principal mineral products are coal, iron, galena, zinc, kaolin, gold, copper, and lead.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the country, rice growing has never been a prosperous industry and the inhabitants rely upon imports, chiefly from Formosa, for their daily needs. The tea trade, for which the city of Foochow was once noted, has declined ever since English traders encouraged the cultivation of tea in Ceylon, and thus displaced the market for Foochow tea. The tea trade investigation bureau at Fu An has been active in reviving this trade. Logging and lumbering is the principal industry in the interior parts of the Province. Chiefly through the efforts of local agricultural societies, the growing of American cotton has lately been introduced here with considerable success.

SHANTUNG.

AREA AND POPULATION.

Within an area of 55,980 square miles, Shantung supports a population of 30,803,245, or 550 persons per square mile. Although not quite so large as Illinois, the Province contains about six times as many inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Yellow Sea, on the south by Honan, Kiangsu, and the Yellow Sea, on the west by Chihli and Honan, and on the north by the Strait of Chihli, the Gulf of Chihli, and the Province of Chihli.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The ranges of Taishan, a sacred mountain of China, run generally from west to east, the Shantung promontory being particularly mountainous. This rocky region is the highlands of the Province and is triangular in shape, 120 miles broad at the base and 300 miles on the sides.

In addition, there is a great plain, irregular in shape, about 100 miles long and over 50 miles wide, which is washed by the Hwang River. This forms the commercial and industrial center of the Province. Among the important towns are Tsi-nan (17), Wuting, Tungtsing, Yen-chow (18), and Tsao-chow.

The Hwang River is navigable only a few miles from the Yellow Sea, and, owing to its frequent change of outlets and course, it has caused immeasurable distress and suffering; hence it is popularly known as "The Sorrow of China."

The Grand Canal runs north and south in the Province and affords a great avenue of water communication, being an indispensable commercial route connecting Hangchow in the south with Peking in the north.

SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

The soil in the western part of the Province is principally alluvium combined with loess and is very fertile. The soil in the central part is mostly composed of gneiss mixed with limestone and clay. Gneiss mingled with granite, sandstone, and limestone is also found in the eastern part.

The northern coast receives the northwest monsoon and the southern coast the southeast monsoon. There is an abundant snowfall and during the month of July much fog on the coast. The rainfall at Chefoo (12) is about 24 inches and at Tsingtau (16) about 16 inches.

The agricultural products of the Province are cotton, cereals, silk, hemp, tobacco, groundnuts, and fruit. The chief minerals are coal, iron, gold, gypsum, galena, lead, and marble.

In the western part of the Province cereals grow in abundance. In the northern part the cotton industry is growing rapidly. The Shantung cabbage is as famous as the Pongee silk and both are important articles of export. Cultivation of fruit, including apples, pears, and grapes of foreign origin, is extensively carried on in the neighborhood of Chefoo. As a measure of afforestation the sea pine is grown in large numbers on the sandy wastes of the eastern coast of the Province.

CHIHLI.

AREA AND POPULATION.

Chihli has an area of 115,000 square miles and a population of 34,186,711, or 294 persons to the square mile. In other words, in a territory a little smaller than the State of New Mexico, there are about 90 times as many inhabitants.

The Province is bounded on the east by Manchuria and the Gulf of Chihli, on the south by Honan and Shantung, on the west by Shansi, and on the north by Mongolia.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Yin-shan Mountains traverse the whole Province and give rise to several rivers of importance. At its source, the Pei runs parallel to the Great Wall and enters the plains to the north of Peking. It is navigable when it reaches Tungchow. Flowing southeastward, it reaches the city of Tientsin and serves as a great commercial gateway. It finally empties into the Gulf of Chihli.

The Lwan River comes from Dolonnor and traverses from northwest to southeast the whole mountainous region of northeastern Chihli. It passes to the south of Jehol and flows into the Gulf of Chihli at a point a few miles from Yungping (7).

The San Kang Ho, the third river of commercial importance, affords the principal water route to Kalgan and Suanhua, two cities on the main road to Mongolia.

The Tse Ho, separated from the San Kang Ho by the Siao Wu Tai Ranges, is famous for its city Pao-ting (8), a rival of Tientsin (5) in trade and industry.

The Hu To Ho passes through Chenting (10) and Hu Lu, which are entrepôts for the Shansi trade. Shunteh, another trading center, is on a tributary.

Taming is the most important commercial center situated on the Wei-ho, which flows from the boundaries of Honan.

The Grand Canal is joined by the Hu To Ho and the Wei-ho, and passes through the city of Tientsin, the principal commercial center of the Province. Its northern terminus is Peking.

From the above-mentioned river system, two well-marked areas may be described: Area 1 is a triangle of about 250 miles from west to east and about 250 miles from north to south. It consists chiefly of the basin of the Lwan River. This area has little commercial activity. The important towns are Jehol, Yungping, and Shanhai-kwan (6).

Area 2 is a somewhat irregular triangle, about 350 miles by 150 miles, drained by the Pei River at Tientsin. It is surrounded on the north and west by ranges of comparatively low mountains. There are large coal deposits, principally at Kai-ping and Tang shan.

SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

The climate is intensely dry and cold in winter and uncomfortably hot in summer. Dust storms in winter make the weather unpleasant as well as unhealthful. Rainfall in this Province is often insufficient in summer. The plains are mostly alluvium.

The important agricultural products are kaoliang, millet, wheat, maize, beans, groundnuts, cotton, hemp, fruit, and vegetables. The minerals found in this Province include coal, kaolin, sandstone, and gold.

This Province has the best modern agricultural experiment stations and nurseries in China. Since 1904, the year of introduction of scientific farming, the general bureau of agriculture and the agricultural and forestry schools, have been very active in improving farming conditions in the Province.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS: TRAITS AND CUSTOMS.¹

In describing the home environment of the Chinese emigrants, it appears desirable to ascertain their temperament, traits, traditions, aspirations, and occupational inclinations so as to show the degree of adaptation after settlement in new countries. Those who follow the old trades or professions in which they have shown proficiency

¹ For more extended accounts see *Descriptive Sociology*, by E. T. C. Werner, No. IX—Section on Chinese habits and customs, pp. 178-189; and *Folk-lore Chinois modernes*, by L. Wiegner.

in their home towns are usually successful abroad. Most of the emigrants show a strong tendency to adhere to their home customs and beliefs.

KWANGTUNG.

The following selections show the prevailing traits of emigrants from each locality; these selections are translated and condensed from the Chinese text, Kwangtung T'ung Chih (General Gazetteer of Kwangtung), giving in each case the number of the volume, book (chuan), and page, and the original work from which the selection is taken. Thus, the selection under the topic "General," is from the Kwangtung T'ung Chih, volume 37, book 92, p. 4a, and appeared originally in the Huang Chih.

General.—From the period of Chien An during the Han Dynasty to that of Yung Chia of the Tsin Dynasty, people from central China went beyond the Ling [the Tayuling Ranges] and their descendants have since made their permanent homes there. Therefore, their customs are similar to those of the Chinese in the interior. (37:92:4a. The Huang Chih.)

Chaochow (37).—On the plain, farms and gardens are about evenly divided. People work the year around. When they do not till the soil, they work in the gardens. Near the sea, fishing and the salt industry flourish. Coppersmiths and bronzesmiths sell their products to other parts of the country. Women devote their time to sewing. (37:93:8. Gazetteer of Chao-Young.)

Ch'ungchow.—The place is foggy and damp. The people are fond of the bow and arrow. The women do not like to raise silkworms or pick mulberry leaves. They weave chi-peh [cotton] and wear embroidered clothes. They raise three crops during the year. The people cling to ancient customs. The district produces curious products. (37:93:23b. Ta Tsing Yih T'ung Chih.)

Huichow.—The people of Lungchuan weave clothes out of bamboo. The women go to the market and the men stay at home. (37:93:1a. Tai Ping Huan Yu Chih.)

The people of Hopien are cultivators. Of late, some have become interested in higher education. Even inhabitants of the outlying districts are literate. Quite a number of people have emigrated abroad to be traders. (37:93:4a. Gazetteer of Ho-ping.)

Kao-chow (44).—About 19 per cent of the people are engaged in the pawnshop business. Emigrants from Fukien, even though they have been very poor, usually become rich. (37:93:11a. Notes on Geography.)

The customs are similar to those of Shaoching. Food and shelter are simple. In the north, the Yao make their homes and they speak the Cantonese dialect. The Tung-kias, who live in the northwest of this district, have a different culture from the pure Chinese. (37:93:15b. The Huang Chih.)

Kwangchow.—Nan Hai is a metropolis of Kwangtung. Ocean-going junks bring home foreign goods in exchange for pearls and rhinoceros horns. The people worship Buddha. (37:92:15b. Chao Son-an's Essays.)

The country of Kwangtung is surrounded with water and many people make their living on boats. Middle-aged women sell fish or row boats for a livelihood. (37:92:19b. The Yueh-tung Diary.)

Shunteh district is near the sea. The farms are wide and fertile. Fishing and rice culture are more prosperous here than in other districts. Scholars study literature and archeology. Many of them have become eminent. The rich people in the villages have magnificent homes. (37:92:22. The Chin Chih.)

Lienchow.—As the soil is not fertile and there are no farms, most of the inhabitants search for pearls, which they market on appointed days. Young and mature people of the Lis and the Dai-hu wrap up their food in lotus leaves (water lilies) in order to go to the market. There is little medicine for the sick. Four kinds of people live in the district: (1) The Hakkas live in the city and are acquainted with the Chinese language. They are mostly merchants. (2) The Tung-jen, or eastern men, are farmers. They live in villages and speak the Fukien dialect. (3) The Lis are mostly cultivators and live in the outlying districts. They do not know the Chinese language. (4) The Dai-hu are boatmen and speak the Chinese dialect. Many of them are fishermen and pearl hunters. They are simple and thrifty and do not indulge in litigation. (37:93:17b, 18a. Ta Tsing Yih T'ung Chih.)

Looting.—Tunan district has been recently incorporated. The inhabitants live together with the Yao, many of whom are now naturalized. On the plain, people live in groups of three or five families and make their living by farming or cutting timber. The men till the soil and the women spin. Some are fishermen. The people are generally industrious and frugal. (37:93:27a. Gazetteer of Looting.)

Lwichow (45).—The inhabitants have adopted the customs of the Lis. Among their dialects are the common dialect, the Hakka dialect, and the dialect of the Lis. The people are honest and studiously inclined. (37:93:20a. Ta Tsing Yih T'ong Chih.)

Shaoching.—The territory is quite isolated. The inhabitants are easily excitable and have little self-control. (37:93:10b. Works of Pao Hsiao-suh.)

Shao-chow.—The inhabitants of Yachang are stubborn and straightforward. The population density is low and the farms are large. Farmers and foresters live comfortably on their earnings. In sickness they take medicine and do not believe in witchcraft. (37:92:26b. Gazetteer of Luh-chang.)

FUKIEN.

The selections below are translated from the Fukien T'ung Chih (General Gazetteer of Fukien) and in each case the number of the volume, book, and page, and the original work in which the passage appears are given.

Chang-chow (30).—Among the districts of the Min, Chang-chow has produced many men of stubborn and courageous character. Outwardly they seem to be unruly, but in fact, they are afraid of the law. Wealthy people usually go beyond the seas. Refined scholars strive to render immortal service to their fellow men. (38:56:21b, 22a. The Min Records.)

The people love litigation and have the bad habit of persuading others to indulge in it. Some are quarrelsome. On small provocation they gather friends and relatives to engage in feuds. (38:56:22b. Gazetteer of Chang-chow (Chia Ching ed.).)

Haiten has many junks. Some people borrow money and go beyond the seas. Sometimes these people bring up children of poor families, or even abandoned children in order to let them trade with barbarians overseas. (38:56:25a. The Min Records.)

Chuanchow.—Chuanchow of the Seven Min is noted for its homogeneous people and infrequent litigation. It is easily administered and governed. (38:56:1a. Essay on Abolition of Litigation by Wong Shih-pun.)

Chuanchow faces the sea and is bordered by mountains. It produces lychees and lungngan [fruits]. Near the sea, fish, shrimps, and clams are more abundant than vegetables and rice. Those living on islands are very skillful fishermen; those near the mountains cultivate mountain terraces to raise sugar cane. The high population density in this narrow strip of territory makes it necessary to import rice to meet the demands of the local population. Skilled workers imitate the styles of northern embroideries, and of rugs made by western barbarians. Women wear sandals and work side by side with men. (38:56:2b, 3a. The Min Records.)

Chiennien.—Chiennien has many mountains but little arable land. The mountain streams have rapid currents. Its inhabitants are high-tempered, but love righteousness; they have a fighting spirit and regard life lightly. The city people are extravagant and frivolous in character. The village and farm dwellers are industrious and content with their occupations. (39:57:10a. Gazetteer of Chiennien.)

Foochow.—The soil of Fukien is not suited to mulberry cultivation or the silk worm industry. Its textile industry is not prosperous either. Most of the people engage in agriculture.

The arable lands in this Province are cultivated, even the mountain terraces. Salt merchants are usually wealthy. Some traders go beyond the seas, others migrate to other Provinces. (38:55:6a. Gazetteer of Foochow.)

The country is covered with ranges of mountains. There is only one crop during the year. The people are simple, thrifty, and industrious. Some like litigation; they are easily excitable, and are therefore not easily governed [by the authorities]. (38:55:10a. Gazetteer of Foochow, speaking of Kootien district.)

Changlu's soil is infertile and its population density is high. The men either become diligent students or industrious cultivators. The women devote their time to spinning. The inhabitants living near the sea are fishermen and those near the mountains become mechanics or merchants. (38:55:8a. General Gazetteer of the Eight Min.)

Funing (25).—The people are honest and straightforward and respect old men. The rich do not encroach upon the poor and the poor are contented. The inhabitants

dislike to be sedan-chair bearers or servants. The scholars strive to be of service to their community. The villagers plant mulberry trees and hemp and the mountaineers till the mountain terraces. The people who live near the sea become fishermen and salt producers. Those who become officials often resign their positions because their love for straightforwardness brings them disadvantages in political circles. (39:58:3b, 4a. Gazetteer of Fu An district, old edition.)

Hinghwa.—Within this narrow territory beautiful mountains and rivers abound. Many of the inhabitants regard their occupations lightly. Bright young men study classics or go abroad to achieve fame. The people are generally thrifty; even aristocratic families prefer to wear linen and other inexpensive clothes rather than indulge in extravagance. (38:55:31a. The Min Ta Chih.)

The mountains are steep and river currents rapid. The proximity of the farms gives cause to litigation among landlords. The lack of communication in the mountains makes the people unsociable. Their traditions have taught them to neglect medical treatment in case of sickness and to believe in ghosts and deities. (38:55:33b. The Hsieh Yu Tu (Chin.))

Shao-wu.—Traditionally speaking, the men are responsible for affairs outside of the household and are therefore busy; the women for affairs inside the household and are relatively more at leisure. The women take care of the kitchen and do not work in the fields with the men. Wives spin and weave their husbands' clothes. (39:57:18b, 19a. Gazetteer of Shaowu, Chien Lung edition.)

Formosa.—Few inhabitants of Taiwan [Formosa] are native born. Many have emigrated there from Fukien, Chekiang, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. They are extensively engaged in ocean trade. Industrial prosperity has resulted in a high degree of extravagance. Even servants and apprentices go beyond their proper limits. Gambling is prevalent there. When they lose money they first make loans at pawnshops, then they commit theft. Unlawful organizations are sometimes formed under the leadership of forceful persons who persuade young people of mean character to join. This gives rise to recent social unrest there. (39:58:12b, 13a. Record of Tribes.)

Ting-chow.—The scholars devote their time to the study of literature; the farmers are content with their cultivation, and there are few merchants. The wealthy own rice fields, the poor work on mountain terraces. Servants and maids have regular occupations. There are no female merchants in the city, no beggars in the alleys. Few men and women are unmarried. The people do not indulge either in extravagance or in litigation. (39:57:26a. The Min Records.)

Yen-ping.—Yen-ping has high mountains and swift rivers. Its people are courageous, quick-witted, and straightforward. Few leave home to be merchants. Many are thrifty and have savings. The scholars study poetry and music and strive to become righteous. (39:57:1a. The Min Ta Chih.)

Yung' sun.—The soil is infertile. Lands near the mountains are irrigated by water from springs. At the first sign of drought the fields become dry; these are traditionally called Tseng farms. Hemp is cut four times a year. The women are industrious weavers and sell their own products. In marriage ceremonies, people do not consider wealth. In funeral ceremonies, no extravagance is noted. The ancient "hat ceremony" for boys is discarded. The "comb ceremony" for girls is still observed in some places. Girls cherish chastity and modesty. Even girls of poor families do not marry twice.² However, the drowning of girl babies is a bad custom.³ (39:58:25b. Gazetteer of Ta Tien.)

SHANTUNG.

The selections below are translated from the Shantung T'ung Chih (General Gazetteer of Shantung), and in each case the volume,

¹ In China divorces and second marriages are rare.

² Infanticide (or female infanticide) is practiced in China to a very limited degree. The common explanation given by western writers is the economic necessity of limiting the family on the part of the poor Chinese. While not entirely without value, this explanation appears inadequate.

³ In a large measure infanticide in China is intertwined with illegitimacy and baby-killing is prompted by the desire to dispose of the illegitimate child. According to Chinese ethics, the bastard has no social standing; the child is either secretly put into an orphanage or, if in the hands of cruel, unwedded parents, is killed at birth.

In a small number of infanticide cases severe economic pressure is undoubtedly the motivating factor. But this point should not be stressed too much. Insight into the folk psychology of the Chinese reveals that the average Chinese is greatly influenced by the moral obligation of raising a family to perpetuate the family line and that the economic consideration rarely enters his mind. The economic necessity theory of western scholars, then, is perhaps an "automorphic interpretation" (to use a phrase of Herbert Spencer) which describes inaccurately this social phenomenon of the Chinese people.

book, and page, and the original work in which the passage appears are given.

Tenchow (11).—Tenlai and Kaomi are near the sea. The people are mixed with immigrants. They like litigation. (23:23:11a. *Annals of the Sung*.)

The country of Tei is near the sea. Fishing and the salt industry provide the main occupation there.

Tsao-chow.—The young people practice archery and are courageous and brave. (23:23:19a. *Gazetteer of Ho-chih*.)

Tsinan.—The common people cultivate mulberry trees or till lands. Generally the people are thrifty and content to stay in their home communities. There are few merchants. Girls are taught to raise silkworms and also to weave. The marriage ceremonies vary with the economic status of the contracting parties. There is much display of luxury in funeral processions. (23:23:2a. *Gazetteer of Chow-ping*.)

Tung-chang.—The farmers and scholars are both thrifty. The people shun extravagance. (23:23:9a. *Gazetteer of Hsia-tsin*.)

Yechow.—The inhabitants are simple and good natured. Few have become scholars or officials. The place has good pastures. Rugs and silk are manufactured. (23:23:16b. *Gazetteer of Fee*.)

Tsin-chow.—Lingtse is rich and its inhabitants love music. Most of the people are industrious cultivators of the soil. (23:23:10b. *Gazetteer of Lingtse*.)

CHIH LI.

The selections below are translated from the Chee Fu T'ung Chih (General Gazetteer of the Metropolis), and in each case the volume, book, and page, and the original work in which the passage appears are given.

Chenting.—The territory is wide and favorably situated. The products are rich. Those who study literature are cultured, those who study military tactics are warlike. (63:71:6b. *Gazetteer of Chenting*.)

Many scholars are content to be poor and they both study and till the soil. Very seldom do they violate the laws. (63:71:6b. *Gazetteer of Tsin-ying*.)

The people are simple, not ostentatious; frugal, not extravagant; and are content to stay at home. They do not indulge in far-distant travels. (63:71:7a. *Collection of Essays*.)

Hochien.—The scholars are usually poor and teach school in order to make a living, but they are content to stay at home. Although the place is near Peking, the people do not travel much. (63:71:5b. *Gazetteer of Shien*.)

The scholars treasure the classics but they are not Taoists or Buddhists. (63:71:6a. *Gazetteer of Yen-san*.)

Kwang-ping.—The climate is severely cold. Frost and snowfall early in autumn. Lately more schools have been established and culture is developing. (63:71:8b. *Gazetteer of the Peh-luh*, old edition.)

Shuntien (including Peking) (4).—In ancient times Yen and Chao produced men of magnanimity, courage, and broadmindedness. (63:71:2a. *Han Chang-lee's works*.)

The inhabitants of Nienho are simple, honest, and not avaricious. The relations between father and son, between brother and brother, or between teacher and friend are all in accordance with our ethical teachings. When the people decide upon an occupation, they never waver again; obstacles and hardships do not discourage them. (63:71:4a. *Gazetteer of Nien-ho*.)

Ting-chow.—In the agricultural districts the women take dinners to the men on farms. Sometimes they work in wet fields to help with the tilling. At night they braid straw ropes. When they are at home they attend to the kitchen. Not infrequently, young women and old sit beside oil lamps to spin late into the night. (63:71:10b. *Gazetteer of Ting-chow*.)

Carpenters and plumbers originally came from Shansi, hatters from Kiangsi, other mechanics from other Provinces. (63:71:16a. *Gazetteer of See-nien*.)

Tientsin.—Tientsin is in the lower part of the region of the nine rivers. It has not much arable land. It is a center of trade by land and water. People who love extravagance often go there. (63:73:18a. *Gazetteer of Tientsin*.)

Tsun-hoa.—Almost all the inhabitants have occupations, such as potters, miners, tilemakers, carpenters, and servants. Everybody is making an independent living, so the district has no vagrancy. The people are not extravagant. (63:71:16. *Gazetteer of Tsunlina*.)

Yung-ping.—The inhabitants have a high regard for education. The villages have an abundant supply of tutors, so that even the children of poor families can go to them. In some cases young students change their profession to business after they have devoted 10 years to the study of literature. (63:71:4. Gazetteer of Chang-li.)

Singan is situated on the An River, whose source is in a mountain in the borders of Yen. The people are generous, eccentric, and courageous. Though lacking refinement, they are honest. (63:71:5. Gazetteer of Singan.)

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS: CRAFT GUILDS.⁴

Chinese emigrants, in the several countries treated in this study, have industrial and labor organizations which are, in many cases, based upon the principles of craft guilds and are adapted to their local industrial needs. These include the "gremios" in the Philippines; certain types of the "hoey" in British Malakka, a few branches of the "kongsi" in the Dutch East Indies, and some Chinese labor organizations in Hawaii, in the Transvaal, and in France during the World War.⁵ To avoid duplicate accounts the craft guilds are summarily described here.⁶

The organization and functions of the craft guilds in the four Provinces under discussion are fairly uniform as to main principles and somewhat varied as to details.⁶ In the past, these guilds wielded tremendous influence on Chinese industries. In 1883, a dispute about tea export at Hankow (Hupeh) became acute. The foreign traders accused the Chinese merchants of showing false samples. The Chinese made the countercharge that false weights had been used. Whereupon the foreigners decided to stop buying, and the Chinese accepted the challenge by stopping sales. The tea market in London rose steadily, but no tea could be bought in Hankow, and no coolie would work for the foreign concerns. A strike had been declared by the guild, which both the merchants and the coolies obeyed most strictly. Consequently the foreign traders lost an enormous amount of money in the export trade.

Though undergoing material changes, the guild of to-day is no less powerful. The salt merchants of the Yangtze Valley, including the Provinces of Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hupeh, and Hunan, were in the past required to deposit money with the Bureau of Salt Producing and Transporting Merchants. Instead of immediately paying the money to the producers, the bureau usually retained it indefinitely and deposited it in banks of questionable financial soundness to draw interest, thus causing great inconvenience both to the merchants and

⁴ The Chinese guild organization may be differentiated into the craft guild (*Kung Sou*), the district guild (*Huei Kuan*), and the Hong merchant (*Coo Hong*).

Neighborhoodness is the basis of the district guild, which varies in size according as it is composed of persons who come from the same district, from the same prefecture, or from the same Province. These persons establish a guild at their new place of residence, with the primary object of promoting trade to and from the home locality. The members are of various occupations and social classes, from ranking officials and millionaire merchants down to the coolies. Regarding control of trade and labor, the guild functions in a general way like the craft guild, minor differences not being here specified.

The most striking example of the Hong merchant is the "Thirteen Firms" of Canton, which was in active operation between 1754 and 1842. During this period international trade was confined to Canton for the foreign merchants. The incoming traders had to deal exclusively with the "Thirteen Firms" of Canton, who virtually monopolized the trade and labor market. The system benefited both the foreign and native merchants. To-day, its counterpart is found in the Great Guild of Newchwang, in the Province of Shengking, which, by its organization of the entire body of influential merchants, is in monopolistic control of trade and labor, in the community. See Royal Asiatic Society Journal (North China Branch), new series vol. 21, pp. 133-192, "Chinese guilds or chambers of commerce and trade-unions," by D. J. MacGowan; China Review, vol. 12, pp. 5-9, "Chinese guilds and their rules"; "Guilds of China," by H. B. Morse; "China in Law and Commerce," by T. R. Jernigan, ch. 9. For the latest account of guilds in Chihli, see "Peking: A Social Survey," by Sidney D. Gamble, ch. 8 on commercial life, and Appendix VI.

⁵ See The Philippine Islands, by Blair and Robertson, vol. XLIV, p. 273; Vol. LI, p. 231; Vol. XLVIII, pp. 295, 322; Vol. L, pp. 103, 104, 260; Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo, by J. J. M. de Groot; Bibliotheca Sinica, by Henri Cordier; Vol. IV, pp. 2693-2706; and Appendix to Chapter IX, C, pp. 210 and 211.

⁶ This account was originally published in the Monthly Labor Review, August, 1921, pp. 26-30.

producers. After repeated protests, the bureau was abolished and a new one established in its place. On hearing of a proposed revival of the old bureau in August, 1920, the guild of the salt merchants immediately threatened a strike, which, had it not been prevented, would have cut off the salt supply of the whole Yangtze Valley for some time.⁷

ORGANIZATION.

The craft guild varies with various trades and different cities. For brevity's sake, the Tea Guild of Hangchow (20) (Chekiang Province) is here taken as a type. The manager is elected annually. With him are also elected 12 committeemen, all of whom serve without pay. Each of the committeemen takes charge of the guild for one month, thus keeping the chairmanship in rotation. The executive secretary is the only paid officer in the organization. Finding that the rotation system, though basically democratic, has worked to increase irresponsibility and division of powers, the tendency today is toward the concentration of executive control in a committee of three, to be responsible for the work of the guild the year round. In some guilds the number of salaried officers is also increased.

Any firm wishing to join the guild must pay an initiation fee of a certain sum, that of the Hangchow Tea Guild being \$300. The member firm is then required to obey the regulations of the guild, some of which follow: (1) That no member firm is allowed to accept from or give to customers any rate other than the guild rate; (2) that no member firm is allowed, through underhand dealings, to cause loss to a fellow member firm; and (3) that no member firm is allowed to antedate or postdate drafts. For any violation of these important rules, the firm is fined. In the case of defamatory acts of a more serious nature, a general meeting of all the guild members is called, and the guilty firm is, by vote, expelled from the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

The firm is a corporate member of the guild. For ordinary guild meetings, each firm sends its representatives. The firm is composed of masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The masters and journeymen are members of the guild, whose vote is required in such important matters as a common boycott. Though early initiation is possible, the apprentice becomes a member only after he has served his term of apprenticeship. The young craftsman is then a journeyman, and in that capacity he stays for two or three years. Professional courtesy and loyalty to his master impel him to serve first his master at regular pay before offering his services to others.

The masters and journeymen usually work in perfect harmony. Should there be friction, the journeymen hold meetings at a Chinese tea house and then make representations to the masters. As they are very helpful in the trade, their complaints receive careful consideration and are usually settled to their satisfaction.

More by custom than by guild laws, girls have been prohibited from learning a trade. In the bankers' guild of Wuhu, this limitation is explicitly stipulated in the regulations. The only place where the girls are preferred is the needlemakers' guild. This is apparently

⁷ North China Herald, Shanghai, Aug. 14, 1920.

due to women's aptitude for needle-eye drilling, an art requiring much precision and patience. To-day, however, girls have more trade opportunities, as shown by the fact that the 56,000 woman employees practically monopolize the work of the silk-reeling industry in Shanghai (19).

AUTHORITY.

The craft guild is the unifying and controlling agency of a particular trade. Its word is law. It standardizes weights and measures. Keeping close watch of market changes, it issues a rate, usually daily, which must be accepted by all the members and the buying public. Rate-fixing power is given to the guild primarily to eliminate cut-throat competition by the members. When the guild system works normally, underbidding and underselling are not common, unless done in an underhand way. Small merchants are not put out of business by unfair competition on the part of the more influential ones in the trade. The industry is thus stabilized. Disputes arising between members are usually first referred to the guild for settlement, when the manager and the committee sit as judges, with two or three experts as advisers. In the early days, the failure to appeal to the guild first might result in the revocation of judicial protection to the member: "It is agreed that members having disputes about money matters and other important matters shall submit their case to arbitration at a guild meeting, where every effort will be made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. If it is impossible to arrive at an understanding, appeal may be made to the civil authorities, but if the complainant resorts to the court in the first instance without referring to the guild, he shall be publicly reprimanded, and in any future case he may bring to the guild he will not be entitled to redress."⁸ To-day no such rigidity exists. The contestants are given the option of choosing between the court and the guild for the first appeal for settlement of any dispute. This change has come about mainly through the extension of governmental functions. In the past the Government of China seemed to assume the laissez-faire attitude toward commerce and industry. After paying the taxes, the merchants were left entirely free. For the protection of its members' interests the guild undertook to formulate laws to regulate trade. In time, custom and tradition grew, and the craftsmen voluntarily submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the guild. Of late, the State has promulgated trade acts and mining laws, and has employed experts to adjudicate industrial suits. Nowadays, the court as well as the guild may be appealed to as the tribunal of the first instance. But, owing to the craftsman's inability to pay the lawyer's fees and his aversion to legal technicalities, the guild is often preferred.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

The income of the craft guild comes from five main sources: (1) The initiation fee paid by the member firm at the time of joining the guild, as shown in the case of the Hangchow Tea Guild. (2) Donations by wealthy members. Twenty-five per cent of the reserve fund of \$850,000 is from private endowments. (3) Fines.

⁸ Royal Asiatic Society Journal (North China Branch), new series, vol. 21, p. 141.

The bankers' guild of Wuhu requires each member firm to deposit 100 taels as a guaranty fund against fines for violations of the guild rules by that firm. (4) The commission fee paid by firms from sales. The timber guild of Ningpo assesses its members according to the amount of their sales, averaging one-tenth of 1 per cent on the turnover. (5) Fees from masters and journeymen. The Han Yang Guild at Ichang requires workmen, such as tailors' or carpenters' hands, to pay 30 cash (about 13 cents gold) per month; their masters, if keeping no account books, are also assessed at the rate the guild sees fit; and clerks pay 2 per cent per annum on their incomes.⁹

Broadly stated, the income from the first three sources is for the permanent maintenance of the guild and the income from the last two is for its current expenses. Important items of guild expenditure are financial aid to sick members, to those who are temporarily unemployed, and to the families of the poorer members; the holding of religious or social festivals several times a year; and the payment of the Government tax.

CRAFT GUILD AT WORK.

As above stated, the most important activities of the craft guild are threefold, relating to (1) the trade in general, (2) the member firms, and (3) the masters, journeymen, and apprentices. To illustrate its workings, the bristle guild of Shanghai is selected as example. The bristle export of China for the year 1917 amounted to 64,181 piculs (8,557,447 pounds) and 6,171,638 Haikwan taels.¹⁰ One of its largest member firms employs a manager, who receives a monthly salary of \$100 (Chinese currency); an assistant manager, who receives half that much; a chief foreman, who receives \$30; and a number of foremen, who receive \$20 each. The workers are paid by piecework, and are on a contract basis; the wages average about 35 to 50 cents (Chinese) for a 12-hour day.

The organization of this guild is one of the most up to date, and its regulations, of which the following are the main provisions, are typical:¹¹

Both long and short bristle, if prepared by the ordinary method, shall be sold at the guild rate and no other. Bristles specially prepared or imported from other cities shall be sold at special rates to be fixed by the guild committee and the agent of the firm.

No member firm is allowed to accept from or give to customers any rate other than the guild rate.

Every master must, before commencing his work, purchase a certificate from the guild for \$5. Masters from other cities, if in financial difficulties, may work for a month before purchasing the certificate.

Each master is allowed to take not more than one apprentice at any one time.¹² After the completion of apprenticeship, the apprentice must work for the master as journeyman for at least two years before he himself takes in any apprentice.

The master shall be paid once in every 10 days. Fifteen cents are taken from every dollar to defray the current expenses of the guild.

There shall be a uniform system of weight, and that of the guild shall be adopted. Drinking and gambling are prohibited.

All disputes arising between workers and employers shall be submitted to the guild for settlement. There shall be no strike pending a settlement.

⁹ China. Inspectorate General of Customs. Decennial Reports, first series, p. 158.

¹⁰ China Yearbook, 1919-20, p. 177. A Haikwan tael is equivalent to 83 cents at par.

¹¹ Translated from the guild's "Revised Regulations," 1920.

¹² Some guilds are more lenient. Thus, in the Blacksmiths' Guild of Wuchang, each master is allowed to take three apprentices at a time.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC, ETHNOGRAPHIC, AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN OTHER DISTRICTS.

In addition to the account of the Chinese emigrants from the four Provinces already shown, those from two prefectures, Ningpo and Wenchow, of Chekiang Province should be briefly described. People of these regions have frequented the seacoast of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, and Formosa. In connection with our inquiry, their activities in fishing, junk building, and guild organization are of special interest.

NINGPO.

The city of Ningpo is about 120 miles southeast of Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang Province. Facing the Hangchow Bay in the east, Ningpo is situated on the Yung River. The present population is estimated to be about 455,000.

Tinhai Island, in Hangchow Bay, is under the jurisdiction of Ningpo. Tinhai and the neighboring islands, the Chusan Archipelago (22), were once favorite hiding places of the pirates. Under the House of Ming, the inhabitants of the islands were encouraged to move inland so as to make room for the garrisons protecting the coast. Since the establishment of the Tsing dynasty in 1644, the island has been well settled, as the place offers excellent fishing facilities and opportunities for trade with other seaports on the coast.¹

Between 1522 and 1542 the Portuguese, extending their trade activities in Formosa, came to trade in Ningpo. Soon the anti-foreign propaganda in the city was under way, and the Portuguese were driven out. By the Treaty of Nankiang in 1842, Ningpo was opened to international trade.

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the inhabitants, who raise rice, tea, and beans. Cotton cultivation has become an important industry of late years. The manufacture of straw hats has been for many decades a monopoly of the Ningponese, so far as the industry in southeastern China is concerned. The hats are mostly exported to Paris and Brest. Many of the city's inhabitants are expert fishermen, and the cuttlefish industry has always been in their control. Being near the sea, they are born sailors and to this day, most sailors on the coastwise steamers are either Ningponese or Cantonese. Mechanics of this city build the junks for coastwise trade, Formosan trade, and also the overseas trade to the Malay Archipelago and other ports in the Indian Ocean. The Ningponese are noted for their cooperative spirit, particularly among their own group, and the well-organized fishmongers' guilds are among the strongest in the country.

About the habits and customs of the people, the Gazetteer of Ningpo (vol. 2, book 6, p. 4a) says:

Tsenhai [a district of Ningpo] is near the sea and its soil is salty. Cultivation and irrigation all depend on neighboring districts. Tillers of the soil toil the year round but have little savings in the granary. Those near the sea go out fishing and endure the storms. They also can get only enough to live on. The people are cheerful and industrious and shun extravagance.

¹ Chekiang, Tinhai Chih (Gazetteer of Tinhai), Vol. X, book 28, section on Great Events.

WENCHOW.

The prefecture of Wenchow (23) lies 130 miles southwest of Ningpo and about 160 miles northeast of Foochow. It has a population of about 150,000 and is situated on the right bank of the Ngeu River, a few miles from the sea.

Like Ningpo, Wenchow was often visited by the pirates. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, its junk trade with Formosa has been prosperous. Tea, paper, and pottery are local products for export. In recent years, the exportation of soapstone ornaments has been rapidly increasing in volume. By the treaty of Chefoo in 1877 the city was opened to international trade. The inhabitants are gregarious and like group activities. Their guilds are usually well organized.

Regarding local customs, the Gazetteer of Yukuan (24) (vol. 3, book 4, pp. 1b-2a) says:

Yukuan [under the jurisdiction of Wenchow] is an island. The inhabitants are engaged in forestry, fishing, and salt manufacturing. Those living in villages raise rice as the principal crop, while those in the mountainous regions grow potatoes, wheat, barley, beans, and yams. It does not produce mulberry trees, but has plenty of hemp and cotton. Women take to spinning and weaving; they are industrious in spite of intense cold or disagreeably hot weather.

Chapter III.—CHINESE IN FORMOSA (TAIWAN).¹

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

This chapter gives the only instance of Chinese migration of the seventh century included in the present study. In it principal emphasis is placed upon historic relations, movements of emigration, and recent economic activities of the Chinese in Formosa.

The Formosan-Chinese history is outlined up to Koxinga's conquest, and no attempt is made to give details of later events. This procedure was adopted for two reasons: (1) Koxinga laid the foundation for the supremacy of the Chinese in the island by driving out the Dutch; (2) for the period since Koxinga's time, adequate historical material in English is accessible.

An endeavor is also made in this chapter to indicate the economic influence of the Formosan Chinese. Several basic industries in the island have been developed, and even to-day, under Japanese political control, are largely managed by them.²

Regarding the movements of emigration, reliable statistical data, particularly relating to the earlier periods, are lacking. In Chinese sources, only occasionally is an attempt made to estimate the number of emigrants who have gone to Formosa from time to time.

The paucity of data on social conditions of the Formosan Chinese has made it impossible adequately to describe their life. Customs of the old Chinese are casually recorded in the *Tai Wan Fu Chih* (Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture) and *Gih Tai Pih Kao Luh* (A necessary guide to governing Taiwan), but no credible account showing their present-day customs has come to notice.

As Formosa is near the coast of Fukien, Chinese emigrants went there as early as the seventh century. Then a period of inactivity followed in which no great movements of migration have been noted. Around the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when the Dutch and Portuguese began to trade with the Far East and when the Ming dynasty was in full power, the number of Chinese colonists in the island steadily increased. These colonists gradually developed important industries and laid the foundation of the political and social institutions of the country. Even to-day, though the island is under the political control of the Japanese Empire, the Formosan Chinese are maintaining and extending their influence in economic and social life there.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND FORMOSA.

The first indication of Chinese knowledge of the existence of Formosa was given by the historian of the Sui dynasty. He reported that in 605 a smoky haze had been seen, in fine weather, and that

¹ The report of the United States Geographic Board gives "Taiwan" as the correct form, but since "Formosa" is the more familiar name it has been used here.

² Additional data may be secured by consulting the publications of the Japanese Bureau of Productive Industries, some of which are listed in the bibliography for this chapter.

two years later an exploring party reached the island (which he called Liu Chiu),³ captured one of the natives, and returned home. About 611 an armed expedition was despatched. Upon the refusal of the natives to pay tribute to the Chinese emperor, the soldiers attacked the natives, burned their capital town, and captured thousands of men and women as well as much valuable booty.⁴

Describing Formosa and its vicinity in more explicit terms, the Sung Annals report thus:

As the island lies north of the Pescadores, it is sometimes called Pe-chiang (North Harbor), and also the "Land of Eastern Savages." It is not very far from Changchow and is a country full of high mountains and dangerous marshes. It is not governed by one ruler but is inhabited by 15 tribes, the largest consisting of 1,000 men and the smallest of 500 or 600. The people pay no taxes nor do they do any public labor. Those who have the largest number of children are considered the strongest and are obeyed by the others. Though they live on an island, they are afraid of the sea and are not skillful in managing boats. They have no intercourse with neighboring countries.

After the time of the Sui dynasty, trade relations between Fukien and Formosa gradually developed. Ocean-going junks occasionally brought merchandise from Chuanchow and Foochow to Makung in the Pescadores and Anping in Formosa. Largely depending upon the monsoon (or "trade wind") they made their voyages at more or less regular intervals. Fishermen from the seaboard cities including Hsin-hua and Amoy also frequented the Formosan Channel. Many of them settled in the Pescadores and Formosa. This is the first instance of Chinese migration that is recorded.

MIGRATION FROM CHIA-YING.

Beginning with the eighth century, another migration of magnitude was started from Chia-ying (38), in Kwangtung, which took two main directions: namely, westward to Kwangsi and eastward to Fukien. From the latter, a considerable number found their way into southwestern Formosa. Some time after the migration commenced, Huang Tsiao⁵ approached Chia-ying with the intention of raiding it, and its inhabitants fled for their lives. The following legend is told as an incident of the raid:

An elderly woman who was just leaving the village, carried a little child in her arms and an older one at her back. She chanced to meet Huang Tsiao on a hillside, without, however, recognizing him. "Wherefore are you in this haste," demanded the rebel. "Ah, sire," replied the peasant with a bow, "I am escaping the pillagings of the terrible Huang Tsiao." "But why do you carry two children?" continued Huang. "At my back is a cousin of my

³ The Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao states that Liu Chiu is east of Chuanchow and has an island called "Pongho" (The Pescadores) whose smoke can be seen on the Fukien coast on clear days. Besides Pongho is Pi-sia-ye. This is noted also in two other trustworthy Chinese sources: Tai Hai Shih T'sa Luh (Report of the Taiwan Commission), by Huang Soo-ching, Vol. I, Book I, p. 1a; and the Gih Tai Pih Kao Luh (A necessary guide to governing Taiwan), by Ting Yoh-Chien, Vol. I, Book I, pp. 80, 81.

⁴ China, Bureau of the National History. The Sui Annals, book 81, pp. 10-13; Ethnographie, by D'Hervey de St.-Denys, Vol. I, pp. 422-424; T'oung Pao, Vol. VI, pp. 165-215, "Problèmes géographiques: Les peuples étrangers chez les historiens chinois, XIX, Lieou-Kieou-Kouo," by G. Schlegel; Japanese Rule in Formosa, by Yosaburo Takekoshi, p. 45.

⁵ According to China, Bureau of the National History, The T'ang Annals, Huang Tsiao began his revolt in the year 880 and pillaged and plundered the territory which is now the Provinces of Houan, Hupeh, Anhwei, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwangtung. The Emperor Hsi fled from the capital of Chang-an to Szechwan and Huang Tsiao proclaimed himself the emperor of Tsi. After being defeated by Lee K-yung, he committed suicide. His revolt lasted 10 years, namely, from 880 to 890.

husband whom I must carry under all circumstances; and in my arms is my own flesh and blood whom I may abandon if compelled to." Touched by compassion, the rebel exclaimed: "Hasten home and hang a bean pot at your door. I, Huang Tsiao, shall spare you." This extraordinary news was soon spread by word of mouth until it was known by every one who still remained in the community. A bean pot was then hung at each door, and the whole village escaped plunder. Meantime, people in neighboring towns flocked there for refuge, and when the rebellion was suppressed, Chia-ying's population was about three times what it was before the rebellion. This overpopulation was a further incentive to migration.⁶

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION.

The movement of emigration was given additional impetus during the Ming period after the return of the eunuch Cheng Ho from his voyages to the "Western Ocean" (1405-1430). His tales of fabulous wealth in the foreign countries which he had visited and the encouragements which the flourishing empire gave to seafaring merchants were great incentives to the young and adventurous.

As described in Chapter II, Fukien is a mountainous Province whose scanty production of rice and other food articles is not sufficient to feed its local population. Consequently the inhabitants of the coast villages were under a strong economic pressure to emigrate. Another cause of emigration lay in the fact that the boatmen (or the Dai-hu, as they are popularly known in China), a class which furnished some of the emigrants, are a distinct class, living independently and quite isolated from other members of the same community. They live on boats all the year round, the majority having no permanent dwellings on land, and until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century they were regarded as a degraded class. Many of them, however, were excellent fishermen, and frequently sailed in junks between Formosa and the Fukien coast. To this day, in the Fisher Island in the Pheng-hu Archipelago are found folk ways and folklore glorifying the adventures of these pioneer settlers. Also, it should not be overlooked that the occasional wars and famines in Fukien and Kwangtung were no small factors in forcing the inhabitants to seek new homes abroad.

Continual harassment of these coast Provinces by Japanese pirates was a potent influence for the emigration of the natives. Even before Cheng Ho's voyages, Japanese pirates⁷ from Kiushiu and neighboring Provinces began to invade the coast of Shantung, Chekiang, and Fukien. Gradually, also, Chinese pirates began to work with Japanese sea rovers.

Occasional visits to the Formosan coast by these Japanese pirates gradually opened trade routes between Japan and Formosa, and for this reason the shoguns semiofficially condoned their unlawful activities. Thus, in 1592, Japanese merchants in Kyoto, Nagasaki, and Mikuni were able to secure government license to open trading posts in Formosa.

⁶ Kwangtung. Chia Ying Chih (Gazetteer of Chia-ying). Vol. III, Book XIV, pp. 17, 18.
⁷ See *Bibliotheca Sinica*, by Henri Cordier, Paris, 1904-1908, Vol. III, pp. 1900-1902.

Meantime, authorities of the Chinese maritime Provinces were frequently annoyed by Chinese and Japanese pirates in the neighborhood of Formosa. Says a contemporary Chinese historian:

Toward the end of [the reign of] Chia-tsing (1522-1566) the Japanese pirates attacked Fukien, but being defeated by the Chinese general, Tsi Chee-kuan, they fled to this island [meaning Formosa], pillaged Kelung [Kiirun] and grievously wasted the country. Thither Ling Tao-chien followed them. Fearing, however, that they might induce all his men to join them or else the Chinese army would pursue him, he sailed straight across to Borneo [Poli], and having overcome all his obstacles, built the port of Tao-Kien [now Anping (34)]. At first the Chinese lived on the coast, but being attacked by the Japanese pirates, they gradually found their way into the mountains. About the end of [the reign of] Wan-li (1573-1619) the red-haired savages [the Dutch] came in boats and began ploughing and sowing, and built a city which was Taiwan.⁴

THE DUTCH OCCUPATION.

During the fifteenth century about 25,000 Chinese settled in and around Anping and were engaged in agriculture and industry. Fishermen visited the southwestern shore of the island and had temporary homes in the coast villages. Japanese and Chinese pirates occasionally attacked the trade junks and caused loss to the merchants and farmers. These were pioneer days in Formosa. Yet, an international struggle for the possession of the island was approaching. From this time onward the Formosan situation was complicated by the activities of European nations which finally led to the Dutch occupation of the island. In 1511 King Emanuel of Portugal sent Ambassador Andrade to China to ask for trading privileges and in 1557 Macao (43) was granted as a trading station. Sailing eastward from this little peninsula, the Portuguese frequently anchored at Formosa, the "beautiful island." In 1571 Spain conquered Manila and 24 years later Holland, through the efforts of her envoy Cornelius Houtman, succeeded in surveying Java. The Netherlands East India Co., which was organized, planned to expand its trade by ousting the Portuguese from Formosa. A battle was fought between the Dutch and the Portuguese in 1622, resulting in the retreat of the former to the Pescadores. There they fortified themselves and, following the example of Portugal at Macao, asked of China a trade mart in Fukien. As the Pescadores were nearer to the coast of Fukien, China requested The Netherlands to abandon them and gave her in return freedom of trade in Formosa. About 1624 the Dutch occupied Anping, and erected Port Zeelandia. A little later the Dutch laid out Fort Provintia at the old site of Tainan (33), which was known to the Chinese as Taiwan, the name given later to the entire island. In building this city the Dutch used red bricks from Batavia, thus giving rise to the Chinese name "Red-Inlaid City" (Chih K'an).

So fortified, the Dutch began to encroach upon the liberties of some 25,000 Chinese emigrants whose forefathers had settled there centuries before, and to levy duties on such things as sugar and rice, which were chiefly raised by the Chinese.

The Dutch gave China no help in suppressing the pirates. In 1635 a high Chinese official memorialized the Emperor on "The Pacification of the Seas." In this memorial he pointedly remarked that—

⁴ China. Bureau of the National History. The Ming Annals, vol. XXXVIII, book 323, pp. 12, 13. Quoted in Japanese Rule in Formosa, by Yosaburo Takekoshi, London, 1907, pp. 50-51.

Taiwan is the base of all pirates. The Dutch have built fortifications and have trade with vicious people there. If we stop all the sea trade the Dutch can make no profits and must leave. In such event, they might resort to force, and, if so, Chinese troops should wait for the best opportunity to attack them. The Dutch would then be forced to abandon Taiwan and all piracy on these waters might thus be cleared.

EXPLOITS OF KOXINGA.*

At this time the Ming dynasty was declining and the Chinese coast fell into the hands of Cheng Ch'in-kung (Koxinga), a pirate patriot, who checked the invading Manchus.

Koxinga's father, Tse-lung, was a tailor of Chuanchow, who, because of his defeat of the pirate Liu Hiang-lao in 1639, was promoted to a high rank by the court of Ming. In 1644, Brigadier General Ching Hung-tah proclaimed himself Emperor of Fukien and made Tse-lung a prince, and Ch'in-kung, his son, a marquis. When Tse-lung was executed in Nanking, Ch'in-kung (Koxinga) succeeded him in control of the coast of Fukien and Formosa. Using the Kulan Islands off Fukien as the base for food supplies, Koxinga made raids upon the coast villages of the Province. Ho Bien, who was known to the Dutch as Pinqua, had been with the Japanese pirates, but was dismissed by them because of crimes he had committed. He was now in the employ of the Dutch in Formosa as a treasurer and was heavily in debt. In order to meet his own debts, as well as for the political and commercial advantages to Koxinga, he persuaded Koxinga to invade Taiwan.

With about 25,000¹⁰ men, in 400 junks, Koxinga attacked Fort Provintia, which was surrendered May 4, 1661. Castle Zeelandia fell soon after. A treaty of peace was signed by Koxinga and the Dutch on February 1, 1662, by which the fort was evacuated by the Dutch.

KOXINGA'S SUCCESSORS.

Koxinga's advisor, Chen Yung-hua, then persuaded him to promulgate just laws, open lands for cultivation, appoint civil officers, make adequate military preparations, establish schools, and treat emigrants of the old Ming dynasty with magnanimity. He founded the prefecture of Chen Tien on the site of the old Tayouan, and also put two districts under its jurisdiction: Tien Shun and Wan Nien.

When Yin, his son, came to succeed him from Amoy, the Manchus persuaded him to submit himself to the Emperor, but his conditions of surrender were refused, and frequent fighting ensued. In 1680 these terms were agreed to by the reigning Manchu Emperor: "If you consider your control of Taiwan as Chee Tse's of Korea and Hsu Shih's of Japan, the Emperor has no objection. If you are willing to pay us tribute, it is admirable; but if not, you still have freedom. What is deep in our hearts is, after all, the happiness of our subjects over whom we are entrusted to rule." Yin said that he would subject himself to the Manchu rule if he could get the port of Hai Tun in Fukien as a trade mart for his subjects. This the Manchus objected

* Cheng Ch'in-kung is known by various names to different peoples. To the Dutch, he is known as Koxinga or Koshinga, to the Spaniards and Portuguese as Kue Sing, to the Japanese as Furumatsu, and to the Formosans as Teh Kok-seng. His conquest and rule as here given are condensed from *Chi Tai Pih Kao Luh* (a necessary guide to governing Taiwan), by Ting Yeh-Chien, Vol. I, pp. 80-102; from China, Bureau of the National History, *The Ming Annals*; and from Chinese and Dutch contemporaries.

¹⁰ This number is probably exaggerated, as is pointed out by a Dutch contemporary. See Formosa under the Dutch, by W. Campbell, London, 1803, p. 421.

to, as they were just prohibiting foreign trade and feared that Hai Tun might become another refuge for pirates. In 1682, K-shan, Koxinga's second son, was conquered. The Cheng family had ruled Taiwan for three generations, totaling 38 years.

After the surrender of K-shan, Formosa was made a part of China, and was included in the jurisdiction of the Province of Fukien. From 1886 to 1894, however, Formosa was separated from the Province and ruled by a governor who was appointed by the Emperor. At the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese war, the island was ceded to Japan under the terms of the Shimonoseki treaty, April 18, 1895.

CHINA'S RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION.

Up to 1760 emigrants' sweethearts, wives, and relatives who had been left behind in their own villages were allowed to join them in Taiwan. But when the coast was made dangerous by the frequent raids of the pirates, the Chinese Government prohibited further emigration of emigrants' relatives. In that year Wu Shih-kung, viceroy of Fukien, memorialized the throne in these words: ¹¹

Taiwan's one t'ing [county] and four districts have been included in our Empire for over one hundred years. Most of its inhabitants are from coast regions of Fukien who come there in spring and return home in autumn. Late decrees closing the coast navigation have made it impossible for many emigrants to return home. The viceroy of Kwangtung has recently suggested that your majesty issue passports to allow the Formosan Chinese who have wives and children in their old homes in Fukien and Kwangtung to take them to Taiwan and order the local authorities in Taiwan to issue a population register. Most emigrants had their relatives sent to Taiwan in that way, and since the fifth year of Chien Lung (1740), no more passports were issued. Since then, those who wanted to visit their relatives or parents in Taiwan have gone there without passports. Occasionally, fraudulent emigrant agents rob these people of their money and cast them on uninhabited islands to die. In the 17th year of Chien Lung (1752) the Taiwan Hsien Chih [Gazetteer of the Taiwan District] states that several thousands of poor people from China proper have come to Taiwan as emigrants. Their relatives at home who rely upon them for support, are anxious to visit them in this island. Some of them pretend to be seamen and take small boats at night to be transferred to large junks for Taiwan. But when they are discovered by officials, they are punished and sent back. Emigrant agents have sometimes put them in damp places in junks, given them no ventilation and, for fear of their being detected, prohibited them from coming up to the deck for air. When typhoons raged, many of them drowned. Arriving at the port of destination, the emigrant agent, fearful of being discovered in unlawful emigration, might sometimes dispose of his passengers by drowning them. From December of the twenty-third year of Chien Lung to April of the following year (1758-1759) 25 cases of illegal emigration were reported. These involved 990 persons, of whom 34 were drowned, and the rest were ordered by officials to return to their original homes. Therefore, in my humble opinion, with the exception of those who have no occupations and have no relatives in Taiwan who should not be permitted to go to the island, others who have relatives in Taiwan should be allowed to join their people there. I wish to make a further condition, however, that these emigrants be required to register with proper officials at the port of destination, giving the name, age, and occupation, and that a copy be sent back to their original homes for reference.

CHARACTER OF THE EMIGRANT POPULATION.

The above historical sketch brings out two main facts: Koxinga laid the foundation for Chinese settlers, who later developed the natural resources of the island, as elsewhere described; and many of his soldiers who were discharged from the army made

¹¹ Ch'in Chuan Gih Shih: Huang Tsing Tsur Yih (Memorials of the Tsing Dynasty), Vol. 28, book 51, pp. 23-30.

homes in Formosa. According to whether they came from Kwangtung or Fukien, they were known as Hakkas or Hoklos. This grouping, though having an older origin, was more marked after Koxinga's time. Numerically the Hoklos predominated, for in 1661 Koxinga recruited about 30,000 soldiers and marines from the coast villages in Fukien, and three years later his son again recruited between 6,000 and 7,000 from southern Fukien. A great majority of these were unmarried and afterwards settled in Formosa. During the Ming dynasty they increased to about 40,000. To-day they number not less than 2,500,000 in all parts of Formosa. They are docile, law abiding, and good agriculturists. Many basic industries of the island, such as camphor, tea, and rice, were established by them. They adhere to many of their old customs without noticeable change or modification, and their conservatism is well known.

The Hakkas originally came from Chia-ying, particularly during Huang Tsiao's rebellion. They are hardy, industrious, frugal, energetic, warlike, and unruly. The fertile hillsides are mostly cultivated by Hakka farmers. In the fields the women work side by side with the men. At present the total number of Hakkas in Formosa is about 500,000.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

After leaving Amoy, trade junks often anchored at Kingmen Island and in time a colony was built up there. This served as an outpost for all emigrants. During Wan Lee's time (1573-1619), about 10,000 Chinese lived on Fisher Island in the Pheng-hu Archipelago, doing considerable business there.

Within the last two or three years, the Chinese (i. e., some in Japan and some in China by correspondence) had commenced a trade with certain islands called by them Tacca Snaga and named in our sea cards *Islas Formosa*; the port frequented was called *Las Islas Pescadores*, about 30 leagues from the mainland of China: Only two ships could enter it, and none but the Chinese are admitted to trade.¹²

Sailing eastward to the Formosan coast, Chinese junks found a favorable harbor at Low-r-men canal, which is a few miles north of Anping where the Dutch built Tayouan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At Tayouan the Chinese began to settle in large numbers, founding a community known to the Dutch as the Quartier. About 15,000 of them were farmers and gardeners growing rice and sugar cane in such quantities that up to 1661 they supplied the entire island, and had a surplus which was exported to trading ports on the Indian Ocean. The high profits on rice and sugar induced the Dutch to impose export duties on these commodities which worked hardship on the Chinese immigrants.

As time went on, Chinese colonizers moved southward and founded the city of Tainan, in southern Formosa. Emigrants from Amoy preferred to make their homes here, chiefly because of its salubrious climate. Starting with only thirteen families, the Chinese population grew to be 35,000 in Liu Ming-chuan's administration. After 1860, its trade was important enough for the Chinese Government to maintain a customs service there.

¹² East India Co., English. Records—China, Vol. X, p. 26, 1618. Quoted in Formosa under the Dutch, by W. Campbell, p. 498.

Many Hakkas moved northward to the neighborhood of Kiirun, whose harbor is a bay of 22 miles wide into which the northeast monsoon rolls a heavy sea. In the middle of the bay is Kiirun Island where most of the pioneer Chinese lived. From there they went to various places to peddle among the head-hunters and other savages. Tansui harbor was a favorite anchorage for the junks of the early days. Its main town, called Minka, is to this day the principal commercial center. By the Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1860, Tansui and Kiirun were opened to International trade, and at Tansui, a customs house was established by the Chinese Government. It, together with one at Takow, was abolished in 1895 when Formosa was ceded to Japan.

The movements of passengers (mainly Hakkas and Hoklos) to and from Takow and Tansui, two seaports of Formosa, during the period 1872 to 1895 are shown below:

TABLE 8.—PASSENGERS TO AND FROM TANSUI AND TAKOW, 1872 TO 1895.

[Source: China. Inspectorate General of Customs. Annual Returns of Trade. These figures show the passengers carried on steamships only and do not include those on trade junks. It is estimated that about 30 per cent of the latter class should be added to the above given figures. The column headed "From" denotes emigrants from these ports to other places in or near Formosa.]

| Year. | Tansui. ¹ | | Takow. ¹ | | Year. | Tansui. ¹ | | Takow. ¹ | |
|-----------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|----------------------|--------|---------------------|-------|
| | To. | From. | To. | From. | | To. | From. | To. | From. |
| 1872..... | | 384 | 823 | 488 | 1884..... | 4,723 | 5,727 | 453 | 466 |
| 1873..... | 587 | 434 | 553 | 688 | 1885..... | 5,235 | 6,519 | | |
| 1874..... | 605 | 803 | 376 | 234 | 1886..... | 8,144 | 12,602 | 523 | 1,168 |
| 1875..... | 961 | 696 | 150 | 60 | 1887..... | 8,120 | 10,389 | 818 | 502 |
| 1876..... | 922 | 1,190 | 502 | 140 | 1888..... | 5,459 | 11,443 | 602 | 599 |
| 1877..... | 1,805 | 3,520 | 514 | 210 | 1889..... | 6,369 | 9,560 | 535 | 545 |
| 1878..... | 3,075 | 2,189 | 620 | 246 | 1890..... | 8,276 | 10,938 | 391 | 394 |
| 1879..... | 2,204 | 1,655 | 2,054 | 1,546 | 1891..... | 12,305 | 11,593 | | |
| 1880..... | 4,904 | 3,444 | 460 | 56 | 1892..... | 12,063 | 8,378 | 296 | 480 |
| 1881..... | 6,367 | 6,329 | 536 | 934 | 1893..... | 21,571 | 18,541 | 601 | 502 |
| 1882..... | 7,738 | 2,877 | 1,045 | 852 | 1894..... | 27,760 | 14,197 | 517 | 516 |
| 1883..... | 9,262 | 9,005 | 401 | 785 | 1895..... | 11,367 | 8,232 | 3,531 | 471 |

¹ Since 1895 both Tansui and Tainan have been under Japanese jurisdiction.

The early Chinese settlers not only carried on domestic trade in Formosa, but were in a measure engaged in foreign commerce between Formosa and European nations. In 1670 the English East India Co. sent a letter from Bantam to Equon, king of Tywan, asking for permission to trade. It read in part as follows:

We shall requeste the said Sir Wm. Thompson's leave to sollicite your Majesty that wee may have a residence in your Country; and because wee would have your Majesty know that wee are Englishmen and a distinct Nation from Hollanders—some people of which Nation about ten years ago were driven out of your Land by his Majesty your Renowned Father—we have sent on this Shipp, Captain Sooke with eight other Chinamen who have for a long time traded and been acquainted with us and our Nation.¹³

The contract made by the British with the king of Tywan on September 1670, for the establishment of a factory, provided that the British should be allowed to choose their own interpreters, that no soldiers should be quartered upon them, that they should be "free to walk without Chinamen along" with them, and that in case of the death of their men, Chinese might be taken on in their places.¹⁴

¹³ East India Co., English. Records—China, Vol. X, p. 146. Quoted in Formosa under the Dutch, by W. Campbell, p. 501.

¹⁴ East India Co., English. Records—China, Vol. I, p. 80. Quoted in Formosa under the Dutch, by W. Campbell, p. 501.

THE JUNK TRADE.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century coastwise trade carried on by junks was frequently interfered with by pirates. In 1760, Lee Shih-yun, commissioner of Chekiang, in a memorial to the Emperor urged the inspection of seafaring junks at the port of embarkation.¹⁵

Recently, ocean-going and coastwise trade junks have been in frequent association with pirates. In some cases, junks have unlawfully cut fishermen's nets in order to steal fish from them. In other cases, junks openly practised robbery on the high seas. Not infrequently, vicious people in coast villages disguise themselves as seamen, and apply for a junk license in order to steal timber in distant mountains or to be engaged in ocean trade under a false pretense. They roam about the coast of Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung. I think it advisable to require every junk owner to state definitely and explicitly his occupation, at the time of applying for a junk license, so that when a junk arrives at a port, the proper official can inspect his cargo and detect irregularities.

In the same year, Wu Shih-kung, viceroy of Fukien, made an extensive trip through Changchow and Chuanchow, and after careful consideration of the matter with his staff, he made four recommendations to the throne regarding the junk trade: (1) That when applying for a fishing license at the office of the magistrate, each junk owner be required to furnish a list of his crew, giving each one's name, age, and birthplace, and that a copy of this list be sent to the Sea Defense Commissioners for identification purposes. (2) That the junk owner be held responsible for any failure of his junk to return to the port of embarkation at a designated time. (3) That, on arriving at a port, a junk's cargo be inspected by a duly authorized official. (4) That fishermen's junks (and trade junks as well) be required to write or print, in big characters, on the sails and masts the name of the owner and the registration number of the junk, specifying the district, prefecture, and Province of the office of registration.

Between the years 1882 and 1891 the junk trade was resuming its commercial importance. At Tansui, for example, about 400 sea-going junks entered the harbor of Hobei every year, one-fourth of them having a tonnage of 3,000 to 5,000 piculs (or 200-300 tons) and the remainder a tonnage of 1,000-2,000 piculs. At Kiiun about 300 junks arrived every year. The junk trade of all ports in northern Formosa was about equal to that of foreign steamers to Tansui for the year 1891.

Junks coming to the Formosan ports brought such things as bricks, china and earthenware, joss paper, joss sticks, planks, poles, soft wood, pigs, vermicelli, alum, tobacco, umbrellas, raw cotton, cotton cloth, nankeen, and a few foreign piece goods. The return cargo included coal, hemp, beans, camphor wood, groundnut cake, indigo, and sugar.

At Takow for the period 1882-1891 about 185 junks entered each year. These junks imported goods to the value of \$720,000 a year and exported goods to the value of \$1,000,000 per year. The export of rice was almost monopolized by them.¹⁶

CHINESE IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

Of a total population of 3,669,687 persons in Formosa to-day, about 3,000,000 are Chinese or persons of Chinese descent. Prior to the Japanese conquest the island was under the Chinese rule, as above

¹⁵ Ch'in Chuan Gih Shih: Huang Tsing Tsur Yih (Memorials of the Tsing Dynasty), vol. 28, book 51, pp. 31-33.

¹⁶ China. Inspectorate General of Customs. Decennial reports, 1st series, p. 456 et seq., p. 487 et seq.

shown, and its political and social institutions were dominantly Chinese. During their long stay there, the Chinese have developed the commerce, trade, and industries of the country, the relatively more important of which are sketched below. These industries are still mainly carried on by the Chinese.¹⁷

CAMPHOR INDUSTRY.

During Kangshi's period (1662-1722) camphor was exported to China chiefly for medicinal use. European merchants in Formosa occasionally shipped it to their home countries. In Emperor Yung Tsen's time (1723-1735) camphor trees were felled for use in ship-building, and much camphor wood was used in military work. The camphor industry, already on an extensive scale, was directed by the *taotai*¹⁸ of Taiwan. A license was required of those who owned iron implements for manufacturing camphor, or for transporting it, or for its use in military mechanics. Being a Government monopoly, the manufacture of camphor by private individuals or companies was prohibited. Camphor forests extended as far south as Hengchun, but the northern forests, especially those under the jurisdiction of Tansui T'ing, yielded greater products. In the north as well as in the south a Government license was required even in purchasing camphor for military use.

Aside from Portugal, which had a trade mart in Macao in southern China, European nations such as England, Holland, Spain, and France enjoyed no such privileges. But in some of their colonial possessions, including the East Indies and Manila, there was already an increasing demand for camphor.

Between 1821 and 1850 (the period of Tao Kuang's reign) the use of camphor for military purposes greatly increased. Factories and shops manufacturing military supplies were established at Minka, and these took charge of all matters concerning the camphor industry. The military supply stations not only purchased the manufactured camphor but also began to erect camphor stoves and stills in the mountains.

The export of camphor was also increasing in volume. Chinese colonizers in their search for camphor pushed the aborigines further into the mountains. Merchants flocked to the camphor trade to enrich themselves, and private manufacture became prevalent. European traders were also intensely anxious to have a share in the trade. Yao Yin, a Chinese scholar and high official, said: "In 1841 [21st year of Tao Kuang's reign], when English vessels visited Kiirun, ignoble Chinese merchants of Taiwan secretly traded with them in camphor and opium." The Minka station then purchased all the camphor in the district north of Chang-hua, including such towns as Miaoli, Hsinchu, Dakukan, Tansui, and Kiirun.

When Hobei and Kiirun were opened to international trade, in 1862 and 1863, respectively, the export of camphor was suddenly doubled, principally because of the demand of European nations. The Minka military supply station was reorganized into the Minka camphor station, and branches were established at Hsinchu, Taichia,

¹⁷ See publications of the Japanese Bureau of Productive Industries, given in bibliography for this chapter.

¹⁸ The official in charge of the civil and military affairs of a "circuit." The circuit consists of two or more territorial departments.

and Houlung. Contractors bought camphor at these places and were responsible to the taotai for all their business dealings.

Around 1865 camphor formed an important item of export and private manufacturing was still prohibited. European traders disliked the attitude of the Chinese Government. When China signed a treaty with England in 1860 permitting British subjects to travel and trade freely in certain Chinese territory, the British ambassador in Peking protested against the camphor monopoly in Formosa as interfering with freedom of trade by British subjects. Soon afterwards the Chinese issued transit passes to British merchants allowing them to go to mountains to buy camphor directly from the producers, but requiring them to pay *likin*.¹⁹

Around 1875 (at the beginning of the reign of Kuan Hsü) private companies were allowed to manufacture camphor and in 1879 regulations were drawn up and promulgated. From that time on Government camphor stations outgrew their usefulness and influence. As this system fell into disuse, the guards were discharged, leaving the camphor workers exposed to constant interference and even murder by the Sekhoan savages. In 1885 Liu Ming-chuan again inaugurated defensive measures on the border lines of camphor forests.

In 1887 the camphor industry was placed under the jurisdiction of the Colonization and Pacification Bureau, with one main office at Changhua and another at Dakukan. The Changhua office, with its branches at Polisui and Cholan, was to take charge of the camphor trade in mid-Formosa. The Dakukan office, with its branches at Nanchuang, Sankuoyung, and Shanchee, was to take charge of the camphor trade in Taipeh or north Formosa. There were two more main offices: One at Ilan for the trade in northeastern Formosa and one at Hengchun for the trade in south Formosa. The monopoly was thus restored. At each main office camphor could be bought at the rate of \$8 per 100 catties.²⁰

In 1870 British traders secretly bought 50,000 catties²⁰ of camphor; when this was discovered by Chinese officials, the whole amount was confiscated. In 1890 they again bought privately 70,000 catties, which was also confiscated. The British lodged protests on the basis of the Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1878. After prolonged discussions between the two nations, the Board of Households (Hupo), acting upon the advice of the Chinese Emperor, abolished the Government monopoly of camphor.

Between 1891 and 1895 the camphor trade was open to all enterprisers, the Bureau of Camphor and Sulphur being given oversight of the industry in all Formosa. This bureau was placed in the charge of the Pochensih of Formosa. The former main offices at Dakukan and Changhua, with their branches, were retained.

Again, with the abolition of the monopoly went the abandonment of the guard system. Camphor stoves and stills were destroyed and camphor workers mercilessly murdered by savages. Camphor enterprisers then demanded the restoration of the guardsmen, at their expense.

Since the Japanese occupation of Formosa, camphor has again been made a Government monopoly. The chief center of the camphor forests lies within an area of 1,500 square miles in the district of Ilan.

¹⁹ A provincial tax levied at inland stations on imports or articles in transit.

²⁰ Catty = 1½ pounds.

The fighting with the head-hunters is still going on and the guard line is much reinforced to-day.

Frequently a camphor tree attains a girth of from 25 to 30 feet; a tree of this size, if felled, is worth about \$5,000. Camphor is mainly used for the manufacture of celluloid and smokeless powder and for medicinal purposes. In its solid form camphor is also used as a refining and liquefying agent, particularly in lacquer ware. The camphor oil is burned in lamps. About 10,000 camphor trees are now felled yearly.²¹

TEA INDUSTRY.

Oolong tea was introduced by Chinese emigrants from Anchee, Chuanchow, in Koxinga's time. The first tea plants were grown in the neighborhood of Sen K'ang and P'ing Ling in northern Taiwan. Usually, when a hillside was cleared, a crop of sweet potatoes was raised. In the following year tea shrubs were planted. As the soil was generally fertile no fertilizer was required. Tea plants were set out in rows 2 to 3 feet apart, with a like distance between each two plants. In two or three years the shrubs attained their maximum height of from 2 to 3 feet and the time for picking arrived. According to the time the picking was done, whether in April, July, September, or November, the tea was called the "spring tea," "summer tea," "autumn tea," or "winter tea." The picking, as in China, was done almost exclusively by women and girls, who performed the task with fastidious care and skill. The picked leaves were then put in a bamboo basket and carried to the grower's home where they were spread out in the open air for a short while for treatment.

The old-fashioned tea-manufacturing machine, the "ch'a-nung," or tea preparer, as it is called, as used in the North Hill near Tansui, may be briefly described. On the threshing floor is placed a long cylindrical drum about 8 feet long and from 2 to 2½ feet in diameter. This drum is six-sided, the sides being made of brown, coarse cloth stretched on a wooden frame. An axle runs through the cylinder and rests on two wooden supports, one at each end. Between each support and the end of the cylinder are four treadles fixed in the axle. Inside the cylinder are six bamboos fixed at equal intervals into the ends of the cylinder midway between the axle, to which they run parallel, and the periphery of the cylinder. After the necessary exposure on the threshing floor the green tea leaves are placed in a heap at the bottom of the cylinder. The operator works the treadles with his feet, causing the cylinder to revolve rapidly and the leaves to be dashed against the bamboos. This is a softening process, after which the leaves are removed and put into iron firing pans. Were the softening process omitted, the leaves, being thick and brittle, would split up and that semblance to the whole leaf which is so much desired would be lost.

Some of the leaf which is brought to Twatulia, the tea market of the island, is ready for packing and shipment, but most of it is brought in after the first firing, and is finished—that is to say, again fired in bamboo baskets—in Twatulia itself, where foreigners and Chinese alike possess firing rooms. On entering such a room one

²¹ The Formosan Agricultural Review, Memorial Number, March, 1915 (published in Japanese), p. 230 et seq., "Camphor industry," by S. Nakai, technical expert of the Governor of Taiwan. Also see China, Inspectorate General of Customs, Decennial reports, 1st series, p. 440 et seq., p. 467 et seq., p. 495 et seq.

sees rows of circular holes 2 feet in diameter, 2 feet deep, and a foot apart, faced with brick raised about 18 inches above the brick floor. These are the firing places in which the charcoal, brought to a red heat outside, is placed. Before the firing begins it is essential that all the combustible matter in the charcoal be consumed, and that no smoke remain. The live charcoal in the holes is therefore broken up with long iron instruments until it is uniformly red and smokeless. A layer of the ashes of paddy (rice) husks is then spread over the charcoal to temper the great heat which it emits and the fires are ready to receive the tea. The firing basket is shaped like a dicebox with the bottom knocked out. It is woven of split bamboo, is about 3 feet high and a little over 2 feet in diameter, and narrows from both ends toward the center. Into one end a movable sieve, which fits the center, is pushed, and the other end is placed over the firing hole. The leaves are poured in at the top and the firing begins, the firers constantly making the round of the baskets and shaking up the contents, so as to insure uniformity in firing. When the firing is completed the tea is spread in flat bamboo baskets, and all pieces of twigs and leafstalks are removed by hand. This part of the work is performed by women and girls. The tea is again poured into the firing baskets and, after being dried until every particle of moisture has evaporated, it is removed and packed, hot, in lead-lined boxes, for export.²²

Pouchong tea, which is really scented Oolong tea, was introduced into Taiwan by Mr. Wong Yichin, of Anchee, Chunchow, and the first Pouchong tea-manufacturing plants were built by two famous tea houses of Tung An, Chunchow, named Yuen Lung and Wu Fuh-law. Pouchong tea is exported to China almost exclusively, especially to Fukien, Kwangtung, and Kiangsu. In manufacturing Pouchong tea the process is the same as for Oolong but, in addition, a second one, chiefly for flavoring, must be gone through.

To-day famous tea plantations include those of Tokanpo, Haiso-ampo, Chotenpo, Paichipo, Bunzanpo, which are situated on the upper course of the Tansui River in the valleys of Toakoham, Kiirun, and Shintiam. The size of tea plantations varies from 100 square yards to 120 square miles. The crop averages about 1,000 pounds of green leaves per acre.

RICE CULTURE.

The island of Formosa was known to the Chinese as the "granary of China." Chinese farmers on the island exported rice in large quantities to Fukien to feed its population, as the mountainous Province has never produced enough rice to meet the daily needs of its inhabitants. After Chu Yi-kuei's revolt (in 1721), however, the Governor of Formosa was compelled to prohibit the exportation of rice in order to prevent rice merchants from forming a conspiracy with pirates as well as to prevent speculation. But "this order was in disregard of vital needs of Changchow and Chuanchow which have been relying upon Formosan rice as their staple food" emphatically declared Kao Ch'ee-choo, Viceroy of Fukien, in his memorial to the throne in 1726.²³

²² Great Britain, Consulate, Tansui, Formosa. Report on the Island of Formosa with special reference to its resources and trade, by Alex. Hosié, p. 20 et seq. (Cd. 7104).

²³ Ch'in Chuan Gih Shih: Huang Tsing Tsur Yih (Memorials of the Tsing Dynasty), Vol. XIII, book 27, pp. 1a-2a.

Since Fukien's comparatively sparse population does not need much rice and since one year's good crop in Taiwan can feed its population for four or five years, it is good to both Fukien and Taiwan to resume the export trade of rice. If so, Changchow and Chuanchow do not need to purchase rice from Foochow and Foochow will not further suffer from a shortage of rice.

Ever since the Chinese settled in northern Formosa, the arable land has been chiefly devoted to rice cultivation. When the tea trade was booming, especially around 1870, the constant influx of tea growers, packers, and coolies materially increased the rice-consuming population in the island. In the period between 1882 and 1891 the port of Tansui recorded a continuous importation of rice, as the following figures will show:

| | Piculs.* | | Piculs.* |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| 1882..... | 66,028 | 1888..... | 46,164 |
| 1883..... | 198 | 1889..... | 16,371 |
| 1886..... | 1,525 | 1890..... | 45,988 |
| 1887..... | 67,731 | 1891..... | 44,662 |

However the years up to 1872 were years of export, the quantity shipped in foreign vessels being 83,317 piculs (11,108,933 pounds) in 1870, 77,918 piculs (10,389,067 pounds) in 1871, and 23,926 piculs (3,190,133 pounds) in 1872. The period from 1873 to 1881 was a stationary one. During the Franco-Chinese war, the port of Tansui was blockaded by the French (October, 1884, to April, 1885) and the city was cut short of its food supplies, but before and after the blockade it was amply supplied with rice by junks. After this time the export of rice from this city steadily increased.

COAL MINING.

As early as the seventeenth century, Chinese emigrants in northern Formosa were employing primitive methods to quarry the outcrop of coal in the mines around Tansui. In Koxinga's time, coal was known as the "black fire-nourishing rocks." The industry developed after a fashion, and in 1875 further prospects of development induced the Viceroy of Fukien to send David Tyzack, a mining engineer of considerable experience, to study the coal-producing districts in northern Formosa, especially in Kiirun, Banca, and Tokaham, with a view to introducing modern methods of mining there.

In 1876, the first modern shaft was introduced into Formosa through the encouragement of the Chinese governor of the island. The Kiirun Government Colliery was for many years the model mine for all Taiwan. Since the Japanese occupation, the industry has been developing at a rapid rate.

* Picul—133½ pounds.

Chapter IV.—CHINESE IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

To describe the Chinese emigrants who have left China since about the fifteenth century, three chapters are here given showing the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies, in British Malakka, and in the Philippines.

The present chapter is divided into four sections: Java, Banka, Billiton, and Borneo. No account is given of the Chinese in Sumatra, for reasons already stated in the introduction.

Through the courtesy of the Javan Volksraad, a document giving a brief summary of the present economic status of the Chinese in Java has been submitted to the writer especially for this study. The publications of the Chinese Emigration Bureau, Peking, have furnished information on the present condition of the Chinese in Banka and Billiton. A first translation of some of their reports is here rendered and incorporated. It is to be regretted, however, that no adequate account can be given regarding the social life of the Chinese in Java, or mortality statistics of the Chinese in Banka and Billiton.

The early relations between China and these regions, especially before their contact with western nations, have been recorded in the dynastic histories of China. During the Ming period the Chinese were active in colonizing the Nanyang (southern ocean) Archipelago. But conflicts between the Chinese and Europeans were numerous. The Dutch-Chinese struggle for commercial supremacy in Java virtually terminated in 1740 when the Dutch suppressed a Chinese rebellion and finally surpassed the Chinese in the trades. With reference to Banka and Billiton, few historic incidents are of interest, and the account here given relates to Chinese settlers of recent date only. The Bornean-Chinese relations are reviewed in order to show the maritime influence of China in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

During the fifteenth century, when the Chinese in Formosa and the neighboring regions migrated southward to the Indian Ocean, a considerable number of them settled in the Dutch East Indies, and became fairly prosperous from their trade with the natives. When the Dutch arrived in the islands, a series of clashes with the Chinese ensued, resulting in the political collapse of the latter. However, the Chinese have since maintained and strengthened their power and influence in labor, commerce, and industry. To-day, they are playing an important part in the economic life of the Dutch colonies.

From an economic standpoint, the Chinese populations in Java, Banka, and Billiton present striking differences. In Java, traders, professional men, and business men predominate, only a very small number being unskilled laborers. In Banka and Billiton an overwhelming majority are tin miners under contract. The Chinese in Dutch and British Borneo are also largely engaged in trades and professions.

Of late, the Chinese have been more and more assimilating the European civilization, particularly along educational and social lines. The gradual increase in mixed marriages has tended to remove the clannish spirit and group solidarity of the Chinese. The long contact with the West has aroused their interest both in educating their children and imparting modern knowledge to their compatriots at home.

JAVA.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAVA AND CHINA.

During the reign of An Tee of the later Han dynasty, Buddhism in China was rapidly deteriorating in principle and in practice. Fa Hien, a devout Buddhist priest, made a pilgrimage to India in the year 400 in search of original writings of the "Great Enlightened One" in order to revitalize the religion in China. He remained in India for four years, then took passage on a merchant vessel from Ceylon to Java, and thence back to China in the year 414, staying in Java for five months, namely, from December, 413, to May, 414.¹

On this voyage, Fa Hien does not seem to have met any Chinese in Java, as nowhere in his "Account of Buddhist Countries" does he make any mention of it. Besides, after being away from China for over 10 years, he was moved to tears by seeing a Chinese fan at a Buddhist temple in Java, remarking that "he had only his own shadow to look at." The place of his landing in Java is not certain, but was most likely in Mendang, or the present district of Rembang, where the first Hindu settlement was established and where Hindu-Javanese trade first began.

During the T'ang dynasty² (618-906) more specific information regarding Java was given. Thus in book 222, Part II, of the T'ang Annals, the following passage occurs:

Kaling³ is also called Djava, which is situated in the southern ocean, at the east of Sumatra and at the west of Bali. Toward the south it has the sea, and toward the north lies Camboja. The people make fortifications of wood and even the largest houses are covered with palm leaves. They have couches of ivory and mats of the outer skin of bamboo. The land produces tortoise shells, gold and silver, rhinoceros horns, and ivory. The country is very rich. There is a cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously. The inhabitants make wine of the hanging flowers of the cocoa palm, and when they drink it they quickly become intoxicated. They have letters and are acquainted with astronomy. In eating they do not use chop sticks or spoons.

In 992, though Java was engaged in continuous internecine warfare with San Bo Tsai (eastern coast of Sumatra), she did not neglect her tribute to China. Her envoy landed on Ting-hai, an island on the coast of the Providence of Chekiang. Members of the Javanese party were dressed like men from Persia and were received by the Emperor with unusual courtesy.⁴

¹ Fa Hien's *Fo Kuo Chi* (Account of Buddhist Countries) was first translated into French by Abel Rémusat under the title "Fa-hian: Voyageur Chinois Foëkoué-ki ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques" and was afterwards translated into English by the Rev. S. Beal, under the title of "Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A. D. and 518 A. D.), translated from the Chinese."

² In China, Bureau of the National History, *Annals of the Southern Liang Dynasty* (502-556), book 54, the country Lang Ga Sueh, now identified with Java, was described.

³ The Hindu settlers in Java gave the name of Kling or Kalinga to the part of India from which they had come. Accordingly they called themselves men of Kling. Because the Chinese knew Java largely through their contact with the Hindus in the settlement, they also called Java "Kaling."

⁴ Earlier envoys from Java were sent during the years 627-649, 674, 766-779, 827-839, and 860-873.

YUAN CONQUEST OF JAVA.

During the reign of Kublai Khan (the Tartar monarch), the ruler of Tumapel⁵ ruthlessly tattooed the face of a Celestial envoy, and in 1292 a Chinese expeditionary force was sent to Java under the command of Shih Pih, Ike Mese, and Kao Shen. With about 20,000 soldiers from Fukien, Kiangsi, and Hukuang (now Hunan and Hupeh) with provisions for a year and with 40,000 bars of silver, they assembled at Chuanchow, in the twelfth month of 1292, for the expedition. As a parting command, the Emperor solemnly declared:

When you arrive at Java, you must clearly proclaim to the army and the people of the country that the Imperial Government formerly had intercourse with Java through envoys from both sides and has had harmonious relations with it, but that they [the Javanese] have lately cut the face of the Imperial envoy, Meng Ch'i, and that you have come to punish them for that.

In the first month of 1293, the troops reached the island of Kolan (Billiton), and in another month, they arrived at Java. The body of the army followed to Karimon (Carimon Java) and from there to a place called Tubingtsuh (Tuban) where all the leaders in the Chinese army met and decided to send half of the army ashore and leave the other half in the ships to proceed along the Pa Tsih River or the Kali Mas. Java (Tumapel) was then carrying on a feud with a neighboring country, Kalang, in the course of which the prince of Kalang, Hadji Katang, had killed Hadji Katanakala, king of Java (Tumapel), to punish whom the Chinese troops had been sent. The son-in-law of Hadji Katanakala, Tuhan Pidjaya, had attacked Hadji Katang, but unsuccessfully. He had therefore retired to Modjopait, and when he heard that Shih Pih had arrived with his army, he sent envoys with necessary information about the topography, configuration, and resources of Kalang, offering his submission and asking for help. Shih Pih then advanced his forces, attacked the army of Kalang and routed it completely at the mouth of the Pa Tsih.⁶

Pushing forward to Daha, the capital of Hadji Katang, the Chinese scored another victory and the king was taken prisoner. Tuhan Pidjaya now begged leave of the Chinese commanders to return to his city to gather gifts in order to show his gratitude for the services rendered by the Chinese soldiers. On the way home, he slew the Chinese escorts and once more revolted. Not wishing to renew hostilities, the Chinese took all the important prisoners and wealth in Daha and sailed for Chuanchow. To commemorate this treacherous victory over the Chinese, the Javanese raised a stone which, according to Donald Maclaine Campbell, a resident of Java for 23 years, is still in existence.⁷

CHENG HO'S VOYAGES TO THE "WESTERN OCEAN."

During the heyday of the Ming dynasty, namely the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Emperor Yung Loh determined to extend his sway to the countries south and southwest of China. In 1403 he

⁵ Situated in the district of Surabaya (63) and probably corresponds to the ancient capital Jang'gala. Though Tumapel is only a part of eastern Java, to the Chinese in those days the term was used to mean the whole island, the reason being that the Chinese had trade relations mostly with the people of Tumapel.

⁶ China, Bureau of the National History, *The Yuan Annals (1230-1367)*, book 210. Also see book 162 for an account by Shih Pih, book 162 by Kao Shen, book 131 by Ike Mese. The English translations here used follow mainly Groeneveldt's *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources.

⁷ Campbell, Donald Maclaine: *Java: Past and Present*, London, 1915, Vol. I, p. 62, note. The Tartar expedition to Java, according to John Crawford, F. R. S., happened in 1324 of Javanese time. For details see *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. III, pp. 165-172.

sent the eunuchs Hou Hien to Tibet, Ma Ping to Java, Li Hing to Siam, and Ying Ch'ing to Bengal. Two years later, the famous eunuch Cheng Ho was sent as a royal envoy to the "western ocean" under the pretext of finding Chien Wen, Yung Loh's nephew, from whom the ambitious monarch had usurped the throne. Chien Wen had disappeared from Nanking, then the nation's capital, in the year 1402, and was rumored to have gone to countries beyond the sea.⁸ Assisted by eunuch Wang Ching-hung, Cheng Ho managed to capture 27,800 soldiers, a large quantity of gold and silks, and 62 ships, each 440 feet long and 180 feet broad. On their voyage they started from Liu Kia Chiang, now called Liu ho, a few miles north of Woosung on the northwestern side of Shanghai. Even to this day, the name of "San Pao" or "Wang San Pao," as Cheng Ho was nicknamed, is revered by the Chinese in Cochin China, in the East Indies and in the Philippine Islands. His adventures have been glorified in folklore, legends, and popular ballads, and temples have been dedicated to him.

Between 1405 and 1430 Cheng Ho made seven voyages, on three of which he made prisoner foreign chiefs. The influential eunuch served three Emperors and in his voyages he visited more than 30 countries.⁹ Most of them sent envoys to China more or less regularly and the Emperor reciprocated their courtesies with royal gifts.

DUTCH-CHINESE FRICTION IN JAVA.

When the Dutch first arrived in Java in 1595,¹⁰ they employed Chinese as their political as well as their commercial agents to deal with the natives. For decades the Chinese formed the connecting link between the Dutch Colonial Government and the Javanese. In time the Dutch grew in importance, and clashes with the Chinese frequently occurred.

Early in the sixteenth century Batavia (60) became the leading trading center in the Indian Ocean for European commerce. Wealth and luxury pervaded all social life in the Javan capital. The extravagance of the Dutch officialdom slowly developed into intolerable arrogance. The native slaves, relying upon the influence of their masters, mistreated and oppressed the peaceful and prosperous Chinese merchants. Flogging and murder plots were common complaints by Chinese against native slaves and Dutch officials.

⁸ Huang Sunz-t'ang: See Yang Tsao Kung Tien Luh (*The Tributary Nations of the West*); also see the Ming Annals in Vol. IX of *See Hsia Chen Tsung Shuh*, Hangchow, 1904.

⁹ Champa, Java, Cambodia, Kiu Kang (Palembang), Siam, Calicut, Malakka, Bornei, Sumatra, Aru, Cochin, Great Coilan, Little Coilan, Sola, and Western Sola, Cail, Appotatan, Comain, Ceylon, Lambri, Pahang, Kalantan, Hornum, Fila, the Maldive Islands, Sula (Sunda?) Magadoxo, Malinlajah, Dsaaffa, Saliwani, Jubo (Dsheba), Bengal, Arabin, and Lital, Nakur. These geographical names as used by the Chinese geographers were identified by George Phillips in *Justus Doolittle's Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language*, Fochow, 1872, Vol. II, p. 555 et seq.; E. Bretschneider, *Knowledge Possessed by Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies*, London, 1871; Marco Polo's travels.

¹⁰ D. M. Campbell credits Marco Polo with being the first European visitor to Java. In his *Java: Past and Present*, Vol. I, p. 145, the following note occurs: "When Marco Polo tells us of Java that there were eight kingdoms with as many kings, that its people are idolaters and the country contains abundance of riches, spices, lignum, aloes, sapparan wood, and various kinds of drugs, we know he is relating true facts which have been given to him by his Chinese friends, who no doubt traveled in the same junk with him from China." (Marco Polo sailed for Sumatra in 1292 and remained there from September to April.)

Because of the authenticated historical events from Chinese sources as above scratched it would seem clear that the Chinese had intercourse with Java long before the Europeans. John Crawford is perhaps inaccurate when he says: "When Marco Polo told the Chinese court of the facility of navigating the Indian seas, from his own experience, it was received as news. It is highly improbable, therefore, that the voyage could have been familiar to the Chinese; on this occasion it looks as if it had been undertaken for the first time, and only on the prospect of having the Europeans as pilots." (*History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. III, p. 159.)

In 1740 a great uprising of the Chinese against the Dutch Government occurred at Jacatra and in central Java simultaneously. This was precipitated by the action of the Dutch Government in arresting some 200 Chinese, putting them on a ship ostensibly for deportation, and then throwing them overboard at sea. Different versions are given for this action on the part of the Dutch. According to one account it was taken as the result of a meeting held by the Chinese to devise measures of protection against what had grown to be an intolerable state of oppression. According to another account the Chinese were so treated because they had pillaged the villages in revenge for judgments obtained against them by the natives for dishonest business dealings.

The revolt at Jacatra was promptly put down; that in central Java, however, continued for some time before the Chinese were finally conquered. In 1742 a general amnesty was proclaimed.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PIONEER CHINESE.

While Cheng Ho himself laid special emphasis on the political significance of his expeditions, his associates carefully recorded the economic conditions in the countries visited. One of these, Ma Huan, a Mohammedan priest well versed in the Arabic language, wrote in the *Ying Yai Sheng Lan*, which was published in 1416:

Chinese copper coins of different dynasties are current here. Tuban is the native name of a place with somewhat more than 1,000 families, all under one chief; among these there are many Chinese from Canton and Changchow who have settled here. Fowls, goats, fish, and vegetables are very cheap here.

Up to the fifteenth century, the Chinese traders who frequented the shores of eastern Java had established three ports: Tuban on the northern coast, Tse Ts'un (the Chinese name for Grisseh or Gerik in Sukitan, a dependency of Java), and Surabaya. The first city mentioned was found to be unsuitable for the Chinese because of too many robbers. Tse Ts'un was soon abandoned because of its inaccessibility. Surabaya was a prosperous trading center up to the rise of Yortan (Bangil) as its commercial rival. In time the seat of commerce was shifted to Hakang (The Lower Port). Says the *Tung See Yang Kao* (book 3, published in 1618):

Our ships arrive at Hakang before the merchants of other countries and then the goods are sold for silver or lead money; when afterwards the goods from other countries arrive these are bought with the money received before. This is because the Chinese ships go there at different times of the year, and so have to wait for the merchants of the other countries.

Describing Hakang, Ma Huan says:

Originally this place was a barren seashore, but Chinese who came to this country established themselves there; at the present day the rich people are Cantonese; there are about 1,000 families and the natives come in large numbers from all places to trade with the Chinese. All kinds of golden articles, precious stones, and foreign goods are sold here in large quantities and the people are rich.

In this country there are three kinds of people: First, the Mohammedans, who have come from the west and have established themselves here; their dress and food are clean and proper. Secondly, the Chinese, all from Canton, Chang chow, and Ch'uan Chow who have left their homes and settled here; what they eat and use is also very fine and many of them have adopted the Mohammedan religion and observe its precepts. The third kind are the natives, who are very ugly and uncouth; they go about with uncombed heads and naked feet and believe devoutly in devils, theirs being one of the countries called devil countries in Buddhist books. The food of these people is very dirty and bad, for instance, snakes, ants, and all other kinds of

insects and worms, which are kept a moment before the fire and then eaten; they have the dogs in their houses, eat and sleep together with them, without any feeling of disgust.

During the seventeenth century, Bantam was a very important trading port in western Java, and eight or nine Chinese junks arrived yearly. At Yortan (Bangil) and Grisseh also, the Chinese were the mainstay of the trade. The shipping of goods and unloading of cargoes were entirely in their hands, and the trade with the neighboring islands was more or less monopolized by them. "There was not a single industry in which they were not the prime movers. The artisans for building houses or ships were Chinese; when contracts were required for the delivery of sugar, rice, or pepper they were Chinese, and what the Dutch owe to this race in Java is incalculable."¹¹

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY BY THE CHINESE.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Chinese took an active part in the sugar trade of the island. In those days the sugar was made not only from cane but also was extracted from various species of palms as well. The annual consumption of sugar in Jacatra was from 4,000 to 5,000 piculs (533,333 to 666,667 pounds). In 1602, the Chinese had several sugar mills and areca factories at Jacatra. Beginning with 1619, the Dutch East India Co. undertook to manufacture sugar, leasing lands to Dutch and Chinese settlers to plant sugar cane and requiring them to deliver sugar to the Government for a fixed price.

About 1830 the "culture system" was introduced. Under this system forced labor was a dominating feature. In late years, the system has undergone changes. Generally, grants of land were made by the Government to individuals who in return were required to sell to the Government at a fixed price a certain amount of the coffee or sugar produced each year. Since 1871, public sentiment in Holland being against this system, it has been gradually disappearing and to-day forced labor of all kinds has almost entirely ceased in Java. Some coffee is still raised on State plantations, but the sugar industry is carried on entirely by private enterprise.

Since the early days of Chinese settlement in Java, the Chinese have worked the gold mines in western Borneo, using primitive methods of washing out the gold from the sand. In 1848 they extracted 1,348,810 florins (\$542,222, par) worth of gold, as reported by the official Dutch statistics. Meantime, the Chinese took out 60,280 florins (\$24,233, par) worth from the eastern districts. Between the years 1875 and 1880, the official figures were never less than £100,000 (\$486,650 par) a year.¹²

In 1667 the first shipment of tea (5,198 pounds) was exported by the Dutch East India Co. from Java to Holland, on the order of a Chinese merchant in Jacatra, who had imported it from China. In 1691 tea growing in Java began under the direction of one Dr. Valentyn, a Dutch historian of considerable note. The experiment was unsuccessful. In 1819 Diard, a French botanist, ordered seeds from China to plant tea shrubs again; but since most of the imported seeds were spoiled, he too met with failure. Thirteen years later an agent of the Dutch East India Co. arrived from Canton bringing with him

¹¹ Campbell, Donald MacLaine: *Java: Past and Present*. London, 1915, Vol. I, p. 140.

¹² *Idem.*, Vol. II, pp. 890, 891.

an experienced Chinese tea planter, four tea preparers, and seven workmen. They were the successful pioneer tea growers of Java. In 1841 a wealthy Chinese named A. Hoei, started to plant tea at Bagelen. In later years the industry was generally carried on in the island. To-day the Dutch Government and European and Chinese merchants all have large interests in the trade.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE.

During its pioneer days the Dutch East India Co. had not only commercial but also political functions in the colonies. The government of the natives was largely left in the hands of their own chiefs. The foreign Orientals (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), including Chinese, Arabs, Bengalese, and Kingalese were required by law "to live as much as possible in the quarters assigned to each nationality." This was partly to safeguard the monopolies of the company and partly to protect the natives from being exploited by the economically superior foreigners.

With the introduction of the "quarter system," the extent of government of the Chinese by their own leaders increased. According to their numerical and commercial importance in a particular city, they might be headed by a "Major China," "Captain China," or "Lieutenant China," who was appointed by the Dutch Government, received no regular pay, but was considered as an honorary official of the Government. His duties were to look after the policing, cleanliness, and lighting of the Chinese quarter, to detect criminals, and to see that they were punished.¹³ Generally the head Chinese official received about 8 per cent of the personal taxes which he collected from his people. This sum included the compensation for his own services and any subordinates, including marshals (*wachtmeester*), whom he might employ. Later the head official was often chosen from the lessees of the monopolies, who were influential business men and who frequently promoted their commercial interests and also received lucrative emoluments.

The Chinese population has gradually outgrown the "quarter system." Also, the abolition of the leases and passports and the spirit of modern times have made the maintenance of the Chinese corps of honorary officeholders an unnecessary incumbrance to the Government.

During the last few years the tendency has been for the Chinese to be governed by the State with auxiliary officials appointed from among the Chinese, the Chinese having also their own elected local governing bodies. What applies to the administrative branch applies with equal force to the legislative. The practice of governing Europeans and natives by different sets of laws is rapidly disappearing, and a unified system of legislation for the Chinese also is being enacted. The many problems involved in the government of the native population, however, has made the enactment of these laws a slow process.

RESTRICTIONS UPON THE CHINESE.

Like the other "foreign orientals," the Chinese were subject to certain restrictions on their commercial and civil liberties. Although

¹³ U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs. Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies, by J. W. Jenks, Washington, 1902, p. 57.

the present tendency of the Dutch Government is to remove these restrictions as fast as possible, certain ones still remain. For instance, the travel privileges of the Chinese are limited. Before leaving a town the Chinese must apply to the resident office for a pass for his intended trip. While traveling, if he wants to stop over at a certain place for a period of more than 24 hours, he must show the pass to the local authorities in order to be granted the privilege of stopping over there. On reaching his destination, he must again show the pass at the local office.

THE CHINESE POPULATION.¹⁴

The Chinese in Java and other parts of the Dutch East Indies have emigrated mainly from Kwangtung and Fukien. In the order of their importance in economic life they may be grouped, according to the communities from which they came, as follows: (a) Chang-chow, Chuanchow, and the hinterland of Amoy; (b) Chia-ying, and the May district in Kwangtung; (c) from the hinterland of Swatow; (d) Canton, especially Hsin Ning and Hsin Hui; (e) Foochow and Hsing Hua; and (f) Hainan. In addition a small number of Chinese have come from Hunan, Shanghai, and Shantung.

The number of Chinese in the principal towns in Java since 1900 is given in the following table:

TABLE 9.—CHINESE POPULATION IN JAVA, 1900 TO 1920.¹

| Towns. | 1900 | | 1905 | | 1910 | | 1915 | | 1920 | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Chi- nese. | Total popu- lation. | Chi- nese. | Total popu- lation. | Chi- nese. | Total popu- lation. | Chi- nese. ² | Total popu- lation. | Chi- nese. ² | Total popu- lation. |
| Bandong..... | | | | | | | | | 6,951 | 58,649 |
| Batavia..... | 26,433 | 115,567 | 26,817 | 115,887 | 28,150 | 138,551 | 28,150 | 138,551 | 30,557 | 234,697 |
| Jokjokarta..... | | | | | | | | | 4,926 | 97,058 |
| Samarang..... | 11,870 | 84,266 | 12,372 | 89,286 | 13,636 | 96,600 | 13,636 | 96,660 | 20,066 | 106,852 |
| Surabaya..... | 12,133 | 142,980 | 13,035 | 146,944 | 14,843 | 150,198 | 14,843 | 150,198 | 24,984 | 160,801 |
| Surakarta..... | | | | | | | 6,532 | 118,378 | 7,500 | 137,882 |

¹ The Statesman's Yearbook, 1901, 1907, 1911, 1916, 1921.

² Includes a small proportion of Arabs and other Orientals.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE CHINESE.

Most of the Chinese in Java are engaged in industry, the professions, or mercantile pursuits, very few being unskilled laborers. This leads Professor Day to say that "They [the Chinese] live by their brains, not by their hands."¹⁵ Their occupations are varied and numerous, including those of bankers, blacksmiths, carpenters, carriage builders, coopers, furniture makers, house painters, importers and exporters, insurance men, itinerant peddlers, lessees of monopolies, money lenders, photographers, pork butchers, rice millers, shippers, shoemakers, sugar boilers, tailors, tinworkers, and tobacco, rubber, coffee, and cinchona planters.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise noted the data for the remainder of this section are translated and extracted from a memorandum from the Volksraad of Java, transmitted through the courtesy of the Netherlands Legation, Washington, D. C., to the writer, June 5, 1922.

¹⁵ Day, Clive: *The Dutch in Java*. New York, 1904, p. 361.

MONOPOLIES.

Until very recently the Dutch Government leased certain monopolies to the Chinese in Java. In each case the highest bidder was awarded the lease for a term of years in return for which he paid an annual rent to the Government. The monopolies held by the Chinese included those on pawnbroking, gambling, and slaughtering, and on the sale of opium, liquor, and salt, and several other small monopolies.

(a) The opium lease, which has for the most part been abolished since 1898, has been supplanted by a Government *régie* which is granted to the highest bidder in return for a payment of rent. The lease, formerly held, was a monopoly of the sale of opium in a specified area and for a specified period. In some cases the term of the lease covered five years and gave the holder the right to protect himself against smuggling and illicit trade by employing a sort of private opium police. By exercising this right he was able to control certain classes of the population. Sometimes the prospective bidders for the lease formed a trust with a view to forcing down the price of the lease. As a countermeasure the Government threatened to discontinue the lease until the trust was broken up or a satisfactory bid was made for the lease. In many instances a combine became the lessee. Generally the lessee was also the importer of opium, as opium has never been grown in the Dutch East Indies. Before the abolition of the opium lease, the Chinese had accumulated millions of dollars from that source.

(b) The pawnbroker's lease was abolished for Java and Madura in 1903 and supplanted by a State monopoly of the pawnbroker's service (*Pandhuisdienst*).

In various districts outside of Java pawnbroking is still leased out. The lessee is given a monopoly to loan money up to the amount of 100 florins (\$40.20, par) on pledged chattels at a rate of interest prescribed in the lease. However, the loaning of amounts in excess of 100 florins is everywhere an unlimited privilege both in districts where there is a Government monopoly, or *Pandhuisdienst*, and in districts where pawnbroking is leased out.

In localities where neither the one nor the other form of pawnbroking exists the operation of a pawnbroker's or loan bank's business is conditional upon obtaining a license.

(c) The lease of the gambling privilege has now been abolished throughout the entire colony and has been supplanted by a system according to which on special occasions the chiefs of the provincial administrations may grant licenses for the operation of gambling games during a specified number of days or hours. Under the former régime Chinese lessees made millions through the lease of gambling privileges.

Pure-blooded natives were not admitted to the gaming tables of the former lessees nor are they now being admitted to games operated by holders of licenses.

(d) The holder of a so-called slaughtering lease undertook to collect taxes on slaughtering for the Government. This often involved enormous sums. In the whole of Java and a large part of the other possessions, these taxes are now being collected by the authorities.

(e) The lease of the manufacture of domestic, and of the sale of imported, alcoholic beverages, formerly of great importance, is now supplanted by an excise on liquors distilled within the islands and a special import tariff on imported liquors. The lease system is now in force in only a few unimportant localities.

(f) The salt lease is now everywhere replaced by the State salt monopoly or *régie*. The former "territorial contracts" with salt lessees involved millions of dollars and were held exclusively by the Chinese.¹⁶

COMMERCE.

The Chinese in Javan commerce are engaged as wholesalers, retailers, and also as middlemen and money lenders. Commenting on their influence, D. M. Campbell says:

Almost all the inland commerce beyond what is carried on through the medium of the pasar or market is under the control of the Chinese, who, possessing considerable capital, and frequently speculating on a very extensive scale, engross the greater part of the wholesale trade, buy up the principal articles of export for the native grower, upon whose crop has been given a *voorschot* (a Dutch word meaning "before account"), or advance, convey them to the maritime capitals, and in return supply the interior with all the necessaries required, and with the principal articles imported by the European firms for native consumption, such as silk and cotton goods, and all the cheap ware of Birmingham and Manchester. The European firms give large and long credits to the Chinese merchants on their purchases of goods for the local markets, and, except in the minority of cases, these credits have never been abused, and are always faithfully returned.¹⁷

Another writer characterizes the commercial activities of the Chinese as "the linchpin of all great public and private enterprises." To the native the Chinese merchant is the necessary intermediary. "One finds him everywhere; one needs him everywhere; one must therefore accept him, while limiting as far as possible the bad effects of his rôle."¹⁸

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE CHINESE.

In many cases the fortunes accumulated by the Chinese either in commerce or through various leases have been invested in land under a certain system of ownership called "particuliere landerijen." Some of the lands so owned are cultivated by the owners. In other cases the land has been cleared and is worked by the native population which can not be dispossessed. In the latter case the owner is simply a landlord with the right to levy certain taxes on the native holders.¹⁹ The rights of the landlord so acquired were alienable and have in practice often been sold, mortgaged, etc.²⁰

In the last 10 years a start has been made to bring these "particuliere landerijen" back into the public domain, as this form of land ownership hardly conforms to the spirit of the present time.

The Chinese frequently invest in houses and building lots in cities as well as agricultural undertakings such as sugar factories. It is

¹⁶ Formerly a number of other leases were granted to the Chinese for the collection of public revenues, such as the tax on pepper in Riouw, the tithing tax on certain forest products in some outlying districts, a number of ferry and sluice rights, and a tax on certain theatrical performances. At present, there is still a lease on the monopoly of collecting edible birds' nests, which are found in certain parts of Java, Madura, and Borneo.

¹⁷ Campbell, Donald MacLaine: *Java: Past and Present*. London, 1915, Vol. II, p. 1095.

¹⁸ Cabaton, A.: *Java, Sumatra, and other islands of the Dutch East Indies*. London, 1911, p. 161.

¹⁹ For the protection of the liberty and rights of the natives, see the Governor General's ordinance of Dec. 25, 1898, and that of Apr. 9, 1894.

²⁰ See "Alienation and leasing of land" in U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch colonies*, Washington, 1902, pp. 61, 62.

estimated ²¹ that the Chinese in Java have invested about £16,000,000 (\$77,864,000, par) in real estate, and those residing in Batavia own about three-quarters of the buildings and residences in the city. This represents their total accumulations since the pioneer days of their colonization in Java.

As to the savings of the Chinese, no data are now available. The permanent residents—i. e., those who have resided in Java for a generation and have therefore lost all personal contact with China—invest their savings in the country. An intermediary group of residents—i. e., those who were born in China but have permanently settled in the Dutch East Indies—send their savings regularly to their relatives in China. A third group includes those who come to Java with the sole aim of earning some money and then returning to China. To this last class belong manual workers, skilled and unskilled, and also the professional money lenders who are mainly from Fu Ching, Hsing Hua, and Foochow.

As the Chinese do not make use of the postal money orders, it is difficult to ascertain the amount of remittances to China. Large amounts are sent in bank drafts. People of small means intrust their savings to the so-called Shiu Ke, who make it their business to travel to and fro between Java and China and maintain relations with Chinese villages on the one hand and Chinese emigrants abroad on the other.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CHINESE.

The majority of the Chinese people in Java are Dutch subjects, as the law of February 10, 1910, provides that "all persons born in the Dutch East Indies of parents settled there are Dutch subjects."

The Chinese in the Dutch East Indies have been clannish, living much to themselves. Formerly the racial line was sharply drawn, but recently a tendency toward toleration and cooperation is manifest.

In previous years their cultural level was very low, which was undoubtedly due to their coming from the poorest and almost entirely illiterate element of the Chinese population. Until recently, even after they have grown rich in Java, they have failed to give their children adequate social and cultural advantages. The reform movement in China, which was ushered in with the advent of the twentieth century, has had an important influence over the Chinese in Java. They have founded special lower schools in Batavia and numerous other localities. The teaching system used in these schools corresponds in the main to that in use in China. There has always been a shortage of qualified teachers and it is due to this defect that a great number of schools use as the language of instruction, Mandarin Chinese, with which few of the pupils are familiar. Indeed, it seems that a great number of the children speak the Malay language at home and whenever they speak Chinese it is almost always the southern dialect and rarely northern Chinese.

Beginning in 1908 the Dutch Government established Dutch-Chinese schools with Dutch as the language of instruction and with a curriculum similar to that in Dutch schools. The number of these schools is steadily growing. There is great demand for such schools on the part of the Chinese.²² Above the Dutch-Chinese are

²¹ Campbell, Donald MacLaine: *Java: Past and Present*. London, 1915, Vol. II, pp. 141, 1101.

²² In 1921, according to the Statesman's Yearbook, 1922, p. 1139, there were in Java 34 Dutch-Chinese schools with 210 teachers and 7,975 pupils.

the M. U. L. O. schools, the various intermediate schools, the intermediate technical schools, the higher technical schools in the Dutch East Indies, and the universities in the Netherlands. A special seminary, accessible to Indo-Chinese young people, helps to train teachers for the Dutch-Chinese schools; its teaching staff now consists of men and women from the Netherlands.

MISCEGENATION.

The Chinese in the Dutch East Indies have shown a strong tendency to interbreed with native stocks through marriages with native women. This is due to the fact that in former times there was no immigration of Chinese women and even since the improvement of steamship communication female immigration is only sporadic.²³ Chinese young men or girls very rarely marry native whites.

Through the gradual infusion of native blood into the Chinese group a characteristic type of Indo-Chinese has been produced, popularly known as the Peranakans. Since this type has existed for generations its members may be counted among the native population. Most of their Chinese ancestors were from Fukien and they themselves have predominantly Chinese characteristics.

However, the Peranakans invariably speak the language of their mothers—the Malay, the Javanese, or the Sundanese dialects. In them are shown the vitality of the Chinese race, social and economic superiority over the native population, and a pronounced tendency toward the patriarchal family.

Owing to economic differences between families which have been in Java for generations and the newcomers, as well as to the former's lack of familiarity with the Chinese language, there is a rather marked cleavage between the Peranakans and the full-blooded Chinese, which has given rise to other differences. The Peranakans consider themselves socially above the so-called Singkeh, who come directly from a lower social environment and have not yet gone through the process of assimilation in the Dutch East Indies. On their part the Singkeh consider the Peranakans inferior because of their mixed blood and their total loss of knowledge of the Chinese language. However, the Peranakans have for many years taken a keen interest in the development of their adopted country.

In Tangerang and in Krawang (near Batavia) and in Bantam near the limits of Batavia there are villages, the population of which, although of Chinese origin, has through conversion to Islam been entirely assimilated with the native stock. Some of these Chinese are good agriculturists. In the western part of Borneo there are also Chinese who went there during the gold-digging period; many of these have become agriculturists, although not owning any land. They have not assimilated with the native stock.²⁴

Members of the Chinese group mingle very seldom with European or Indo-European society, except in a few cases of marriage between Chinese and the last-named group.

CHINESE ORGANIZATIONS.

Chinese societies are important from a social and political point of view. In the Dutch East Indies there are to be found: (a) The

²³ Among the Hakkas rich men still return to China with their sons so that the latter may marry Chinese girls and bring them to Java.

²⁴ Cabaton, A.: Java, Sumatra, and other islands of the Dutch East Indies. London, 1911, p. 165.

Chinese chambers of commerce; (b) the special lower schools; (c) the reading clubs, which are also political in character; (d) the Hua Chiao-Lien Ho Hui, a pan-Chinese organization on a radical nationalistic basis; (e) the territorial corporations of "guild halls"; (f) the local burial societies; (g) the trade associations of workmen and commercial employees, etc.; (h) religious organizations, temple societies, etc., partly of a public and partly of a tribal character; and (i) a large variety of social organizations which have the object of promoting charity, arts, sport, sociability, etc.

BANKA.²⁵

The island of Banka is off the east coast of Sumatra, from which it is separated by Banka Strait, which is about 9 miles wide at its narrowest point. On the east, the broader, island-studded Gaspar Strait separates Banka from Billiton. Banka is 138 miles in length; its extreme breadth is 62 miles, and its area, including a few adjacent small islands, 4,460 square miles.

The population of Banka, according to an official Dutch estimate made at the end of 1917, numbers 154,178, of whom about 70,000 are Chinese, 600 are Dutch civilians, 400 are in the Dutch garrison which is officered by the Dutch and manned by the Malays, and the remainder of the population is Malayan.

Since the Dutch occupation the economic development of the island has been chiefly through the tin mines which are a Government monopoly. The Chinese in the island have played a predominant rôle in developing this industry. According to a Dutch estimate 22,365 Chinese are now engaged in the 120 principal tin mines around Muntok, Djëboes, Bëlinjoe, Soengailiat, Merawang, Pangkalpinang, Soengaiselan, Koba, and Toboali.²⁶

There are about 7,000 Chinese engaged in growing pepper; these are distributed among the following cities: 1,500 at Merawang, 1,350 at Bëlinjoe, 1,000 at Soengailiat, 1,000 at Pangkalpinang, and there are several growers at each of the following places: Muntok, Djëboes, Toboali, and Koba. The pepper gardens vary in size from 1,000 to 30,000 plants. Each plant yields about 1.80 florins (72 cents, par) worth of pepper per year. Each worker cultivates about 1,000 plants.

Chinese fishermen inhabit such large fishing centers as those near Koba, the southeastern coast of Banka, and the coast of the island of Lepar. The retail trade of the island is almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese, and their activities along other lines are equally important in the economic life of Banka. In 1920, when the island was faced with a great shortage of rice, Chinese merchants contributed \$150,000 Mexican (\$81,060, par) in order that rice might be imported from Java and a famine averted.

But by far the largest number of Chinese in Banka are engaged as contract laborers in tin mining, and a considerable number of these have accumulated wealth. Unlike most of their compatriots in Java the Chinese in the island are manual rather than brain workers.

²⁵ China. Emigration Bureau. Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Banka, May, 1920.

²⁶ From 1890-91 to 1911-12 the annual production of tin in Banka increased from 6,508 tons to 15,218 tons. (Fawns, Sydney: Tin Deposits of the World. London, 1916, p. 262.) No later figures are available.

The number of male Chinese laborers in the principal cities of Banka, engaged as tin miners and in peddling and other forms of labor, and the number of women and children are shown in the following table:

TABLE 10.—CHINESE LABORERS AND WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF BANKA IN 1920.¹

| City. | Tin miners. | Other laborers and peddlers. | Women and children. | Total. |
|--------------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| Bëlinjoe..... | 3,980 | 3,090 | 4,896 | 11,966 |
| Djêboes..... | 1,494 | 3,229 | 3,235 | 7,958 |
| Koba..... | 1,960 | 2,077 | 2,358 | 6,395 |
| Merawang..... | 1,429 | 2,540 | 2,954 | 6,923 |
| Muntok..... | 1,604 | 1,523 | 1,630 | 4,757 |
| Pangkalpinang..... | 3,908 | 3,671 | 5,585 | 13,164 |
| Soengailiat..... | 4,750 | 3,319 | 7,642 | 15,711 |
| Soengaiselan..... | 1,307 | 1,003 | 1,516 | 3,826 |
| Toboali..... | 1,570 | 1,913 | 2,199 | 5,982 |
| Total..... | 22,302 | 22,365 | 32,015 | 76,682 |

¹ China. Emigration Bureau. Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Banka, May, 1920, pp. 4, 5.

TIN MINING.

RECRUITMENT OF LABOR.

The usual practice in the recruitment of labor is as follows: The Dutch labor contractor representing one or more mine owners goes to Hongkong, where the labor is recruited by Chinese brokers or headmen (*keh tou*). These headmen distribute copies of the contract and also explain verbally the terms of employment to prospective emigrants in near-by villages. For each laborer who is willing to accept the terms the Dutch labor contractor pays the headman 35 florins (\$14.07, par). The recruit himself is paid \$7 (Hongkong currency, \$3.75 par, United States money), of which \$4 is given him at the hotel in Hongkong and the remaining \$3 when he is aboard a steamer bound for Banka. The recruit's expenses from his home to Hongkong, including board and lodging, are all paid by the labor contractor. Immediately after arriving at Banka the recruit is examined by a physician of the Central Dutch Mining Co. If physically fit, the laborer is given a sum of from \$80 to \$180 Mexican (\$43 to \$97, par, United States money) to cover his traveling expenses to the place of employment. Those who fail to pass the medical examination are sent back to China at the expense of the labor contractor, but not infrequently he offers these men to pepper growers at lower rates of pay.

This recruiting, carried on without Government supervision or proper administration by Chinese and Dutch authorities, has given rise to abuses and corruption. On August 21, 1919, a special commissioner of the Chinese Emigration Bureau found at mining district No. 14, near Bëlinjoe, a number of cases where the emigrants did not go there of their own volition but were fraudulently induced to go and were sold as slaves. Slave emigration was for a time so common that on October 1, 1918, the Dutch Government proclaimed that "according to article 116 of the constitution, slave trade is prohibited. Regardless of age and sex, a slave who is imported to the colony of Banka may recover freedom by directly appealing to the Government."

Though flogging is prohibited by the Dutch laws, corporal punishment by headmen and supervisors in mining camps is said to be a common practice. On August 6, 1919, a special commissioner of the Chinese Emigration Bureau discovered a miner at Pangkalpinang, who was about 20 years of age and had been there for about three months. The wounds on his back indicated that he had often been whipped. On August 9, 1919, the entire number of Chinese workers at Muntok petitioned Peking saying that one of their workers had been flogged to death. In support of their accusation of flogging and ill-treatment the petitioners cited 6 cases in June, 1913, where the victims were shot to death, 3 cases in October, 1916, where the victims were flogged to death, and 500 cases since 1913 where the laborers had failed to receive free passage to return to China and were unlawfully detained on the island. At mining district No. 19, at BÉlinjoe, the head laborer's report for 1918 enumerated 22 cases of workmen who had been shackled. It is said to be common knowledge that a philanthropic Chinese photographer at Pangkalpinang sends medicine every month to neighboring mining camps for the benefit of those injured by flogging.

Article 13 of the contract signed by Chinese laborers with the Dutch companies provides that if the authentic address of the laborer's nearest relative is given, compensation for accidental death of the laborer will be remitted to his relative.

Respectable persons who were fraudulently induced to emigrate to the Dutch colonies but who discovered the fraud after reaching their destinations have often been so ashamed that they did not want their friends and relatives in China to know their whereabouts and preferred to be considered lost or dead.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

The labor contract usually runs for 360 days; at the request of the employer and with the consent of the employee, it may be extended to three or five years, with a due increase in daily wages. The laborer is given a free passage to his place of employment and also free passage home at the expiration of the contract. If he is taken ill during the term of the contract and is advised by a physician to return home, he is also entitled to a free passage with board on the voyage home.

In the case of laborers the scale of wages varies with the kind of work and with the duration of employment, as shown in the statement below:

| Laborers: | Florins. ¹ |
|---|-----------------------|
| First 180 days.....per day.. | 0.24 |
| Second 180 days.....do.... | .36 |
| Three years.....do.... | .41 |
| Five years.....do.... | .46 |
| Superintendent in charge of 400 men or more.....per month.. | 300 |
| Assistant superintendent.....do.... | 150 |
| Secretary.....do.... | 30 to 60 |
| Treasurer.....do.... | 30 to 60 |
| Manager.....do.... | 30 to 60 |

¹ Florin at par=40.2 cents.

Crane operators work 10 hours a day, laborers pumping water work 8 hours, and other laborers work 9 hours per day. Day laborers are paid 0.12 florin (4.8 cents, par) an hour with a maximum pay of 0.60 florin (24.1 cents, par) a day. Pieceworkers are described elsewhere.

Aside from a raincoat, a hat, a pair of trousers, a towel, and a straw mat, provided for the worker by the employer under the provisions of article 3 of the contract, the laborer buys his own clothing. In many cases, however, the Holland China Handels Co. (the chief labor-recruiting agency) at Hongkong, purchases clothes, ships them to Banka, and sells them to Chinese miners at less than market prices. For instance, a jacket which ordinarily costs 1.5 florins (60.3 cents, par) is sold at 1.2 florins (48.2 cents, par), and a pair of trousers which usually costs 1.25 florins (50.3 cents, par) is sold at one florin (40.2 cents, par).

According to article 9 of the contract, food is provided for the workers by the employer free of charge. Their daily ration consists of:

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------|
| Fish, fresh or dried..... | Liang ¹ .. | 6.40 |
| Salt fish..... | do.... | 2.56 |
| Vegetables, fresh..... | do.... | 6.40 |
| Beans, fresh..... | do.... | 3.06 |
| Lard..... | do.... | 1.02 |
| Rice..... | Catty ² .. | 1.67 |

Chinese laborers frequently complain of the insufficiency and the lack of variety of their food. Though under the original contract each worker was entitled to 50 catties of rice per month, the amount has been cut down to 35 catties on account of the rising cost of rice. Five catties are usually deducted for the expenses incurred for feeding fowls and hogs in the compound. One catty per meal is not enough for the average rice-consuming worker. Throughout the year there seems to be little change in the diet, especially in fresh and preserved vegetables.

Free lodging is guaranteed to the miners in article 8 of the contract. Three typical lodging houses may be briefly described. A house 210 Chinese feet²⁷ long and 15 feet wide is partitioned into more than 30 small rooms. In each room are six cots. The house is well ventilated and screened with wire windows. Trees and flowers beautify the yard. Houses of this type have been built during the last five years and constitute about 20 per cent of the lodging houses for the Chinese laborers.

The second is a thatched wooden house, the shape of a cube, with a door on one side. On the other three sides are wooden planks with a little opening for fresh air between each two planks. In each house are four cots, with an oil lamp and a chair for each occupant. Such a house is comfortable to live in except in rainy and humid weather.

The third is about 110 Chinese feet long, 25 feet wide, and 30 feet high. The ground floor has about 12 rooms, each having 10 cots, with one oil lamp and one chair for each occupant. The upper floor is really an attic and unsuited for living purposes. The ventilation

¹ Liang=1½ ounces.

² Catty=1½ pounds.

²⁷ 1 Chinese foot=14.1 inches.

of the upper floor is poor. In some cases those who live there have no cots or chairs and spread their bedding on the floor. This is the most unsatisfactory of the three types of lodging houses.

PIECEWORK SYSTEM.

Under the piecework system a group of laborers form a gang and work as a unit. The gang undertakes the mining operations over a certain area and apportions to each worker a certain number of cubic "kilos"²⁸ as his daily labor. In the mining district of Pangkalpinang a gang consists of 27 persons who work on a lot 36 kiloes long, 6 kiloes wide, and 1 kilo deep. Each worker is allotted $\frac{36 \times 6 \times 1}{27}$ or 8 cubic kiloes per day. At Bëlinjoe a gang consists of 125 laborers for a lot 225 kiloes long, 5 kiloes wide and 1 kilo deep. The daily labor apportioned to each worker is therefore $\frac{225 \times 5 \times 1}{125}$ or 9 cubic kiloes per day. This system tends to equalize the burden of work among the members of the gang but works hardship on the less efficient. The gang is by agreement required to turn out a certain amount of work each day, and every laborer has to do his share. The physically weak must therefore put forth their utmost efforts in order to perform their portion of the task. Those who can not stand the physical strain usually desert.

Recently Dutch employers have attempted to increase the output of the workers by instituting a system of bonuses to superintendents, managers, headmen, and head laborers, based on production.

EDUCATION.

The number of children of Chinese miners who are taught in schools supported by the Chinese is shown below. The list includes the schools in nine mining towns, but excludes those in outlying districts and villages. Merawang has three schools, the other eight towns have one each. The instruction given at the three schools at Merawang is more like private tutoring than what is commonly given at public schools.

| | Number of pupils. | | Number of pupils. |
|---------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Bëlinjoe..... | 98 | Pangkalpinang..... | 103 |
| Djëboes..... | 62 | Soengailiat..... | 170 |
| Koba..... | 69 | Soengaiselan..... | 48 |
| Merawang..... | 93 | Taboali..... | 72 |
| Muntok..... | 51 | | |

HOSPITAL ACCOMMODATIONS.

Some of the hospitals in Banka are of brick, with tile roofs, and surrounded by beautiful lawns. They are usually located in forests or other quiet places. They have adequate medical equipment and handle the serious cases of illness. Other hospitals are exclusively for the benefit of laborers. They are usually located on the hill-sides near the places where Chinese miners work. Still others are built of wooden planks, have simple and incomplete equipment, and are largely dependent upon other near-by hospitals for their medicinal supply. The doctors are chiefly Java-born Dutch. Cases of mild illness are treated there.

²⁸ "Kilo" = 2.115 feet.

One universal defect of these hospitals is the conspicuous lack of nurses. Patients who are only slightly ill wait on those who suffer from more serious ailments. Some patients do errands, mow lawns, or attend to other odd jobs.

PEPPER INDUSTRY.

In Banka, uncultivated lands not already owned by holders of adjacent properties may be claimed by petition to the Dutch Government. The successful claimant pays an annual tax of 3.5 florins (\$1.41, par) per square kilometer; this tax he pays three years in advance at the time of the petition; subsequent taxes are paid yearly. Most of the land so claimed by the Chinese is used for pepper cultivation. After the plants have begun to bear, the grower pays a tax of about five Chinese cents (2.7 cents, par) per plant. The pepper produced is used as a condiment and as an ingredient in the manufacture of both powder and wines.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

The term of labor contract is usually 360 days and the daily wage is 0.10 florin (4 cents, par). At the time of commencing work, the laborer has the privilege of borrowing from his employer a sum of 10 florins (\$4.02, par) without interest and any additional sum at the rate of 3 per cent interest. Board and lodging are free of charge. The laborers are given three meals a day, and the diet is superior to that provided in the mining industry. Each worker receives two suits of clothes from the employer free of charge. Lodging houses, which are usually near the places of employment, are also furnished by the employer. Hours of work vary with the nature of the employment and the season. During the harvest the hours are long and the work is heavy, at other seasons the workers have short hours and light work.

At the expiration of the contract, the worker is considered as an "old emigrant." Thereafter, while his clothing, board, and lodging continue to be provided by the employer, his wages are raised from 15 to 25 florins (\$6.03 to \$10.05, par) a month. He can borrow from the employer 10 florins (\$4.02, par) without interest and any additional sum at 3 per cent interest. His wages are paid at the end of the year. Another type of "old emigrant" receives his pay at the end of each month, and may borrow from the employer 25 to 50 florins (\$10.05 to \$20.10, par) without interest. But in this case, the employer does not furnish clothing, board, or lodging.

Workers of special merit and industry are awarded bonuses at the end of each year. The employer is usually considerate and little friction arises. If, however, an offense is committed by a laborer, the case is reported to the Dutch Government and a captain is sent there to investigate it. The offender is then taken to a near-by tribunal for trial.

BILLITON.²⁹

The island of Billiton is situated east of Banka and has an area of 1,800 square miles. Among its inhabitants are about 30,000 Malays, 25,000 Chinese, and 400 Dutch. About 80 per cent of the

²⁹ Unless otherwise noted, the data for this section are based on China. Emigration Bureau. Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Billiton, March, 1919.

Chinese are engaged in tin mining, the remaining 20 per cent being peddlers, skilled workers, and traders.

The chief products of the island are tin, iron ore, and timber. The alluvial deposits of tin, which form nearly the southern limit of the vast stanniferous formation which extends over 20° of latitude, make Billiton one of the world's important tin-producing countries.³⁰

On October 28, 1860, the Billiton Co. was granted a royal charter for the exploitation of tin mines in the island, with the provision that three-eighths of its net profits should go to the Government. To-day, the tin industry is carried on mainly by the Dutch and the Chinese; the former furnish most of the capital and the latter the labor. However, many Chinese who have been in the island for a long time, have accumulated considerable wealth and have invested it in purely Chinese-managed companies for mining tin.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE.

According to a report of a special commissioner of the Chinese Emigration Bureau, dated March, 1919, there are 22,538 Chinese in the principal cities in Billiton, of whom 16,715 are mine workers, 2,180 are engaged in other trades, and 3,643 are women and children. The distribution by city and occupation is shown in the table following:

TABLE 11.—NUMBER OF CHINESE IN PRINCIPAL CITIES IN BILLITON, 1919.^a

| City. | Men engaged in— | | Women and children. | Total. |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| | Mining. | Other occupations. | | |
| Boeding..... | 1,349 | 240 | 384 | 1,973 |
| Dendang..... | | 119 | 117 | 236 |
| Gantong..... | 4,178 | | 554 | 4,732 |
| Manggar..... | 8,035 | 640 | 850 | 9,534 |
| Sidjok..... | | 123 | 132 | 255 |
| Tanjung Pandan..... | 3,153 | 1,058 | 1,597 | 5,808 |
| Total..... | 16,715 | 2,180 | 3,643 | 22,538 |

^a China. Emigration Bureau. Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Billiton, March, 1919, p. 6.

TIN MINING.

The number of Chinese engaged in mining tin in 1919 are shown, by occupation and place of employment, in the table below:

TABLE 12.—NUMBER OF CHINESE MINERS IN BILLITON, 1919, BY OCCUPATION AND CITY.^a

| Occupation. | Tanjung Pandan. | Manggar. | Gantong. | Boeding. | Total. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Hill workers and well diggers..... | 1,166 | 3,534 | 2,107 | 310 | 7,117 |
| Machinists..... | 573 | 1,509 | 404 | 354 | 2,840 |
| Independent enterprises..... | 689 | 161 | 525 | 486 | 1,861 |
| Day laborers..... | 725 | 2,831 | 1,142 | 199 | 4,897 |
| Total..... | 3,153 | 8,035 | 4,178 | 1,349 | 16,715 |

^a China. Emigration Bureau. Report on Conditions of Chinese Laborers in Billiton, March, 1919, p. 5.

³⁰ Between the years 1890-91 and 1911-12 the annual production of tin in Billiton averaged nearly 4,700 tons. (Fawns, Sydney: Tin Deposits of the World. London, 1916, p. 262.) Later figures are not available.

Of these 16,715 miners, only 504 were married and had their wives with them; the boys and girls in these families numbered 646 and 588, respectively.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Chinese mine workers usually sign a contract with the company for a period of 360 days. During this period, the laborer, who is known as a Singkeh or "new emigrant," receives about 0.25 florin (about 10 cents, par) for a working-day of from 8 to 10 hours. At the expiration of the contract, he is considered as a Laugkeh or "old emigrant," and his daily wages are increased in accordance with his experience in the job and the duration of the employment.

Three grades of pay for "old emigrants" may be roughly distinguished: (a) One who has worked for more than 360 days with the company is entitled to have his wages raised to 7.5 florins (\$3.02, par) a month. While working for the company, he is not permitted to engage in commerce or other trades independently. (b) One who has worked for about 500 days receives 9 florins (\$3.62, par) per month. Up to 1918, workers of this class were not free to seek jobs or transfer their jobs from one place to another at will. Since then, more freedom of travel has been accorded them. The majority of workers of this grade are employed by Chinese mine owners and receive a monthly pay of about 10 florins (\$4.02, par). (c) One who has worked about 900 days receives a monthly wage of about 15 florins (\$6.03, par). Chinese companies pay workers of this grade about 21 florins (\$8.44, par) a month.

In addition to a number of holidays and festivals during the period of contract, each worker is entitled to a vacation of two days in each month, but he has no rest on Sundays. The employer advances his passage fee from China to Billiton and all other necessary expenses, which are to be deducted from his wages at the conclusion of the 360-day contract. Food, lodging, and medical attendance, are furnished free of charge. At Tanjung Pandan a special hospital is provided for the Chinese miners. It consists of five houses, each 60 Chinese feet long and 15 feet wide, with 60 beds each. About 70 per cent of the Chinese patients suffer from beriberi, and the remaining cases are pulmonary tuberculosis, nervous disorders, scarlet fever, etc.

CONTROL OF LABOR AT A MINING COMPOUND.

Instead of employing Chinese by individual contract, the Maatschappij more frequently employs an experienced Chinese, chosen from among the "old emigrants" as head miner in charge of all the laborers in a mining compound. The company allows a lump sum of 230 florins (\$92.46, par) per year per worker, to cover wages, food, and lodging. Each laborer thus employed is required to work 800 cubic yards and produce 12 piculs (1,600 pounds) of tin per year. By agreement, the laborer sells this tin to the company at the rate of 17 florins (\$6.83, par) per picul. If the output exceeds 12 piculs, all the excess goes to the head miner. If it is below the required 12 piculs, the company will raise the price of the mined tin to approximate the annual wage of the laborer, namely, the sum of 230 florins. For example, if the annual yield of a certain allotment is only 5 piculs a year, the laborer is 7 piculs below the required quantity and the price of this 5 piculs will be raised to 46 florins (\$18.49, par) per picul instead of 17 florins as agreed.

ADMINISTRATION OF A MINING COMPOUND.

The head miner is the liaison official between the Dutch company and the Chinese laborers. He receives orders from the company and instructs his men in carrying them out. Under ordinary circumstances, he has complete control of the mining compound. The occupations and wages in the compound of 50 persons would be as follows:

TABLE 13.—OCCUPATIONS AND MONTHLY WAGES OF MEMBERS OF A MINING COMPOUND.

[1 florin at par=40.2 cents.]

| Occupation. | Number of employees. | Monthly wages per employee. | Occupation. | Number of employees. | Monthly wages per employee. |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | <i>Florins.</i> | | | <i>Florins.</i> |
| Head laborer..... | 1 | 25.00 | Cook..... | 2 | 25.00 |
| Head laborer's assistants..... | 2 | 20.00 | Gardener..... | 1 | 25.00 |
| Head laborer, underground..... | 2 | 20.00 | Forester..... | 1 | 30.00 |
| Treasurer..... | 1 | 25.00 | "Old emigrants"..... | 5 | 15.00 |
| Secretary..... | 1 | 25.00 | "New emigrants"..... | 34 | 7.50 |

The monthly allowance of rice is 75 catties (100 pounds) per person; for vegetables and other food articles an allowance of 2.5 florins (\$1.01, par) per person is made. The head miner receives an annual allowance from the company of 11,500 florins (\$4,623, par), but the expenses may run as high as 13,830 florins (\$5,560, par) per year.

Each worker is privileged to borrow 34 florins (\$13.67, par) from the head miner at the rate of 36 per cent interest. Some, who are gamblers, owe him debts running as high as 300 florins (\$121, par). The head miner owns a garden, raises fowls and other farm products, and runs a grocery. Not infrequently he charges high rates for merchandise the workers buy from him.

Each laborer is required to work at least 26 days in the month. Except in cases of sickness, for one day of absence below that limit five days' wages, or 1.25 florins (50.3 cents, par) are deducted. If the worker is absent for two days, an absence of six days is counted against him, and 1.50 florins (60.3 cents, par) are deducted from his wages. Deductions for meals are made in a similar manner, namely, one day is counted as five days, or 1.5 florins (60.3 cents, par), and two days are counted as six days, or 1.8 florins (72.4 cents, par).

KINDS OF WORK PERFORMED BY CHINESE MINERS.

(a) *Determining lodes and fissures.*—Lode deposits of tin ore which is mixed with rock must first have the location of the veins determined. This work is done principally on hillsides.

(b) *Sluicing.*—Ground sluicing is a common method of extracting tin ore near the seashore where the tin is usually mixed with mud and sand. Two pipes are attached to a machine which draws water and ejects it from pipe A to the surface of the ground. Pipe B then conducts the water which is now mixed with tin and runs it through a long trough. A number of laborers work at one end of the trough to wash off sand and mud. At the other end, another group of men are engaged in extracting the ore. The drawing of the water is done

by old emigrants. Pipe A which ejects water is also in their charge. Washing off sand and mud, which is done at one end of pipe B, and extracting, which is done at the other end, are the work of the new emigrants.

(c) *Treating tin ore.*—Three processes of treating ore should be noted: Crushing, fluxing, and refining of ore. Big rocks containing ore are first crushed by a machine, then they are mixed with other ore which contains metallic compounds to help free the tin from the ore. The last stage is to refine the tin so obtained. As this work requires much skill and expert training, only old emigrants are employed.

(d) *Transporting.*—Old emigrants transport tin, fuel, and other supplies with small locomotives, while others repair the roads. New emigrants work on light-track cars taking iron baskets to the mines.

CHINESE-OWNED TIN MINES.

Up to January, 1919, not fewer than 1,861 old emigrants in Billiton had invested their savings in tin-mining companies. However, the company, fearful of their competition, has been trying to limit their activities by imposing some rather unfavorable conditions, of which the following are examples:

The Chinese mines are usually located at places inaccessible to the railroad and other means of communication. The Chinese are discouraged from forming large companies, the largest company having only about 50 stockholders. Since the savings of the old emigrants are usually small, their business is greatly handicapped by the lack of funds. The tin mined by the Chinese is by agreement sold to the company at the rate of 39 florins (\$15.68, par) per picul, with deductions for inferior quality. Delivery of ore is made each month.³¹

By agreement, the Chinese companies purchase food, fuel, and other necessary equipment from the company. A fine is imposed for buying equipment from other agencies than the Maatschappij. Furthermore, regarding board and lodging, the Chinese companies are required to follow the example of the company. In the event of a Chinese company failing to observe regulations of the company, the latter reserves the right to revoke the license for mining.

CHINESE IN OTHER TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

Besides the mine workers, there are about 2,000 Chinese who are engaged in trades and professions in various parts of Billiton. They are independent enterprisers and free from contract obligations. Since the native population is rather sparse and industrial development just beginning, many of these Chinese are manifestly not successful in their business careers.

The following are the principal occupations, professions, and trades, aside from mining, followed by the Chinese in Billiton:

Barbers.—More than 100 barbers from the May district of Kwang-tung Province are establishing their business in all parts of the island. Recently Japanese, Arabs, and Malays have entered the trade in competition with them, but the Chinese are doing well.

³¹ During the years 1892 to 1910 the annual Chinese production of tin in Banka and Billiton increased from 2,064 tons to 6,407 tons. (Fawcett, Sydney: Tin Deposits of the World. London, 1916, p. 262.) Later data are not available.

Blacksmiths.—The employees of a well-known forge and foundry at Tanjung Pandan (59) are about evenly divided between Malays and Chinese. The latter receive a monthly wage of from 20 to 35 florins (\$8.04 to \$14.07, par). Other Chinese in the trade have blacksmith shops in the chief mining towns and manufacture iron tools for the miners.

Carpenters.—Most of the carpenters are engaged in constructing frame houses. The industry is very prosperous, as the island lacks bricks and tiles. Furniture manufacturing in both western and Chinese styles is also monopolized by Chinese carpenters.

Dentists.—The dentists are natives of Tienmen district, Hupeh Province. Because of keen competition and high rent many Chinese dentists do not have a lucrative practice.

Goldsmiths.—Most of the goldsmiths come from the May district, Kwangtung Province. They manufacture both Chinese and Malayan jewelry. Their stores are mostly in Tanjung Pandan, with two or three shops each at Manggar and Gantong. Since the purchasing power of the native population is rather small, their trade is far smaller than that of their fellow countrymen in the same trade in Java and Sumatra.

Paper-toy makers.—The toy makers make paper figures for funerals, ceremonies, festivals, and amusements, some of which are based on old Chinese customs, largely associated with superstition. On the average, there is one shop at each of the principal mining towns in the island.

Photographers.—The photographers in the five large cities of Billiton are Cantonese. Their business so far is not a financial success.

Plumbers.—Ten years ago, plumbing was almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese. To-day, many natives have learned the trade and are successfully competing with the Chinese in coarser work, leaving the Chinese a free field only in highly skilled work.

Rattan workers.—Because of the tropical heat, rattan ware has a good sale in the island, and most Chinese in this occupation are financially successful.

Shoemakers.—Although they use western leather, Chinese shoemakers receive a fair compensation for their work.

Tailors.—More than 100 tailors from the May district are scattered through the small villages in Billiton and compete with Japanese and Malayan tailors. Because they are comparatively more frugal and more highly skilled, the Chinese are prosperous.

Other workers.—Aside from the above classes, about 600 Chinese are engaged as cooks, laundrymen, office boys, and janitors in various parts of the island.

BORNEO.²²

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND BORNEO.

A description of Poli in book 54 of the annals of the southern Liang dynasty (502-556) seems to be the first historical allusion to Borneo. Not only does the passage itself correspond with the conditions of the island, but also the Chinese name of Borneo, even to

²² Regarding ethnological data, see Evans, Ivor, H. N.: *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, Chapter XXX, *The Chinese in Borneo*.

this day, is Polo, a word which sounds much like Poli. "The kingdom of Poli," according to the Annals, "is situated at the southeast of Canton, on an island in the sea; the distance from Canton is two months, traveling daily. From east to west the country is 50 days broad and from north to south it is 20 days; there are 136 villages in it. The climate is warm, just like summer in China; rice ripens twice a year and plants and trees are very luxuriant. The sea produces spotted conches and cowries."

The social usages and manners of the inhabitants of Poli detailed in book 82 of the annals of the Sui dynasty (581-617), would lead one to believe that what the historian described was probably the modern Borneo:

The people of this country are skilled in throwing a discus knife; it is the size of a [Chinese metal] mirror, in the middle is a hole and the edge is like a saw; when they throw it at a man, they never fail to hit him. Their other arms are about the same as those in China. Their customs resemble those in Cambodia, and the products of the country are the same as those of Siam. * * * They get coral from the sea, and they have a bird called sari [*beo, gracula religiosa*], which can talk. For their sacrifice, they choose the time when there is no moon; they fill a bowl with wine and eatables and let it float away on the surface of the water; in the eleventh month they have a great sacrifice.

Still later in the T'ang annals (618-906), in book 222, more definite information is given regarding the mode of living of the Borneans:

They wear the teeth of wild beasts in their ears and wrap a piece of cotton round their loins; cotton is a plant from which they collect the flowers in order to make cloth of them; the coarser kind is called kupa and the finer cloth t'ieh.³³ They hold their markets at night and cover their faces.

A considerable portion of the passages above noted tallies very closely with recent observations of ethnologists, anthropogeographers, and travelers relating to the inhabitants of Borneo. Charles Hose, a civil officer to the Rajah of Sarawak for 24 years, comments on the two passages last quoted in the following language:

The discus knife, a wooden weapon, is not now in use, but is known to have been used formerly. The wild Kadayans sacrifice after every new moon, and are forbidden to eat a number of things until they have done so. The Malanau set laden rafts afloat on the rivers to propitiate the spirits of the sea. The very names of the two kinds of cotton, then evidently a novelty to the Chinese, are found in Borneo: Kapok is a well-known Malay word, taya is the common name for cotton among the Sea Dayaks.³⁴

BORNEO'S ENVOYS TO CHINA.

Poli began to pay tribute to China as early as 518, when its envoys came to Yang-chow, the Chinese capital. Five years later the king Pinka sent another envoy to bring as tribute white parrots, glass utensils, cotton cloth, cups made out of shells, and different kinds of perfumes and medicines. The third envoy was sent in 616, but after that date tribute paying was discontinued and the name of Poli was dropped from the dynastic histories, that of Puni being used instead.

According to Chinese geographers of the old days, Puni was situated in the southwestern sea, on the western coast of Borneo; its distance from Java was 45 days, from San-bo-tsai (Palembang) 40 days, and

³³ Cotton was not originally grown in China but was introduced by Chinese traders from the Malay Archipelago, as cotton cultivation and cotton weaving by Malays were known to the Chinese as early as the sixth century. "Kupa is the name of a tree," reports the historian of the southern Liang annals (China. Bureau of the National History), book 4, p. 1, "of which the flowers, when ripe, are like goose down; the natives take out the fibers and spin them after which they use them for weaving a kind of cloth as white as linen. They also dye the thread in different colors and weave cloth with patterns."

³⁴ Hose, Charles, and McDougall, Wm.: *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. London, 1912, Vol. I, p. 10

from Champa 30 days, in all cases taking the wind to be fair. It had a population of more than 10,000 and ruled over 14 different places. The house in which the king lived was covered with palm leaves and the cottages of the people were covered with grass.

No barley was grown, but hemp and rice were abundant. At their feasts the people used to make music by beating drums, blowing flutes, and clashing cymbals; they also sang and danced.

Two more deputations came to the Chinese court from the kingdom of Puni, one in 977 conducted by King Hiangta and the other in 1082 by King Sri Maji. Thereafter, for a long period, Puni ceased to pay tribute to China. The Chinese historians, aside from some scanty notes, fail to explain the reasons for the discontinuance of the custom. Recently, however, Charles Hose and William McDougall have thrown much light on what had actually happened during this interval.

In the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries Bruni [Puni, now Borneo] owed allegiance alternately to two powers much younger than herself, Majapahit in Java, and Malacca on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Both these States were founded in the thirteenth century. Majapahit, originally only one of several Javan kingdoms, rapidly acquired strength and subjugated her neighbors and the nearest portions of the island around. Malacca, formed when the Malay colony of Singapore was overwhelmed by the Javanese, became the great commercial depot of the Straits and the chief center of Mohammedanism in the archipelago. The two powers therefore stood for two faiths and two cultures: Majapahit for Brahminism and Hindu influence, Malacca for Islam and the more practical civilization of Arabia. In the earliest years of the fourteenth century Bruni was a dependency of Majapahit, but seems to have recovered its independence during the minority of the Javan king. In 1368 Javanese soldiers drove from Bruni the Sulu marauders who had sacked the town. A few years later the ungrateful king transferred his allegiance to China.³⁵

In 1405 King Maraja Kali (Maraja Kala in Chinese) came to China with his wife and family, and was received with the highest honors. Puni paid tribute again in 1410, and between 1415 and 1425, four envoys were sent, but after that Puni's tribute bearers rarely appeared at the imperial court of the Chinese Emperor. During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, due to the influence of the Franks (Portuguese), the tribute ceased altogether.

CHINESE RULE IN BORNEO.

The Chinese influence in Borneo (Puni), however, increased as years passed. The situation in 1618 is thus described in Book V of the Tung See Yang K'ao:³⁶

It is told that the present king is a man from Fukien, who followed Cheng Ho to Bruni and who settled there; for this reason there is a stone with a Chinese inscription near the king's palace. In former years this country was attacked by the Portuguese; the people retired into the interior and threw poison into the river, which, floating down with the current, killed a large number of their enemies; after this they went away and attacked Manila. Formerly this city had a stone wall and a wooden wall; the stone wall was demolished in order to build up the island Chang Yau.

The Chinese royal family above referred to is said to have descended from Sultan Akhmed, the brother of Sultan Mahomed who first introduced Islam into Borneo. Sultan Akhmed married the daughter (or the sister?) of Ong Sum Ping, a Chinese chief who, according to Bornean legends, had come down to Borneo by order of a Chinese emperor to seek the jewel which was in the possession of the dragon of

³⁵ Hose, Charles, and McDougall, Wm.: *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. London, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 14-16

³⁶ *Researches on the Eastern and Western Oceans*, by Chang Hsueh.

China Balu. He went with his daughter on her marriage to Sultan Akhmed from China Batang to Bruni, taking all his people with him, and there built the bar of stones at the mouth of the river, and the Kota Batu,³⁷ at the residence of the sultans. Sultan Akhmed had a daughter by his Chinese wife who was married to Sultan Bêrkat. Sultan Bêrkat had come from Taïf in Arabia, and was a descendant of the prophet through his grandson Huslin; he enforced the observance of the religion of Islam and the laws of the Mohammedans and built a mosque.³⁸

CHINESE AND EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLERS.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans in Borneo, the Chinese were of considerable importance in the island. When the Spaniards first visited the island in 1520, the whole island was in a most flourishing state. A very large number of Chinese had settled on her shores; the products of their industry were numerous, and the commerce with China carried on by junks was extensive. On December 26, 1600, when the first Dutch navigator, named Olivier van Noort, came to the Bornean shore with the intention of establishing trade with the islanders, he employed a Chinese to convey to the Bornean chief that he had gone there "as a friend who only desired to procure food, water, and other things for his money." During his short stay several noblemen (praus and oráng káyás) visited the Dutch. Shortly the Chinese reported that the king would give the Dutch a hostage, knowing that he was not from Spain, with whom Borneo was then at war. Thus Dutch trade began.³⁹

In almost every port where there was European trade, there was evidence of Chinese junks. Thus, when the English were at Banjarmasin (56) in 1702, four junks arrived during the monsoon, each 15 fathoms long and 4 broad, with cargoes of porcelain, china, silk, teapots, umbrellas and other articles of trade, which were brought by the Javanese merchants and by the Chinese from Samarang (62). These junks took return cargoes of pepper. In 1712 an embassy was sent from Banjarmasin to invite the Dutch trade there. It having been agreed that all the pepper should be delivered to them, ships were dispatched, but on arriving at Banjarmasin they learned that some Chinese junks had been before them and carried away all the pepper. Roggewein in 1721 mentioned the large fleets of Chinese junks laden with the commodities of the Chinese empire, which annually arrived in Borneo, and observed that as the Chinese were in possession of all the trade of this island before the Portuguese discovered a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, so it had in great measure continued to be after the Europeans had declined to settle there. From Valentyn's work, published in 1726, we learn that the commerce of Borneo in the earlier part of the century was exten-

³⁷ There are two places called by the name Kota Batu, one is the site of the ancient palace at the little river below the ancient tombs of the former sultans, the other is the artificial bar formed in the river between the islands Kaya Orang and Pulau Chermin, which the Pangiran Kasuma's narrative gives as referred to in the text, saying that 40 junks filled with stones were sunk to form it.

³⁸ Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Straits Branch), "Notes of Sultan Mahomed." Vol. V-VI, pp. 6, 7.

³⁹ A writer in the Chinese Repository for August, 1838, (vol. 7, p. 186) believes the ethnic foundations of Borneo to be of three stocks: Johore Malays, Chinese, and Serips (Arab Serifs). To-day the Idaans of northwestern Borneo consider themselves descendants of Ong Sum Ping who remained in the island after the jewel dispute. The material culture of the Idaans is appreciably higher than that of the other five tribes on the island. Their plough was introduced by Chinese settlers.

⁴⁰ Journal of Indian Archipelago, Vol II, p. 505.

sive, and that the Chinese took an active part in it. When the Dutch in 1748 compelled the king of Banjermasin to give them a monopoly of his trade, he reserved the right to allow the Chinese to take 500,000 pounds of pepper.

CHINESE-BORNEAN FUSION.

One writer describes the offspring of Chinese-Bornean marriages:

The mixed breed of the Chinese with the Malays or the Dyaks are a good looking and industrious race, partaking much more of the Chinese character than that of the natives of this country. This mainly arises from education and early formed habits which are altogether Chinese; and in religion and customs they likewise follow, in a good measure, the paternal stock. The race is worthy of attention, as the future possessors of Borneo.⁴⁰

PRESENT CHINESE INFLUENCE.

To-day, the Chinese in Borneo have considerable influence in trade, industries, and Government service. "Practically every store in Borneo, whatever goods it retails," says L. W. W. Gudgeon,⁴¹ "is in the possession of and run by Chinamen. The whole of the import trade and all the export trade, except such things as timber, tobacco, and rubber, is in their hands." His small store or "kadeh," as the Borneo native calls it, will be found selling every imaginable thing from brass ware to jam, even at the foot of Mount Kinabalu, the highest peak.

In addition, all the subordinate Government positions are held by the Chinese, many of whom are sons of Dusun mothers and have received their education from mission schools of the coast towns. "In Borneo," continues Mr. Gudgeon, "it is a Chinese who sells you a stamp, issues a license, examines your baggage for customs dues, and writes down your name on a charge sheet if ever you should have the misfortune to be under arrest. The Chinese is a useful man in Borneo, without him no planting, no mining, and no railway construction could go on—everything would be at a standstill."

There, as in other countries, Chinese labor is always preferred to labor of any other nationality. "The two great advantages that accrue to an employer who prefers Chinese to Malay domestic servants are: First, that he is not worried for the everlasting loan or advance on next month's wages, and secondly, that he has small cause to complain of laziness."⁴²

CHINESE TRADE.

Regarding Chinese trade in Borneo, Forrest says:

Considerable is the trade between China and Borneo, somewhat like the trade between Europe and America. Seven junks were at Borneo in 1775. They carry to China great quantities of black wood, which is worked up there into furniture, etc.; it is bought for about \$2 [Mexican; \$1.08, par] a picul and sold for five or six; also, rattans, dammar (a kind of resin), clove bark, swallow, tortoise shell, birds' nests, etc., articles such as are carried from Sulu to China. The best native camphire is exported hence; superior to the Barros camphire in Sumatra. The Chinese are good judges of camphire. At Borneo town, the Chinese sometimes build junks, which they load with

⁴⁰ Journal of Sir James Brooks, Vol. I, p. 66.

⁴¹ Gudgeon, L. W. W.: *British North Borneo*. London, 1913, p. 35.

⁴² *Idem*, pp. 39-45

rough produce of the island of Borneo and send them to China. I have seen a dock close to the town, in which a Chinese junk of 500 tons had lately been built, worth 2,500 taels, 8,000 in China.⁴³

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE CHINESE.

According to Forrest, the pioneer Chinese in trades and industries were generally prosperous. He continues:⁴⁴

They have pepper gardens. They do not let the vine which bears the pepper twist round a chinkareen tree, as it is the custom on Sumatra; but drive a pole into the ground so that the vine is not robbed of its nourishment. The Chinese keep the ground very clean between the rows of vines. I have here counted 70, sometimes 75, corns on one stalk; which is far more than the stalks produce on Sumatra.

The Chinese here are very active and industrious. They bring all kinds of the manufactures of China, and keep shops on board their junks, as well as ashore; but the Borneans did their best to preclude them from trading with the Marrots, reserving the trade for themselves. The Marrots do not grow pepper, it is all done by the Chinese and sent to China.

Forrest states that five or six junks of 500 or 600 tons of burden come annually to Borneo from Amoy. Crawford says that when the trade was active two junks came yearly from Shanghai, two from Limpo (Ningpo), two from Amoy, one from Canton, and two Portuguese ships from Macao. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Government, which was almost entirely a reflection of the character of the reigning prince, became tyrannical, rapacious, and piratical, so that the foreign trade of Borneo almost entirely ceased, and the Chinese vessels did not venture to approach the coast. Hunt says, in 1809, that not a single junk had visited Borneo for years. With the decline of the Chinese trade the Chinese population also dwindled, and the pepper gardens in which many of them had been employed fell into decay. At the time of the establishment of the colony of Singapore, the number of Chinese in Borneo was reduced to not more than 500.⁴⁵ But in recent years, especially since peace and order were restored after European occupation, the influx of Chinese into Borneo has been very rapid. Based on local enumerations, the total population of Borneo in 1920 has been estimated at 1,800,000 of whom about 100,000 are Chinese, including persons of Chinese descent and those who intermarried with the natives, particularly the Dusuns of the northwest.⁴⁶ Most of the Chinese prefer to stay on the coast and are engaged in various trades. In the early days, many Chinese were attracted to the northwestern coast by the gold which they found in the river gravel (and alluvium). These also intermarried with the natives, but have kept Chinese characteristics to a considerable degree. The Chinese in Borneo to-day form large and important communities in almost all the chief trading centers in the island.

⁴³ Forrest, Thomas: *Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Palambagan*. London, 1779, pp. 381, 382.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, pp. 382, 383.

⁴⁵ *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, vol. 2, pp. 612-615.

⁴⁶ Of these, some 38,000 live in British North Borneo. They fall into 5 groups—the coolies, the servants, the farmers and market gardeners, the small shopkeepers and traders, and the merchants who may be interested in any venture from building a row of shops to financing a gambling house. "Each class serves the State, each individual in his own way is a useful citizen. It is beyond all question that * * * the Chinese are the most valuable immigrants she [North Borneo] can attract to her shores." Rutter, Owen: *British North Borneo*. London, 1922, p. 81.

Chapter V.—CHINESE IN BRITISH MALAKKA.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

This chapter deals principally with the character of the Chinese population, with emphasis on labor conditions and industries. An attempt is made to show the ways and means by which the Chinese have entered the British colony, the social classes in which they are found, and the main occupations, professions, and industries in which they are engaged as workers or enterprisers.

About the same time that the Dutch East Indies were being settled by the Chinese, the colonization of British Malakka was begun. When the English occupied the peninsula, the Chinese became more and more numerous.

The activities of the Chinese in trading with the natives, in developing the natural resources of the country, and in contributing labor and capital to build up commerce and industry has aided in the economic growth of the leading cities of the colony. As for the Chinese themselves, their residence in British Malakka has resulted in raising their socio-economic status as compared with that which they held at home.

The success of the Straits Settlements Chinese in self-government is perhaps the result of racial tolerance and cooperation that has marked the social relations of the colony. But their peculiarities and indulgence in certain vices have created difficult problems for the colonial administrators. Efforts to solve these problems have frequently resulted in international misunderstanding and friction.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND BRITISH MALAKKA.

The Liang Annals state that the Malay Peninsula (first known to the Chinese as Tun-sun) is more than 3,000 li (about 1,200 miles) to the south of Fu-nan (Siam). "It is more than a thousand li [400 miles] in extent, and the capital is 10 li [4 miles] away from the sea. There are five kings, who all acknowledge the supremacy of Siam. It produces the Hwo-hsiang (*Betonica officinalis*) whose leaves serve to make clothes."¹

Speaking of Kora or Kala, a Chinese historian declares that—

Its soldiers use bows and arrows, swords, lances, and armor of leather; their banners are adorned with peacock feathers and they fight mounted on elephants; one division of the army consists of a hundred of them and each elephant is surrounded by a hundred men. As taxes, the people pay little silver. There are no silkworms, hemp, nor flax; no textiles except cotton. For domestic animals they have numerous cows and a few ponies.²

According to Reinaud, Kora was a trading post of the by-gone days:

The island of Kalah is the center of commerce in camphor, sandalwood, ivory, lead, alkali, etc. It is there that expeditions went from Oman.³

¹ China. Bureau of the National History. Liang Annals, book 54, p. 502.

² China. Bureau of the National History. The Tang Annals, new edition, book 222b, p. 618.

³ Reinaud, Joseph: Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Indie et la Chine dans le IX^{me} siècle, Paris, 1845, p. 93.

An interesting note about Pahang is to this effect:

The soil of this country is fertile; the climate is always warm, and rice is abundant there; they make salt by boiling sea water, and wine by fermenting the sap of the coconut tree. The people are very superstitious regarding demons and spirits, making their images of fragrant wood and sacrificing men to them, in order to avert calamities, or pray for happiness.

With reference to early intercourse between China and Singapore, Chinese geographers were not explicit in their descriptions. But, under the name of Tong-sih-tiok, Singapore seemed to be the place of their discussions. One passage reads:

This island is situated in the sea, opposite to the Straits of Dingga, high mountains facing each other from both sides. The ground is barren and not fit for agriculture; they always get their rice from the coast of Sumatra and other countries. The climate is variable. They make salt out of sea water and wine from the coconut palm. Men and women cut their hair and wear a striped sarong. The country produces coconuts, cotton cloth, and mats of plantain fibers. The chief articles of import are tin, pepper, and iron ware.⁴

According to the Ming Annals,⁵ the people of Johore write on kadjang leaves, tracing the letters with a knife. When they marry they always take a wife of their own rank.

Products of this country are lignum aloes, ebony, damar (resin), rhinoceros horns, ivory, tortoise shell, camphor baros, myrrh, dragon's blood, tin, wax, fine mats, cotton, coconuts, agar-agar, birds' nests, sago, and mangoustines.⁶ The King and the people are Mohammedans and carefully observe the tenets of the religion. Many of the people live by fishing, for which purpose they go out to sea in canoes made out of a single tree.

In the seventh century a considerable number of Chinese emigrants in Siam, Champa, and Formosa gradually found their way to the Malay Peninsula. Most of them traveled back and forth between these places, while a few appeared to have permanent trading posts in the new settlements. Ocean-going junks to the East Indies were occasionally caught in storms off the shore of Malakka (51). Not infrequently, traders from Kwangtung and Fukien called at different ports on the peninsula for the exchange of merchandise.⁶ In addition, Chinese pirates who frequented the regions between southern China, the Philippines, and the Indian Ocean, occasionally interfered with the coast trade of the Malay peninsula.⁷ In view of these facts Chinese historians have from time to time given short accounts, already noted, of such places as Kora, Malakka, Johore, Pahang, and Singapore.

On Cheng Ho's trip to the "Western Ocean," he visited Malakka, in 1409. After his visit the land was called the Kingdom of Malakka.

Trade between the natives and the Chinese was carried on in the following manner: When a ship arrived there, it had to send fixed

⁴ Fei Sinn: Hsin Ch'a Sheng Lan (General Account of Peregrinations at Sea). In vol. 119 of T'sao Yung's collection of Hsueh Hai Lei Pien.

⁵ China. Bureau of the National History. The Ming Annals, book 325, pp. 1368-1643; see also Tung See Yang K'ao (Researches on the Eastern and Western Oceans), by Chang Hsueh, book 4, 2 vols. 15-17 of Lee Shih-ling's Collection of Suih Yin Hsien.

⁶ Crawford, John: History of the Indian Archipelago, etc., Vol. III, Commerce with Asiatic nations, pp. 154-210.

⁷ For additional information concerning piracy see Tsing Hai Fun Chi (A Record of the Pacification of the Seas), by Yuan Yung-sun, translated by Chas. Fried Neuman; Bibliotheca Sinica, by Henri Cordier, Vol. III, pp. 1900-1902; One Hundred Years of Singapore, by W. Makepeace, G. E. Brook, and R. St. J. Braddell, Vol. I, pp. 298, 299; and Journal of Indian Archipelago, Vol. III, pp. 581-588, 629-636, Vol. IV, pp. 45-52, 144-162, 400-410, 617-628, 734-746, Vol. V, pp. 374-382.

presents to the king. The latter had erected a number of shops and the merchants could occupy in these as much space as they wished, paying accordingly. The people of the country came there to trade with them, and the merchants lived there also. These shops were not far from the ships; when the watchmen on board cried out at night, it could be heard by those who slept on shore.⁸

Although the Chinese gradually attained to a position of considerable influence⁹ in Malakka this influence began to decrease when the Portuguese firmly established themselves there. About 1510 the Franks (Portuguese) defeated the Malakkans and the sovereign, Sultan Marat, fled for his life. The court of Ming then ordered Siam and other neighboring countries to drive out the Portuguese, but the order was not obeyed. As a diplomatic move the Portuguese sent envoys to Nanking to pay tribute and ask for investiture. When they arrived at Canton, the governor imprisoned them, as their country had not been recognized as a tributary nation to the Chinese Empire. The Emperor ordered the governor to give them the price of the goods they had brought and to send them away.

When in 1818 the British occupied the island, they found 30 Chinese fishermen living in huts, together with 120 other fishermen and pirates. During the following year when Sir Thomas Raffles, the founder of Singapore, gave instructions for separating the compounds, he stated that among the 5,000 inhabitants of the new settlement, a considerable number were Chinese. A little more than a year later, he further mentioned the fact that Singapore's population of between 10,000 and 12,000 was principally Chinese. In 1822, the Chinese were divided into classes and a Chinese kampong was established.¹⁰

CHINESE POPULATION SINCE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

Because of the need of Chinese labor in the development of the resources of Malakka, the British colonial government has always been liberal in its treatment of Chinese colonizers. In the Straits Settlements there are no legal discriminations among the Chinese, Malays, East Indians, or Europeans, as regards the privileges and duties of citizenship, such as voting, tax paying, property holding, etc. Influential Chinese have often held positions side by side with Europeans on municipal councils, the council of the governor, and special commissions, as well as in the government of the Chinese community. Chinese immigrants in Malakka, even thirty or forty years ago, received considerably higher wages than their fellow workers in the same occupations at home. For these reasons, the influx of Chinese immigrants to the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States has been steady and continuous, as is shown in Table 14. Toward the close of the nineteenth century, however, economic pressure in Kwangtung and Fukien forced a large number of inhabitants to emigrate. Civil wars, famines, and a rising birth rate in several communities in these Provinces have compelled the poor to seek a livelihood overseas.

⁸ China. Bureau of the National History. The Ming Annals, book 325, pp. 1368-1643.

⁹ For the manner of early trade carried on between China and Malakka, see Yin Yai Sheng Lan (A General Account of the Shores of the Ocean), by Ma Huan. In vol. 144 of T'ao Tsung-Yih's Collection of Shuo Fu. See also Hai Yü (Words about the Sea) by Huang Chung. In vol. 19 of Wu Yuan-wei's Collection of Ling Nan.

¹⁰ A Chinese compound (kampong) of the early days is described by C. B. Buckley in his Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore, Vol. I, pp. 83, 84.

TABLE 14.—POPULATION IN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1821 TO 1921: CHINESE COMPARED WITH ALL RACES.

[Source: One Hundred Years of Singapore, by W. Makepeace and others, Vol. I, pp. 355-361 (1821 to 1860); Statesman's Yearbook (1871 to 1921).]

| Year. | All races. | | | Chinese. | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------|---------|----------|---------------|---------|------------------------|---------------|--------|--|------|
| | Males. | Fe- males. | Total. | Number. | | | Per cent of all races. | | | | |
| | | | | Males. | Fe- males. | Total. | Males. | Fe- males. | Total. | | |
| 1821 | | | 4,727 | | | 1,159 | | | | | 24.5 |
| 1824 | 7,106 | 3,577 | 10,683 | 2,956 | 361 | 3,317 | 41.6 | 10.1 | | | 31.0 |
| 1825 | 8,620 | 3,231 | 11,851 | 3,561 | 267 | 3,828 | 41.3 | 8.3 | | | 32.3 |
| 1826 | 9,197 | 3,708 | 12,905 | 3,833 | 396 | 4,229 | 41.7 | 10.7 | | | 32.8 |
| 1827 | 10,307 | 3,425 | 13,732 | 5,747 | 341 | 6,088 | 55.8 | 10.0 | | | 44.3 |
| 1828 | | | | | | 6,210 | | | | | |
| 1829 | 14,578 | 4,241 | 18,819 | 7,163 | 412 | 7,575 | 49.1 | 9.7 | | | 40.3 |
| 1830 | | | | 6,021 | 534 | 6,555 | | | | | |
| 1832 | | | | 7,149 | 613 | 7,762 | | | | | |
| 1833 | | | | 7,650 | 867 | 8,517 | | | | | |
| 1834 | | | | 9,944 | 823 | 10,767 | | | | | |
| 1836 | | | | 12,870 | 879 | 13,749 | | | | | |
| 1840 | | | | | | 17,704 | | | | | |
| 1849 | | | 59,043 | 25,749 | 2,239 | 27,988 | | | | | 47.4 |
| 1860 | | | | 46,795 | 3,248 | 50,043 | | | | | |
| 1871 | 200,433 | 107,664 | 308,097 | | | | | | | | |
| 1881 | 281,687 | 141,695 | 423,384 | | | 174,327 | | | | | 41.2 |
| 1891 | 344,551 | 167,791 | 512,342 | | | 227,989 | | | | | 44.5 |
| 1901 | 379,151 | 193,098 | 572,249 | | | 281,933 | | | | | 49.2 |
| 1911 | | | 714,069 | | | 369,843 | | | | | 51.7 |
| 1921 | | | 881,939 | | | 432,764 | | | | | 49.1 |

NOTE.—In the original table in One Hundred Years of Singapore, by W. Makepeace and others, from which the information for 1821 to 1860 is extracted, the data are brought down to 1911. In that year, the Chinese population is reported to be 219,577 and the total population of the Straits, 303,321. Both of these figures are considerably lower than the census figures for that year, as shown above. It is believed that estimates for several years are too low.

If it is assumed that these figures, even though too low, can, because of their apparent consistency, be taken as an index of the trend of population change, it is noticed that they seem to reflect an almost uninterrupted increase of the Chinese in the colony. During the period 1911 to 1921 a small decrease is noted. A partial explanation of this decrease is evidently the European War, when unsatisfactory labor conditions in the colony, coupled with lack of shipping facilities and extensive unemployment, induced the Straits Settlements Government to restrict Chinese immigration. At the end of June, 1914, parts of the Chinese immigration ordinance, the crimping ordinance, and the labor contracts ordinance were repealed. As a matter of fact, no Chinese contract laborer was permitted to enter the colony between August 3, 1914, and the end of March, 1915. Thereafter, partial immigration was allowed, but the numbers entering up to July 6, 1915, were limited because no steamer could bring in more than one-third of its complement. Meantime, unemployment persisted, and the Government at its own expense repatriated Chinese laborers to relieve the situation. Thus, up to the end of 1914 there were repatriated 9,980 Chinese from Singapore, 907 from Penang, and 335 from Malakka. Voluntary repatriation continued and wealthy Chinese citizens and Chinese welfare organizations made generous contributions to facilitate the home going of their compatriots. Although all the restrictions have recently been removed, Chinese immigration in the Straits Settlements has not yet returned to normal or to the status of the pre-war days. Consequently, in

several tables given in this chapter, the data do not include the period during and since the World War.

CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE POPULATION.

When emigrants first arrive in Malakka they are called Singkeh or new emigrants. Many of them sign contracts for the period of one year to perform some sort of unskilled labor. Thereafter they are known as Laugkeh or old emigrants and their wages are considerably increased. Among the new emigrants two main classes may be roughly distinguished—the “paid” and “unpaid” passengers. The former comprise those who pay passage themselves, sometimes borrowing the money privately to pay their passage without obligating themselves to work off the debt incurred for their passage. Such passengers, provided they pass the examination of the board of health, are not subject to control of the authorities, and are free to go where they please when they land. For many years this class has formed a large majority of the immigrants, as shown in Table 15.

Up to 1914 most of the “unpaid” passengers¹² were brought down to Malakka by a broker on speculation or after making an agreement with some estate or mine owner to take a certain number of them. After landing, these coolies were placed in a depot in Singapore or Penang, where they were confined under Government supervision until the formal contract was signed with their employer. Ordinarily the employers made their wishes known to the agents or brokers, and in many cases these in turn practically made contracts through their agents in China with the coolies, so that the formal contracts were signed within a day or two, and the coolies taken at once to the estate or to the mine where they were to work.

In case a coolie has not been engaged within 10 days, he can not under the law be forcibly detained in the depot longer. If the reason for his failure to make a contract is that he is permanently incapacitated for work, he must be returned to China at the expense of the agent. If he is unable to get a contract simply on account of a slack demand—a case which rarely happens—the Protector of Chinese often persuades him to remain in the depot for some days longer.¹³

¹² In earlier days coolies were sometimes brought down to Singapore on credit by ships, and were retained on board the ship until someone redeemed them by paying expenses and a certain margin of profit to the ship. This is no longer done.

¹³ U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs. *Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies in the Orient*, by J. W. Jenks, pp. 42, 43.

The following table shows the number of Chinese emigrants of each class to Singapore and Penang (50) from 1881 to 1915:

TABLE 15.—CHINESE EMIGRANTS TO SINGAPORE AND PENANG, 1881 TO 1915.

[Source: Annual departmental reports of Straits Settlements.]

| Year. | Emigrants to Singapore. | | | Chinese leaving Singapore. | Emigrants to Penang. | | | Chinese leaving Penang. | Labor contracts. |
|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------------|------------------|
| | Total. | Passage unpaid. | Females. | | Total. | Passage unpaid. | Females. | | |
| 1881..... | 47,747 | (1) | 2,053 | (1) | 42,056 | 17,000 | 1,068 | (1) | 32,473 |
| 1882..... | 55,887 | 11,404 | 1,534 | (1) | 45,122 | 17,011 | 1,115 | (1) | 35,601 |
| 1883..... | 61,206 | 10,240 | 1,701 | (1) | 47,930 | 16,197 | 2,272 | (1) | 31,663 |
| 1884..... | 68,517 | 9,690 | 2,089 | (1) | 38,231 | 15,181 | 1,431 | (1) | 29,088 |
| 1885..... | 69,314 | 9,357 | 2,014 | (1) | 42,142 | 17,034 | 1,354 | (1) | 32,180 |
| 1886..... | 87,331 | 15,733 | 2,345 | (1) | 57,186 | 23,459 | 1,733 | (1) | 45,717 |
| 1887..... | 101,094 | 19,496 | 3,037 | (1) | 65,348 | 22,904 | 2,784 | (1) | 51,859 |
| 1888..... | 103,541 | 18,421 | 3,164 | 60,759 | 62,812 | 16,196 | 2,176 | 11,818 | 44,451 |
| 1889..... | 102,420 | 11,962 | 3,837 | (1) | 44,441 | 9,251 | 1,980 | (1) | 32,666 |
| 1890..... | 96,230 | 8,152 | 3,820 | 31,706 | 36,044 | 6,813 | 1,726 | 5,921 | 26,204 |
| 1891..... | 93,843 | 6,229 | 4,710 | 32,245 | 49,036 | 8,416 | 2,416 | 353 | 17,538 |
| 1892..... | 93,339 | 9,118 | 4,804 | (1) | 45,227 | 6,281 | 2,529 | (1) | (1) |
| 1893..... | 144,558 | 18,973 | 6,387 | (1) | 68,251 | 9,967 | 3,868 | (1) | 38,326 |
| 1894..... | 106,612 | 8,983 | 5,007 | 31,083 | 46,230 | 6,083 | 2,425 | 371 | 22,302 |
| 1895..... | 150,157 | 14,518 | 6,997 | (1) | 60,559 | 8,731 | 3,653 | (1) | (1) |
| 1896..... | 142,356 | 15,989 | 6,451 | (1) | 57,055 | 9,531 | 3,216 | (1) | 29,825 |
| 1897..... | 90,828 | 8,859 | 5,427 | 24,150 | 41,124 | 3,224 | 2,333 | 17,268 | (1) |
| 1898..... | 106,983 | 10,978 | 6,192 | 26,575 | 44,511 | 5,004 | 3,301 | 1,890 | 20,459 |
| 1899..... | 117,794 | 14,198 | 5,514 | 31,903 | 51,239 | 4,371 | 2,594 | 2,764 | 22,233 |
| 1900..... | 159,571 | 18,056 | 8,482 | 41,376 | 72,821 | 7,239 | 3,847 | 4,026 | 27,033 |
| 1901..... | 167,557 | 15,012 | 11,822 | 39,512 | 66,411 | 5,395 | 4,128 | 4,594 | 22,408 |
| 1902..... | 172,770 | 13,870 | 14,539 | 47,551 | 75,401 | 4,582 | 5,346 | 4,450 | 18,768 |
| 1903..... | 183,079 | 16,930 | 10,163 | 41,717 | 39,215 | 4,156 | 4,156 | 1,200 | 17,045 |
| 1904..... | 136,001 | 12,144 | 13,714 | 37,130 | 55,645 | 1,942 | 4,833 | 1,475 | 14,864 |
| 1905..... | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 13,675 |
| 1906..... | 179,756 | 20,206 | 13,785 | 47,580 | 44,495 | 2,079 | 5,682 | 1,809 | 24,089 |
| 1907..... | 121,639 | 12,416 | 11,147 | 31,313 | 29,387 | 812 | 4,295 | 2,296 | 13,604 |
| 1908..... | 120,954 | 12,875 | 9,602 | 30,798 | 27,529 | 233 | 3,901 | 3,540 | 13,379 |
| 1909..... | 173,423 | 22,990 | 14,121 | 42,898 | 37,955 | 140 | 5,333 | 897 | 23,935 |
| 1910..... | 215,036 | 23,522 | 19,754 | 54,318 | 49,375 | 400 | 7,302 | 4,516 | 24,345 |
| 1911..... | 203,124 | 13,394 | 21,779 | 48,520 | 44,284 | 103 | 6,384 | 4,236 | 15,600 |
| 1912..... | 240,979 | 14,198 | 28,547 | 41,018 | 37,161 | 17 | 5,611 | 3,882 | 14,198 |
| 1913..... | 124,032 | 2,648 | 13,066 | 13,118 | 41,988 | (1) | 2,714 | 3,345 | 2,648 |
| 1914..... | 80,352 | (1) | 10,632 | 15,382 | 26,698 | (1) | 4,123 | 1,743 | (1) |
| 1915..... | | | | | | | | | |
| Total..... | 4,088,141 | 419,670 | 278,266 | 781,652 | 1,573,799 | 247,635 | 112,520 | 67,499 | 776,444 |
| Average..... | 123,883 | 13,538 | 8,432 | 37,221 | 47,691 | 7,988 | 3,409 | 3,214 | 25,047 |

¹ Data not available.

As shown in Table 15, during the period 1881 to 1915 the average number of Chinese arriving at Singapore was 123,883 per year, of whom 13,538 were "unpaid" passengers and 8,432 female emigrants. The average number going to Penang was 47,691 per year, of whom 7,988 were "unpaid" passengers and 3,409 female emigrants.

There was one "unpaid" passenger in every nine emigrants to Singapore and one in every six emigrants to Penang. This goes to show that the Chinese who first settled in Singapore and vicinity were comparatively more well to do than those going to other parts of British Malakka.

Table 16 gives information on Chinese emigrants to Malakka between the years 1891 and 1912. It seems clear that almost all of them sign labor contracts with their employers, which means that they are "unpaid" passengers and come from poor classes in China. Nearly all of them are too poor to be married, and only three females went with their families to Malakka in 1894.

TABLE 16.—CHINESE EMIGRANTS TO MALAKKA, 1891 TO 1912.

[Source: Annual departmental reports of Straits Settlements.]

| Year. | Emigrants to Malakka. | | Year. | Emigrants to Malakka. | |
|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | Total. | Unpaid passengers. | | Total. | Unpaid passengers. |
| 1891..... | 1,355 | 491 | 1901..... | (¹) | 347 |
| 1892..... | 882 | 311 | 1903..... | 271 | 271 |
| 1893..... | 908 | 194 | 1904..... | 357 | 357 |
| 1894..... | 1,112 | 478 | 1905..... | 187 | 187 |
| 1895..... | 2,060 | 922 | 1907..... | 467 | 467 |
| 1896..... | 1,325 | 680 | 1908..... | 134 | 134 |
| 1897..... | 328 | 233 | 1909..... | 96 | 96 |
| 1898..... | 625 | 608 | 1910..... | 790 | 790 |
| 1899..... | 1,323 | 1,288 | 1911..... | 427 | 427 |
| 1900..... | 537 | 494 | 1912..... | 103 | 103 |

¹ Data not available.

Table 17 shows the proportion of "unpaid" passengers to the adult male passengers for the entire colony of Straits Settlements. In the 10-year period 1905 to 1914 the highest figure of 12.9 per cent was reached in 1910.

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF ADULT MALE CHINESE EMIGRANTS TO STRAITS SETTLEMENTS WHOSE PASSAGE WAS "UNPAID" AT TIME OF EMIGRATION, 1905 TO 1914.

[Source: Annual departmental reports of Straits Settlements.]

| Year. | Unpaid passengers. | | Year. | Unpaid passengers. | |
|-----------|--------------------|--|-----------|--------------------|--|
| | Number. | Per cent of total adult male passengers. | | Number. | Per cent of total adult male passengers. |
| 1905..... | 14,864 | 10.0 | 1910..... | 23,935 | 12.9 |
| 1906..... | 18,675 | 12.1 | 1911..... | 24,345 | 10.7 |
| 1907..... | 24,089 | 12.2 | 1912..... | 13,600 | 6.6 |
| 1908..... | 13,604 | 10.5 | 1913..... | 14,198 | 7.1 |
| 1909..... | 13,379 | 10.4 | 1914..... | 2,648 | 2.1 |

The number of labor contracts signed by the emigrants at Singapore and Penang was 25,047 per year for the period of 31-year period ending in 1913. In other words, there was one contract signed for every seven persons. Almost all of the "unpaid" passengers and some of the "paid" passengers sign contracts. From Table 18 it is clear that these labor contracts cover a very wide range of occupations and industries.

TABLE 18.—CHIEF CLASSES OF CHINESE LABOR FOR WHICH CONTRACTS WERE SIGNED IN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1904 TO 1914.

[Source: Data are for the whole colony, consequently the number of labor contracts is relatively larger than that for Singapore and Penang in Table 15. Annual departmental reports of Straits Settlements. Minor occupations are here omitted.]

| Occupation group. | Number of labor contracts. | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| | 1904 | 1905 | 1906 | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 |
| Miners..... | 3,936 | 4,474 | 9,738 | 13,304 | 12,359 | 7,601 | 4,805 | 4,974 | 2,717 | 5,073 | 898 |
| Agricultural laborers... | 6,037 | 5,200 | 5,454 | 8,137 | 4,497 | 5,820 | 18,862 | 17,064 | 7,574 | 5,904 | 512 |
| General unskilled labor. | 4,505 | 2,912 | 1,790 | 2,330 | 1,667 | 1,320 | 1,221 | 710 | 2,920 | 3,992 | 1,304 |
| Sawyers, timber and firewood cutters..... | 849 | 871 | 1,462 | 1,037 | 766 | 610 | 626 | 764 | 1,205 | 1,249 | 379 |
| Mechanics and artisans..... | 774 | 503 | 574 | 637 | 719 | 243 | 450 | 23 | 410 | 291 | 63 |
| Domestic and shop coolies..... | 467 | 305 | 245 | 403 | 167 | 123 | 59 | 1,933 | 35 | 40 | ..... |
| Sailors, fishermen, etc..... | 285 | 127 | 48 | 223 | 268 | 239 | 196 | 314 | 143 | 14 | ..... |
| Miscellaneous..... | 192 | 182 | 53 | 83 | 74 | 115 | 96 | 40 | 30 | 11 | ..... |
| Total..... | 17,045 | 14,574 | 19,364 | 26,159 | 20,517 | 16,071 | 26,315 | 25,822 | 15,034 | 16,574 | 3,156 |

Among the Chinese in Singapore, the proportion of sexes is about 1 female to every 17 males; in Penang, it is about 1 female to every 14 males. This enormous discrepancy between the sexes leaves a very high percentage of the Chinese unmarried and without home ties. The discrepancy between the sexes in late years is shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19.—PROPORTION OF WOMEN AMONG CHINESE EMIGRANTS TO SINGAPORE, 1905 TO 1919.

[Source: Annual departmental reports of Straits Settlements.]

| Year. | Female emigrants. | | Year. | Female emigrants. | |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Number. | Per cent of male emigrants. | | Number. | Per cent of male emigrants. |
| 1905..... | 13,714 | 9.2 | 1913..... | 22,487 | 12.0 |
| 1906..... | 12,478 | 8.1 | 1914..... | 13,017 | 10.0 |
| 1907..... | 16,265 | 8.2 | 1915..... | 10,632 | 13.8 |
| 1908..... | 12,909 | 9.9 | 1916..... | 20,344 | 14.0 |
| 1909..... | 12,126 | 9.5 | 1917..... | 16,571 | 13.5 |
| 1910..... | 16,395 | 8.8 | 1918..... | 8,594 | 21.6 |
| 1911..... | 22,738 | 10.0 | 1919..... | 13,883 | 1.03 |
| 1912..... | 23,327 | 11.3 | | | |

LABOR CONDITIONS.

Two forms of contract are common. Under one, the more usual one for the "unpaid" passengers, the employer agrees to pay a certain amount per year, with certain conditions regarding the number of hours to be worked each day, number of days to be worked during the year, provisions for the laborer's arrest, if he absconds, etc.¹⁴

On agricultural estates, land in connection with the mines in the Federated States, it is common for the coolie to take certain jobs at special rates instead of working by the day. Under those circumstances he is not limited as regards the length of time he shall work each day, and he has the opportunity of earning considerably more than would be possible under the daily wage. The Chinese much prefer this form of contract whenever it is practicable, and their work under this form of contract is ordinarily more satisfactory than under the other. The law permits, in most cases, the substitution of certain tasks at fixed rates instead of the contract by the day, provided the task has the approval of the Office of Protector of Chinese.¹⁵

Workers at the tin mines, however, are usually employed on the cooperative plan. By this plan the mine owner receives about 10 per cent of the entire product for his share. The person who supplies food, necessary capital, etc., does so at a profit. The remainder of the income from the sale of the ore is divided among the workers.¹⁶ When a Chinese miner takes a share in a mine worked on this plan, he is not compelled to take part himself in the actual labor, but is permitted, if he prefers, to furnish a substitute.

¹⁴ See Appendix to Chapter V, A, p. 180.

¹⁵ See Appendix to Chapter V, D, pp. 182 and 183.

¹⁶ See North China Herald (weekly edition), Shanghai, July 29, 1922, pp. 289-290.

Such contracts ordinarily contain careful rules regarding the hours of labor, the number of days to be worked each month, the forms of accounting, regulations for keeping the peace, etc. They have to be registered in the office of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, and this secretary is ordinarily referred to in case of disputes.¹⁷

After the coolie has received his advance, it is not uncommon for him to endeavor to desert and to reengage with another employer. The laws to prevent this are somewhat rigid. The absconding coolie may be arrested by the employer and taken before a magistrate, who, if the case is made out, will impose a fine, which must be worked out by the coolie. In case the coolie has already engaged for work upon another estate, so that there is no danger of his escaping, he can be arrested only on a warrant issued by the magistrate.

The provisions regarding the arrest of the coolie are accompanied by others for his protection. In case he feels that he has cause for complaint against the master, either for violation of the contract or for hardship or illegal treatment, the employer is compelled, on the coolie's request, to bring the latter at once before the magistrate for a hearing. If the complaint is unjust, the coolie will be fined. If the complaint is a just one, the penalty against the employer is severe. Similar arrangements are made in case the employer causes the arrest of the coolie without sufficient cause.¹⁸

Regarding the health of the laborers, the State also endeavors to make careful provisions. Detailed regulations are made to secure a sufficient supply of water for drinking purposes and for bathing, to secure sufficient and satisfactory food for workers, and to provide enough lodging houses. Usually each coolie has a small platform some 3 or 4 feet above the ground and perhaps 7 by 5 feet in size. This is covered with mosquito nets to form a sort of tent. On the platform he places his sleeping mat and makes whatever arrangements he pleases for his other few possessions.

The Protector of Chinese, either in person or by deputy, makes periodical visits to various estates and mines on which the contract coolies are employed, and makes careful inspection regarding their lodging, their food, their hours of labor, the nature of job work assigned, etc. At such times the coolies are encouraged to present to the inspector any complaints which they have, and such complaints are frequently forthcoming. They may be regarding personal abuse, such as striking the coolie or other form of cruelty, though such complaints are probably more commonly brought directly before a magistrate, or they may be regarding some breach of contract by the employer, such as attempting to detain the coolie after his proper period of service has expired. Although each contract is fully explained to the coolie immigrant before it is signed, the most common complaint is one that comes from some misunderstanding of the contract or from the belief that the employer has made an attempt to cheat regarding the number of days worked. As, however, it is the duty of the employer to have posted each month in the general lodging house a list of all the employees, with a statement of the time worked by each and the amount still due, these misunderstandings are comparatively easily settled.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Appendix to Chapter V, B and C, pp. 181 and 182; also U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies in the Orient*, by J. W. Jenks, pp. 43, 44.

¹⁸ U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Certain Economic Questions in the English and Dutch Colonies in the Orient*, by J. W. Jenks, pp. 44, 45.

PROTECTORATE OF THE CHINESE.

Under Ordinance IV of 1880, the Protectorate of the Chinese was created in the charge of a protector. His duties consist in carrying out ordinances and other legislative acts affecting the Chinese in the colony. He is the link between the Chinese and the British Government, being the confidential advisor of the Government on all matters concerning the Chinese and the friend and counselor of the Chinese themselves.

Under the protector is an assistant protector in both Singapore and Malakka and two in Penang, together with other corresponding officials in the Federated Malay States, and a staff of the protector. In addition to the protector, there are in Singapore and Penang Chinese advisory boards, made up entirely of Chinese (with the exception of the Chinese protector in Singapore who is the president of the Singapore board, and of the assistant protector of Chinese who is the president of the board at Penang).

The Chinese in Malakka have always enjoyed considerable freedom and liberty in conducting affairs of their community. "The character of the Chinese," remarks C. B. Buckley, "is quite different from that of any people with which Indian officers have to deal. Democratic in spite of the outward form of their own government, enterprising and persevering, the Chinese are imbued with a strong tendency to self-government, and are, therefore, the very opposite of our Indian subjects."¹⁹

The Chinese advisory board, which forms the backbone of self-government of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, has been singularly successful as a piece of political machinery. It is "an institution which has to the present time proved of the greatest utility and benefit, not only in affording facility to the Government for ascertaining the feelings of the Chinese community on any question it may choose to raise, but in securing for the Chinese an easy and inexpensive means of ventilating their views on any subject which might be considered by them inimical to their interests."²⁰

The chief duties of the protector are best outlined in his reports, published in the Annual Departmental Reports of the Straits Settlements, in which he usually summarizes his work for the year. He inspects the incoming ships and the depots built specially for the immigrants (Ordinance III of 1877 and Ordinance IV of 1880). When the "unpaid" passengers who are brought in by these steamers sign contracts the protector explains the terms of contract (Ordinance XIX of 1902). By the authority of Ordinance XVIII of 1896, he makes periodical inspections of native passenger lodging houses in leading trading ports. In person, or by deputy, he inspects laborers' living quarters on estates to see whether they conform to Government regulations regarding health and sanitation. He registers "secret, dangerous, and unlawful" societies among the Chinese in order that social undesirables may be banished and dangerous societies dissolved. By his orders, accurate records are kept as an aid to the police in keeping order and detecting criminals. In the Straits Settlements as well as in the Federated Malay States,

¹⁹ Buckley, C. B.: *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*. Singapore, 1902, Vol. II, p. 765.

²⁰ Makepeace, W., and others: *One Hundred Years of Singapore*. London, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 111, 112.

he has considerable discretion in matters concerning the Chinese and, in addition, he has certain judicial powers in the settlement of disputes.

CHINESE IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

TIN MINING.

As early as the fifteenth century, Chinese traders in the Malay Peninsula discovered alluvial tin deposits to the north of Malakka.

Tin is found in two places in the mountains, and the King has appointed officers to control the mines. People are sent to wash it, and after it has been melted it is cast into small blocks each weighing 1 catty, 8 maces [1 pound, 6 ounces] or 1 catty, 4 maces [1 pound, 5.6 ounces], official weight. Ten pieces are bound together with rattan and form a small bundle, while 40 pieces make a large bundle. In all their trading transactions they use these pieces of tin instead of money.²¹

To-day, the Malay Peninsula is one of the most famous tin-producing countries in the world. Toward the development of this industry Chinese capital and labor, particularly the latter, have made important contributions. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Chinese from Canton and its vicinity went in great numbers to the Malay Peninsula to engage in tin mining. Many of them have settled in the country and have become wealthy.

The Chinese are credited with having introduced three mining methods, suitable to a great number of mines there:

(1) Open-cast mining is generally employed by Chinese miners in the peninsula. The ground is opened in exactly the same way as a gravel pit would be opened, and a Chinese displays considerable skill in his work, and in fitting his pit opening to the circumstances. Coolies are employed to fill baskets with karang or wash dirt, using a changloc (a form of hoe); they then carry the baskets to the lanchuts or washing troughs. Net earnings per coolie per year at this kind of work are estimated at about \$315 (\$179, par, U. S. money). From this amount has to be deducted the Government duty of \$11.30 (\$6.42, par, U. S. money) per picul (133½ pounds), 3s. (73 cents, par) per picul for smelting, commission, and transport charges, and a further 12 per cent commission-owner's tribute, and other items, so that, allowing for these deductions on an annual production of 3.77 piculs (502.7 pounds) of tin, his average earnings would amount to about \$20 (\$11.36, par, U. S. money) per month.

It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the cost of work per cubic yard in the Chinese-owned mines; but given favorable conditions of freedom from bowlders, absence of clay, and cemented washing, also not too great a depth and distance to carry, the contract prices average from 5.5d. (11 cents, par) to 6½d. (14 cents, par) per cubic yard. In addition there are the expenses of washing, carpentry work, pumping, supervision, and various other expenses. These might be taken to average about 50 cents (28.4 cents, par, U. S. money) or 14d. per cubic yard, bringing the total to 1s. 8d. (41 cents, par) per cubic yard. "This means," concludes Sydney Fawns in *Tin Deposits of the World*, "that ground work under the Chinese method must show an average return of 1 catty (1½ pounds) per cubic yard to show any profit at all, and it is probable that no ground of a

²¹ Ma Huan: *Yin Yai Sheng Lan* (General Account of the Shores of the Ocean). In vol. 144 of *T'ao Tsung Yih's* collection of *Shuo Fu*.

less value than 2 catties per cubic yard is being worked at present by Chinese manual labor."

(2) Under the "paddocking" system all the sluicing is done and the overburden and karang removed by means of little channels cut out from the top of the karang itself; the overburden then is hoed down to the sluices and got rid of. The karang is then taken up in successive little paddocks and shoveled from there into the sluices. The Chinese workers show great skill in guiding the sluices, and generally in their plan of operation. If the ground is hard to work or contains cemented wash, this is taken for subsequent treatment.

The working costs probably average more than under the open-cast system, but failing a large supply of water for hydraulic sluicing, it would be difficult to devise a better way of working.

(3) A form of box sluicing is also carried on by the Chinese in hilly countries, and the Chinese have also in some cases introduced a kind of puddler, generally a wooden cylinder, in which revolves a spindle carrying arms and a large supply of water. One of the most interesting Chinese implements is the chain pump or ching chew. This consists of a wooden launder about 6 inches deep and 4 inches wide, set at an angle to suit the work. In this launder travels an endless train of small wooden slats about 9 inches deep and one-fourth inch thick, and of a width that makes a nice fit without jamming. Each slat is crossed by a small wooden pin 12 inches long, fastened to the next by a mortise and tenon loose joint, forming a hinge by means of a pin; the "chain" passes at the top and at the bottom round a spoked spindle. The principal spindle is attached to a windlass handle if worked by hand, but it is more often worked by a small overshot water wheel fixed to the same spindle, the pump delivering the stream of water into the same launder which carries the water to the motive power.²²

The Chinese in the Malay Peninsula smelt tin in two forms of furnace, a draft furnace and a blast furnace. The construction of these furnaces is similar, consisting of a short cylindrical or slightly conical stack made of clay, kept in place by bamboo poles and hoops; the interior consists of a crucible between 9 inches and 12 inches in diameter, cylindrical at the bottom for more than a foot, with a conical stack 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches high, opening outwards to a diameter of about 2 feet or more at the top. There is a small tap-hole in front and an opening at the back that admits, in the one type of furnace, a clay tuyère about 1½ inches inside diameter, and in the other, a couple of short clay pipes about 3 inches in diameter. The draft furnace is preferred, but can be used only with first-rate charcoal. The furnace (see p. 91, fig. 2) is a mass of clay with bamboo stakes driven into the ground around it, and bamboo hoops to hold it together. The actual furnace, or crucible, is at E; A is a molded cylindrical clay tuyère between 5 and 6 inches in diameter, 2½ inches bore, and about 22 inches long. The bamboo blastpipe is shown at F, which conducts the blast from what is practically a double-acting blowing cylinder made of a hollow tree trunk, 12½ inches in diameter and 10 feet long, with a wooden piston packed with leaves or feathers. One man usually does the blowing, more rarely two. The blast is irregular and intermittent, and the average

²² Fawns, Sydney: Tin Deposits of the World. London, 1916, pp. 44, 45.

speed probably does not exceed ten strokes per minute. The front of the hearth is arched, and the crucible itself is closed in front, when at work, by a lump of clay (C) through which a small taphole (B), about three-fourths inch in diameter, is kept open by means of a stick, or at times an iron rod. The tin trickles into a hole (D) in the ground, lined with clay—the Chinese equivalent of the "flote." The molten tin is kept covered with burning charcoal, and from time to time is ladled out and cast into pigs by means of a sand mold, a wooden block being used as a pattern. Each pig weighs 60 catties (80 pounds). The exact consumption of fuel is difficult to ascertain, and varies with the quality of the charcoal, within wide limits. About 60 per cent of tin is obtained from ore that probably contains 68 or

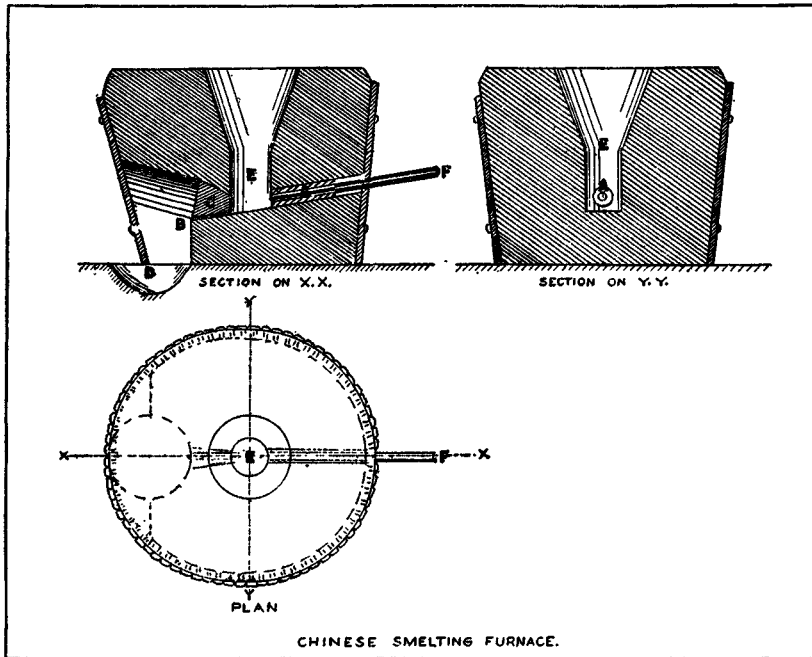


FIG. 2.

69 per cent, together with a small amount of very rich slag. This slag is pounded under a rough tilt hammer, washed to extract the prills of metal, and then smelted in small furnaces about 2 feet 6 inches or 3 feet high, the pounding and smelting being repeated between four and six times before the slag is thrown away as worthless. During an operation in one of these furnaces, the top is found to be comparatively cold; the taphole is so cold that even the fusible iron and tin silicate are pasty, and will not run freely, all the heat being in a small reduction zone about the tuyères. There are three methods of reduction: (1) Direct reduction of the tin oxide by carbon or perhaps by carbonic oxide in the region of the tuyères. (2) There is always some magnetite with the ore, which will be reduced to metallic iron in the furnace just above the tuyères, and this will in its turn reduce the silicate of tin. (3) It is most probable

that the nitrogen of the atmosphere, in the presence of the alkaline carbonates in charcoal ash, will combine with some carbon to form cyanide of potassium, which, volatilized by the heat of the tuyère zone, would condense somewhat higher up and would reduce the ore at a very low temperature. It is well known that alkaline cyanides are formed under perfectly analogous circumstances in the blast furnace, and the readiness with which such cyanides reduce oxide of tin is equally well known. Probably all three of these reactions come into play in the Chinese method of tin smelting, and it is improbable that water gas plays any part at all in the reaction.²³

PINEAPPLE CANNING.

The quantity of canned pineapple annually exported from Singapore for the last 20 years has created in many parts of the world a "chop" (as the Chinese characterize the trade-mark) for Singapore pineapple. Until the advent of the Hawaiian canned pineapple into the market, Singapore probably canned more pineapple than any other place in the world.

The first pineapple canning establishment was opened about 30 years ago by an Austrian, Mr. Landlau, and his sons, in the independent Malay State, Johore, immediately adjacent to the island of Singapore. The company was operated successfully for a number of years, but was finally sold out to one of the Chinese firms that had in the meantime begun operations in the island of Singapore. This company, known as the Jit Sin Co., is the largest and most successful of the Singapore companies. It owns or controls 4 of the 14 factories in Singapore and also owns and operates an establishment at Bangkok, Siam, which was opened eight years ago. The total output of these 14 factories is about 600,000 to 700,000 cases per annum, 24 to 48 cans to the case. The exports for 1912 amounted to 580,000 cases, of which 345,771 cases, costing \$1,102,413, went to the United Kingdom, 40,358 cases, costing \$123,461, went to Canada, and 31,000 cases, costing \$88,939, went to the United States.

Two methods of paying labor are in vogue. The more efficient laborers, who are paid by the month and are utilized in can making and other work during off seasons, receive from \$5.67 to \$11.35 (the latter wage is received only by superintendents). The laborers receive, in addition, sleeping quarters and board. The other workmen are paid by the piece. For preparing whole pineapples (i. e., removing rind and eyes) for No. 1 and No. 1½ cans, 17 cents per 100 cans is paid, and for cutting chunks and cubes 22 cents. Some factories pay 11 cents for removing the eyes from 100 pineapples.²⁴

FISHING.

In the comparatively shallow waters bordering the granitic and sedimentary formations of the shores of the Malay Archipelago various kinds of edible fishes abound. The Malays are expert fishermen; they catch their fish by a variety of devices—by hook and line, by many kinds of nets, by weirs and traps, by spearing, and by

²³ Transactions of Institute of Civil Engineers, Vol. CXXV, quoted in Tin Deposits of the World, by Sydney Fawns, pp. 275, 276.

²⁴ U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Special agents series, No. 91: Pineapple canning industry of the world, pp. 13-24.

poisoning the streams with narcotic juices, of which the best known and most generally used is the juice of the tube-root. But the Malays are excelled, even in their own waters, by the Chinese, who make up for less skill by untiring application. The fishmongers are almost invariably Chinese.

In Singapore waters, nearly 200 fishing boats and 249 fishing stakes are registered, and it is computed that about 20,000 tons of fish, worth nearly \$2,500,000 (\$1,419,500, par, U. S. money) are taken annually. The trade in salt fish is also extensive. In Penang Island, the approximate quantity of fresh fish sold at the town markets and surrounding villages is 10,000 tons, and of salt fish 8,000 tons, valued together at about \$1,800,000 (\$1,022,040, par, U. S. money).

The principal fisheries in the State of Perak are at Matang, a sub-district of Larut. According to an account written in 1908,²⁵ about 1,500 fishermen were actively engaged there, and in the State of Selangor about 1,300 fishermen. In the Kuala district of the State the larger fishing stakes are worked mainly by the Malays, but the fishing industry, nevertheless, is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese. Over 1,200 licenses for nets of the jaring type were issued during one year; the number of fishermen was about 600. In the Klang district there were 400 fishermen, 90 per cent of whom were Chinese. In the Kuala Langat district of Selangor, 490 fishing boats were licensed and the fishermen numbered about 250. Exports of fish from the port slightly exceeded \$1,000 (\$567.80, par, U. S. money) in value. The principal fishing centers in Pahang are at Rompin, Kuala Pahang, Penoh, Berserah, and Gebing. The most important of these is Berserah, in the Kuantan district.

In every fishing community the fishermen elect a headman, whom they obey and upon whom they depend in all matters concerning their welfare. Cases are on record of whole villages moving from one place to another simply from a desire to follow their headman.²⁶

CULTIVATION OF RUBBER.

In 1876, a few Para rubber plants were first planted in Singapore and Perak on coffee, sugar, and tapioca plantations which were mostly owned by the Chinese. Since 1905, purely rubber estates have come into existence, and the industry has progressed at a rapid rate.²⁶

Chinese proprietors of considerable wealth own estates in several places in the Malay States. Even among the "new emigrants" who come to the peninsula to make a better living than in their own country, small companies have been formed, farming less than one acre each, which have been doing a prosperous business. This class of plantations controls about 5 per cent of the whole acreage of the rubber industry. Another group of Chinese farmers living in the jungles have planted rubber on the grass lands, with considerable success.

The labor supply for the rubber estates is chiefly recruited from southern India. The Tamils number about 100,000 and the Chinese laborers, who are next in numerical strength, number about 45,700.²⁷

²⁵ Wright, Arnold: *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*. London, 1908, pp. 554, 555.

²⁶ From 1907 to 1912 the area planted in rubber increased from 79,997 acres to 112,000 acres, and the exports from 485 to 23,400 tons. (Akers, C. E.: *The Rubber Industry in Brazil and the Orient*. London, 1914, p. 171.) Later data are not available.

²⁷ Akers, C. E.: *The Rubber Industry in Brazil and the Orient*. London, 1914, pp. 196-200, 202-206.

Most of the Chinese belong to the Singkeh class and are indentured to work for 300 days at 8 cents (4.5 cents, par, U. S. money) per day, plus rations and other articles costing 20 cents (11.4 cents, par, U. S. money) a day. The cost of recruiting these men and bringing them to the estates is, roughly, \$60 (\$34, par, U. S. money) per head. Notwithstanding the high charge, the average cost for the day's wage would have been reasonable had it not been for the many desertions, frequently amounting to 25 per cent of the total force. The tin-mining industry attracted these laborers so strongly that they were unable to resist the temptation of breaking the contracts with their planters in order to work in the tin-mining districts. In this respect labor conditions on the estates have been so unsatisfactory in recent years that the indenture system was prohibited in 1913.

The Chinese laborers now employed on rubber estates are free from any form of indenture. "They are a most valuable addition to the labor force," declares C. E. Akers, "but they demand high wages, and in some cases are paid as much as 90 cents (51 cents, par, U. S. money) per head per day. They do better work on contract than for a daily wage, and in this manner are employed with most satisfactory results, on many estates for tapping, weeding, and all other labor which can be contracted out on reasonable terms."²⁸

Chinese laborers ask higher wages than workers of other nations. Their wage varies from 60 to 90 cents (34 to 51 cents, par, U. S. money) a day, and in some cases even a dollar (57 cents, par, U. S. money) is paid. When calculating contract work, the usual custom is to allow 60 cents (34 cents, par, U. S. money) per day per man, and at this rate arrangements can be made for nearly all classes of work, whether tapping, weeding, road making, or draining. Many managers prefer Chinese contract work to the employment by the day of Tamils or Javanese, and assert that the labor is better done and more expeditiously accomplished.²⁹

As a rule, Chinese laborers on rubber estates give little trouble to planters. In cases where they are governed by headmen of their own nationality, the record is even better. The headman, or kapala, generally does not work; he is there to look after the men, measure the tasks and distribute them among the gang. He pays himself by deducting a certain percentage, from 7.5 per cent to 10 per cent, from the earnings of the gang.³⁰

The governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States insist that housing accommodations for estate laborers shall be provided in accordance with certain requirements in regard to space and elevation of floors above the ground. The usual type of house now erected is built on brick pillars, with an open air space of 4 feet high below the flooring. Steel or hardwood framing is used with galvanized iron or attap (palm leaf) thatch roofing. The sides are of galvanized iron or hardwood, and a plank flooring is provided. As a rule, a 6-foot veranda is constructed on both sides of the building. The rooms are generally 12 feet by 10 feet, to accommodate four coolies, but on a few estates the size is 10 feet by 8 feet, and in these two coolies are housed. Proper drainage is necessary round the camp, and the regulations require that adequate latrines be erected.

²⁸ Akers, C. E.: *The Rubber Industry in Brazil and the Orient*. London, 1914., p. 207.

²⁹ *Idem*, pp. 208, 209.

³⁰ Mathieu, C.: *Culture du Caoutchouc de Para: Hevea brasiliensis*. Paris, 1909, pp. 42-45.

Ample hospital accommodation is required, with separate wards for men and women, and equipped with dispensary, cook house, and other necessary adjuncts. The wards are furnished with beds fitted with mosquito nets and supplied with all modern sanitary requirements.

Rice forms the principal food of all classes of coolies working on estates in Malakka. In addition, the diet comprises dried fish, coconut oil, curry stuffs, fruit, and vegetables. Meat of any kind is a luxury, and never an article of everyday consumption. Rice is supplied at cost to all estate coolies, and below cost when market prices are unusually high.

There is no obligation on the part of the planter, and no efforts are made to provide any sort of schools for the children of the estate coolies. In the villages public schools have been established for native children taught in the vernacular, but none for those of Chinese or Indian parentage.³¹

OTHER PLANTATION WORK.

A great number of Chinese in Malakka have been engaged in planting of various kinds, particularly before the rubber boom at the beginning of this century. In some cases the planters have made big successes, in others failures. The planting of gambier and pepper is now largely discontinued, while pineapple and lemon-grass cultivation seems to be flourishing.

The planting of gambier, used in tanning, etc., seems to have commenced in Singapore as early as 1819. Soon afterwards there were on the island 500 estates in which gambier was interplanted with pepper. The waste in the manufacture of gambier makes an excellent manure for the pepper vine. As the supply of fuel fell off, the plantations decreased to 400 in 1850. A fresh labor supply renewed the industry, and in 1870 an export of 34,550 tons of gambier to European markets was reported. But as gambier is very exhausting to the soil, the cultivation died out gradually. Until in 1883, when the prices phenomenally advanced, many Europeans rushed in to compete with the Chinese, but failed to make substantial progress because of the cheaper labor and relatively more efficient management of the Chinese planters.

With the decrease of gambier and pepper in Singapore, the Chinese planted near neighboring cities, and in 1895 Johore had 3,760 acres planted, mostly with coffee, pepper, and gambier, and some 4,000 acres in Cucob with sago and coconuts. At Gaylang and Krian about 18,500 acres, mostly owned by the Chinese, were devoted to the cultivation of sugar, pineapples, citronella, and coffee.

Cassava (tapioca) was rather extensively cultivated by the Singapore Chinese, but it is a very exhausting crop, and after 1870 many abandoned tapioca plantations were turned into extensive stretches of lalang (grass land), which are now planted with rubber. Cassava is now planted only in small patches all over the island, largely for food for the native population.

Lemon grass is the plant from which citronella oil is extracted, a scent used largely in the manufacture of toilet soaps, and it seems to grow well in the island of Singapore. There are small patches in

³¹ Akers, C. E.: *The Rubber Industry in Brazil and the Orient*. London, 1914, pp. 216, 219.

various places, but no serious attempt has been made to plant it on any large scale. A considerable number of Chinese farmers of small means are now engaged in its cultivation, as it needs comparatively little capital and brings a fair return to the grower.³²

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The unnatural social conditions surrounding these Chinese laborers have developed certain evils. Living, as they do, in strange surroundings, with little in the way of recreation and no home life, they seek the distraction and amusement afforded by gambling, opium smoking, and secret societies. Since 1870 gambling has been prohibited in the Straits Settlements. In the Federated Malay States, however, the gambling privilege is let to a wealthy Chinese who operates gambling houses for his countrymen under certain restrictions. Up to 1907 the opium trade was likewise farmed out to some trustworthy Chinese, who became responsible for the importation and sale of opium under Government regulations. In that year, however, an opium commission was appointed to study the question, and as a result of its findings the opium trade was made a monopoly of the Government of the Straits Settlements.

The enormous disproportion between the sexes—the annual arrivals of female immigrants from China being often less than one-tenth those of male immigrants—has meant that the great majority of the Chinese are unmarried and therefore without wholesome home life. This in turn has caused a great increase in sexual immorality.

The activities of the secret societies formed by certain of the Chinese became such that the Government was forced to make certain restrictions upon them. They were required to register in order to enable the protector to inquire into their organization purposes and practices. Certain of the more flagrant offenders were dissolved outright. Though disturbances have occurred from time to time, since the enactment of Ordinance I of 1889 the dangerous societies have gradually disappeared.

³²Makepeace, W., and others: *One Hundred Years of Singapore*. London, 1921, Vol. II, pp. 79-84.

Chapter VI.—CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

The settlement of the Philippines by the Chinese was almost simultaneous with the colonization of British Malakka. Indeed, the fifteenth century or thereabouts was an active epoch of Chinese migration.

The historic phase is emphasized in this chapter, attention being given to the early relations between China and the Philippines, particularly before the Spanish occupation. After the advent of the Spaniards in the islands a prolonged struggle with the Chinese ensued. A general review of this conflict has been given up to the last significant social and economic clash, which, in the writer's opinion, ultimately determined the commercial supremacy of the Spaniards over the Chinese in the Philippines.

A second main division analyzes the present economic status of the Chinese. The conflicts of the Chinese, first with the Spaniards and then with the Americans in the islands, have temporarily limited their activities in trade and industry, but about 30 per cent of the Chinese population is now engaged in commerce, controlling almost all the retail trade and exerting considerable influence in interisland and foreign commerce. Nearly 65 per cent of the sales taxes in the islands is collected annually from the Chinese merchants. Their economic influence is felt far and wide in the Philippines and it is stated that, to a considerable extent, the economic prosperity of the islands is now determined by that of the Chinese in business and commerce there. How far the prosperity of the Chinese themselves will be affected by the newly enacted bookkeeping law is here discussed, and the views of both Filipinos and Chinese are presented.

With reference to social conditions, numerous cases of mixed marriages, chiefly between Filipinos and Chinese, indicate a fair degree of assimilation in the islands. It is reported that about one-sixth of the entire population is composed of mestizos,¹ and persons of Spanish or Chinese extraction (mainly the latter). Social repression has been reflected in discriminatory laws against the Chinese, which have probably had their origin in the conflict of economic interests.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Between the years 1209 and 1214, Chau Ju-kua, a member of the house of Sung (906-1278) published A Record of Foreign Countries (*Chu Fan Chi*), a comprehensive geographical treatise, in which was described the country of Ma Yi and its trade with China. It is believed that by Ma Yi the author meant the Philippine Islands. This belief is strengthened by the fact that as Commissioner of

¹ Persons of mixed blood.

Foreign Trade for Chuanchow, Fukien Province, he came into frequent contact with traders from Spain (i. e. *Mu Lan Pi*), Syria, Arabia, and Persia, who frequented the East Indies and the neighboring regions. Near *Ma Yi*, asserts *Chau*, were the *San Hsu* (the three islands), namely, *Ka Ma Yen*, *Pa Lao Yu*, and *Pa Ki Nung*, which, according to *Berthold Laufer*, are probably the islands of *Busuanga*, *Calamián*, and *Peñón de Corón*.²

During the reign of the house of Ming intercourse between China and the Philippine Islands developed. In the fifth year of the reign of *Hung Wu* (1372) the first embassy from the Philippines arrived in China, with tribute. The island of *Luzon* was then thought to be near *Changchow* in the Province of *Fukien*. The emperor reciprocated with gifts.

In 1406 another embassy came from the *P'ing Ka Shih Lan* (the *Pangasinans*), a Malay tribe inhabiting the western and southern shores of *Lingayen Gulf*, on *Luzon Island*. According to the *Ming Annals* this tribe seemed to be independent at the beginning of the fifteenth century, although it submitted to Spanish rule in 1572. Two more embassies arrived in the years 1408 and 1410. On the former occasion, i. e., in 1408, the chieftain appeared personally with a large retinue. At the head of the embassy which arrived in 1410 was a high official called *Ko Ch'a Lao*, who brought with him products of his country, particularly gold.

In the latter part of the year 1571 *Manila* was attacked and almost taken by *Lien Tao Ch'ien* (popularly known as *Limahon*), a noted Chinese corsair. His invasions of that city were repeated in subsequent years, and in 1576 he so menaced Chinese-Philippine trade that the Chinese Emperor sent a fleet to subdue him. Once again peace was restored on the Philippine waters and the Filipinos, appreciating China's service in this matter, sent an embassy to *Peking*, which was headed by a Mohammedan, who made his trip by way of *Fukien*.

The records indicate that the Philippine Islands continued to pay tribute through the *Tsing* dynasty, being mentioned in this connection as late as 1752.³

It is thus seen that throughout many centuries the Philippines had not only trade with China but also political relations, especially when the maritime supremacy of China was at its height. *Father Gaubil* stated in his *Lettres Edifiantes* that Emperor *Yung Lo* maintained a navy with 30,000 men which sailed to *Manila* at different times in order to maintain a nominal overlordship over the islands. Chinese sources also relate incidents showing China's political control there. The *Ming Annals* state (ch. 323, p. 11a) that in 1405 Emperor *Yung Lo* sent a high official to *Luzon* to govern that island. The result of his visit was the Philippine embassy headed by *Ko Ch'a Lao*, above mentioned. In 1407 the famous eunuch *Cheng Ho* undertook a memorable expedition with a fleet of 62 large ships, carrying 27,800 soldiers. In 30 years he visited a number of countries on the Indian Ocean as far as the Arabian Gulf, and obtained the nominal allegiance of their rulers.

² *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. L, p. 252, note 1. *Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines*, by *Berthold Laufer*. Compare *Chu Fan Chi*, by *Chau Ju-kua*, translated by *F. Hirth* and *W. W. Rockhill*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 160 (note 3), p. 162 (note 1).

³ *China Review*, vol. 12, p. 98.

As Vasco De Gama had not yet navigated the Cape of Good Hope, no European sail had yet been visible on the Pacific and Indian Oceans, of which the Chinese and Arabs were the unrestricted masters and only representatives of an immense trade. It is not at all improbable, then, that the ambitious Emperor Yung Lo exercised a kind of loose political control over the Philippines.⁴

CHINESE DESCRIPTION OF MANILA.⁵

The customs and social conditions in the Philippines in the early days are revealed somewhat in the writings of Chinese authors. In *Glimpses of Manila*, which was published in 1790, Huang K'O-Ch'ui observes the following:

The hats of the natives are high and angular; their clothes have narrow sleeves. The articles they make use of in eating and drinking are identical with those of the Dutch. Their silver money, which is current in Kwangtung and Fukien, is cast and adorned with the portrait of their sovereign. The island of Luzon is in the southeast of the Fukien Sea at a distance of more than a thousand li.⁶ The number of the native population must be over 100,000. The products of this country are gold, tortoise shell, Barros camphor, birds' nests, sea slugs, ebony, redwood, fish, and salt. These are all considered the best beyond the sea. Formerly, at the time of the Ming dynasty, Spain took this country and founded the city of Kuei Tou [Cavite] on the outer lake, [i. e., Manila Bay] near the coast of the western ocean. They set a guide on the isle of Keng Yi, west from the city, that they might have this territory far and near under their control. The winds are extremely severe.

EARLY CHINESE SETTLEMENTS.

Whether in the pre-Spanish period the Chinese emigrants had a settlement in the Philippine Islands to carry on their trade was once a debated question. Writing in 1903, David P. Barrows asserted that prior to the Spanish conquest the Negritos and the Malays were the only ethnic sources of the natives of the Philippines, and there were no evidences of Chinese settlements.⁷ Since then writers have amassed evidence from Chinese and European sources to show that prior to the Spanish occupation the Chinese had settled in the Philippines.⁸ The Chinese evidence on this point is sufficiently explicit:

Formerly the people of Fukien lived there [i. e., Luzon], because the place was conveniently near. They were traders of abundant means, 10,000 in number, who, as a rule, took up long residence there and did not return home until their sons and grandsons had grown up. When, however, the Franks snatched away this country the Spanish king dispatched a chief to suppress the Chinese. As he was concerned lest they might revolt, he expelled many of them. All these remaining had to suffer from his encroachments and insults.⁹

SPANISH-CHINESE FRICTION.

The first contact of the Chinese with the Spaniards was said to have occurred on the island of Mindoro in 1571, six years after Legaspi, the Spanish explorer of the Philippines, took possession of the

⁴ Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. L, p. 257. Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines, by Berthold Laufer.

⁵ Chinese writers of considerable note described conditions and early intercourse between China and the Philippines in several booklets. The *Hai Kuo Wen Chien Luh* (A Record of what I Heard and Saw in the Sea Countries) written by Ch'en Lun-kiung in 1744, devoted a section to Luzon. In his *Hai Tao Yi Chi* (Reminiscences about the Sea Countries) Wang Ta-Hai in 1791 gave an account of his voyage in a Chinese junk to Batavia and gave descriptions of many of the Channel Islands, based on personal observation as well as on information gathered during the voyage.

⁶ One li is equal to about one-third of a mile.

⁷ United States. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Philippines, 1903, Vol. I, p. 478.

⁸ *Asia*, Vol. XVIII, Jan., 1918, p. 72. "Can Filipinos protect themselves?"

⁹ Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. L, pp. 148-184. Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines, by Berthold Laufer.

¹⁰ China. Bureau of the National History. *The Ming Annals*, Book 323, p. 11b.

Ladrones.¹⁰ Chinese-Spanish friction began with the Chinese rebellion of P'an Ho Wu in 1593. In part the Ming Annals say:

In the eighth moon of the twenty-first year of [the reign of] Wan Li [1593], when the chieftain Lei Pi Li Mi Lao [Don Pérez Gómez Dasmariñas] undertook a raid on the Moluccas, he employed 250 Chinese to assist him in the combat. P'an Ho Wu was their lieutenant. The savages [i. e., the Spaniards] lay down drowsy in the daytime and commanded the Chinese to row the galley. As they were somewhat lazy, they were suddenly beaten with a whip so severely that several of them died. Whereupon Ho Wu stirred up the fighting spirit of the Chinese in the following language: "Let us revolt and die that way. Should we submit to being flogged to death or suffer any other such ignominious death? Should we not rather die in battle? Let us stab this chieftain to death and save our lives. If we are victorious, let us hoist the sails and return to our country. If we should succumb to be fettered, it will be time enough then to die."¹¹

After the assassination of the chieftain, the Chinese crew took possession of the ship and its valuables and proceeded to Annan. Lei Mao Lin (Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas), the son of the deceased chieftain, immediately went to China to ask for indemnity for the murder of his father, but was disappointed.

THE MASSACRE OF 1603.

In 1603 two adventurers named Yen Ying Lung and Chang Yi told the Emperor Wan Li that Ki I Shan,¹² a mountain on Luzon, was rich in gold and silver ores and that the exploitation of it might yield per year as much as 100,000 taels of gold and 300,000 taels of silver; in the following year a royal decree ordered three mandarins to be sent to Luzon. Although the mission was received in Manila with courtesy, rumor spread that the Chinese secretly intended taking the Philippines by force of arms.¹³ Consequently, the governor issued orders to register the names of all the Chinese on the island, and the men were divided into groups of 300, each group being required to reside in one building. The Spaniards broke into these houses and slew some of the occupants, whereupon the surviving Chinese fled to outlying farms. A number of them were killed by troops dispatched by the governor; others retreated to the interior of Luzon (Ta Lun Shan) only to meet the same fate. The governor sent an envoy to negotiate peace, but the Chinese, suspecting this to be merely a subterfuge, killed the envoy.

The governor fell into a great passion, assembled his army, penetrated the city, and set an ambush, so that a great famine broke out among the Chinese near the city. They descended the hills and attacked the city, but suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the division which had been placed in ambush. The total number of those killed in the successive battles amounted to about 25,000. The Spaniards sent a letter to the governor of Fukien, saying that

¹⁰ Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. Boston, 1905, Vol. II, p. 109, footnote.

¹¹ Translated by Berthold Laufer, *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. I, pp. 281, 282.

¹² Antonio de Morga, in *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1868), p. 35, gives a similar account of the incident, but omits the cruel treatment of the Chinese crew by Dasmariñas and wrongly attributes the revolt solely to the desire of these Chinese for robbery. It seems clear that Dasmariñas seized by force a number of Chinese merchants and artisans in the parian (see footnote 17, p. 101) to row the galley for his expedition to the Moluccas, and his maltreatment of these involuntary sailors in a large measure incited them to the revolt as above sketched.

¹³ The account given by Juan de la Concepción in his *Historia General de Philipinas* (Manila, 1788-1792), alleging that the Chinese split the head of the Spanish governor is obviously a biased and unauthenticated statement, as is shown in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. I, p. 265. *Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines*, by Berthold Laufer.

¹⁴ Or Keit (Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*, Vol. XII, p. 104).

¹⁵ However, the *Ming Annals*, which detail this expedition, give no hint of such designs.

the Chinese had plotted a revolt, but had failed in their plan, and that they had already requested the relatives of the dead to depart with their children. The governor of Fukien, Hsu Hsio-Ch'u, promptly informed the Emperor, who issued a decree that justice be administered to the instigators.¹⁴

The motives of the massacre were apparently difficult to ascertain. The documentary evidence introduced in Blair's and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands* would seem to show that the killing was partly caused by a desire for loot on the part of unprincipled Spaniards,¹⁵ inasmuch as an inquest was held during which the Spanish soldiery was authorized to plunder all the property of the Chinese, an order which was obeyed with enthusiasm, since the merchants were generally known to have hidden treasures. Another writer, however, states the cause of the insurrection as follows:

It was only the overhasty initiative step and the oppressive measures of the colonial government which incited the Chinese, first of all the proletarian class, to put an end to the unfair situation by a general riot, into which finally the patricians were also forced under pressure of a preposterous policy enforced by the mailed fist of the Spaniards.¹⁶

THE MASSACRE OF 1639.

As the Chinese grew in numbers, they settled along the banks of the Pasig River and upon the south shore of Laguna de Bay in the vicinity of Calamba. They broke out in a second insurrection in the year 1639, in protest against the oppressive administration of Governor Hurtado de Corcuera. Thinking that the trade in the previous years had been unduly stimulated, the governor had not sent the Acapulco galleon on its customary voyage to import Mexican silver. As a consequence, the supply of money was not sufficient for the volume of commerce in that year, and the Chinese, being important merchants, suffered considerably. Corcuera was actively pushing his conquests among the Moros of southern Mindanao, and the extensive armaments and expeditions necessitated increased taxation, which fell heavily on the Chinese. The revolt started, however, not with the Chinese in the parian,¹⁷ but with the gardeners and farmers on the shores of Laguna de Bay. These rose in November, 1639, killed the alcalde mayor of Laguna and the priest in charge of that district, and in a mob came down the Pasig River, burning and plundering. Many of the Chinese in the parian and the Tondo districts went up the river and joined them. Together they attacked the rest house of the Jesuits at San Pedro Macati, and it was around this house that the only pitched battle of this insurrection was fought.

The forces of the Spaniards were led by the sergeant-major and included about 200 Spanish soldiers, 100 Indians from Pampanga, and 400 Zambalan archers. The Chinese were routed and scattered. Detached bands wandered over the country, falling upon

¹⁴ China. Bureau of the National History. *The Ming Annals*, Book 323, pp. 9a-10b.

The principal instigator appeared to be the Archbishop of Manila, Don Fray Miguel de Benavides. (*China Review*, Vol. XIX, p. 254. "Early Spanish trade with Chin Cheo (Changechow), by G. Phillips.)

¹⁵ Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. Boston., 1905, Vol. XII, pp. 83-168.

¹⁶ Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. L, p. 269. *Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines*, by Berthold Laufer.

¹⁷ In the early days the Chinese in the Philippines were known to Spaniards as Sangleys, a word apparently corrupted from "Seng-li" meaning "Trade" in the Amoy dialect. "Sangleys" therefore meant "merchants," because most of the Chinese were engaged in trades.

The Chinese lived in a large building given to them by the Spanish Government and was named the Alcayceria. This was a large square of shops with a dwelling room above each. It was opened in 1850 in the section of Binondo. Later on the Chinese outgrew the Alcayceria and another and much larger center was provided for them. This was the celebrated "parian," or market place, which was demolished by order of the Government in 1860.

the Indian villages, pillaging and attacking and being in turn cut off and destroyed by the natives. The Chinese destroyed the town of Taytay, burning the church and hacking to pieces the images and the altar, in spite of the resistance of the Indians.¹⁸

The disturbances lasted from November until the following March and, according to Fray Juan de la Concepción, cost the lives of 22,000 Chinese, 50 Spaniards, and 300 Filipinos. Chinese to the number of 7,000 surrendered to the Spaniards at the conclusion of those troubles, and were punished by being sent to the galleys as rowers for the expeditionary fleets of Hurtado de Corcuera.¹⁹

A THIRD MASSACRE.

Around 1662 when the Ming dynasty was declining in power, Cheng Ch'in-kung, better known as Koxinga, drove the Dutch from Formosa and firmly established himself there to fight against the invading Manchus. Meantime, he sent a Dominican missionary to Manila, accusing the Spaniards of oppressing the Chinese—noting particularly the massacre of 1603—and demanding that the governor submit to his rule immediately. During the preparations for the Philippine conquest, Koxinga died. As soon as his son succeeded to the throne in Formosa, a treaty was concluded with the Spaniards. Suspecting that the Chinese in the islands had secretly aided Koxinga, the governor ordered all the Chinese, except those who were Christianized, to depart from the Philippines. The Chinese junks were also compelled to take their goods aboard and depart. The Chinese then rose and assaulted the city, but were repulsed, with terrible losses, by the artillery which was mounted on the parian gate and the Baluarte of San Clemente.

RESTRICTIONS UPON THE CHINESE.

In addition to these massacres, the general treatment of the Chinese by the Spaniards was reflected in a number of laws embodied in *Recopilacion de leyes de las Indias* (1594–1627).²⁰ While some laws were designed to protect the Chinese in the Philippines, others restricted their industrial and economic activities there. It was decreed that the Chinese should be charged no fee for leaving Manila; the sale of their goods was regulated; no oppression or injury to them was to be permitted; they were not to be allowed to live in the houses of the Spaniards; their suits must first come before the governor of the parian, with the appeal to the Audiencia; neither auditors nor municipal officials were allowed to begin such suits; the Audiencia was not to meddle with the affairs of the parian, which were to be in the charge of the governor of the islands; assessments of fowls were not to be made upon the Chinese. The governor was ordered to promote agriculture among them, and not to exact personal services; their number was to be limited to 6,000, and no bribes or fees for licenses could be exacted; they were to be kept in due subjection, but always through mild methods; provision was made regarding the fees for their licenses; Chinese converts to Christianity were exempted for ten years from paying tribute; a limit was placed to the assessment made upon them for the royal service.²¹

¹⁸ United States. Bureau of the Census. *Census of the Philippines, 1903*, Vol. I, p. 488.

¹⁹ *Idem*, pp. 487–488.

²⁰ For an English translation see *The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898*, by Blair and Robertson, Vol. XXII, pp. 151–159.

²¹ *Idem*, Vol. XXII, p. 16.

Beginning with 1660, new laws and regulations were added. In that year, by order of the Spanish governor, all Chinese residing within the archipelago were required to have a license, which was valid for one year. Failure to comply with this regulation was punishable by two years in the galleys. This provision, however, was evidently primarily for purposes of taxation. In 1709, the Chinese were banished from Manila under the pretext that they were carrying away public wealth, but they did not hesitate to return. And in the course of the eighteenth century, they made further settlements in the smaller places on Luzon. In 1747 a royal decree for their final exclusion came from Madrid, the execution of which was suspended. When, in 1762, the British captured Manila and demanded the surrender of the islands, the Chinese joined the British. The Spanish governor, Simon Anda y Salazar, then ordered that all the Chinese be hanged, which was conscientiously carried into effect. In 1828, an order was issued admitting only such Chinese as were engaged solely for purposes of agriculture. This condition, however, appears to have been evaded.

In 1850 special regulations were promulgated governing the admission of Chinese who were imported as agricultural laborers. Planters were graded into two classes, those with an income of \$2,400 or over per annum, and those with an income of \$1,500 but less than \$2,400. An association of small planters was reckoned, for importing purposes, as equivalent to a planter having an income equal to the collective income of the members. Planters of the first class were allowed to import 400 and of the second class 200 Chinese, paying a tax upon the laborers so imported amounting to 6 to 12 reales Spanish currency (75 cents to \$1.50 par), per head per annum. No tax was required upon Chinese imported into the tobacco districts. Chinese introduced under these provisions were forbidden to engage in any trade, art, or industry or in any commercial occupation. The only occupations permitted them were agricultural labor and manufacture of sugar, hemp, and indigo. Employers were made responsible for the observance of these restrictions during the term of the contract.

New regulations went into effect January 1, 1890, permitting Chinese to enter the Philippines only at Manila and imposing special taxes upon them.²²

EXCLUSION OF THE CHINESE.²³

Shortly after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War—i. e., in September, 1898—by order of the military governor, the Chinese exclusion acts in force in the United States were made operative in the Philippines. Under this order all Chinese except former residents who left the islands between December 31, 1895, and September, 1898, and those belonging to the exempt classes, have been refused permission to land in the islands. This law was supplemented by an act of the Philippine Commission, dated March 27, 1903, which provides for the registration of Chinese by customs officials and the deportation of all not legally registered within two

²² U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin No. 58: Labor conditions in the Philippines. 1905, pp. 860, 861.

²³ Reasons for the exclusion of the Chinese are summarized in *Economic Conditions in the Philippines*, by Hugo Miller, pp. 313, 314.

years. The precedents of the Federal law applying to the United States are followed, and the Federal court definitions of laborer and merchant are adopted.²⁴ However, certain prominent Filipinos who have recognized the need of Chinese in the industrial and commercial development of the islands have repeatedly expressed themselves as favoring the admission of Chinese under certain conditions.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PIONEER CHINESE.

Much of the commercial and industrial development of the islands has been due to the efforts of the Chinese. Juan de la Concepción, the noted Spanish historian, commended them in the following language: "Without the trade and commerce of the Chinese, these dominions could not have subsisted."²⁵

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Chinese traders visited the Philippines frequently. Chau Ju-kua mentioned a community of 1,000 native families living on the banks of a winding river, probably the Pasig. The Chinese junks anchored at the mouth of the river, and a market seems to have been established on the shore. According to Chau Ju-kua, the natives brought with them for trade yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise shells, betel nuts, coconuts, vegetables, jute fabrics (probably those woven from abaka, or Manila hemp, as to-day), other woven goods (of cotton, Blumentritt suggests) and fine mats.²⁶ The Chinese exchanged for these the products of their country, particularly porcelain, gold, iron, needles, vases for perfumes, lance heads, articles of lead, silk parasols, black damask and silks.²⁷ On their voyages farther south in the archipelago, the Chinese did not land, but announced their presence by beating gongs and the natives came out to the junks in their proas. Later on a market for trade with the Chinese grew up at Butuan in northern Mindanao, where gold and slaves were exchanged for the products brought by the Chinese.

An idea of the extent of the business carried on by the pioneer Chinese in the Philippines may be gained from the following contemporary letter quoted by Argensola in his *Conquesta* (1609):

The city [Manila] is remarkable for the size of the buildings, which have surprised me. I shall mention only one, which is the chief one. It has an Alcayceria that contains all kinds of silks and gold, and mechanical trades; and for these things there are more than 400 shops, and generally more than 8,000 men who trade therein. When the trading fleet comes in from China with their merchandise * * * there are always more than 13,000 or 14,000 men. They bring wonderful things that are found in Europe.²⁸

Regarding the industrial life of the Chinese in their community, Fray Domingo de Salazar, the first and only Bishop of the Philippines writes as follows:

There were in the parian, in addition to the common merchants and artisans, physicians and apothecaries, silver workers, marble engravers, painters, etc.²⁹ There were

²⁴ See Appendix to Chapter VI, A, B, and C, pp. 184 to 186.

²⁵ *Historia General de Philipinas*, 14 vols., Manila, 1783-1792. Vol. IV, p. 53.

²⁶ Chau Ju-kua: *Chau Fan Chih* (A Record of Foreign Countries). English translation by Frederick Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1911. p. 160.

²⁷ Le Roy, James A.: *The Americans in the Philippines*. Boston, 1914. Vol. I, pp. 5, 6.

²⁸ Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. Cleveland, 1903-1909. Vol. XVI, p. 296.

²⁹ In his *Travels in the Philippines*, Feodor Jajor states: "The traders are almost all Chinese, who alone possess shops in which clothing material and woolen stuffs, partly of native and partly of European manufacture, women's embroidered slippers, and imitation jewelry may be obtained." In *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes*, Philippine Education Co., Manila, 1916, p. 145.

also many gardeners among the Chinese, and with the grain and flour brought from China, Chinese bakers provided the city with bread. Among the advantages which the increase of these Chinese has brought to the city there is one, and that not of the least, that while in Spain stonework is so costly and difficult to make, in this city, because of the diligence and efficient labor of the Chinese, houses of hewn stone are built good and cheap, and in such brief time that there was a man in this city who built within a year a house in which he could live. And they go on making houses of a sumptuous character, and churches, monasteries, hospitals, and a fort, all in such a short time that it is a matter of admiration. They make brick and tiles in great quantities, cheap and very good. The lime at first was made from stone as in Spain, but the Chinese are given to making it of some little stones which are found on this coast and which are called "white corals," and of oyster shells, of which there is a great quantity; and although at first this did not seem to us a good kind of lime, later it proved to be such, and so good that in this city nothing else is used.³⁰

The bulk of Chinese merchandise, the chief articles of which were silk, pottery, and metal ware, went to the ports of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru, which thus became a large market for Chinese manufactures. This trade was an immense profit to China. The importation of silver into Manila from Spanish America during 250 years of intercourse (1571-1821) is computed by Thomas de Comyn at \$400,000,000; and perhaps half of it passed over to China.³¹

The important rôle the Chinese had played in the economic development of the Philippines as above shown is corroborated by John Foreman:

Except a few Europeans and a score western Asiatics, the Chinese who remained were the only merchants in the archipelago. The natives had neither knowledge, tact, energy, nor desire to compete with them. They can not even at this day do so successfully, and the Chinese may be considered a boon to the colony, for without them, living would be much dearer, commodities and labor of all kinds more scarce, and the export and import trade much embarrassed. The Chinese are really the people who gave to the natives the first notions of trade, industry, and fruitful work. They taught them, amongst many other useful things, the extraction of saccharine juice from sugar cane and the working of wrought iron. They introduced into the colony the first sugar mills with vertical stone crusher and iron boiling pans.³²

CHINESE IN INDUSTRY.³³

In recent years, the Chinese have been actively engaged in commerce and in a number of industries, notably in building, masonry, and woodworking. Highly skilled Chinese mechanics build the frame houses which are particularly suited to the local climate, and for which there is constant demand. The master masons are almost always Chinese.³⁴ Walls of a very soft, easily dressed limestone are sometimes built around private grounds and groups of houses in Manila. These stones are dressed with a broad adz or a hatchet-like tool by Chinese stonecutters. The Chinese skilled workers in machine shops and in shipbuilding and repairing works have been of great importance; in Manila and Cavite there are nine establishments of the kinds just mentioned, employing 3,782 workmen. Since

³⁰ Salazar, Domingo de: *Carta-relación de las Cosas de la China y de los Chinos del Parián de Manila*. In W. E. Retana y Gamboa's *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Vol. III, pp. 65, 66.

³¹ Chinese Repository, Vol. VIII, p. 173, footnote.

³² Foreman, John: *The Philippine Islands: A historical, geographical, ethnological, social, and commercial sketch of the Philippine Archipelago and its political dependencies*. London, 1899, pp. 118, 119.

³³ There are no reliable data concerning the introduction of sugar cane into the Philippines. Suggestions have been made that certain varieties came from Java, others from Formosa, and at least one variety from Tahiti, brought presumably by the Spaniards (U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Census of the Philippines, 1903*, Vol. IV, p. 26). In some regions the primitive implements used in sugar-cane culture still bear Chinese names: this suggests that the Chinese had much to do with the establishment of the industry in the islands, as is pointed out in *Economic conditions in the Philippines*, by Hugo Miller (p. 136).

³⁴ The city wall of Manila, which is considered structurally beautiful and massive, was built by Chinese masons, perhaps largely through conscript labor under Spanish rule.

the Chinese exclusion acts came into effect, Chinese labor has fallen away from these trades and they are therefore rapidly declining. The woodworking trades have been almost entirely in the hands of Chinese mechanics. The natives usually live in a nipa-thatched cottage, with bamboo floors raised several feet from the ground on piles. When these piles are very long, in case the house is elevated considerably and the posts run to the eaves, they are sometimes joined, an operation usually done by the Chinese. Since the American occupation, great stress has been laid upon vocational and industrial education for the Filipino. Today, the number of native craftsmen is steadily increasing and these perform tasks hitherto done mainly by the Chinese.

Chinese in other occupations numbering 200 or more per industry in 1903 are shown below. Similar data for late years are not available.

| | Chinese employed. ³⁵ | | Chinese employed. ³⁵ |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Accountants and bookkeepers... | 209 | Launderers..... | 353 |
| Bakers..... | 546 | Merchants..... | 13,734 |
| Barbers and hairdressers..... | 284 | Messengers..... | 1,354 |
| Blacksmiths..... | 495 | Packers and shippers..... | 700 |
| Carpenters..... | 2,508 | Salesmen..... | 5,950 |
| Clerks..... | 816 | Sawyers..... | 226 |
| Coachmen..... | 331 | Servants..... | 918 |
| Cooks..... | 2,914 | Shoemakers..... | 1,363 |
| Farmers and farm laborers..... | 375 | Stevedores..... | 302 |
| Florists and gardeners..... | 221 | Tailors..... | 327 |
| Laborers (not specified)..... | 4,707 | | |

CHINESE IN COMMERCE AND TRADE.

The proportion of each race engaged in commerce in the year 1903 was as follows: Brown, 4.1 per cent; white, 17.3 per cent, yellow 33.9 per cent; mixed, 21 per cent. As there were only 921 Japanese and 241 Hindus in the islands, the figure for the yellow race may be taken practically to represent the Chinese.

In late years, this situation has remained substantially unchanged. Thus, in 1921, it was estimated that there were 55,212 Chinese³⁶ in the Philippines of whom not fewer than 15,000 were merchants. It is a very remarkable fact that this merchant class has been a dominant factor in commerce and trade since the early economic development of the country. Roughly speaking, it is predominant in the hemp, rice, copra, sugar, and tobacco industries as well as in the sale of general merchandise.

On this point Hugo Miller writes as follows:³⁷

The domestic commerce of the Philippines is mostly in the hands of the Chinese merchants; the foreign trade is controlled by Europeans, Americans, or Chinese. The wandering traders are usually Filipinos, who deal in domestic products, although a relatively few are Chinese, East Indians, Syrians, and Japanese, who deal in foreign wares. The Filipinos keep the smaller tiendas and market stalls. They are the buyers of hats, embroidery, and other household products for export and usually those for domestic consumption. The Chinese are large importers and wholesale merchants in the ports of entry, keepers of small stores in all parts of the islands, and owners of interisland steamers. By purchase, barter, and extension of credit they obtain most of the abaca, copra, sugar, and tobacco from small producers and sell to other middle-

³⁵ United States Bureau of the Census. Census of the Philippines, 1903, Vol. I.

³⁶ United States Special Mission on Investigation to the Philippine Islands. Report to the Secretary of War. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921, p. 5.

³⁷ Economic conditions in the Philippines. Boston, 1920, pp. 419-422. See also Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Vol. LI, pp. 234-240.

men or to export houses. They also trade in rice and corn in the districts in which these are raised in surplus. Occasionally they deal in household products for domestic consumption, especially hats. Often their stores are merely run in connection with their buying activities, as convenient places to attract farmers with products for exchange or sale. It is noticeable that the Chinese predominate in the Visayas and the Bicol Peninsula. They control most of the trade in Nueva Ecija, the Ilocano Provinces, and the Cagayan Valley. In many parts of the Tagalog Provinces natives control the largest part of the commerce. In a few places there are no Chinese. Taal-Lemery, in Batangas, is the most noteworthy of these.

The causes of the success of the Chinese merchants in the Philippines, he states, are varied and intricate:

These people have proved themselves natural traders in all parts of the world. They are apparently able to please their customers in the Philippines. They are content with a small profit, are thrifty, and accumulate capital. When the Spaniards landed in the Philippines, the Chinese were already engaged in trade here and rapidly availed themselves of the opportunity brought by the newcomers to exchange the silks and finery of China for the silver of Mexico. Soon they established themselves in the domestic trade under the protection of the Spaniards. In spite of periods of persecution and exclusion from the country, they have built up a large commercial organization consisting of importers, wholesalers, middlemen, retailers and buyers, and a credit system extending through all of these. Thus the Chinese storekeepers can offer credit where the Filipinos can not. In their commercial efforts the Chinese have had little competition from the Filipinos, who not only have lacked business initiative and ability and have not the saving instinct, nor the capital, but have had their entire means invested in agriculture, and have wished for too large profit.

THE "BOOKKEEPING LAW."³⁸

Toward the close of the 1920 session of the Philippine Legislature, an act was passed, without a public hearing, requiring merchants in the islands, under a heavy penalty, to keep their accounts in English, Spanish, or a native dialect. A literal translation of this act is as follows:

ARTICLE 1. It will be illegal for any person, company, firm or corporation engaged in business, industry or other activity for purpose of profit in the Philippine Islands, in accordance with existing laws, to keep their books of account in a language other than English, Spanish or any native dialect.

ART. 2. Any violator of the provisions of this law will be punished upon conviction by fine of not exceeding ten thousand pesos [\$5,000, par] or imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both.

ART. 3. This law will be in force on November 1st, 1921.

Approved February 21, 1921.

On the part of the proponents, it was argued that in passing the act the legislators had been actuated by the desire to facilitate the verification of sales taxes by revenue collectors and the examination of the books, since books written in a foreign language were evidently a handicap to the inspectors of the Internal Revenue Bureau. It was claimed that because of irregularities in these books, as well as mistakes in translation, the Government has been losing large sums of money yearly.³⁹

Protests against the act have come from more than 150 commercial organizations, including chambers of commerce, firms and banks of American, European and Chinese nationalities in the United States, the British and Dutch colonies, Canada, China, and the Philippine Islands. Two Chinese residents of the Philippines have come to

³⁸ For statements pro and con, see Appendix to Chapter VI, D, pp. 186 to 191.

³⁹ For figures as to these losses, see statement by Philippine Commissioner, in Appendix to Chapter VI, D, p. 186.

appeal to the United States Senate for the repeal of the law on the following grounds:

First, the Chinese merchants, some 15,000 in number, control from 70 to 80 per cent of the commerce, and have almost complete monopoly of the retail trade in the islands.⁴⁰ The operation of this law will greatly curtail their business, and this in turn will create unstable business conditions in the country.

Secondly, American business men in the islands will be materially affected, for the Chinese, acting as commission agents or retailers, handle at least 90 per cent of the American merchandise sold in the Philippines. Protesting against the law in a letter to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, the Merchants' Association of New York states that "this law is distinctly unfair and harmful and * * * the enforcement of it will drive a large number of Chinese firms out of business in the Philippine Islands, a result which, it is generally feared, will mean a serious loss to American business in those islands."

Thirdly, the outlay entailed upon small Chinese firms by the operation of this legislation would be too great.⁴¹ On the basis of one translator and one expert bookkeeper per firm, at an average monthly salary of 200 pesos (\$100, par) per person, the combined annual expense of the Chinese merchants would amount to 72,000,000 pesos (\$36,000,000, par). As the majority of Chinese are business men of moderate means, they could not afford to pay this large sum for bookkeeping. Besides, there is not now available in the islands such a large number of bookkeepers as the enforcement of this legislation would call for.

In addition, it is held that there is no need for this law. Chinese merchants overseas usually keep their books in the Chinese language, and at the time of collecting revenues the country in which the Chinese reside employs interpreters to inspect their records.

In the United States and its possessions, also in the Dutch East Indies, Federated Malay States, Straits Settlements, French Indo-China, British Colony of Hongkong, and hitherto in the Philippine Islands, the universal custom has been, in matters of this nature, for the Government itself to provide necessary translators or interpreters for all inspection of records of Chinese merchants and for such incidental legislation as comes under the police power, and that this universal custom has worked out satisfactorily up to the present time, obviating friction and misunderstanding and enabling Chinese merchants to pursue their lawful occupations without being made the special objects of discriminatory legislation such as the present bill proposes.⁴²

In view of these practical objections to the law, the operation of this act was suspended for one year, beginning with November 1, 1921. The constitutionality of the law is being tested in a case before the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

CHINESE MESTIZOS.

Since the early development of the Philippines, interracial fusion has been in progress. Marriages between Spaniards and Chinese and between natives and Chinese were reported to be fairly frequent. The offspring of these marriages have formed a more or less distinct social class bearing the name of mestizos. They are usually whiter than their Chinese or Filipino parents but not quite so white as their

⁴⁰ This is confirmed by a letter from the Philippine Commercial Agency of New York City to the writer, dated Mar. 25, 1921.

⁴¹ But see statement of Philippine Commissioner, in Appendix to Chapter VI, D, p. 186.

⁴² See letter of Chinese Chamber of Commerce, in Appendix to Chapter VI, D, p. 186 to 189.

Spanish progenitors. Although occasionally evincing objectionable traits,⁴³ the mestizos are usually thrifty, shrewd, intelligent, industrious, and have an instinctive craving for business. Wealthy, influential, and educated, they form the progressive elements of the islands. In the professions and trades, they are generally more prosperous than the pure Filipinos. The injection of the Chinese blood into the Filipino race is believed to have produced a stabilizing influence in the population.⁴⁴

The present numerical ratio between the mestizos and the natives is about one to six.⁴⁵ According to the Philippine census for 1918, the total population in that year numbered 10,350,730 persons chiefly of Malay origin. The mestizos probably number approximately 1,725,000 of this total. In recent years, their number has steadily increased.

To what extent marriages between Chinese and the members of other races have occurred since the pioneer days, no accurate statistical data are now available. Judging from the numerous Chinese immigrants, usually unaccompanied by females, a considerable number must have married women of other ethnic stocks in the islands. Toward the latter part of the 16th century, there appears to have been about 10,000 Chinese in the country.⁴⁶ In 1602 their number had increased to about 30,000.⁴⁷ The good trade opportunities in the islands further induced Chinese to emigrate from Fukien and Kwangtung, and in 1638 the entire Chinese population in the Philippines numbered 33,000.⁴⁸ Subsequent massacres gradually reduced the numerical strength of the Chinese, and toward the end of the seventeenth century, the population of the parian dwindled to about 6,000 persons.⁴⁹ However, the love of adventure and the prospect of large gains from commerce again impelled the Chinese to come to the islands in large numbers, and the census of 1876 reported a total of 31,175 Chinese. Ten years later this number had swelled to about 100,000, counting those who were smuggled in through the Sulu Archipelago.⁵⁰

Under the Spanish rule when the Chinese mestizos became numerous enough in any locality they were permitted by the Government to live in a separate community and to elect from among Christian

⁴³ In earlier years the mestizos were unwelcome in Philippine society. Thus an English naval officer observed in 1828: "Their character has but few marked traits: the principal ones are their vanity, industry, and trading ingenuity; as to the rest, money is their god; to obtain it they take all shapes, promise and betray, submit to everything, trample and are trampled upon; all is alike to them, if they get the money: and this, when obtained, they dissipate in lawsuits, firing cannon, fireworks, illuminations, processions on feast days and rejoicings, in gifts to the churches, or in gambling. This anomaly of action is the business of their lives. Too proud to consider themselves as Indians, and not sufficiently pure in blood to be acknowledged as Spaniards, they affect the manners of the last, with the dress of the first, and despising, are despised by both. They, however, cautiously mark on all occasions the lines which separate them from the Indians, and have their own processions, ceremonies, inferior officers of justice, etc. The Indian repays them with a keen contempt, not unmixed with hatred." Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. Vol. LI, pp. 103-105.

⁴⁴ On page 801 of U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 58: *Labor conditions in the Philippines, 1905*, it is stated that "where there is an admixture of Chinese blood there is more of the saving instinct. The mestizos are the property-acquiring class among the natives. White blood does not persist in the mestizos. The third generation is pure Filipino again. The Chinese is the only race that implants permanent characteristics upon mestizo offspring."

⁴⁵ Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. Vol. LII, p. 73, footnote.

⁴⁶ China. Bureau of the National History. *The Ming Annals*, book 323, p. 11a.

⁴⁷ Blumentritt, F.: *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen*. Leitmeritz, 1879, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Concepción, Juan de la: *Historia General de Philipinas*. Manila, 1788-1792. 14 vols.

⁴⁹ Carreri, John Francis Gemelli: *Voyage Around the World*. Part V, *The Philippine Islands*. In vol. 4 (pp. 401-477) of A. Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London, 1732.

⁵⁰ Concerning the movement of the Chinese population in the Philippines since the American occupation, see U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippines, 1903*, Vols. I-III; *Census of the Philippines, 1918*, Vols. II and IV; and also U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 58, 1905.

Chinese their *gobernadorcillo* (petty or little governor), chief deputy, and *alguacil-mayor*, as in the Province of Tondo in the seventeenth century.

The collection of tribute or the poll-tax from the Chinese was in the direct charge of the *alcalde-mayor* of Tondo, with a supervisor chosen from among the officials of administration of the royal treasury. The Chinese were enrolled and classified in a register and the tax quota of each was determined by his income and social class.⁵¹

To-day the Chinese mestizos no longer form a separate community but are an integral part of the Filipino population. As a result of the long years of racial mingling, any sharp division along ethnic lines is more and more looked upon with disfavor. Tolerant and communally minded, the races of the islands live peaceably together.

⁵¹ Blair, Emma H., and Robertson, James A.: *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. Vol. XVII, p. 328.

Chapter VII.—CHINESE IN HAWAII.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

This chapter together with the succeeding two chapters on the Chinese in the Transvaal and in France serve to illustrate the Chinese migration of the last period under study, namely, since 1860. A main characteristic of this migration is the preponderance of contract laborers.

In this chapter a brief review is made of the contract-labor system in Hawaii, which was in force up to the American annexation. Labor conditions among the Chinese since that time are summarized and special attention is given to the agitation for importing Chinese labor in 1921. An attempt is here made to analyze the hearings of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization with reference to labor problems in Hawaii (1921).

The pioneer Chinese in Hawaii were plantation laborers under indenture, and after accumulating considerable wealth, they made their permanent homes in the islands and became helpful members of the Hawaiian society.

Recently, the economic status of the Chinese has been materially affected by the operation of the exclusion laws, and the Chinese population is proportionately decreasing. With this decrease has come the decline of some of the basic industries of the Territory, such as the cultivation of rice and taro. In this economic sense, the Hawaiian Islands have also suffered serious losses.

The cosmopolitan spirit of Hawaii has made the life of the Chinese pleasurable. Free social intercourse has tended to promote international good will. Cases of racial amalgamation in increasing numbers have encouraged cooperation and sympathy among the various races in the islands and broken down the rigid ethnic barriers. With the help of western education, the Hawaiian Chinese should prove themselves useful citizens to their adopted country.

EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND HAWAII.

Writing in 1798, George Vancouver, in "A Voyage of Discovery," states that in the year 1789 one Captain Metcalf sailed from Macao, China, with a crew of 10 Americans and 45 Chinese on the schooner *Eleanor*. This vessel was said to have called at the islands of Hawaii and Maui. Although no records can be found to substantiate the claim, it was commonly believed that a goodly number of these 45 Chinese took up their residence in the islands, since the *Eleanor* could not keep even one-third of the Chinese crew busy. When Vancouver visited the islands in 1794, or thereabouts, he found that Chinese settlers were there and that commercial relations had been established between these islands, then known as the Sandwich Islands, and China, through a high chief named Taiana, who had been sent by King Kamehameha I for that purpose. Thus was opened the first

foreign market for the few products the islands had for export, sandalwood being the chief of these; and to this day the Hawaiian Islands are popularly known to the Chinese as "Sandalwood Mountains."

From the years 1789 to 1852 the immigration of Chinese to these islands was not extensive, for the Polynesian, a Hawaiian paper published in the early days, under date of August 24, 1850, stated that owing to the increase in the cultivation of sugar cane it was necessary that laborers fitted for this work be encouraged to come from some other country. And after due deliberation China was selected as the country in which to look for this class of labor. In 1850, the need of labor and of an association to aid in obtaining this labor was explicitly stated in the prospectus of the Hawaiian Agricultural Society: "The introduction of coolie labor from China to supply the places of the rapidly decreasing native population is a question that is already agitated among us, and should such a step become necessary, the aid of such an association in accomplishing this great object would become of great benefit." In August of the same year this society engaged Captain Cass of the bark *Thetis* to go to China for laborers. A few months later he returned to Honolulu with 195 Chinese agricultural laborers, and, in addition, 20 house servants. "The experiment proved to be satisfactory, since the Chinese were industrious and law-abiding." In July, 1852, Captain Cass again went to China for an additional 100 laborers. From 1852 to 1864 Chinese immigration was encouraged and facilitated by the legalization of the coolie trade, as outlined in Chapter I, and during that period 704 Chinese landed at Honolulu. Commenting on the valuable service rendered by the Chinese laborers, Prince Liholiho in an address before the Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1864 said:

Chinese have been introduced here and more are on their way hither. With all their faults and a considerable disposition to hang themselves they have been found very useful. Suffice it to say that some of our largest sugar and coffee plantations are now chiefly dependent upon them for the principal amount of labor done. That they might be better than they are ought not to be used as an argument against them. That they are procurable, that they have been procured, that their wages are reasonable, that you can calculate on retaining them for a certain term, that the climate suits them, and that they are handy in the house and in the fields are great facts. Excepting what relates to these coolies, all that bears upon the subject of imported labor is just theory and speculation.¹

THE "ASSISTED" IMMIGRATION.

Not until 1865 was "assisted" immigration into Hawaii undertaken on any large scale. In that year (1865) a large part of the sugar industry having passed into the control of the Anglo-Saxon race, a shortage of labor was felt. As both the sugar planters and the Hawaiian Government had been benefited by Chinese labor, the King in 1865 appointed Dr. William Hillebrand, author of "The Flora of the Hawaiian Islands," as royal commissioner of immigration and sent him to China to procure 500 laborers for the plantations. He sailed from Honolulu (69) on April, 27, 1865, and, meeting with success in China, he chartered two vessels. The *Alberto* left Hongkong July 15, 1865, with 250 laborers and arrived at Honolulu September 25, while the *Roscoe* arrived at the same port October 13, 1865, with 223 laborers; the wives of 52 of these laborers were also brought. These

¹ Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 25. "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman.

laborers were under a five-year contract, after which time they could return or remain as they wished.²

King Kalakaua encouraged this immigration, saying that "The immigration of free labor will undoubtedly strengthen our country." In December, 1874, a contract was signed between the Hawaiian minister of the interior and a firm of Chinese labor contractors, for the importation of 100 laborers from Hongkong for a sum of \$2,500.³

CONTRACT LABOR SYSTEM.

In the early days the system of labor service in the islands was on an entirely feudal basis. The development of the country and the increasing demand for various kinds of labor brought gradual changes in the system. Two kinds of workers were in special demand: Agricultural laborers for the plantations, and seamen for the American whaling vessels. The native Hawaiians were natural sailors and were constantly being recruited for the crews of these whalers. As time passed, abuses appeared in the system of enlistment and it became necessary to regulate the terms of employment of such sailors. The American shipping act was borrowed for this purpose and its application was gradually extended to cover labor contracts in all employments. Its essential features were as follows:

(1) Any person not a minor might bind himself or herself out by written contract to serve another in any art, trade, or occupation, for a period not to exceed five years. (2) Any similar contract made in a foreign country, in accordance with the laws of that country, would be held binding in Hawaii, but its term would not exceed 10 years. (3) For willful absence or refusal to work, a contract servant might be apprehended and sentenced by any district or police magistrate to serve his employer not to exceed the double time absent, after the date of the expiration of his contract, but such extra period should not exceed one year. For continued refusal to work, a contract servant might be committed to prison. (4) A district or police magistrate might terminate a contract if a charge of cruelty or of violation of contract was sustained against an employer.⁴

This act, with unimportant changes, appears as the master and servant law of the Hawaiian civil code or compilation published in 1859, and amended in 1860 and 1868.⁵ The amendment of 1872 made the flogging of laborers illegal, and thus materially improved the legal status of the laborer. In 1876 another amendment was passed to substitute fines and imprisonment for service beyond the term of the original contract in case of desertion.

This was the legal status of the laborer in Hawaii before the importation of the Chinese coolies into that territory. In 1882 an act was passed limiting to \$15 advances to servants entering upon contracts if the period of contract was for one year, and to \$25 if for a longer time. An exception was made of money advanced to pay the passage of the immigrants. The death of an individual employer, but not that of a member of a firm, was held to terminate a contract.

² For the cost of importing coolies see Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, footnote p. 26, "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman.

³ For contract see Report of the Hawaiian Bureau of Immigration, 1886, p. 72.

⁴ For sample of contract now in force see Appendix to Chapter VII, D, pp. 195 to 197.

⁵ Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 8, "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman.

The courts ruled that time lost to an employer through the illness of a servant need not be made up at the expiration of the contract. It was still considered legal to assign contracts for service, in fact, this right was necessary in order to allow the bureau of immigration or its agents to contract with laborers in foreign countries for subsequent assignment to individual planters.

The contract labor system, until abolished at the time of American annexation,⁶ has its opponents as well as supporters. In 1869, the president of the bureau of immigration defended the policy of the Government as to contract labor in the following language: "You can not bring laborers here without first making a contract to pay certain wages and provide food and lodging—these are inducements for them to come, or they would not come—whether Chinese or others. Under our laws all are alike. There is nothing like slavery here, and men can not be freer than it is." In his report of 1886, the president of the bureau of immigration, summing up the views of the Hawaiian Government on the immigration question asserted: "The coolie system as such has never existed here. The only law between employer and employee is the master and servant law, than which none is milder and more equitable, requiring as it does the specific fulfillment of contracts. The law protects the laborer in all his rights, and affords no more protection to employers in theirs."

"The insuperable objection to the labor contract," observes Katherine Coman, "is the difficulty of enforcement. How can the courts compel a man who has no property but his bodily energies to fulfill his contract and so meet the money obligations incurred in transportation? Obviously he has nothing to forfeit but his freedom."⁷

On the other hand, if a contemporary Chinese publication, the China Mail, accurately expressed the sentiments of contract laborers, many of these men were satisfied with the system:

The coolies shipped for South America are hired laborers and, according to some accounts, virtually slaves; but we are told it is otherwise with those sent to the Sandwich Islands. Fortunately, that traffic was undertaken by a man with much humanity and good sense, and according to the account that we have received from one who speaks from actual observation, but who has no connection with or interest in the adventures, Captain Cass entered into engagement with the planters of the Sandwich Islands to import Chinese laborers for the sugar plantations—the planters binding themselves to pay the laborers \$4 [Chinese currency] a month from the time of their arrival, while cooks, house servants, and gardeners have been engaged at salaries as high as \$16 [Chinese currency]; and as the wages are not promised merely, but paid, and the coolies are well treated, they are not only contented but have urged their friends at home to join them.

⁶ By the organic act (1900) providing a government for the territory of Hawaii it was stipulated that "no suit or proceedings shall be maintained for the specific performance of any contract heretofore or hereafter entered into for personal labor or service, nor shall any remedy exist or be enforced for breach of any such contract except in a civil suit or proceeding instituted solely to recover damages for such breach: *Provided, further*, That the provisions of this section shall not modify or change the laws of the United States applicable to merchant seamen. Contracts made since August 12, 1898, by which persons are held for service for a definite term, are hereby declared null and void and terminated, and no law shall be passed to enforce said contracts in any way; and it shall be the duty of the United States marshal to at once notify such persons so held of the termination of their contracts. (Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, footnote, p. 47, "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman.)

⁷ Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV., p. 52, "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman. But the Hawaiian Supreme Court in *John H. Wood v. Afo* (Alias Cheong San Quong), 1873, holds that penal enforcement is not inconsistent with personal liberty.

RESTRICTIONS UPON CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Restrictive measures with regard to Chinese labor began with health legislation. Not infrequently, vessels laden with Chinese coolies on their way to Cuba stopped at Honolulu to discharge passengers. Overcrowding and other insanitary conditions on the ships facilitated the spread of such dreadful diseases as the smallpox and cholera, first among the passengers, then among the inhabitants of the city. To protect the Hawaiians from these maladies, an act was passed in August, 1878, stipulating that "any ship passing from China or any other Asiatic ports, and calling at any port in this Kingdom on her voyage, shall not be permitted to disembark passengers at any port in this Kingdom without first having obtained the assent in writing of the governor of the island, or the collector of the port at which said ship may call."⁸

In 1881 the *Mee Foo*, the *Lydia*, the *Septima*, and the *Quinta* reached Honolulu in infected condition, each bringing in several hundreds of Chinese. The masters of these vessels made false reports as to the sanitary condition of their passengers, who were, on these fraudulent representations, admitted, and brought with them smallpox.

But Chinese immigration continued. The great preponderance of Chinese males over females aggravated the disproportion between the sexes already existing in the islands. In 1883, in a population of 70,000 for the whole islands, there was an excess of 20,000 males. The *Oceanic* and the *Glenely* were scheduled to bring in 1,000 Chinese males, and the Hongkong authorities were ready to send about 6,000 more Chinese male immigrants. On April 9, 1883, a resolution was passed to inform the Hongkong Government that the Hawaiian people protested against this excessive immigration of Chinese males and would take steps to prevent it being carried out.⁹ Meantime the Hawaiian Government declared its willingness to assist a limited immigration, the only conditions being that a certain portion of this immigration must be women and children and that the Government have the right to limit the numbers coming from time to time.

In those days Queensland and New South Wales were much alarmed by the constant influx of Chinese laborers and were contemplating restrictive measures. A tax of \$50 was imposed on every Chinese landed in either country. This legislation directly influenced the Hawaiian Legislature. On December 24, 1880, an ordinance was promulgated by King Kalakaua that a license be issued to two or more persons, approved by the board of immigration for the district of Honolulu, and not exceeding two for each other district in the Kingdom, to act as labor agents or brokers, with power to negotiate contracts for labor between immigrants and planters or employers of labor. A license fee of \$20 was charged and the penalty for any violation was set at not less than \$2,000.

On September 27, 1883, the Hawaiian Government deemed it necessary to limit Chinese immigration by licensing only a specified number of vessels for immigration purposes. Only steamers belonging to certain established lines were to be so licensed. These lines

⁸ Hawaii. Bureau of Immigration. Report for 1886, p. 161.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 198.

were chosen because their boats were always well equipped and sound, were always in cleanly condition, and carried good surgeons. The total number of passengers brought in in any quarter was not to exceed 600.¹⁰

This led to the passport legislation of March 25, 1884, which provided that "from this date permission will be granted to masters of vessels arriving at the port of Honolulu to land Chinese immigrant laborers not exceeding 25 in all from any one vessel, that number to be in addition to and exclusive of any Chinese passengers who may hold passports as provided for in regulation No. 2."¹¹

A labor shortage was immediately felt, and on August 27, 1884, 57 planters signed a petition urging further immigration of Chinese laborers to relieve the critical situation then prevalent in many industries in the islands. The Government not only refused to grant the planters' requests, but imposed further restriction by the passage of the act of September 1, 1885. This act provided that from the date of passage no vessel coming from a foreign country would be allowed to land more than 25 Chinese passengers at any port in the Hawaiian Kingdom, unless the passengers in excess of that number were provided with passports entitling them to enter the Kingdom. Passports entitling the holders to return to the Kingdom would be granted at the foreign office, Honolulu, to all persons of Chinese nationality then resident or who might thereafter become residents on the islands who desired to visit any foreign country, provided such persons had been engaged in trade or had conducted some industrial enterprise during the last year of the residence. No return passports were to be given to Chinese laborers leaving the country.¹²

The shortage of labor in the islands caused by the restriction of Chinese was to be solved by encouraging Japanese immigration. On February 8, 1885, the *City of Tokyo* reached Honolulu with 943 Japanese immigrants, of whom 676 were men, 159 women, and 108 children. Of the men 610 were farmers who were urgently needed in the rice fields in the islands. The Japanese Government appointed an agent and a special commissioner, and established a Japanese bureau to look after the welfare of the Japanese workmen. But within half a year after the arrival of the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands the Japanese commissioner suddenly charged that the planters ill-treated their Japanese employees and demanded from the Hawaiian Government satisfactory guaranties for its nonrecurrence. Unless these were complied with, Japanese immigration would at once be discontinued. To this the foreign office of the Hawaiian Kingdom answered: "The number and character of these complaints, coming as they do from a portion of 720 Japanese people engaged in service here, exceed anything that the Hawaiian Government has had to deal with in the whole course of the immigration into and employment in this country of about 30,000 laborers of Chinese, Portuguese, and other races."¹³ As a remedial measure, the appointment of inspectors and interpreters was promised.

In 1886 a rigid exclusion act was passed providing that no Chinese passenger should be allowed to land at any port in the Hawaiian

¹⁰ Hawaii. Bureau of Immigration. Report for 1886, p. 199.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 208.

¹² *Idem*, p. 212.

¹³ *Idem*, p. 233.

Kingdom unless such passenger had a passport proving previous residence. The only exceptions allowed were merchants, for a limited term, wives and children of resident Chinese, officials representing the Chinese Government, teachers, and ministers of the gospel.

The constitution of 1887 prohibited Chinese from voting for members of the legislature. The opposition to the Chinese was voiced by L. A. Thurston, then minister of the interior, in his report as president of the bureau of immigration, which was published in 1890.

In September, 1889, a committee of the planters petitioned the minister to convene an extra session of the legislature to consider an amendment to the constitution making the provision whereby "Chinese might be admitted to the islands as plantation laborers and whereby Chinese so admitted and Chinese now in the country and employed as common laborers might be restricted to agriculture." The petition was refused on the ground that such an amendment had already been voted down. The ministerial policy was then stated as follows:

First, the excessive proportion of the Chinese in the Kingdom and their rapid encroachment upon the various businesses and employments of the country, require adequate measures to prevent the speedy extinction in these islands of the western civilization by that of the East, and the substitution of the Chinese for the Hawaiian and other foreign populations. Second, the perpetuation of the Anglo-Saxon civilization, introduced into these islands and adopted by the Hawaiian people early in the present century, is essential to the continuance of a free government and of the political independence of this Kingdom, and such civilization can be perpetuated only by retaining a population who have been educated therein and who comprehend the workings and benefits of popular representative government. Third, we believe that self-preservation, by nations as well as by individuals, is a principle universally recognized.¹⁴

Almost simultaneously, the cabinet members adopted the following policy regarding the Chinese question:

(1) No Chinese other than teachers and officials shall be allowed to come into this country except in the capacity of laborers. (2) That no Chinese be admitted as laborers unless the agricultural necessities of the country require it. (3) That Chinese not now engaged in trade or the mechanical occupations be prohibited from hereafter engaging in them.

The representations of the planters prevailed with the legislature so far as to secure the admission of Chinese as agricultural laborers for a term not exceeding five years. If found in any other occupation such immigrants were to be arrested and returned to China. The planter engaging such laborers must make a deposit of \$75 for each laborer, to be deducted from his monthly wages. This was reserved by the bureau of immigration to meet the expense of his return passage. In 1895 a further modification of the exclusion act was allowed. Permits to import Chinese coolies might be granted to an employer who bound himself to introduce European or American agricultural laborers equal in number to one-tenth of the Chinese permitted him, this to be accomplished within one year after the date of the permit. Such European or American laborers were to be accompanied by women in the ratio of 25 women to 100 men. The Government was to defray the passage of women and children to the amount of \$130 per family; the planter was to defray the passage of the men and any charges above the \$130 allowed by the Government for women and children. A bond was

¹⁴ Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp 38, 39. "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman.

required for the performance of this obligation. In the next two years 7,364 Chinese were brought in under this arrangement.¹⁵

On December 29, 1892, an act was passed by the Hawaiian Legislature prohibiting the incoming of the Chinese except women, children, and some special classes of people, like travelers, merchants, clergymen, and business men, who were admitted to the islands only by passports. No Chinese laborers are allowed to land except those who are to engage in agricultural work in the fields or in rice and sugar mills.¹⁶

THE CHINESE QUESTION AFTER THE AMERICAN ANNEXATION.

At the time of the annexation by the United States, the Chinese exclusion laws then in force in the continental United States were extended to the Hawaiian Islands. In recent years labor in plantations and sugar mills has been so scarce that planters have persistently and repeatedly urged the conditional admission of Chinese to relieve the critical situation.

Writing in 1906, the United States Commissioner of Labor stated:

Sugar is the one source of wealth and strength of the territory, and not only nothing is considered practicable which appears to strike a blow at the prosperity of the sugar industry, but it seems also to have been pretty generally conceded that the present system of sugar production—the large corporate plantation—is to be accepted as inevitable. Assuming the present system in the sugar industry as final, some form of cheap oriental labor is the necessary consequence, and many in Hawaii outside the plantation interests seem to have conceded that a modification of the Chinese exclusion act and the admission of the Chinese coolies to Hawaii is possibly the best practical means of escape from the present evils of Japanese competition and economic domination.¹⁷

Opponents of this movement for modification of the exclusion act have been made up from various groups. American immigrants from the Pacific coast, vexed by the oriental question, have refused to discuss any modification of the Chinese exclusion law. Others have advocated "resident labor," including principally Porto Ricans, Portuguese (who usually have the intention of becoming citizens), and the native Hawaiians. Organized white labor has made repeated efforts to pass laws against oriental labor, but has been successful only in securing an act passed in 1903, which provides that "no person shall be employed as a mechanic or laborer upon any public work carried on by the Territory, or by any political subdivision thereof, whether the work is done by contract or otherwise, unless such person is a citizen of the United States or eligible to become a citizen."¹⁸

But since the sugar industry seems to be dependent for its further progress on cheap labor, the successive governors of Hawaii have in their annual reports (1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904) unhesitatingly recommended a plan of admitting Chinese laborers whereby they would be restricted to agricultural pursuits and thus prevented from entering into competition with whites in mercantile and mechanical occupations.¹⁹ In the summer of 1904 the governor of the Territory

¹⁵ Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 41.

¹⁶ See Appendix to Chapter VII, A, pp. 192, 183.

¹⁷ U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 66, p. 406.

¹⁸ For persistent but unsuccessful efforts to pass legislation to protect white labor from oriental competition, see U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 66, pp. 402-404.

¹⁹ U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 66, footnote p. 416.

directed the creation of a commission, consisting of representatives selected by the workingmen's organizations of Honolulu and by the Builders and Traders' Exchange, for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the industrial situation of the Territory, with special reference to labor. The report of the commission emphasized the fact of Japanese domination, and pointed out the possibility of its growing day by day into "a force that may become commercially irresistible;" it concluded that the only remedy was to permit the importation of the Chinese for a period of not over 10 years, with the provision that "the period of residence of individuals should be further limited to a term of 5 years, or a maximum of 10 years, if after 10 years he should elect to remain longer." Commenting on the report, the United States Bureau of Labor says:

Many working people were found in Hawaii, both inside and outside of labor organizations, who were candidly of the opinion that only through some such arrangement as that proposed in the Pinkham report was it practicable to overcome successfully the rapidly increasing encroachment of the Japanese upon all kinds of employment.²⁰

AGITATION FOR IMPORTING CHINESE LABOR IN 1921.

According to representations of certain sugar interests in Hawaii, the economic situation in the islands was becoming more acute year after year, and in 1921, an importation of Chinese labor appeared indispensable. On April 20 of that year the governor of the Territory of Hawaii presented a special message to the Territorial Legislature calling attention to the fact that on account of an insufficient labor supply great economic losses were being incurred by the basic industries of the Territory. Acting upon this message, the House of Representatives of Hawaii, the Senate concurring, passed a resolution on April 26, 1921, requesting that "the Congress of the United States of America provide, by appropriate legislation, for the introduction or immigration into the Territory of Hawaii of such a number of persons, including Orientals, as may be required to meet the situation; limiting such immigration, however, to such numbers as will not operate to increase the number of persons of any alien nationality in the Territory at any one time beyond 25 per cent of the total population of the Territory; and providing further that such persons be admitted for limited periods of time, be obliged to confine their efforts to agricultural labor and domestic service, and be guaranteed and secured their return to their respective countries upon the expiration of such limited periods of time."

Due to the great importance of this question, hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives of the United States were held from June 21 to August 12, 1921. During the course of this hearing a joint resolution (No. 171) of Congress was presented for consideration. The text of this resolution was as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for a period of five years from the passage of this joint resolution, whenever the President shall find and by proclamation declare that an emergency exists in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of a serious shortage of labor, either general or of any particular class or classes, the Secretary of Labor shall be,

²⁰ U. S. Bureau of Labor Bul. No. 66, p. 419. For views against the importation of Chinese labor, see The Hawaiian labor question (S. Doc. No. 176, 57th Cong., 2d sess.).

and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the existing emergency: *Provided*, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist, that such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per centum of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census; and that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited, without cost to the United States: *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow any alien admitted under the terms hereof to remove to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

The chief arguments for and against the joint resolution No. 171 are briefly analyzed below.

Supporters of the resolution maintained: (1) That a great shortage of labor exists throughout the Territory of Hawaii. Mr. Walter F. Dillingham, of the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, testified as follows:²¹

The industries of the Territory are agricultural. Of a total population of 255,912 persons approximately 45,000 are now engaged in agriculture, as against urgent requirements for 60,000. An actual shortage of field labor is now reported by the several industries to exist as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Sugar plantations..... | 6,000 |
| Pineapple plantations..... | 3,000 |
| Coffee plantations..... | 1,500 |
| Rice fields..... | 3,000 |
| Contracting interests..... | 1,000 |
| Total..... | 14,500 |

Evidence was introduced to show that no other labor, except the Chinese, is available for these industries.

* * * The Ewa Plantations Co. made an honest and earnest effort to introduce white labor, especially white farmers, for the purpose of cultivating sugar cane on their plantation, with the hope that the same would prove successful and that in the future we could get large numbers of American farmers in this country, and we can not help but admit that the whole thing was a complete failure.²²

In March, 1921, it was stated, the sugar planters instructed their representative to recruit, in Porto Rico, 3,300 families of agricultural laborers for service in the Hawaiian Islands. The fare of an adult from Porto Rico to the Territory was \$125. On the basis of three adults per family this meant an outlay for transportation alone of nearly \$1,250,000.²³

(2) That as the Japanese plantation workers now constitute 60 per cent of the total working force on plantations, and as they are "aggressive and untrustworthy," the Chinese should be introduced in sufficient numbers to counterbalance them as well as to assure a more "diversified population" for the Territory of Hawaii. Among the total population of 255,912 in the islands, 109,269 are Japanese and the Japanese have since 1910 increased by 29,594 persons, 37.1 per cent.

The Japanese men marry only Japanese women, and their children are habitually registered as Japanese with officials of their own Government. A large proportion of

²¹ Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. I, p. 214.

²² *Idem*, p. 267.

²³ *Idem*, p. 279.

them are sent to Japan for part of their education. The younger children attend both public schools of Hawaii and private Japanese schools. The number of Japanese women in Hawaii has increased rapidly—the ratio of women to men having nearly doubled since 1900—and now is 42.7 per cent.²⁴

(3) That, as a guard against possibilities of labor competition between the imported Chinese and other workers in Hawaii, it is definitely stipulated that the Chinese are to stay in the Territory 5 or 10 years and are to be engaged in agricultural pursuits only. At the expiration of the contract, they would be sent back to the port of original embarkation, which provision makes it impossible for the Chinese to stay longer than their contract specifies. The Chinese labor seems best fitted for work on sugar, coffee, pineapple, and other plantations, and for this work the laborers of other nationalities, except the Japanese, have no pronounced inclination.

The objections raised by the opponents of the joint resolution were: (1) That certain provisions of the resolution would seem to hold alien immigrants to a contract of service, explicit or implied, which would perhaps amount to "involuntary servitude" and thus violate the thirteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution and the peonage statutes of the United States.²⁵

In addition, the admission of the Chinese to the Territory of Hawaii under the proposed terms would in one way or another affect various laws and legislative acts relating to the Chinese immigration in the United States.²⁶

(2) That organized labor in the United States opposes the importation of Chinese labor or any modification of the Chinese exclusion law.

The American Federation of Labor for many years fought for a restrictive immigration law, and assisted in securing the Chinese exclusion act. An overwhelming majority of the Members of Congress enacted the immigration law containing a literacy test. Our advocacy of restricted immigration was based upon our knowledge of the economic situation and conditions in this country, and, in addition, having a due regard for the perpetuation of the institutions of our country. If for any reason the Chinese exclusion law was modified or suspended, it must carry with it the modification or the abrogation of the gentlemen's agreement now existing between this country and Japan, which would permit large numbers of Japanese to also enter this country.²⁷

(3) That there seems to be no guaranty that after the Chinese are admitted to the Hawaiian Islands, they would not further migrate to the continental United States if opportunities presented themselves. On the contrary, better economic advantages would naturally induce them to leave strenuous and low-paying jobs on the plantations to secure higher wages elsewhere, thus raising the danger of economic competition between white and Chinese labor on the mainland.

Largely on account of these objections, the joint resolution failed to become a law of the United States, and the agitation for the importation of Chinese labor into the Territory of Hawaii has subsided.

²⁴ Atlantic Monthly, August, 1921, pp. 255-257. "Japanese in Hawaii." Quoted in Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. II, pp. 795, 796.

²⁵ See Appendix to Chapter VII, B, p. 193.

²⁶ See Appendix to Chapter VII, C, pp. 184-186.

²⁷ Extract from Report of executive council of American Federation of Labor, indorsed by the 1918 convention of the federation. Read into Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. II, p. 820.

CHINESE IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

SUGAR INDUSTRY.

As early as 1812, the Chinese operated the first sugar mill in Hawaii, and up to the middle of the century they had the controlling interest in the industry. After that time European and American capital was invested to a greater and greater degree and Chinese capitalists of moderate wealth were gradually eliminated from the trade by competition. Many of them have since receded from the position of capitalists to that of skilled or unskilled workers in the industry.

Cane is now grown on the islands of Hawaii, Kauai, Maui, and Oahu, at elevations of from 20 to 2,000 feet. The table-lands lying around the edges of the islands at elevations of from 20 to 500 feet constitute the chief sugar areas. In 1900 the industry yielded 96 per cent of the total wealth of the Territory of Hawaii.²⁸

Over 81 per cent of the field hands engaged in the production of the sugar are of the Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino races. Native Hawaiians constitute about 2 per cent. The number of laborers employed on the sugar plantations between 1900 and 1920 is shown in following table:²⁹

TABLE 20.—NUMBER OF LABORERS EMPLOYED ON HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTATIONS, 1900 to 1920.

| Year. | Number of laborers. | Year. | Number of laborers. | Year. | Number of laborers. |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 1900..... | 35,040 | 1908..... | 46,918 | 1916..... | 43,961 |
| 1901..... | 39,587 | 1909..... | 41,702 | 1917..... | 45,000 |
| 1902..... | 42,242 | 1910..... | 43,917 | 1918..... | 44,708 |
| 1903..... | ..... | 1911..... | 45,048 | 1919..... | 45,311 |
| 1904..... | 45,860 | 1912..... | 47,345 | 1920..... | ¹ 45,371 |
| 1905..... | 45,243 | 1913..... | 45,600 | 1920..... | ² 38,348 |
| 1906..... | 41,525 | 1914..... | 46,043 | | |
| 1907..... | 44,447 | 1915..... | 45,654 | | |

¹ May.

² December.

Up to 1920, the minimum wages of unskilled workers on the sugar plantations was \$20 per month, and their average wage was \$26 per month; these wages did not include perquisites consisting of house, water, fuel and medical attendance which were estimated to cost employers \$6 per month per worker, nor the bonus, which varied according to the selling price of Hawaiian sugar in New York. The wages of contractors and planters, who are more skilled than common laborers on the plantations, ranged from \$20 to \$60 per month, exclusive of perquisites, varying as the season might be favorable or unfavorable and according to the class of the work contracted for.³⁰

This wage scale was considerably raised, in some cases as high as 35 per cent, as a result of a strike by some 11,000 Japanese plantation workers which lasted from February 2 to July 1, 1920.³¹

²⁸ The annual production of sugar in Hawaii increased from 852,490,000 pounds in 1904 to 1,056,023,998 pounds in 1920. (U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Misc. Series No. 53: The cane-sugar industry, p. 432. Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. II, p. 591.)

²⁹ Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. I, p. 296.

³⁰ For sample contract see Appendix to Chapter VII, D, pp. 195-197.

³¹ Facts about the strike on sugar plantations in Hawaii, by Hawaii Laborers' Association, Honolulu, T. H., July 1, 1920.



FIG. 3.—RICE CULTIVATION IN HAWAII.

RICE CULTURE.

Rice growing in the valleys of Oahu, Hawaii, Kauai and Maui is principally in the hands of the Chinese. Coming as they do from a country where rice culture is a matter of an age-long experience, the Chinese have utilized for this purpose lands uncultivable for sugar cane.

The method of rice cultivation in Hawaii is shown in Figure 3. The reader will note the peculiar manner of harnessing the water buffalo. This fairly illustrates the method of rice cultivation wherever Chinese labor is employed.

Though the Chinese began to grow rice in Oahu in 1794, they made little headway until the latter half of the last century. In 1900 the total area under cultivation in Oahu and Kauai was estimated at 16,500 acres, almost double the acreage for 1890. A considerable portion of the annual output was exported to continental United States and the Orient. But since the passage of the Chinese exclusion laws, the Chinese population has been steadily decreasing and rice culture has rapidly declined. Thus in 1904, there were in Oahu and Kauai 9,000 acres under cultivation; in 1920, the acreage was reduced to 2,800. In the same years the production was 41,400,000 and 16,800,000 pounds, respectively, or a reduction of 59.4 per cent.

Except for the Chinese, practically no labor has been induced to handle the cultivation of the rice crop; and with the decline in the number of rice growers, over 6,000 acres of very productive fields have been abandoned and the rice industry is now practically dead.³²

PINEAPPLE GROWING AND CANNING.

Pineapple growing and canning is a young industry in Hawaii. The first pineapples were grown in 1890 but not until 1900 was any canning done in the islands. Since then, the industry has shown a rapid growth as shown by the fact that the output increased from 2,000 cases in 1901 to 5,978,182 cases in 1920.³³

The above figures represent the output of 10 separate companies, one of which, on the island of Hawaii, operates intermittently. Their factories are located on the different islands, as follows: Six at Oahu, two at Maui, one at Kauai, one at Hawaii (not regularly operated). The industry is pretty well concentrated on the island of Oahu, about nine-tenths of the business being conducted there. Pineapples are grown at an elevation of from 500 to 1,200 feet. Formerly, the cultivated area was almost entirely confined to the Wahiawa district in Oahu, but it has gradually been extended to other parts of the island.

The canning of pineapple continues to some extent throughout the year, although the larger portion of the crop is put up between the months of May and September, August being the principal month. Throughout the season, the pickers in the fields go along the rows cutting only the pineapples that are fully ripe. The crowns are cut off and left at the end of the rows in the fields to be used for replanting. The pineapples are then placed in strong wooden boxes holding from 15 to 20 pineapples each, according to the weight or

³² Labor problems in Hawaii. Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. I, p. 218.

³³ U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Special agents series, No. 91: Pineapple canning industry of the world, p. 9. Labor problems in Hawaii: Hearings on H. J. Res. 158 and H. J. Res. 171, 1921, Pt. I, p. 295.

size, the usual weight desired for canning being between three and four pounds. They are loaded on wagons or open cars and taken directly from the fields to the canning house. A great number of workers on the fields and in the canning houses are Chinese.³⁴

FARMING.

As to farming in general, Chinese farmers were highly successful up to the close of the nineteenth century, or before the exclusion laws went into effect. Since then other races have been gaining, and the Chinese are losing their position in farming, as a statistical comparison of 1900, 1910, and 1920 shows. In 1900, out of a total of 2,273 farms, the Chinese occupied 742, or 32.7 per cent, holding first place among the races. In that year the Chinese led all the other races in number of cash and share tenants, in average value of holdings per acre, and in average value of product per acre.

In 1910, however, the total number of Chinese farmers was only 876, or an increase of 18.1 per cent, as against 2,138 Japanese farmers, or an increase of 302.6 per cent over the figure for 1900. In other words, the Chinese dropped to second place in farming, leaving first place to the Japanese. The Japanese also took the lead in number of cash and share tenants, having 3,003 such farmers, whereas the Chinese had only 778.

In 1920, a further decrease is noted. The Chinese farmers decreased in number from 876 in 1910 to 560 in 1920. On the other hand, the Japanese increased from 2,138 in 1910 to 3,098 in 1920. The whites have for the same years increased from 753 to 892. The Chinese have now sunk to third place, leaving second place to the white farmers.

OTHER INDUSTRIES.³⁵

The Chinese find employment in many other industries. In no small degree the manufacturing of shoes, especially for plantation laborers, is done by Chinese craftsmen. In Honolulu and Hilo, the Chinese have been successful in the manufacture and sale of the bamboo furniture, and on the island of Oahu in the sale of tinware. The clothing trades in the islands are now about equally divided between the Japanese and Chinese merchants, leaving little opportunity for the native competitors. Most of the bakeries, confectionery shops and restaurants hire Chinese help. Domestic servants are almost without exception persons of Japanese or Chinese birth.

³⁴ U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Special agents series, No. 91: Pineapple canning industry of the world, pp. 9-11.

³⁵ For the year 1900, the following industries, as reported in the Twelfth Census of the United States, employed 200 or more Chinese; similar data for late years are not available:

| | Number of Chinese employed. |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Agricultural laborers..... | 9,781 |
| Carpenters and joiners..... | 334 |
| Clerks and copyists..... | 239 |
| Farmers, planters, and overseers..... | 2,329 |
| Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, and vine growers..... | 236 |
| Laborers (not specified)..... | 1,235 |
| Laundrymen and laundrywomen..... | 549 |
| Merchants and dealers (except wholesale)..... | 816 |
| Salesmen and saleswomen..... | 227 |
| Servants..... | 1,494 |
| Tailors and tailoresses..... | 430 |

See also Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii for 1901, p. 88 (S. Doc. No. 169, 57th Cong., 1st sess.); Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. IV, No. 3, footnote p. 40, "History of contract labor in the Hawaiian Islands," by Katherine Coman; Hawaii, Bureau of Immigration, Report for 1886, p. 190; The Making of Hawaii, by Wm. F. Blackman, New York, 1899, p. 197, footnote.

CHINESE POPULATION OF HAWAII.

Population statistics of the Chinese in Hawaii are shown in the following table, the data for the period between 1853 and 1896 being taken from Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual and those for 1900, 1910, and 1920 from the United States Census Reports.

TABLE 21.—TOTAL POPULATION OF HAWAII, AND NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHINESE.

| Year. | Total population. | Chinese. | | Year. | Total population. | Chinese. | |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|
| | | Number. | Per cent. | | | Number. | Per cent. |
| 1853..... | 73, 138 | 364 | 0.5 | 1890..... | 89, 990 | 15, 301 | 17.0 |
| 1866..... | 62, 959 | 1, 206 | 1.9 | 1896..... | 109, 020 | 21, 616 | 19.8 |
| 1872..... | 56, 897 | 1, 938 | 3.4 | 1900..... | 154, 001 | 21, 746 | 14.1 |
| 1878..... | 57, 985 | 5, 916 | 10.2 | 1910..... | 191, 909 | 21, 674 | 11.3 |
| 1884..... | 80, 578 | 17, 937 | 22.3 | 1920..... | 255, 912 | 23, 507 | 9.0 |

Up to 1884 the per cent of Chinese in the Territory showed a steady upward trend, as a large number of laborers were imported for the plantations. In 1884, the Chinese formed 22.3 per cent of the total population. Shortly afterwards, restrictive measures were enforced, and few new immigrants from China were admitted. Though numerically the Chinese group has continued to grow, due to natural increase, proportionately it has declined.

RACIAL AMALGAMATION.

The data on which this section is based are, except where otherwise noted, from an article by Ernest J. Reece, in the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XX, pp. 104 to 106 (1914-15), and the quotations given are from that source.

Among the factors which have influenced the actual racial admixture in Hawaii, the following should be sketched. In 1778, when Cook left the islands, some of his crew stayed behind. These few whites were in later years reinforced by whalers, beach combers, Botany Bay convicts, adventurers, and missionaries. It is probable that a certain degree of looseness may have existed between unprincipled whites and native women. Later came the Chinese. Isolated from females of their own race they sought marriage alliances with Hawaiians. These the Hawaiian women were often glad to make, for the Chinese was regarded as a better provider than the Hawaiian. Of late years the Portuguese have been thrown with Hawaiians, Chinese, and hybrids upon the plantations and in the poorer city districts in such intimacy as to produce a certain amount of Latin intermarriage. The statement below shows the results of the racial amalgamation:

| | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 |
|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Hawaiians..... | 29, 799 | 26, 041 | 23, 723 |
| Various imported stocks..... | 116, 345 | 153, 362 | 214, 162 |
| Mixed races..... | 7, 857 | 12, 506 | 18, 027 |

¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States: Vol. VII, Population, p. 11.

Other influences which have encouraged interracial marriages in Hawaii are not wanting. Children are admitted to public schools without regard to race or nationality. Interchange of ideas and views have helped to develop a high degree of mutual tolerance, friendship, and sympathy which occasionally culminates in a marital bond. A common church which attracts a large number of men from all races, and a social metropolis such as Honolulu, which welcomes all and discriminates against none, offer excellent opportunities for meeting and making friends among different races.

The close economic interdependence among the races in Hawaii also contributes toward racial admixture. "Whites are on the ground only in sufficient numbers to provide leadership in business and the professions, and this condition is likely to continue. Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos and Russians contribute plantation labor. Orientals dominate the trades, perform menial service, and raise the vegetables, rice, and taro. Portuguese and Hawaiians supply the city and dock labor." Each racial group is economically dependent upon the other groups, and hence various relationships favor marriages among them.

Marriages between Chinese and members of other races are fairly numerous, as shown by figures compiled from marriage records of the Honolulu Board of Health. Between July 1, 1896, and August 31, 1905, Chinese were parties to 524 marriages. In 195 of these the persons involved were both Chinese. In 193 cases the parties were Chinese and Hawaiians. In the remaining instances Chinese married Porto Ricans, Portuguese, Greeks, half-whites, and in a very few cases Japanese. Hawaiian-Chinese married English, Scotch, German, and Spanish.

The three-sided combination, of Hawaiian, Caucasian, and Chinese, which is apparently the result of interracial mingling in Hawaii, brings to light new biological and cultural characteristics which deserve careful study.

The Caucasian-Hawaiian is well built, strong, and prolific. He has no greater susceptibility to disease than is usual in races forced into contact with new contagions. He even thrives under exotic conditions so long as he may have his staple food. Intellectually, he is no giant, and when measured by American standards may seem to lack seriousness and perseverance. But there are able men in his group, the average is fair, and he exemplifies those lighter qualities a strain of which might not be out of place in our austere Caucasian mentality. If there is nothing remarkable about him, there is surely nothing notably inferior. Many and many a time he proves his worth, and his class is undeniably a community accession.

The Chinese-Hawaiian has somewhat different traits and habits.

The combination of parent qualities renders him industrious, yet keeps him from the treadmill; gives him purpose, but saves him from over-intensity; bestows upon him strength and resisting power; makes him capable of enjoying as well as winning the contest for subsistence and advancement, gives him ability in acquiring knowledge and versatility and aptness in applying it. There can be no question that, measured by western economic requirements, the Chinese-Hawaiian is far superior to both of the elements in his make-up.

The Caucasian-Hawaiian and the Chinese-Hawaiian are the primary products of the racial fusion, and these two have also mingled. "This has been accompanied by the injection in small quantities of such other bloods as have reached the islands. The vital fact in the process, however, is the prominence of the Caucasian, Hawaiian, and

Chinese factors. Of these, the Chinese is probably to be the dominant strain."

It will be worth while, perhaps, to note the characteristics of the individuals in whom the three stocks are represented. The Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese is below the medium height.

He is stocky, and inclined to be thickly built and muscular. His skin is medium brown and his hair black. His eyes are usually of a very dark brown. Mentally he has the assiduity of the Chinese and the ambition of the white, but is handicapped by an element in his Hawaiian inheritance which savors of dullness. He is usually very dependable, although traces of the native volatility may sometimes unsettle him. He is tractable and accommodating, yet well anchored to principles and a purpose. He loves to command, and is jealous of his authority and rights. He revels in music, and takes readily to the other culture features of our civilization. He is coming to be a force in the business world, and is among the most eager of students. What he achieves he achieves through earnestness and persistence—earnestness and persistence so tempered as to deliver him from Anglo-Saxon severity.

But if the dominant ethnic element is the Chinese, the preponderant culture factor is our own, with scarcely a minor modification. The educational ideals are American. Anglo-Saxon Christianity puts its stamp upon all who pass beyond the stage of primary schooling. European dress is almost universally worn, and as the economic standard rises American food is winning the people from poi and rice. The sports that are popular in the United States are the sports of the Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese, and the occasional musical artist who happens in upon the community is enjoyed by the mixed race as well as by the American and European. It is necessary only to mention that Chinese, Hawaiian, and mixed peoples desire generally to be known as American to show the powerful drift toward the ideals of our own land. Indeed, it would be peculiar if, while China is straining after western civilization, her children at the hub of the Pacific should not eagerly seize their opportunities to absorb it.

Regarding the significance of racial amalgamation in Hawaii, it is said:

World-statesmen have for years been inquiring what is to happen when there transpires the real meeting of East and West. Can opposing customs be reconciled? Can varying economic standards be adjusted? Can fragile ideals associate without destruction? Hawaii furnishes one answer. Here a dozen races are taking unto themselves a single manner of life, one set of ideals, and one group of purposes. And here three peoples are joining to form a new stock. How far-reaching this last may be can not be predicted. The significant facts are that it has seemingly established itself in the community, and that it is to all appearances virile, capable, fertile, and charged with the excellencies of the parent races.

Chapter VIII.—CHINESE IN THE TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

This chapter deals mainly with the Chinese contract laborers in the Transvaal during the period 1904 to 1910. These Chinese constitute a noteworthy example of Chinese migration under contract—an outstanding feature of the modern migrations included in this study.

The data here given are based upon Government documents, including treaties, conventions, contracts, and reports, and extracts are given from authoritative secondary sources. No adequate information is available relating to the recruiting of laborers in China, and their activities after being repatriated.

Two main points deserve special mention: The activities of the Chinese laborers were restricted by contracts and laws; and the workers were strictly supervised by the Transvaal government and its labor agencies.

CONDITIONS LEADING TO IMPORTATION OF CHINESE LABOR.

The economic prosperity of the Transvaal colony is mainly dependent upon the gold mines at the Witwatersrand, whose development relies largely on an adequate supply of the unskilled native (Kaffir) labor. For many reasons, the shortage of labor, especially after 1900, was keenly felt. The Kaffir could fill his simple wants and obtain his crude comforts without continuous work on his part. After working for the Europeans for a limited time, he could live in leisure in the kraal for a period. When instinct impelled him to the wilderness for chase and adventure he quit work and seldom thought of returning. This created a great uncertainty in the labor supply at The Rand. From 1902 to about 1904 the wages of the African laborers at The Rand were reduced 33 per cent, which caused general dissatisfaction among the native laborers. In the latter part of 1903, drought, cattle diseases, and insect plagues made the industrial and agricultural conditions in the Transvaal unusually precarious. The extent and seriousness of the deficiency of labor in South Africa were comprehensively summarized in the findings of the Transvaal Labor Commission. Its report of July, 1903, showed the labor requirements to be as follows:

TABLE 22.—LABOR REQUIREMENTS IN SPECIFIED INDUSTRIES IN THE TRANSVAAL, 1903.

[Source: Great Britain. Parliament. Reports of the Transvaal Labor Commission, 1904, vol. 39, p. 18. (Cd. 1894.)]

| Industry. | Estimated number required. | Number at work. | Shortage. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Agriculture..... | 80,000 | 27,715 | 52,285 |
| Gold mining..... | 197,644 | 68,280 | 129,364 |
| Other Industries..... | 69,684 | 69,684 | (1) |
| Central South Africa: | | | |
| Railways, open lines..... | 16,000 | 12,402 | 3,598 |
| Railways, new construction..... | 40,000 | 3,848 | 36,152 |
| Total..... | 403,328 | 181,929 | 221,399 |

¹ No data obtainable.

Due mainly to these findings, Sir George Farrar, president of the chamber of mines, recommended the importation of Asiatic labor under a system of government control when the industrial development of any colony positively required it.¹ With this view, Lord Milner, high commissioner and governor of the Transvaal, agreed. "The ultimate solution," he wrote to the Bloemfontein correspondent on April 1, 1903, "is in the increase of the white population. But in order to get that white population at all, we must make things move in the immediate future, and certain as I am that African labor, with every improvement we can make will not be sufficient to supply our wants in the early future, I think we must call in the aid of the Asiatics. I look upon this as a temporary expedient, but for the time essential."

Late in August, 1903, when the shortage of labor became more and more serious, Lord Milner again wrote:

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Chinese, since they are now our only hope, may come and come quickly. The mines have exhausted their efforts, by higher wages, better recruiting, and much better arrangements on the mines in every respect—food, clothing, sanitation, etc.—to get natives, but though they have got some thousands more, there are not nearly enough. The fact is they do not exist, not in these numbers.

In the meantime the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association had clearly seen the impossibility of recruiting labor from any other source and was looking into the labor situation on the continent of Asia. Consequently Mr. Ross Skinner was sent by the association in February, 1903, to California and the Far East with the purpose of inquiring into: (1) The conditions under which the indentured Chinese laborers should be employed in the mines of The Rand; (2) the possibility of obtaining such labor; and (3) its suitability to supplement the inadequate Kaffir supply.² In his report to the association, dated September 22, 1903, Mr. Skinner summarized labor conditions in California, Canada, Korea, Japan, and China and made suggestions and recommendations, many of which agreed in principle with legal instructions drawn afterwards, such as the Transvaal labor importation ordinance of 1904, regulations, contract of service,³ and the convention of 1904 between Great Britain and China.⁴

Regarding Chinese laborers Mr. Skinner observed:

In my opinion the better class of coolies from both southern and northern China will be suitable to supplement the Kaffir labor supply. They are docile, law-abiding, and industrious people, and will carry out whatever contracts they enter into and perform the tasks assigned to them.⁵ * * * The Chinese are, as a race, most easily led, if matters are fully explained to them. On the other hand, they will prove most stubborn if it is attempted to thrust new ideas or methods on them without due explanation through the headman.⁶

Finally, an ordinance was drafted and sent to Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, secretary of state for the colonies, who approved it on January 16, 1904. On February 4, 1904, the draft ordinance was sent to the Chinese minister in London for his consideration. The Peking

¹ Worsfold, W. Basil: *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner*. London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 303.

² Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1904, p. 76. (Cd. 1895.)

³ See Appendix to Chapter VIII, A and B, pp. 198 to 206.

⁴ See Appendix to Chapter I, B, pp. 168 to 171.

⁵ Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1904, vol. 61, p. 81. (Cd. 1895.)

⁶ *Idem*, p. 86.

Government, through the Chinese minister in London, raised five important points,⁷ one of which was in regard to the appointment of a Chinese consul, and after some discussion the appointment of a consul was stipulated in article 6 of the convention.

RECRUITMENT OF LABOR.⁸

Under the regulations issued in accordance with section 29 of the ordinance of 1904, the Transvaal emigration agent, stationed at each of the ports of embarkation, together with the Chinese inspector, made known by proclamation and by means of the Chinese press the text of the contract of service, and any particulars in regard to which the Chinese inspector considered it essential that the emigrant should be informed concerning the Transvaal and its laws. Recruiters were then licensed by the Transvaal emigration agent, who had to satisfy himself that they were fit and proper persons, and that improper means of recruiting were not used.

Every assistance was given by the recruiter to the intending emigrants. An advance of money was often made at his risk to enable the coolie to pay any debts and to leave a small sum with his family, and traveling expenses to the port of embarkation were paid by him. When the coolie arrived at the depot and signed the contract of service he received an advance from the employer the amount of which was certified to by the Transvaal emigration agent. Out of this money he was able to repay the recruiter for any cash advanced to him and to make further provision for his family or relatives.

Prior to admission into the depot each coolie was medically examined and given a certificate to that effect. The contract of service was then explained to him by the Transvaal emigration agent, and on his accepting the terms the coolie was admitted to the depot.

Every intending emigrant was required to remain at the depot for at least 48 hours (unless, of course, he refused to sign the contract), during which he had every opportunity of studying the contract and discussing it. Copies in Chinese were distributed among the men in the depot and posted in conspicuous places. They were then asked individually if they wished to emigrate to South Africa. The contracts were thereupon prepared and carefully explained, in the presence of the Transvaal agent, to each laborer, and signed by all who expressed their willingness to proceed. The Transvaal emigration agent subsequently signed the certificate required under section 8 of the ordinance.

Before finally signing the contract of service and embarking, each laborer was given a second medical examination; he was then given a metal badge with his shipping or contract number imprinted thereon.

The contracts were signed in triplicate; one copy was given to the employer's agent and another forwarded to the Transvaal superintendent of foreign labor, through the master of the ship in which the laborers sailed. A copy was also kept by the Transvaal emigration agent. A copy of the contract in Chinese and in English was also given to each laborer.

No person was allowed to sign a contract as agent for any employer in the Transvaal until the superintendent of foreign labor had notified

⁷ For the other four see Great Britain, Parliament. Further correspondence regarding the Transvaal labor question, 1904, vol. 61, p. 3 et seq. (Cd. 1986.)

⁸ For regulations of recruitment see Appendix to Chapter VIII, A, pp. 165 to 167.

the Transvaal emigration agent of the execution of the necessary power of attorney.

When possible every laborer was vaccinated prior to embarkation, but if it was found impossible to do this before departure it was done during the voyage by the ship's doctor.

A photograph of each laborer, with an attached description giving full particulars of marks, scars, etc., was forwarded to the superintendent by the same ship in which the laborer embarked. A duplicate copy was kept by the Transvaal emigration agent. The names and addresses of the parents, wife, and children (if any) under 10 years of age of each laborer were also recorded.⁹

The introduction and withdrawal of the Chinese in the Witwatersrand district in 1904 to 1910, with the number of whites and natives, is shown in the table below:

TABLE 23.—NUMBER OF CHINESE LABORERS IN THE TRANSVAAL, 1904 TO 1910.

[Source: Transvaal Chamber of Mines. Annual report, 1911, p. 341.]

| Year. | Number of miners. | | |
|------------|-------------------|----------|----------|
| | White. | Colored. | Chinese. |
| 1904 | 13,027 | 68,438 | 9,668 |
| 1905 | 16,227 | 91,084 | 39,952 |
| 1906 | 17,210 | 84,897 | 51,427 |
| 1907 | 16,775 | 105,915 | 49,302 |
| 1908 | 17,593 | 139,893 | 21,027 |
| 1909 | 20,625 | 161,795 | 6,516 |
| 1910 | 23,651 | 183,613 | 305 |

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.¹⁰

As just shown, the Chinese laborers began to arrive in Durban (70) in March, 1904, and two years later their maximum number was reached.

The laborers were placed under the supervision of the Transvaal government from their recruitment to their repatriation. To give effect to this principle the ordinance of 1904 provided for the appointment of a superintendent of laborers and a staff of inspectors.

The laborers undertook, by the terms of their contract, not to leave without a permit the area of the particular mine on which they were employed.

The Chinese were to be returned without delay, and at the expense of the importer, to their ports of embarkation in China at the end of their three years' term of service, or, in the event of reengagement, at the end of the new term. During their residence in the Transvaal they were not permitted to trade, or to acquire a lease or hold land, either directly or indirectly through an agent or trustee. Nor was any person allowed to employ them on any work other than "unskilled labor in the exploitation of minerals within the Witwatersrand district." Any infraction of the ordinance in these respects either by the laborers themselves or by any employer, or by any person aiding or abetting the laborers, rendered the offender liable to heavy penalties.

⁹ Transvaal. Foreign Labor Department. Annual report, 1904-5. Pretoria, 1906 p. 4, et. seq.
¹⁰ Worsfold, W. Basil: The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner. London, 1913, Vol. I, pp. 360-366. For details, see Appendix to Chapter VIII, pp. 198 to 206.

Provision was made for the comfort of the laborers both at the mines and during their journey to and from the Transvaal, for the suitability of their food and its preparation, their medical attendance and hospital accommodation, the due observances and festivals of the Chinese new year, the precise amount of wages to which they were to be entitled, and their right to be accompanied by their wives and children if they so desired.

Each mine had a white doctor, and Chinese medical associates and hospital attendants were frequently employed. The chamber of mines labor importation agency also engaged the services of a special medical adviser, and the Department of Foreign Labor paid the district medical officer for the Rand area a retaining fee in order that the services of the government doctor might be available whenever required.

Inspections of the hospital were made periodically by the Department of Foreign Labor, and the mine managers were required to submit every month a detailed sickness return which was compiled, for the Rand area, by the district medical health officer. An analysis of sickness among the Chinese laborers at the Rand mines shows that for the year ending June 30, 1906, common ailments of the Chinese included malaria, dysentery, pneumonia, diarrhea, rheumatism, and venereal and skin diseases. Most of these diseases are fairly prevalent in China, with the exception of the skin diseases, which are probably due to the climate in the Transvaal to which the laborers were not accustomed.

During the first year of their employment, beriberi was rather prevalent among the Cantonese. Out of the total number of 1,167 laborers repatriated during the year owing to permanent incapacity for work on account of physical infirmity or disease, 600 were suffering from beriberi, and of the total number of deaths (541 in South Africa), 128 were due to this cause. The prevalence of the disease appreciably decreased, however, in the later years of their employment.

The death rate among the Chinese compared very favorably with that of the white mine employees, as the following table will show. It is particularly significant to remember the fact that no less than 393 out of the 935 deaths among the Chinese for the year ending June 30, 1906, were due to homicide, suicide, and accidents. It is therefore safe to conclude that the percentage of deaths from natural causes must be considerably lower than that of the white miners. Some causes of death which are prevalent in China were also prevalent among the Chinese laborers in the Witwatersrand district. Thus, for the year ending June 30, 1906, among 935 cases of deaths, there were recorded 47 cases of pneumonia, 59 cases of phthisis, 40 cases of ailments of the circulatory system, and 117 cases resulting from the use of opium.

The table following shows by causes the number of cases of sickness and of death and the rates per 1,000 employees, the rates being based on the average monthly number of 47,595 employees.

TABLE 24.—CAUSES OF SICKNESS AND DEATH AMONG CHINESE MINE EMPLOYEES OF WITWATERSRAND DISTRICT, YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1906.

[Source: Great Britain. Parliament. Annual report of Foreign Labor Department, 1905-06. Johannesburg, 1907, vol. 57, appendixes 5 and 6. (Cd. 3338.)]

| Cause. | Cases of sickness. | | Deaths. | |
|---|--------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|
| | Number. | Rate per 1,000. | Number. | Rate per 1,000. |
| Enteric diseases..... | 169 | 3.55 | 19 | 0.40 |
| Malaria..... | 1,637 | 34.39 | 1 | .02 |
| Scarlet fever..... | 6 | .13 | ..... | ..... |
| Dysentery..... | 1,360 | 28.57 | 28 | .59 |
| Erysipelas..... | 236 | 4.96 | 9 | .19 |
| Pneumonia..... | 234 | 4.92 | 47 | .99 |
| Phthisis..... | 305 | 6.41 | 59 | 1.24 |
| Other respiratory diseases..... | 2,728 | 57.32 | 15 | .32 |
| Meningitis..... | 6 | .13 | 6 | .13 |
| Diseases of nervous system..... | 167 | 3.51 | 12 | .25 |
| Diseases of liver..... | 34 | .71 | 8 | .17 |
| Diarrhea..... | 6,230 | 130.90 | 25 | .53 |
| Other digestive diseases..... | 792 | 16.64 | 17 | .36 |
| Tuberculosis..... | 76 | 1.60 | 34 | .71 |
| Scurvy..... | 65 | 1.37 | 1 | .02 |
| Rheumatism..... | 2,901 | 60.95 | 2 | .04 |
| Cancer..... | 1 | .02 | 3 | .06 |
| Diseases of circulatory system..... | 205 | 4.31 | 40 | .84 |
| Diseases of urinary system..... | 80 | 1.68 | 10 | .21 |
| Veneral diseases..... | 1,341 | 28.18 | 6 | .13 |
| Beriberi..... | 333 | 7.00 | 18 | .38 |
| Skin diseases..... | 1,806 | 37.95 | ..... | ..... |
| Influenza..... | 1,854 | 38.95 | ..... | ..... |
| Opium habit..... | 717 | 15.06 | 117 | 2.46 |
| Debility ¹ | 414 | 8.70 | ..... | ..... |
| Accident..... | 1,479 | 31.07 | 300 | 6.30 |
| Homicide..... | ..... | ..... | 44 | .92 |
| Suicide..... | ..... | ..... | 49 | 1.03 |
| Simple ailments and minor injuries..... | 27,671 | 581.38 | ..... | ..... |
| Ill defined and other causes..... | 5,101 | 107.18 | 66 | 1.37 |
| Total..... | 57,948 | 1,217.52 | 935 | 19.64 |

¹ Data are for March to June, inclusive.

LODGING, FOOD, AND MEDICAL CARE.

The Chinese laborers were restricted to the mine compounds which were constructed especially for them. At least 250 cubic feet of air space were required for each coolie. The coolie could not leave the compound without a permit issued on demand by the inspectors of the compound. Those leaving without it were subject to punishment.

The laborers received daily rations free of charge. A special staff of laborers was provided to do the cooking, and kitchen facilities and the supply of food were periodically inspected by officials of the department of foreign labor of the Transvaal Government. Several mines erected dining rooms, but the coolies often preferred to eat in their own quarters. The laborers could buy at stores near the compounds other articles of food to supplement the daily ration. The ration per day for each person was as follows: 1.5 pounds of rice; 0.5 pound of dried or fresh fish or meat; 0.5 pound of vegetables; 0.5 ounce of tea; 0.5 ounce of nut oil; salt, or approved substitutes, at the discretion of the superintendent.

On each ship there was a medical officer (who had to be a British subject and a qualified medical practitioner), two Chinese medical associates, and two Chinese hospital attendants for each 1,000 laborers on board.

Regulation 21, issued under the ordinance of 1904, required every employer to provide his laborers (and their wives) residing on his premises with medicine and medical attendance during illness, and made him liable to a penalty not exceeding 50 pounds (\$243.33, par) for every case of negligence. Hospitals were erected by employers at every mine where Chinese laborers were employed.

WAGES, AND REMITTANCES TO CHINA.

It appears that before the final drafting of the labor importation ordinance of 1904, the mine owners of The Rand were in favor of lower wages for Chinese employees than were paid to the natives. At the first intimation of this Mr. Lyttelton raised objections on the ground that to attempt to do so would lower the plane of living of the proletariat in South Africa, which in turn would invite "thorny criticism and violent attack" from political enemies in England. Writing to Viscount Milner on April 13, 1904, he said:

I really can not defend an arrangement by which Chinese would be used to lower Kaffir wages current now and before the war. Having regard to the fact that the minimum rate of 15 Mexican dollars now proposed is actually less than that to which the mines endeavored to lower Kaffir wages after the war, the proposed minimum would arouse much opposition among reasonable critics, and on this ground, as well as looking to the possible effect upon Kaffir labor and feeling, a lowering of wages as the initial result of the introduction of Chinese is to be deprecated.¹¹

On April 19 he again wrote:

The difficulty of position will be greatly increased if contract contains, even as a minimum, the rate of wages to which the mines endeavored to reduce natives after termination of war and if the wage which an average laborer may expect to earn by piecework is at all less than the 50 shillings [\$12.17, par], which represents present native average. If, as I gather from your telegram, the contract gives a guaranty of piecework, why not omit reference to daywork and minimum wage and make contract provide only for piecework at such rates for the different kinds of work as will enable average workers to earn 50s. [\$12.17, par] for 30 days, working 10 hour shifts.¹²

Afterward Viscount Milner offered a compromise on wages by saying:

If it is impossible to accept the minimum of £1 10s. [\$7.30, par] for 30 days, may I suggest the compromise: The mines are willing to raise the minimum day's pay from 1s. to 1s. 6d. [24.3 cents to 36.5 cents, par] if within six months the average coolie's pay does not equal £2 10s. [\$12.17, par] for 30 days. This is more than Kaffir wages before the war.¹³

To which Mr. Lyttelton answered:

The compromise maintains the essential principle that the introduction of Chinese labor is to supplement the present deficiency of Kaffir labor, and not to lower by competition the wages paid to Kaffirs. It was further merited that the Chinese as a body will have no ground for dissatisfaction, seeing that all of them will at once have the opportunity of earning far more than the minimum rate, thus insuring that they will earn wages at least as high as those of Kaffir laborers, according to class of work and capacity.¹⁴

But Viscount Milner, in further elucidating the compromise said, on May 2, that "60 per cent of laborers will be offered piecework at once and this percentage will be steadily increased." To this Mr. Lyttelton immediately replied: "My acceptance of the compromise was entirely conditional on piecework being at laborers' option. Unless this condition is accepted without reserve, I shall

¹¹ Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to the Transvaal labor importation ordinance, 1904, vol. 61, pp. 37-38. (Cd. 2026.)

¹² *Idem*, pp. 42, 43.

¹³ *Idem*, p. 45.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 46.

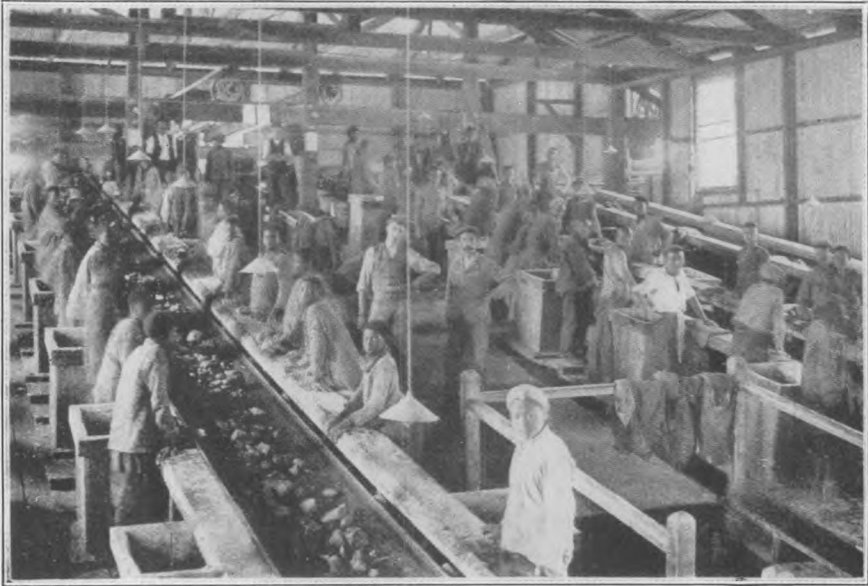


FIG. 4.—SORTING GOLD ORE IN THE TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA.

have no alternative but to revert to 1s. 6d. (36.5 cents, par) a day as minimum rate of pay to be inserted in the contract."¹⁵ Thus, finally, in articles 5 and 6 of the contract of service, no minimum wage was specified, but the laborer was given the option to do "piece-work at such rate as may be mutually agreed upon between the laborer and the employer but only the actual days employed on such piece-work shall be reckoned in the service."

Laborers on time-work basis were paid, to begin with, at the rate of 1s. (24.3 cents, par) for each working-day of 10 hours. Those employed at jobs to which piecework was not applicable were paid for the work on which they were employed, at the rates detailed by the chamber of mines schedule of native pay, May, 1897, restored January, 1903, which is set forth in the second schedule to the contract of service. If, however, within six months from the date of the laborers' arrival in the Rand district, the average pay of the laborer did not equal 2 pounds 10s. (\$12.17, par) for 30 days of 10 hours, the rate was increased from 1s. to 1s. 6d. (24.3 cents to 36.5 cents, par) for each working-day.

The occupations of the Chinese laborers who were employed at the Witwatersrand mines were specified in the "second schedule to the contract."¹⁶ Among them were the crushers whose daily wage was 1s. 4d. (32.4 cents, par). After the gold ore had been crushed, the pieces were run through troughs and sorted, as shown in Figure 4.

Closely connected with wages was the question of remittances and savings. In addition to article 10 of the convention of 1904 between Great Britain and China which provided that during the sojourn of the emigrant in the colony in which he was employed, all possible postal facilities should be afforded him, a special arrangement was made whereby he could, if he chose, allot a portion of his wages to his family in China. The portion so allotted was entered in the contract of service, was paid monthly in China, and was deducted from his monthly earnings on The Rand. For such allotments, the laborer received, on application, a passbook containing, as a rule, 34 monthly coupons of 10s. (\$2.43, par) each. This he gave to those to whom he wished to make the allotment, and the latter presented it for payment every month at the office of the local Transvaal emigrant agent. But beyond monthly allotments, the laborers appeared to have saved nothing, apparently for two reasons: (1) The majority of the laborers were illiterate and did not know how to write letters and send money through the post office or the bank; and (2) a great deal of their earnings was lost in the gambling, to which, having no other means of recreation, they resorted, in order to pass their spare time. Not until late in 1906 was provision made for the establishment of a savings bank specifically for the benefit of the Chinese laborers.

CRIME, OFFENSES, AND DESERTIONS.

In the Annual Report of the Foreign Labor Department, Johannesburg, (71) for 1905-6, the statement was made (pp. 10, 11):

On the whole the large army of Chinese coolies employed on the Witwatersrand is law abiding. The Chinese have undoubtedly been guilty of acts, involving serious

¹⁵ Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to the Transvaal labor importation ordinance, 1904, vol. 61, p. 46. (Cd. 2026.)

¹⁶ Transvaal. Lieutenant Governor's Office. Handbook of ordinances, proclamations, regulations and instructions connected with the importation of foreign labor into the Transvaal. Pretoria, 1906.

loss of life, calculated to cause righteous indignation and alarm. Still, in the case of white residents, robbery, not murder, has been his motive, and it was only when resistance on the part of the irate householder was offered that the latter came to an untimely end, and it should be particularly noted that not a single case of outrage on women has ever been proved. Deliberate murder of his countrymen, however, under aggravated circumstances of cruelty, is a charge of which he can not be acquitted.

On the causes of crime, the report further stated:

The great predisposing cause of all Chinese crimes at the mines is gambling and its resultant debt, to a lesser degree supplemented by illicit traffic in opium. The opium habit is fostered and kept alive by certain unprincipled "whites." The price of opium sold illicitly, which is largely adulterated prior to sale, being so much above the coolie's means, he borrows heavily to obtain it and finding no means of paying such or other debts, he is compelled to desert, and after days of wandering becomes desperate through starvation and robs in order to live.

Also the fact must not be concealed that certain storekeepers along the reef made a practice of overcharging and swindling coolies dealing with them, and that a desire to pay off old scores was often at the bottom of armed attacks on their persons or property.

The character of the crimes and offenses committed by the Chinese laborers is shown in the table following, the average number of laborers in the service during the year being 47,594.

TABLE 25.—CONVICTIONS AND SENTENCES OF CHINESE LABORERS IN THE TRANSVAAL DURING YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1906.

[Source: Great Britain. Parliament. Annual report of the Foreign Labor Department, 1905-6. Johannesburg, 1907, vol. 57, p. 49. (Cd. 3338.)]

| Crime or offense. | Number of convictions and sentences. | Crime or offense. | Number of convictions and sentences. |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Violation of arms and ammunition ordinance..... | 3 | Violation of mines, works, and machinery regulations..... | 66 |
| Escaping from custody..... | 12 | Possession of liquor..... | 2 |
| Public violence..... | 89 | Violation of municipal ordinances..... | 6 |
| Possession of dangerous weapons..... | 40 | Violation of gaming laws..... | 30 |
| Assault..... | 709 | Violation of gold laws..... | 1 |
| Murder and homicide..... | 28 | Trespassing..... | 1 |
| Attempted murder..... | 7 | Grass burning..... | 3 |
| Forgery..... | 307 | Inciting to riot..... | 4 |
| Malicious injury to property..... | 24 | Violation of labor importation ordinance..... | 11,651 |
| Theft and robbery..... | 234 | | |
| Housebreaking..... | 210 | Total..... | 13,429 |
| Public indecency..... | 1 | | |

The average number of laborers employed during the year 1905-6 was 47,594, and the total number convicted was 13,429. Of these, 11,651 were convicted of offenses against the regulations made under the labor importation ordinance, most of them being of a very trivial nature, such as absence without leave or refusal to work. In addition, there were reported in the same period a little over 1,500 cases of desertion. Furthermore, the relatively more serious offenses, as specified in the table, included 245 cases in which the offenders were convicted before a judge and jury, 28 of murder and homicide, 7 of attempted murder, and 210 of housebreaking. The remainder, being ordinary offenses against the common law, were dealt with by the resident magistrates.

Discontent among the workers grew. Those who refused to work frequently deserted. Said Lord Selbourne, "Worse still is the man who has gambled away all his wages in advance in the mine compounds. He has no further inducement to work; everything he

earns goes to those to whom he has lost money, so he deserts in desperation."¹⁷ The committee appointed by the governor to inquire into the causes of desertion reported as follows: "Much of the leakage from the miners into the surrounding country, with the inevitable sequel of outrages and robbery, was due to the fact that the laborers had incurred heavy gambling debts in the mines and were subject to undue pressure from their creditors."¹⁸

The great majority, however, of the so-called deserters had no wish to desert, but were actuated simply by curiosity as to their surroundings, and frequently, when they had gone a little distance from the compound, lost their way. A large number also left the mine in order to visit their friends at neighboring mines or to make purchases and neglected to obtain the necessary pass.

GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Social conditions among the Chinese in the mine compounds were unusually unsatisfactory. Though regulation 33 allowed them to take their wives, and although this fact was widely advertised in the compounds, married Chinese laborers (who numbered fully 22 per cent of the total) rarely availed themselves of this privilege. One reason was that they wanted to save as much money as they could out of their small earnings while serving the three-year contract in the mines at The Rand. But an important reason must be sought in the race psychology of the Chinese people. The Chinese have a deep affection for the home and the soil. With them, particularly with the women, it is no slight matter to leave the birthplace of their forefathers. In those days, also, the custom of Chinese society strongly favored the confinement of women to the households. The operation of these social forces almost entirely prevented female emigration. Only 26 children and 2 women accompanied the 47,917 laborers who reached the Transvaal up to the end of 1905 (the first year of emigration to that colony).¹⁹ Up to June 30, 1906, an additional 15,108 laborers arrived; among them were 3 women and 5 children. Meantime 1 woman and 2 children had returned to China.²⁰ In spite of this overwhelming masculine predominance among the Chinese population in the Transvaal, crimes of a sexual nature were not common, as was pointed out in the reports of the foreign labor department.

When off duty, the Chinese habitually spent their time in most unprofitable ways—gossiping, quarreling, and gambling. No adequate facilities of recreation were provided and the secluded life in the mine compounds was monotonous beyond human endurance.

Though cultural advantages were denied them, religious influence was not lacking. Among the laborers were Roman Catholics, Protestants of various denominations, Buddhists, and a small number of Mohammedans. Before embarkation various religious organizations in China distributed religious literature, including the Bible, among the emigrants. Occasionally services were held in the compounds, especially on Sundays, Good Friday, and Christmas.

¹⁷ Great Britain. Parliament. Annual report of the Foreign Labor Department, 1905-6. Johannesburg, 1907, vol. 57, p. 5. (Cd. 3338.)

¹⁸ Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to labor in the Transvaal mines, 1905, vol. 80, p. 40. (Cd. 2786.)

¹⁹ Transvaal. Foreign Labor Department. Annual report, 1904-5. Pretoria, 1906, p. 23.

²⁰ Great Britain. Parliament. Annual report of the Foreign Labor Department, 1905-6. Johannesburg, 1907, vol. 57, p. 31. (Cd. 3338.)

Late in 1905 the South African Baptist Missionary Society, the Salvation Army, and the Interior Mission, with the consent and cooperation of the superintendent of foreign labor, began to conduct frequent services and have personal conferences with the laborers.

OPPOSITION TO CHINESE LABOR.

Opposition grew simultaneously with the agitation for the importation of Chinese labor into the Transvaal. Natal had had the experience of introducing indentured Indians who afterwards became threatening competitors of the whites in commercial and mechanical occupations. A considerable portion of the white population in South Africa believed that the Natal experience would be repeated by the introduction of the Chinese, since the plane of living of the Chinese was about the same as that of the Indians, the industry and perspicacity of the Chinese being even greater. Furthermore, the general economic prosperity of Chinese immigrants in other British colonies, such as the Federated Malay States and Australia, amply demonstrated the "Asiatic problem" in its economic aspects. Sir Harry Parkes's warning to Australia might be applied to the Transvaal with equal force, since economic conditions of these two colonies were in many respects similar:

They [the Chinese] are a superior lot of people. We know the beautiful result of many of their handicrafts; we know how wonderful are their powers of imagination, their endurance, and their patient labor. It is for these qualities I do not want them to come here. The influx of a few millions of Chinese here would entirely change the character of the young Australian Commonwealth. It is because I believe the Chinese to be a powerful race, capable of taking a great hold upon the country, and because I wish to preserve the type of my own nation in these fair countries, that I am and always have been opposed to the influx of the Chinese.

Local opposition in the Transvaal assumed formidable form at a mass meeting of the White Labor League, held at Johannesburg, April 1, 1903. Out of 5,000 persons present at the meeting, only two were bold enough to favor the ordinance for the importation of Chinese labor then before the Transvaal Legislative Council. The importation of Chinese labor was opposed on the three following grounds: (1) It was unnecessary, since African labor could be obtained from countries north of the Zambezi, if not from South Africa itself; (2) the Chinese would displace European skilled labor and settle in the country permanently; and (3) they would be an undesirable and unprofitable population.²¹

But what troubled the minds of the opponents of Asiatic labor was not the alleged nonassimilability of the Chinese but the fear of their economic domination. One speaker at the mass meeting of the White Labor League, above referred to, declared:

I make bold to say that at the end of the first 12 months there will not be a white man working underground, unless it is a few shift bosses, and not many overground either. It is absurd to say the Chinese will be employed only in unskilled labor. Once they are imported, they will be employed in skilled labor, if they become proficient. The sealed compounds will be China towns, and the Chinese will be living better than the white people. We shall have 300,000 Chinese, as many as the whole white population put together. Sir George, you will remember, has a long list of callings or occupations, some 39 in number, in which he says it will be penal to employ these unskilled Asiatics. The list begins with carpenters and ends with the holders of explosive certificates. Sir George Farrar makes a great point that the introduction of Asiatics should be accompanied by such prohibitions as

²¹ For arguments pro and con, see Great Britain, Parliament. Further correspondence relative to the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1904, vol. 61 (Cd. 1895).

these. It is simply absurd to suppose that we are going to have Asiatics in this country and be able to prevent them from following any trade.²²

Commenting on the opposition, E. George Payne says:

But this does not mean that the Chinese work for smaller wages than those demanded by the whites. The fact is that the Chinese are not cheap laborers; they demand the current wages and refuse to work for less. It is due to this very fact that many of the difficulties arose in the Transvaal mines. Thanks to the endurance, the laborious patience, the thrift, and adaptability of the Chinese, they can displace the whites at the same wages.²³

Political opposition to the labor policy in the Transvaal also developed in England, and after the general election of 1906 the repatriation of the Chinese was decided upon by the new party in power and was immediately undertaken.²⁴ The last group of Chinese miners left the Witwatersrand district in March, 1910.

PROBLEMS OF LABOR ADMINISTRATION.

Three main difficulties confronted the Transvaal government and the failure to overcome them lent weight to opposition in England.

First, the government had failed to employ competent men to control the Chinese laborers. Planning originally to recruit laborers in Kwangtung, the Government, with the assistance of the mining corporations, had provided a force conversant with the language and customs of southern China. But the Russo-Japanese War had opened up to northern Chinese opportunities for migration to Manchuria and to foreign countries. Consequently, the Chinese who came to the Transvaal were, with the exception of 900 Cantonese from Chefoo, Chinwangtao, and Weihaiwei, inhabitants of Chihli, Shantung and Manchuria. Their racial idiosyncrasies, social usages, and mode of living were materially different from those of the Cantonese.²⁵ These circumstances being unforeseen, the Transvaal government had to pick up within a short time interpreters and inspectors "who could smatter but a few words of Chinese," but on whom the entire economic and social welfare of not less than 50,000 Chinese depended. Much of the maltreatment of the laborers, and of the injustice to them, was due to this lack of a medium of communication between the workers and their governing agencies and to the obvious lack of preparation of the latter.²⁶

²² Worsfold, W. Basil: *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner*. London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 306.

²³ Payne, E. George: *An Experiment in Alien Labor*. Chicago, 1912, p. 33.

²⁴ See Great Britain, Parliament, Further correspondence relating to labor in the Transvaal mines, 1905, vol. 80, pp. 44, 45 (Cd. 2786); *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under the Lord Milner*, by W. Basil Worsfold, London, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 363, 364; *Transvaal Problems*, by Sir Lionel Phillips, Chapters VII, VIII; and letter by Arthur James Balfour, in *Mining Journal*, London, vol. 78, 1905, pp. 581, 582.

²⁵ For details, see Chapter II.

²⁶ The treatment received by the Chinese in lawsuits is an example. "If he (the Chinese laborer) be a defendant he may be quite in the dark as to the nature of the offense of which he stands accused, and if a complainant, he may be unable to make good his case against trained pleading on the other side, or even to make it clear to counsel should he engage such to act for him. This is particularly noticeable in suits against white men for assault. The probabilities are that the unsupported evidence of a coolie will not be accepted against that of a white man, though, unfortunately, "hard swearing" is not confined to the former. (Great Britain, Parliament, Annual Report of the Foreign Labor Department, 1905-6, Johannesburg, 1907, vol. 57, pp. 4, 5. (Cd. 3338.))

Occasionally the court convicted the innocent and acquitted the guilty. Thus, the cousin of a coolie murdered by other coolies under circumstances of aggravated brutality at a certain mine, was so incensed at the acquittal of the persons whom most of their compatriots knew to be the actual murderers, that he raised a subscription amongst his friends to purchase his discharge and enable him to institute a suit in China. On his return he carefully watched the arrival of each immigrant ship from the Transvaal and had two accessories to the murder arrested on debarkation. He was also clever enough to have the necessary witnesses subpoenaed as they came back and the result was that the two men concerned were eventually sentenced to death in Tientsin. (*Idem.*, p. 5.)

The mine compounds where the laborers lived were governed by inspectors and policemen, and bribery and collusion between the inspectors and the men is reported to have been frequent.

Ill treatment and extortion on the part of the Chinese police were frequent grounds of complaint, and these sometimes posed as intermediaries and endeavored to stop access to any higher authority. The individual, finding no legitimate outlet for his grievances, real or fancied, harbored a feeling of sullen resentment and not infrequently took the law into his own hands. Likewise, the rough handling that men received at the hands of some white miners who did not maintain the honorable traditions of their class was a constant source of friction between the whites and the Chinese. The Chinese is an adept, and after having gauged the character of the white inspector with whom he is brought in contact, he treats him accordingly. Collusion and corruption were thus common.²⁷

Second, the arbitrary enforcement of the restrictions imposed upon the Chinese by the labor importation ordinance frequently resulted in friction between the employers and the employees and in the mistreatment of the latter. At The Rand, the Chinese were confined to the compounds and could not leave unless a permit was secured from the superintendent. During the period of the contract they were not permitted to engage in trade or commerce for their own profit. They were further restricted to performing only unskilled labor, and no freedom of choice in the matter of employment was given them. These conditions limited their personal liberty and lowered their zest for work. Violations of one kind and another occurred. With permits, they absented themselves from the compounds within the 48-hour limit and sought economic opportunities to better themselves or to cause annoyance to communities in the vicinity. Sometimes they fled from their living quarters, and when arrested they were fined or flogged. A general lack of enthusiasm for work prevailed, as they could save little from their wages and were not allowed to enter trades in the colony after the expiration of the contract.²⁸

Third, the contract of service was in many respects nonenforceable. Not infrequently, the court fixed a fine for a certain offense committed by a laborer. But rarely, if ever, was the fine paid by him. For a serious crime he might be imprisoned or sent back to China. But in either case it meant a loss of time and money to the employer. In view of these facts, the laborers were really in a more advantageous position than their employers regarding the enforcement of their contract. Says E. George Payne:

Working under it, they [the laborers] soon saw that they could make their labor unprofitable to the employers. They knew also that in case a new contract was drawn they would be in a much better place to demand terms that would be more satisfactory to them than they had been in the first instance. The knowledge that the Chinese had of their superior position with reference to their employers, and the inability of the employers to find a scheme under the ordinance whereby they could force the laborers to fulfill the contract lay at the very bottom of the failure of the experiment with the Chinese labor in the Transvaal.²⁹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE EXPERIMENT.

Inasmuch as the introduction of Chinese coolies to work in the mines of The Rand was the "cardinal act of Lord Milner's recon-

²⁷ Transvaal. Foreign Labor Department. Annual report, 1904-05. Pretoria, 1906, p. 15

²⁸ In contrast, the position of Chinese indentured laborers in the Malay Peninsula should be mentioned. Their success there is mainly due to 3 conditions: (1) The possibility of acquiring personal and real property; (2) the prospect of entering trade or commerce in the colony after the term of indenture; and (3) chances for speculation. (Great Britain, Parliament, Further correspondence relative to the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1904, vol. 61, pp. 80-81. (Cd. 1895.) See also, Chapter III of the Asiatic Dangers in the Colonies, by L. E. Neame, New York, 1907.

²⁹ Payne, E. George: An experiment in Alien Labor. Chicago, 1912, p. 65.

struction of the new colonies," the economic benefits of this measure should be briefly summarized.

At the end of March, 1904, the number of Chinese at work on the Witwatersrand gold mines was nil; at the end of March, 1905, when Lord Milner left South Africa, it was 34,335. At the former date the number of British workmen employed in the same industry was 10,240; at the latter date it was 13,255; so the Chinese did not seem to displace the British workers but rather to open up new positions in the development of the industry. Again, at the former date, the number of African natives employed was (April) 78,825; at the latter date it was 105,184. The importation of Chinese, so far from displacing the native, produced a directly opposite effect. With the appearance of the Chinese, the natives, seeing that they themselves were no longer indispensable, began to offer their services to the white men with increased readiness.

During April, 1904, gold was produced to the value of £1,305,431 (\$6,352,880, par), or at an annual rate of production of £15,500,000 (\$75,430,750, par); during the month of March, 1905, to the value of £1,699,991 (\$8,273,006, par), or at an annual rate of production of £20,000,000 (\$97,330,000, par).³⁰

In March, 1904, it was very doubtful whether the Transvaal government would not have to seek financial aid from the United Kingdom to enable it to meet the expenditures of the current financial year, which ended in June, 1904. On June 30, 1905, when the next financial year ended, the treasurer announced a surplus of £347,000 (\$1,688,676, par).³¹

The effect of the increase in the supply of unskilled labor through the importation of Chinese was to encourage Europeans to enter the Transvaal and to engage in industries. Thus between April 13, 1904 (the date of the census), and the end of 1905 it was estimated that the adult white males of The Rand alone increased from 43,000 to 56,000. The census of 1911 showed that the white population of the colony had increased by 123,554 since the date of the 1904 census, i. e., 41.56 per cent for the seven years.

On the other hand little benefit was received by the Chinese themselves. The incompetency of the Chinese officials to whom was intrusted the important duty of "watching over interests and well-being" of the workers was admittedly deplorable. Most British overseers did not speak the Chinese language and were in many cases unable to appreciate the viewpoints of the laborers, to know their needs, or to settle satisfactorily disputes between laborers themselves and between laborers and their officers. Frequently, the workmen appealed to their own consular representatives, but rarely were they accorded sympathetic cooperation or protection.

The Chinese laborers, after several years' hard work, had saved little. They had had the benefit of neither social welfare work nor education while in the Transvaal. Lacking proper recreation or evening classes at which to spend their spare time profitably, an appallingly large number of them succumbed to various kinds of vice, including gambling, and when at the expiration of the contract they were sent back to China, their economic status was as wretched as before.

³⁰ Worsfold, W. Basil: *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner*, London, 1913, Vol. I, pp. 366-368.

³¹ Great Britain. Parliament. Further correspondence relating to the affairs of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1905, vol. 55, p. 66. (Cd. 2563.)

Chapter IX.—CHINESE IN FRANCE.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

The experiment with Chinese labor in France during the European War illustrates concretely the contract labor system with governmental supervision, but differs from that in the Transvaal in two respects: In this case there was more successful governmental supervision of labor, and the laborers in France have received comparatively more material benefits, especially in wages, education, and social welfare work.

Aside from these, it must be pointed out that this Chinese migration was of greater magnitude and was to meet the emergencies in agriculture and industries which had arisen from the World War. The socio-economic status of the laborers was defined and restricted by laws, contracts, and regulations which were promulgated by the Governments of France, Great Britain, and China.

LABOR RECRUITMENT.

The heavy drain on man power during the World War impelled France and England to recruit alien laborers from several countries, including China. Negotiations between China and the two belligerent nations were completed early in 1916, and regulations to cover the recruitment of labor were drawn up. The Hui Min syndicate, under Chinese control and management, submitted a model contract mainly for the use of the French Government.¹

The Chinese Emigration Bureau, which was especially created, had nine branches in the Provinces of Chihli, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung, where most of the recruiting was done. The chief French recruiting agencies were located at Tangku, Tsingtau, Shanghai, and Pukow, although a few French corporations in Shameen, Kwangtung, and in Shanghai also made contracts with China to recruit coolies. Great Britain's main recruiting center was at Weihaiwei, Shantung Province, under the control of the British Labor Bureau. There were also recruiters and equipping depots at other places.

The first steps in recruiting were intrusted to Chinese agents of a certain branch office of the emigration bureau. Each agent went to communities from which large numbers of emigrants had heretofore been drawn to foreign countries. In addition to newspaper publicity and posters the agent distributed announcements in simple Chinese at tea houses and public places, and posted them in front of temples and at fair grounds. Often, also, he held personal interviews with local men, who were prospective gang leaders. He designated a tea house to meet recruits, where he or local leaders explained conditions of employment. Those who reacted favorably to them were sent to Weihaiwei in gangs under the direction of gang leaders.

¹See Appendix to Chapter IX, A, pp. 207-210.

From this point the British procedure was as follows. The recruits were received at a "godown" near the wharf of Weihaiwei, which was one of the buildings erected for recruiting laborers for the Witwatersrand gold mines in the Transvaal but was never used for that purpose. Here they were required to pass a medical examination as rigid as that given to British soldiers. Those who passed the examinations successfully were men of sound constitution, strong body, and general physical fitness. The recruit might be rejected for any one of 21 maladies or physical defects, from phthisis, bronchitis, and venereal disease to chronic inflammation of the eyes (trachoma), malaria, or bad teeth. Each successful recruit was assigned a number by which he was identified and by which he was paid in France throughout the period of his engagement. The number was entered with the owner's name in Chinese and English upon an identification tag which was placed upon the recruit's wrist in the form of a light brass bracelet, riveted together with a small studlike nail. This identification paper gave the recruit's age, height, date of appointment, home address, and that of his next kin, the party to whom he wished his monthly allotment to be sent, and the address of the allottee; also the recruit's knowledge of English and of his former occupation as shown by test, was recorded on this paper. A thumb print was taken both on the identification paper and on the contract. By means of the thumb print he was identified immediately on arriving in France and also before going to work for his company. As many were illiterate, this identification method was found most useful, and it was also used for preventing substitution.

According to the contract, the recruit was entitled to a family allowance in addition to his daily wage. This allowance was remitted monthly through the Chinese post office in money orders payable at the cashing office nearest to the allottee's address. A notice was posted a few days before the money fell due, and unless the coolie in his thumb-printed letter changed the allotment to some other person, none but the original allottee who had been identified at the paying office by shop guaranties could draw the money.²

Several routes were used in sending the recruits to France. The first 8,000 men were sent through the Cape of Good Hope, which took about three months. The insufficiency of fresh vegetables on the voyage caused much sickness among the laborers, and on account of the protest of the Chinese labor commissioner in Paris, the use of this route was abandoned. Before Germany declared unlimited submarine warfare, British steamers carried Chinese workers from Pukow to the Mediterranean. Afterwards they changed the route, sailing from Weihaiwei by way of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean to reach the British headquarters in northern France. Many French convoys used the same routes but landed at Marseille.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE LABOR CORPS IN FRANCE.

Chinese workers in French employ were scattered along the coast from Brest (75) to Marseille (78), inland from Rouen to Le Creusot,

² *Far Eastern Review*, Shanghai, April, 1918, p. 125 et seq.

and along the battle front from Arras to Verdun. The highest number reached was approximately 40,000.³

The 100,000 Chinese laborers with the British Expeditionary Forces were divided between the base area, including all the seaports on the Flanders coast from Havre (74) to Dunkirk, and the army areas, including all the battle fields between Cambrai and Ypres.

The American Expeditionary Force borrowed about 10,000 Chinese from the French in 1917 but returned most of them shortly after the armistice. They were employed under terms similar to those specified in the Hui Min contract which was signed between the Governments of France and China. Most of the Chinese so borrowed were stationed in the Service of Supply region, though a considerable number were used at the embarkation points for loading and unloading food and military supplies.

The number of workers per camp varied greatly. Thus, seven British camps had more than 3,000 men per camp, while many camps had from 100 to 1,000. On the whole, French camps were smaller in size than those of the British Government, but they were scattered over wider areas. It was not uncommon to find groups of 25 or 50, though important French camps had about 2,000 at each place. The principal American camps had about 1,500 each. The remaining camps were considerably smaller in size.

The accompanying map (fig. 5) shows the distribution of Chinese under the employ of the three Governments at the end of 1918, when the maximum number of Chinese workers was about reached. Many labor corps changed from place to place, and those after 1918 are therefore not shown on the map. A general plan in numbering the labor corps from west to east and from north to south of France is adopted in this map.

A list of Chinese labor corps in the French and American employ was submitted by the French Ministry of War to the Chinese Emigration Bureau in November, 1918, and is shown in the table following. The numerals in parentheses indicate the chronological order in which the labor "groupements" were placed. For the sake of convenience the labor "groupements" of all the three Governments have here been rearranged and renumbered according to their geographical location as shown on the map. The data shown as to the labor corps under the British control were obtained mainly from the reports of the American and British Y. M. C. A. They are, however, not nearly so complete as those shown for the other two Governments.

Many labor "groupements" were stationed in small French hamlets of about 200 inhabitants. In identifying the labor camps Didot-Bottin's *Annuaire du Commerce* for 1918, *État-major de l'armée* (revised maps, 1898) and P. Joanne's *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France* (1899) have been used.

³In a memorandum from the French Ministry of War to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, dated Apr. 26, 1922, the following particulars are given: Laborers from northern China, 31,409; laborers from southern China, 4,024; special workers from Shanghai, 1,066; special workers from Hongkong, 442; total, 36,941.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE LABOR CORPS IN FRANCE.

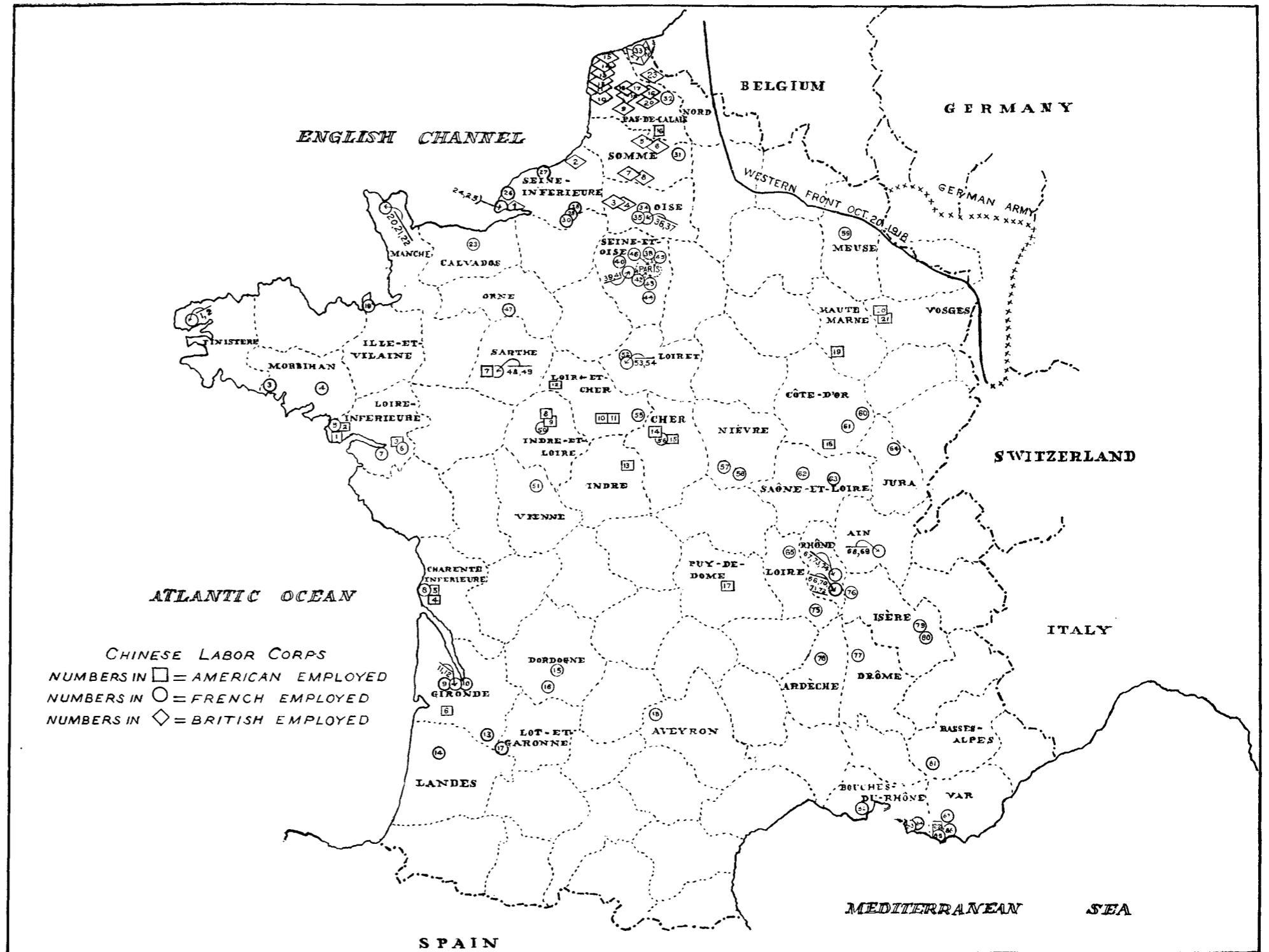


FIG. 5.

TABLE 26.—LIST OF CHINESE LABOR CORPS IN FRANCE, OCTOBER 16, 1918.
IN FRENCH EMPLOY.

| No. | Group. | Commune. | Department. |
|---------|--|--------------------------|----------------------|
| P(21) | Société du Gaz de Paris, 32 rue Mademoiselle | Paris | |
| 1(15) | Arsenal maritime de | Brest | Finistère. |
| 2(71) | Service du Transit Maritime Militaire | do | Do. |
| 3(16) | Arsenal maritime de | Lorient | Morbihan. |
| 4(59) | Service du Génie de Rennes Camp de | Coëtquidan | Do. |
| 5(93) | Armée Américaine à | Montoir de Bretagne | Loire-Inférieure. |
| 6(74) | Service du port maritime de | Nantes | Do. |
| 7(17) | Établissements de la Marine | Indre | Do. |
| 8(33) | Établissements Delaunay-Belleville | La Rochelle | Charente-Inférieure. |
| 9(51) | Société des Grands Travaux de Marseille | Floirac | Gironde. |
| 10(7) | Poudrerie nationale de | Bassens | Do. |
| 11(46) | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Gironde | Bordeaux | Do. |
| 12(63) | Intendance de la 18 ^e Région | do | Do. |
| 13(60) | École d'Aviation de | Captieux | Do. |
| 14(19) | Société d'entrepris et de Constructions | Labouheyre | Landes. |
| 15(18) | Compagnie de Paris Orléans à | Périgueux | Dordogne. |
| 16(10) | Poudrerie nationale de | Bergerac | Do. |
| 17(42) | Société Métallurgique du Périgord | Fumel | Lot-et-Garonne. |
| 18(77) | Compagnie de Paris Orléans à | Capdenac | Aveyron. |
| 19(43) | Société des Chantiers et Ateliers de | Saint Malo | Ille-et-Vilaine. |
| 20(14) | Arsenal maritime de | Cherbourg | Manche. |
| 21(47) | Ateliers au Temple | do | Do. |
| 22(83) | Service du Port Maritime de | do | Do. |
| 23(28) | Société Normande de Métallurgie | Caen | Calvados. |
| 24(48) | Ateliers Augustin Normand | Le Havre | Seine-Inférieure. |
| 25(72) | Service du Port Maritime | do | Do. |
| 26(23) | Établissements Schneider et Cie | Hartleur | Do. |
| 27(35) | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée | Grainville | Do. |
| 28(36) | Acieries de | Grand Couronne | Do. |
| 29(75) | Service du Port Maritime de | Rouen | Do. |
| 30 (1) | Poudrerie Nationale | Oissel | Do. |
| 31(80) | Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Nord à | Rue | Somme. |
| 32(82) | Mines de Marles à | Marles | Pas-de-Calais. |
| 33(37) | Acieries et Forges de Firmin, Usine des | Dunes | Nord. |
| 34(81) | Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Nord à | Narltuis(Neuilly?) | Oise. |
| 35(100) | Service de l'Armement | Cramoisy | Oise. |
| 36(99) | do | St. Leu-d'Esse- rent. | Do. |
| 37(98) | Artillerie d'assaut A. S. 201 | | Do. |
| 38(20) | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Fournaise | Saint-Denis | Seine (=Paris.) |
| 39(24) | Papeterie de la Seine | Nanterre | Do. |
| 40(73) | Exploitation du port fluvial | Conflans-fin- d'Oise | Seine-et-Oise. |
| 41(25) | Union des Gaz de Rueil, usine de | Nanterre | Seine (=Paris.) |
| 42(52) | Établissements Louis Blériot | Suresnes | Do. |
| 43(53) | Établissements Louis Clément | Boulogne-sur- Seine | Do. |
| 44(9) | Poudrerie nationale du | Bouchef | Seine-et-Oise. |
| 45(69) | Intendance du C. R. P | Aubervilliers | Seine (=Paris.) |
| 46(50) | Société du Gaz de Paris, 42 quai de Passy | Paris | |
| 47(58) | Centre de construction du Génie | Alençon | Orne. |
| 48(66) | 2 ^e Section de C. O. A. | Le Mans | Sarthe. |
| 49(67) | Entrepôt d'effets | do | Do. |
| 50(57) | Centre de construction du Génie | Tours | Indre-et-Loire. |
| 51(4) | Manufacture d'Armes de | Châtellerault | Vienne. |
| 52(62) | Station-magasin | Les Aubrais | Loiret. |
| 53(64) | Intendance de la 5 ^e Région | Orléans | Do. |
| 54(65) | Entrepôt d'effets | do | Do. |
| 55(61) | Station-magasin de | Saldris | Loir-et-Cher. |
| 56(18) | Entrepôt de réserves générales de | Bourges | Cher. |
| 57(39) | Société Commentry-Fourchambault et Decazeville | Imphy | Nièvre. |
| 58(76) | Houillères de Decize à | La Machine | Do. |
| 59(101) | Service de l'Armement, Grand Quartier Général(5 ^e | Rampont | Meuse. |
| 60(6) | Armée) | Zone des Armées | |
| 61(54) | Poudrerie nationale de | Vonges | Côte-d'Or. |
| 62(22) | Centre d'Aviation de | Longwic | Do. |
| 63(31) | Établissements Schneider et Cie | Le Creusot | Saône-et-Loire |
| | do | Chalon-sur- Saône. | Do. |
| 64(56) | Centre de construction du Génie | Salins | Jura. |
| 65(12) | Arsenal Militaire de | Roanne | Loire. |
| 66(26) | Société Chimique des Usines du Rhône | Saint Fons | Rhône. |
| 67(34) | Municipalité de Lyon | Lyon | Do. |
| 68(55) | Centre de stockage de bois du Génie | Ambronay | Ain. |
| 69(68) | Station-magasin | do | Do. |
| 70(5) | Poudrerie nouvelle de | Saint Fons | Rhône. |
| 71(11) | Poudrerie ancienne Picard | do | Do. |
| 72(29) | Usines de St. Gobain | do | Do. |
| 73(2) | Atelier de Construction de Perrache | Lyon | Do. |
| 74(3) | Atelier de Construction de La Mouche | do | Do. |

TABLE 26.—LIST OF CHINESE LABOR CORPS IN FRANCE, OCTOBER 16, 1918—Con.

IN FRENCH EMPLOY—Concluded.

| No. | Group. | Commune. | Department. |
|---------|---|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 75(38) | Société des Moteurs "La Chaléassière"..... | Saint-Étienne... | Loire. |
| 76(27) | Société Chimique des Usines du Rhône..... | Péage-du-Roussillon..... | Isère. |
| 77(30) | Société des grands travaux de Marseille..... | Beaumont-Montaux..... | Drôme. |
| 78(45) | Société Horné et Buire..... | Le Pouzat..... | Ardèche. |
| 79(41) | Papeterie Bergès..... | Lancey..... | Isère. |
| 80(44) | Établissements Keller et Leleux..... | Livet..... | Do. |
| 81(49) | Société des grands travaux de Marseille..... | Manosque..... | Basses-Alpes. |
| 82(8) | Poudrière nationale de..... | Port-St.-Louis-du-Rhône..... | Bouches-du-Rhône. |
| 83(103) | Dépôt de Marseille..... | Le-Prado-Marseille..... | Do. |
| 84(40) | Société d'Énergie Électrique du Littoral..... | St. Géniez..... | Do. |
| 85(32) | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée..... | La Seyne..... | Var. |
| 86(13) | Arsenal maritime de..... | Toulon..... | Do. |
| 87(70) | Compagnie du P. L. M..... | Carnoules..... | Do. |

IN AMERICAN EMPLOY.

| | | | |
|---------|---|---|----------------------|
| 1 | ..... | St. Nazaire..... | Loire-Inférieure. |
| 2(93) | Armée Américaine à..... | Montoir de Bretagne..... | Do. |
| 3(86) | do..... | Nantes..... | Do. |
| 4(84) | Service du Génie Américain à..... | Aigrefeuille..... | Charente-Inférieure. |
| 5 | ..... | La Rochelle ¹ | Do. |
| 6(97) | Service du Génie Américain, Camp du..... | Beau Désert..... | Gironde. |
| 7(66) | 2 ^{me} Section de C. O. A..... | Le Mans ¹ | Sarthe. |
| 8(90) | Armée Américaine à..... | do ¹ | Do. |
| 9(92) | Aviation Américaine à..... | Notre-Dame-d'Oé..... | Indre-et-Loire. |
| 10(89) | Service du Génie Américain à..... | Tours..... | Do. |
| 11(87) | Armée Américaine à..... | Gièvres..... | Loir-et-Cher. |
| 12 | ..... | Pruniers..... | Do. |
| 13(88) | Aviation Américaine, Camp de..... | Montoire-sur-Loir..... | Do. |
| 14(91) | Service du Génie Américain à..... | Issoudun..... | Indre. |
| 15(79) | Compagnie de Paris Orléans à..... | Mehun..... | Cher. |
| 16 | ..... | Bourges..... | Do. |
| 17(85) | Aviation Américaine à..... | Avion..... | Pas-de-Calais. |
| 18(94) | Armée Américaine à..... | Aulnat..... | Puy-de-Dôme. |
| 19(86) | Service du Génie Américain..... | Beaune..... | Côte-d'Or. |
| 20(95) | Armée Américaine à..... | Lafreycy..... | Haute-Marne. |
| 21(101) | Service de l'Armement..... | Lifol-le-Grand..... | Vosges. |
| & 102) | Grand Quartier Général (8 ^e Armée)..... | Bazouilles-sur-Meuse ² | Do. |
| 22(32) | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée..... | do ² | Do. |
| | | La Seyne ¹ | Var. |

¹ In same locality as a French camp.² A short distance from a French camp.

IN BRITISH EMPLOY.

| No. | Commune. | Department. | No. | Commune. | Department. | No. | Commune. | Department. |
|-----|-------------|-------------------|-----|-------------|----------------|-----|------------|----------------|
| 1 | Le Havre.. | Seine-Inférieure. | 8 | Ham..... | Somme. | 16 | Audruicq.. | Pas-de-Calais. |
| 2 | Dieppe.... | Do. | 9 | Erin..... | Pas-de-Calais. | 17 | Tournehem | Do. |
| 3 | Abancourt. | Oise. | 10 | Étaples... | Do. | 18 | Seninghem | Do. |
| 4 | Verderonne | Do. | 11 | Dannes.... | Do. | 19 | St. Omer.. | Do. |
| 5 | Abbeville.. | Somme. | 12 | Hardet... | Do. | 20 | Houdain.. | Do. |
| 6 | Noyelles... | Do. | 13 | Boulogne.. | Do. | 21 | Dunkerque | Nord. |
| 7 | Nesle..... | Do. | 14 | Wimereux.. | Do. | 22 | Bourbourg. | Do. |
| | | | 15 | Calais..... | Do. | 23 | Borre..... | Do. |

ORGANIZATION OF CHINESE LABOR COMPANIES.

The Chinese laborers in the employ of the British Government during the war were organized into labor companies under strict military discipline. In fact, the British-employed Chinese were subject to military law under section 176(9) of the army act. The

organization of the Chinese labor companies under the British Expeditionary Forces was as follows: The company was under the control of a major or captain. It consisted of a headquarters and four platoons, each under a subaltern. Each platoon had two sections, each under a sergeant. There were 476 Chinese in a company, including 1 head ganger, 31 gangers, 5 batmen, one or more interpreters, and 438 coolies.

Chinese laborers under the French control, though also organized into military companies, were not subject to strict military discipline. The workers went to the factories like ordinary workers in peace time, there being no marching in military formation. After working hours there was no restriction whatever. On holidays they went about as they pleased. The only restriction was that they could not travel on railways to other cities without a military permit.

This difference in discipline was commented on by T. F. Tsiang, Y. M. C. A. secretary for Le Creusot, 1918-19, as follows:

From my observation the Chinese laborers with the French were more contented than those with the British. Besides discipline, the difference in the attitude of the officers toward the laborers was also an important factor. The French officers were much less race-conscious. They were more democratic in their manners and took a more paternalistic interest in the laborers. The British stood on dignity as officers, and perhaps as white men, most of the time.⁴

WORK DONE BY CHINESE.

When France and China signed the Hui Min contract for recruiting Chinese laborers, China was a neutral power and therefore specified in the first article of the contract that no Chinese laborer was to be employed in any kind of military operations. As soon as China declared war on Germany, on August 14, 1917, there was no insistence by either contracting party on the strict observance of this condition. In the Soissons region and after the armistice, in the devastated quarters in general, Chinese workers in the French employ were mostly engaged in exhuming and reburying the dead of the war.

Under the original contract Chinese laborers under British control were placed at work on roads, railways, mines, factories, fields, forests, ordnance and tank workshops, ammunition dumps, forage stores, and at docks. When China declared war on Germany, Great Britain, as well as France, was under no obligation to limit the use of Chinese workers to industries and agriculture, and transferred a large number of them to the army areas in Arras and Cambrai to work for the British army.

The chief occupations of the Chinese under the American Expeditionary Forces were the loading and unloading of food materials, the repairing of roads, and working at factories.

The work at which the Chinese in French and American employ were engaged is shown in the classification following. The numbers following the class of work indicate the labor group so engaged and correspond with those in the map facing page 144. The groups under American direction are indicated by asterisks.

Manufacture of airplanes: 42, 43.

Manufacture of arms, guns, and gun materials: 8, 26, 35, 36, 51, 59, 62, 63.

Chemical laboratories: 66, 72, 76.

Coal mines and gas works: A, 32, 41, 46, 58.

⁴ Letter to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Oct. 16, 1922.

Building and construction: 14, 77, 81.
 Engineering corps, huts, and lumber depots: 4, 5, 47, 50, 64, 68, 2*, 3*, 4*, 6*, 7*, 8*, 10*, 11*, 14*, 19*, 20*.
 Food, clothing, and military supply stations: 12, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 69.
 Forges and foundries: 33, 38.
 Iron and steel works: 17, 23, 28, 57, 78, 80.
 Docks: 2, 6, 22, 25, 29, 40.
 Navy yards and arsenals: 1, 3, 7, 20, 65, 86.
 Manufacture of paper: 29, 39.
 Manufacture of powder: 10, 16, 30, 44, 60, 70, 71, 82.
 Railways: 15, 18, 31, 34, 87, 15*.

As shown in the above list, the Chinese were employed in various industries. Among them were a considerable number of carpenters who had been recruited from Shanghai and were used in constructing army barracks, huts, and other buildings for military use. The type of construction work they did at Labouheyre, Landes, is shown in Figure 6.

WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

UNDER THE FRENCH.

The French employed the Chinese according to the terms of the Hui Min contract, article 3 of which specified that the daily wage of a common laborer should be 5 francs (96.5 cents, par), out of which he had to pay 1.75 francs (33.8 cents, par) for board, 0.25 franc (4.8 cents, par) for lodging, 0.25 franc for clothing, and 0.25 franc for expenses in case of sickness. His net pay per day was thus reduced to 2.50 francs (48.3 cents, par). Wages for Sundays and holidays were paid as follows: Common laborers, whole day, 7.70 francs (\$1.49, par), half day, 3.85 francs (74.3 cents, par); munition workers, whole day, 8 francs (\$1.54, par), half day, 4 francs (77.2 cents, par); and skilled workers, whole day, 8.2 francs (\$1.58, par), half day, 4.1 francs (79.1 cents, par). In addition to the wages, interpreters, and labor captains received a bonus of 1 franc (19.3 cents, par), head laborers of 0.5 franc (9.7 cents, par), and No. 1 laborers of 0.25 franc (4.8 cents, par) per day. Workers in hazardous occupations were entitled to the same bonuses as were paid to French workers similarly engaged. Thus workers engaged in the manufacture of munitions received a bonus of 50 centimes (9.7 cents, par) per day, those exposed to danger from acid, 15 centimes (2.9 cents, par) an hour, and those exposed to dust hazard, 12 centimes (2.3 cents, par) an hour.⁵

Other conditions of employment included a free passage to and from the port of embarkation in China to the worker's destination in France, Algeria, or Morocco; a periodical supply of clothing by the employer; free meals, lodging, and medical care; compensation in case of death during the employment; and a guaranty of all liberties, including religious liberty; an equality of pay and bonus with French workers in the same occupations; and a promise on the part of the employer not to maltreat the Chinese and to see that they were not annoyed by French citizens in the neighborhood of Chinese labor camps.⁶

⁵ Shortly after the arrival of the Chinese in France, increases of wages were granted by many French companies. Thus, on July 1, 1918, upon the demand of the Chinese labor commissioner in Paris, a powder works near Lyon increased the wages of its Chinese employees as follows: Common laborer, 3.70 francs (71.4 cents, par); munition manufacturers, 4 francs (77.2 cents, par); and skilled workers, 4.2 francs (81.1 cents, par).

⁶ For details see Appendix to Chapter IX, A, pp. 207-210.

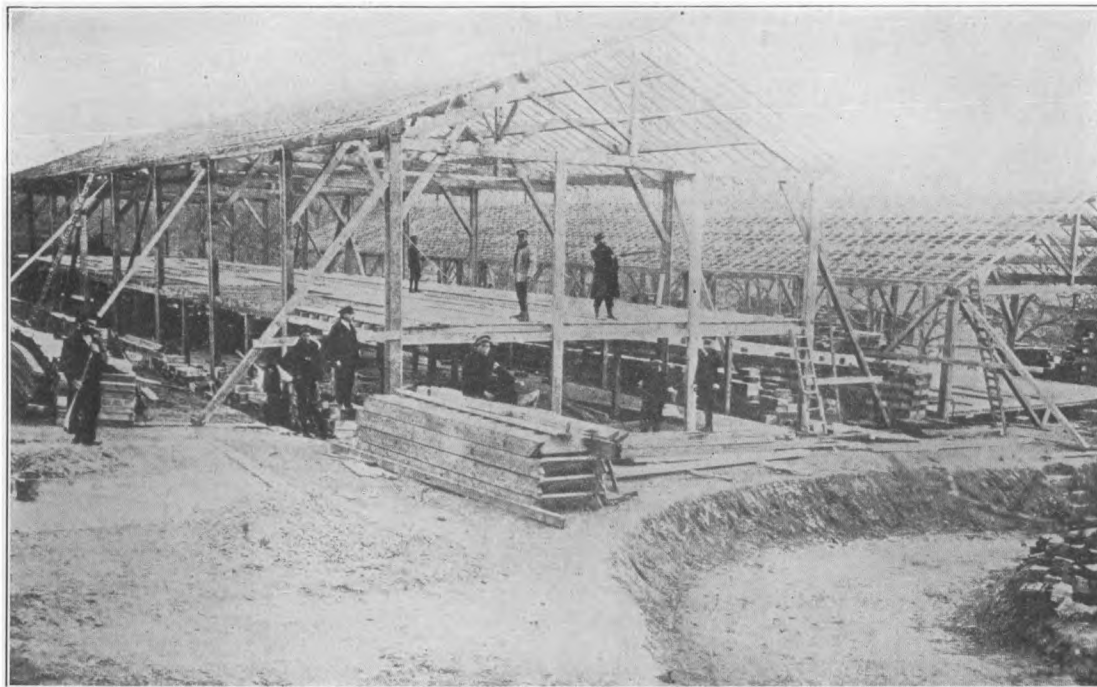


FIG. 6.—TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION WORK DONE BY THE CHINESE IN FRANCE.

The wages of skilled workers varied with their specialty. For instance, the machinists of Shanghai who were recruited from the Kiangnan dockyards and the Shanghai-Nanking railway had a separate contract with French employers specifying that the contract should run two years and be renewable at the request of the employer and consent of the laborer; that the daily wage of a head machinist should be 8.25 francs (\$1.59, par), and that of a machinist, 5.50 francs (\$1.06, par), out of which the worker was to pay 1 franc (19.3 cents, par) a day for traveling and a certain sum for board and lodging; and that the minimum food allowance per day should include:⁷ Seven hundred grams of rice, 200 grams of meat or fresh fish, 100 grams of salt fish, 230 grams of fresh vegetables, 60 grams of dried beans, 15 grams of tea, 15 grams of lard, and 15 grams of salt.

UNDER THE BRITISH.⁸

Chinese laborers in the British employ worked under different terms, as the following table will show:

TABLE 27.—DAILY WAGES AND MONTHLY ALLOWANCES OF CHINESE LABORERS IN BRITISH EMPLOY IN FRANCE.

| Position. | Daily wage (in francs). ¹ | Monthly allowance. ² |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Unskilled: | | |
| Coolies (laborers)..... | 1.00 | \$10.00 |
| Undergangers (in charge of section of 14 men)..... | 1.25 | 10.00 |
| Gangers (in charge of 4 sections of 14 men each)..... | 1.50 | 15.00 |
| English-speaking foremen (in charge of four gangers)..... | 2.00 | 20.00 |
| Skilled: | | |
| Blacksmiths..... | 1.50 | 13.00 |
| Fitters' mates..... | 1.50 | 13.00 |
| Marine engineers..... | 2.00 | 20.00 |
| Motor-boat drivers..... | 2.00 | 20.00 |
| Ship carpenters..... | 1.50 | 13.00 |
| Skilled fitters..... | 2.50 | 30.00 |
| Skilled smiths..... | 2.00 | 20.00 |
| Interpreters and hospital attendants:³ | | |
| Interpreters, Class I..... | 5.00 | 60.00 |
| Interpreters, Class II..... | 2.50 | 30.00 |
| Field interpreters (gangers)..... | 1.50 | 15.00 |
| Hospital attendants, Class I..... | 3.00 | 30.00 |
| Hospital attendants, Class II..... | 2.00 | 20.00 |
| Hospital attendants, Class III..... | 1.25 | 12.00 |

¹ Paid in France. One franc at par equals 19.3 cents.

² Mexican dollars, paid in China. One Mexican dollar at par equals 54.04 cents, United States money.

³ Great Britain. [War Office.] Directorate of Labor. Appendix to notes for officers of labor companies—Chinese labor. General Headquarters, October, 1917.

In addition the British contract specified that the worker was entitled to a free passage to and from the port of embarkation to his destination; that he should receive free food, lodging, fuel, light, and medical care; that he must serve a term of three years, the British Government having the option of terminating the contract any time after the end of the first year by giving a clear notice six months in advance; that during sickness he should receive no pay except food and lodging and his monthly allowance to his family in China, which was to continue up to six weeks' sickness, the payment to stop after that time; and that compensation was to be paid for death or injury arising out of the employment.⁹

⁷ See Appendix to Chapter IX, A, article 6, p. 203.

⁸ Far Eastern Review, April, 1918, p. 125 et seq. "Work of Chinese labor corps in France."

⁹ For details see Appendix to Chapter IX, B, p. 210.

STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL DISTURBANCES.

On the whole the Chinese workers caused little trouble to the military authorities of the Allies, though during their service of several years a few strikes and cases of industrial disturbance occurred which were due to the nonenforcement of provisions of contract, rough treatment, rigid military control, or severe punishment for small offenses.

About 2,000 Chinese who had been working at airplane factories for more than two years were suddenly transferred to an iron and steel works. After this transfer, many received lower wages and poorer food and lodging. A strike was declared, and since no satisfactory settlement could be reached by the employers and employees, the case was referred to the Marseille headquarters for arbitration.¹⁰

German airplanes frequently threw bombs near the living quarters of Chinese workers at Dunkirk. On September 2, 1917, air raids were specially menacing. As their lives were in jeopardy, the Chinese workers went on strike the following day. French armed guards entered their "groupements" and drove them to work. The Chinese resisted, using the bricks and tools that were at hand, and in the struggle that ensued, two Chinese were killed, and several on both sides were wounded. The case was settled by the two Governments concerned.¹¹

During April, 1920, when the French gas workers in Paris struck for higher wages, the French metropolis suffered a shortage of gas. The French Government ordered Chinese workers in neighboring towns to take the positions vacated by the strikers. To avoid accidents, the French Government placed armed guards at the entrances of the factories where the Chinese were used to break the strike. The working hours were increased from 10 to 12. This situation lasted for 10 days, when the strike was finally settled.¹²

The action of the Chinese workers in this case was repaid in kind by the French workers a little later. Chinese workers had been employed at Caen for three years, but they were forced out of employment in July, 1921, ostensibly because of the extensive unemployment in the community. French workers out of employment persuaded their French fellow workers in the same establishment to strike, demanding the dismissal of alien laborers, including the Chinese.¹³

The strikes and disturbances among the Chinese workers in French factories between November, 1916, and July, 1918, are shown in the table below:¹⁴

¹⁰ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Report No. 7, September, 1919, pp. 27, 28.

¹¹ Correspondence from Chinese labor commissioner to the French Bureau of Colonial Labor, Sept. 12, 1917.

¹² International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. of North America. Report for Paris, by P. C. Fugh, May, 1920.

¹³ *Idem.* Report by M. H. Wheeler, August, 1921.

¹⁴ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Report No. 5, April, 1919, pp. 23-25, and Report No. 3, December, 1918, pp. 29-31. (From notes of inspection trips of the Chinese labor commissioner in Paris.)

TABLE 28.—STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL DISTURBANCES AMONG CHINESE LABORERS IN FRANCE, 1916 TO 1918.

| Date. | Company and location. | Nature of disturbance. | Outcome. |
|---------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1916. | | | |
| Nov. 8 | Poudrerie nationale d'Oissel..... | Whole Chinese labor corps in riot. | Arbitration. |
| Nov. — | Arsenal militaire de Roanne..... | Strike..... | Dissolution of Chinese labor corps. |
| Nov. 13 | Poudrerie nationale de Bergerac..... | Fighting among laborers. | Reduction of laborers. |
| 1917. | | | |
| Jan. — | Poudrerie nationale de St. Fons..... | Violation of company's regulation. | Arbitration. |
| Jan. — | Poudrerie nationale d'Oissel..... | Strike..... | Do. |
| July — | Poudrerie nouvelle de St. Fons..... |do..... | Do. |
| July 12 |do..... | Conspiracy against company. | Dissolution of labor corps. |
| Aug. — | Service du Génie Américain à Aigrefeuille..... | Strike..... | Arbitration. |
| Sept. 9 | Acéries, Dunkirk..... |do..... | Do. |
| Sept. 9 | Société des Forges de Firminy, Dunkirk..... |do..... | Do. |
| Sept. — | Acéries de Grand Couronne..... | Violation of company's regulation. | Do. |
| Nov. 17 |do..... | Strike..... | Do. |
| Nov. 19 | Société des Chantiers et Ateliers, Toulon..... |do..... | Do. |
| Dec. 16 | Centre d'Aviation de Clermont..... | Agitation and dissatisfaction. | Conciliation. |
| Dec. 28 | Centre de Construction du Génie, Alençon..... | Strike..... | Arbitration. |
| 1918. | | | |
| Jan. 22 | Service du port maritime de Rouen..... | Fighting among laborers. | Dissolution of labor corps. |
| Feb. 19 | Service du transit maritime militaire de Brest... | Conspiracy against company. | Arbitration. |
| Feb. 23 | Centre de Construction du Génie, Salins..... | Violation of company's regulations. | Do. |
| Mar. 6 | Station-magasin, Ambronay..... | Riot..... | Do. |
| Mar. 28 | Intendance de la 18 ^e Région, Bordeaux..... | Strike..... | Do. |
| Apr. 28 | Société des Grands Travaux de Marseille, Beaumont-Monteux. | Riot..... | Do. |
| May — | Station-magasin de Salbris..... | Strike..... | Do. |
| May 18 | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée, Gravelle. |do..... | Do. |
| July 6 | Société des Forges et Chantiers de la "Méditerranée Fournaise" St.-Denis. |do..... | Do. |
| July 24 | Entrepôt de réserves générales Leyment..... | Riot..... | Do. |

COMPENSATION FOR ACCIDENTS.

In case a laborer in the French employ was killed in an accident his family was entitled to compensation at the following rates: If the death occurred within six months from the signing of the contract, the compensation was 135 francs (\$26.06, par), and if after a period of six months and before the expiration of the contract the compensation was 270 francs (\$52.11, par). The same rates applied to cases where death was due not to accident but to natural causes during the period of contract. If the death was caused by an accident when the worker was on his way home, his family was entitled to a compensation of 270 francs (\$52.11, par). In case the death was caused by a maritime war risk when the laborer was going to France, the compensation was 135 francs (\$26.06, par). But if the worker died of natural causes after the expiration of the contract there was no compensation. The Hui Min contract contained no provision concerning compensation for injuries arising out of the employment.

With the British Government different rates of compensation prevailed. For death or permanent total disability a sum of \$150 was paid; for partial disability a sum of \$75.

Among Chinese laborers in the British employ in the region of Isbergues and Noyon, 65 were killed between May and September,

1918, by bombs thrown from German airplanes.¹⁵ Between August 4, 1918, and April 30, 1919, 95 suffered death from the same cause while working for the British army around Dunkirk and Calais.¹⁶ Between April and August, 1919, 47 workers died en route to China, when the ships on which they had taken passage were sunk by German submarines. Between September 17, 1916, and May 1, 1918, 543 Chinese laborers and 209 Chinese sailors met accidental deaths on the high seas between France and China.¹⁷ While on their way home between June 16, 1919, and February 13, 1920, 47 persons died of disease.¹⁸

About 3,000 Chinese laborers in the British employ who were killed by German bombs while working in the vicinity of Calais were buried in a special cemetery, side by side with the British dead, by orders of the British Government.

The French Government buried the deceased Chinese workers at various places among the French dead soldiers, according to local customs, as provided in article 12 of the Hui Min contract.

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The presence of these large numbers of Chinese laborers in France led to the formation of various organizations to carry on their concerted activities. Some of these were started by the laborers themselves, while others were initiated by their well-wishers, primarily for their social and economic needs.

Among these organizations was the employment bureau which gave free information about opportunities for work, working conditions in French factories, wages, and hours of work. It provided housing accommodations for new arrivals from China and recommended them for employment.

The Franco-Chinese Trading Co. was the outgrowth of a consumers' cooperative store started by the workers themselves in order to provide themselves with sauce, vegetables, oils, sesameum, etc., which are important items of Chinese diet and which they had hitherto been forced to buy at high prices from Chinese retailers in France. The company became one of the large importing and exporting houses of the French-Chinese trade.

The Chinese Laborers' Society was an organization formed by the amalgamation of the Labor Union, the Workers' Society, and certain savings clubs. Its program embodied social reforms, elementary and vocational education for the proletariat, and social intercourse with industrial organizations of other nations.¹⁹ In a general way many labor organizations in China to-day adopt this program as a basis of their own activities.

The principal social institution among the Chinese laborers in France was the Chinese Federation, a superorganization having jurisdiction over half a dozen Chinese societies formed during the war. Its general functions were those of liaison between the French Government and the Chinese laborers in industrial and social relationships, the promotion of French-Chinese friendship, the provision of

¹⁵ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Report No. 6, July, 1919, pp. 23-30.

¹⁶ Idem. Report No. 4, January, 1919, pp. 1-10.

¹⁷ Idem. Report No. 2, December, 1918, pp. 1-4.

¹⁸ Idem. Miscellaneous report, November, 1920, section on research, pp. 43-48.

¹⁹ See Appendix to Chapter LX, C, pp. 210, 211.

employment, and the filling of the various needs of Chinese students in France, especially those who went there during the World War.

When a Chinese student arrived in Paris he was accommodated by the federation, which charged him a little more than 3 francs (58 cents, par) a day for board and lodging. The federation had an arrangement by which he might be sent to a school at relatively cheaper rates than were usually charged. In the quarters of the federation cultural organizations and overseas commercial and industrial clubs frequently met for discussion.

The federation maintained the Chung Hua Publishing House, which printed all the Chinese documents for the Chinese delegation at the Paris conference. A Chinese weekly devoted to the socio-economic welfare of the Chinese laborers also received financial help from the federation.

Among the organizations initiated by the laborers themselves were the company to cultivate waste land in China, formed in September, 1920, by a number of Chinese laborers at Souilly, who contributed 1,000 francs (\$193, par) each; and the Poo Yar Co. (for manufacturing noodles), capitalized at 30,000 francs (\$5,790, par) and organized in October, 1921, by 50 workers at Marseille, most of whom were students of the Y. M. C. A. evening schools of that city. In addition there was a considerable number of savings clubs, reading circles, self-government clubs, and antigambling clubs which were usually organized by small groups of laborers. These clubs were very informal, had few regulations, and met irregularly.

WELFARE WORK AMONG CHINESE LABORERS IN FRANCE.

Never before in the history of Chinese labor abroad had the social welfare of the workers been so well looked after as was done in France. This work was done chiefly under the direction of the Y. M. C. A., many of whose workers among the Chinese were themselves Chinese, mainly graduates from American universities, who were especially valuable because of their knowledge of the language and customs of the laborers. Much of the money to carry on the work was raised in China itself.²⁰

The work done by the Y. M. C. A. among the Chinese was along social, recreational, and educational lines. Canteens were established at many of the more important camps. Recreation in the form of moving pictures, concerts, theatricals, games, athletics, etc., was provided. Many of the Y. M. C. A. workers showed a personal interest in the men, visiting them when they were sick, advising them in trouble, writing letters for them, etc. A Chinese weekly was issued; this was later made a biweekly publication and was finally discontinued in 1921.

Evening classes were formed in a variety of subjects, including writing by the phonetic system, arithmetic, hygiene, history, geography, advanced Chinese, letter writing, elementary French, and singing. Pupils successfully completing the Y. M. C. A. educational course were awarded diplomas.

²⁰ China's subscription to the United War Work Campaign amounted to \$1,416,000, 59 per cent of which was spent on Y. M. C. A. work among the Chinese laborers in France and was sufficient to cover all the expenses up to the end of 1920.

When the Chinese first arrived in France, only about 20 per cent were literate, but toward the end of 1921, when the educational work had been going on for over two years, this figure had risen to about 38 per cent.

SAVINGS.

Efforts were made to counteract the Chinese bent for gambling, not only by providing profitable employment for the laborers' spare time, but by encouraging the formation of savings clubs. Those who saved the most had their names posted on a bulletin board.

In a telegram to the President of the Chinese Republic, dated May 26, 1919, Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to London, stated that 51,000,000 francs (\$9,843,000, par) had been deposited in French banks by Chinese laborers. This sum might be taken to represent savings of 130,000 workers in 19 months, or an average saving of 20.65 francs (\$3.99, par) per person per month. Out of this total, probably over 35,000,000 francs (\$6,755,000, par) came from the savings of the British-employed Chinese, as they were said to have an average saving of about 25 francs (\$4.83, par) per month. This could be explained by two facts, namely, that they were stationed in northwestern France where the cost of living was relatively lower and that the system of monthly allowance to be sent to China, which was instituted by the British, greatly stimulated their desire to save.

If beginning with June, 1919, when there were still about 30,000 Chinese in France, the rate of repatriation was taken to be about 1,000 men per month and the average monthly saving 15 francs (\$2.90, par) per person, the additional savings up to the end of October, 1921, when there were only about 6,000 men in France, would have amounted to about 8,000,000 francs (\$1,544,000, par).

FRENCH-CHINESE MARRIAGES.

As a number of Chinese laborers married French girls during their stay in France, the question received considerable attention from French and Chinese authorities. On January 1, 1919, the Chinese Emigration Bureau promulgated a marriage law stipulating that each intended marriage must first be permitted by the laborer's family. Such permission must be submitted by his family to the Chinese Ministry of the Interior, thence communicated to the Chinese legation, or the nearest consulate where the laborer was employed. The Chinese legation or consulate would then issue a marriage license. The aim of this law was to prevent cases of bigamy, as many laborers were married before they went to France.

Shortly afterwards the French Ministry of the Interior prohibited marriages between French girls and Chinese workers. The French press gave wide publicity to the subject. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo was inclined to agree with the French Ministry, while Prof. S. T. Li and Mr. Li Tchun, Chinese labor commissioner in France, contended that marriage was on the basis of personal relationship and should therefore be free from legislative interference of any description. However, they all indorsed the view of the Chinese Ministry of the Interior that bigamy should be prevented.

PROBLEMS OF LABOR CONTROL.

As the Chinese were induced to go to France by the invitation of the French Government, administrative policies of the French Government were inclined to be lenient. A circular from the French Ministry of War to all army officers, dated June 9, 1917, states:

Offenses of the Chinese laborers at French munition factories should be punished by the same laws to which French soldiers are subject. But as Chinese laborers are undoubtedly ignorant of French laws, allowance should be made whenever proper. Thus, refusal to obey orders may be regarded by the Chinese as a small offense, but every French citizen knows that this is a grave and serious matter. If a Chinese laborer commits an offense, it should be inquired whether or not he knows the law before he is convicted. Although leniency is desirable, it is not wise to show discrimination in their favor, so as to invite criticism of the Government by French laborers. Also, we should so act as not to give a good cause to German propagandists in China who are working to obstruct our recruiting of Chinese laborers there. It is also your duty to inform the French public that the Chinese have come not through coercion, but by their own free will, and that they have come to help us in industry.²¹

But problems arising from a multitude of causes complicated the Chinese labor situation in France during the war.

In the first place, the violation of contractual provisions presented difficulties to the labor administrators. The length of employment, as specified in the British contract, was three years; but the British Government, as before noted, reserved the right to terminate it any time after the first year if a notice to this effect was given six months in advance. In some cases laborers were sent back before the expiration of their contract without giving them notice, as required. The workers were then compensated by pay for six months.

In addition to its contract with the Hui Min syndicate, the French Government also had agreements with a French company at Shameen, Kwangtung, which carried a provision that the employer or laborer might terminate the contract at any time, and the recruiting agent had the right to recover the repatriation fee for the laborer from his employer if the contract was repudiated before its expiration.

In some contracts made between the French and Chinese labor contractors a provision was made that if the employer could not continue to employ the laborer and the laborer found himself thus out of employment without fault of his own, he was entitled to 1 franc (19.3 cents, par) a day in addition to his board and lodging.

Under the two conditions last mentioned, certain difficulties arose. At one time in 1919, more than 3,000 workers were sent to Marseille before the expiration of their contract, through no fault of the laborers. Many of them were contracted for by private companies, but very few succeeded in getting the repatriation fee to which their contract entitled them, and they failed to receive the 1 franc bonus per day while they were waiting for passage at Marseille.

The Hui Min contract required that the Chinese workers be given new clothes at the end of September each year. The failure of many employers to comply with this provision promptly, and dissatisfaction with the clothing furnished, caused many complaints.²²

In some French factories Chinese skilled laborers were given no opportunity to make use of their special skill, and in consequence

²¹ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Report No. 1, Nov. 1918, p. 10.

²² Correspondence from Chinese labor commissioner to the French Bureau of Colonial Labor, Nov. 6, 1917.

were paid the wages of common laborers. This gave rise to general discontent.

In the second place, administrative problems constituted a source of friction between the employers and the employees. On March 1, 1919, Chinese laborers at Arras complained to the Chinese labor commissioner at Paris that they had been paid only up to the latter half of January, that because their employers did not provide them adequate living quarters they were forced to go to the forests to gather wood with which to make beds, and for so doing they had been sued by French citizens, and that because of the lack of foremen for supervision, they could not work efficiently and were occasionally hurt by the explosion of bombs uncovered in the work of cleaning away the débris of war.²³

In some instances, conditions were beyond the employers' control. Thus, munition factories in the Arras region had to be closed down occasionally when threatened by German bombers. When Chinese workers were thus out of employment they were paid 1 franc (19.3 cents, par) a day in addition to their board and lodging. During rainy seasons many Chinese laborers at Arras had to stay at their living quarters for lack of raincoats. As raincoats are considered a part of the laborers' equipment,²⁴ they demanded that the employers provide them with these, so that they could work in the rain. This was granted in some cases.

When the supply of beef in France was running short, French factories at Dunkirk used horse meat as a substitute to feed their Chinese employees, a procedure which led to considerable discontent among the rank and file. The matter was promptly brought to the attention of the French Government and the practice was discontinued.²⁵

The inability to communicate ideas by means of a common language was a cause of misunderstanding. Attempting to hurry the workers, an American Army officer spoke thus: "Come on, let's go," emphasizing the word "go." As that word sounds like the Chinese word "kou," meaning "dog," the Chinese considered that they were being reviled and refused to work.

Lastly, many Chinese workers found it difficult to adapt themselves to the new environment and its different customs. At home, for instance, they were used to taking 10 or 15 minutes off for tea each afternoon. At work under the command of French army officers this habit was absolutely prohibited.

THE REPATRIATION.

As the British Government contracted to employ most of the Chinese laborers for only three years, their repatriation began in the fall of 1919 and was completed on April 6, 1920. The French contract was for five years, with the option of terminating it by the French Government at the end of the third year; so, although their repatriation began almost simultaneously with that of the Chinese working for the British, the work was not ended until March, 1922.

²³ Correspondence from Chinese labor commissioner in France to the French Bureau of Colonial Labor, Mar. 1, 1919.

²⁴ See Appendix to Chapter I, H, (pp. 177 to 179), especially article 21 (a).

²⁵ Correspondence from Chinese labor commissioner in France to the French Bureau of Colonial Labor, Sept. 12, 1917.

The 1,850 Chinese workers who are still in France have signed new contracts and are free from former contractual obligations.

Because of the cases of hardship to the returning Chinese that arose in the course of repatriation, due to language difficulties, inadequate transport facilities, and blunders in routing, the Chinese Emigration Bureau promulgated five regulations regarding repatriation:

1. Before repatriation, the Government of the country of employment shall submit to the Chinese legation there a list of returning laborers.
2. After receiving such list, the Chinese legation shall cable to the Chinese Emigration Bureau, specifying the number of laborers, the steamship, date of departure, and date and port of arrival.
3. When the number of laborers exceeds 500, the Chinese legation or consulate shall appoint a special agent to accompany them.
4. Without a legitimate cause, no laborer shall receive maltreatment on board the ship. The special agent shall be responsible for the punishment of their offenses, if any. When an offense is committed the offender shall be judged by legal process and not by any private agencies.
5. When a steamer arrives at a port, the emigration bureau shall notify its nearest branch or appoint a special agent to count the number of the returning laborers, etc., before it acts concurrently with local authorities to disperse the laborers.

The French and British Governments were, under the contract, responsible for sending laborers to the port of embarkation, but not for sending them home. From the port of embarkation to the laborer's home the work of dispersion was done by the Chinese Emigration Bureau or its branches or special agents. In many cases the laborers had saved nothing. Thus, from September 13, 1919, to May 25, 1920, seven groups of laborers returned to China, among whom 3,001 were found penniless. Their traveling expenses home were paid by the Pukow branch of the emigration bureau.²⁶

CONDITION OF RETURNED LABORERS IN CHINA.

Those laborers who have returned to Chihli and Shantung are mostly engaged in farming and are fairly prosperous. With their savings they have bought farms ranging from 5 to 20 acres to grow rice, wheat, or millet. Before their trip to France most of them were without occupation or property. Now a number of them appear to be in comfortable circumstances. Those who have returned to Shanghai and Canton have reentered industry, but, owing to the social and industrial unrest in recent years and the extensive unemployment, the majority of them have not been getting on well. Besides, their needs are greater, and they have acquired a taste for greater luxuries than their fellow workers in the same occupations are accustomed to; they have therefore insisted on shorter hours and higher pay, which frequently put them under a disadvantage in securing jobs.

While the laborers were in France, social conditions in China changed rapidly, and these workmen have found it difficult successfully to readjust themselves to the home environment. Mr. L. T. Chen, of the Shanghai Y. M. C. A., who had worked among the Chinese laborers in France, in a communication to the writer dated June 12, 1922, summarized this point clearly:

On the whole, the returned laborers have all been absorbed into their former life, so that it is hardly noticeable at all that they have been abroad. They are not in favor of being considered as a special class, and any attempt to group them together

²⁶ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Miscellaneous report, November, 1920, section on research, pp. 91-93.

often occasions resentment. To start with, they resent the application of Hua Kung [Chinese laborers]. They feel that there is no necessity of still calling them by that name since they are back at home and are not different from other laborers. If one were to draw any conclusion at all, one would be more inclined to think that their stay abroad has done them more harm than good. They lived in abnormal conditions in France and had a comparatively easy life. On coming home they generally look for the kind of work that requires less exertion and yields greater profit. This, of course, is not easily found, and consequently they are a dissatisfied lot. True, their eyes were opened to newer things and their needs were enlarged, but their ability did not grow proportionately. Lately they have addressed an appeal to the directory of the rehabilitation of Shantung asking for employment in the work of that Province. It is hoped that some provision will be made for them so that these men will be provided for somehow.

In the present labor movement some of the returned laborers are playing an active part. In addition to their common struggle for higher wages, they particularly stress the need of abstaining from gambling, drinking, and opium smoking, and they have formed the Returned Laborers' Union of Shanghai, whose aim is to cooperate with the workers in order to strengthen collective bargaining and to increase a common knowledge through frequent association.²⁷

Since the repatriation began, the Chinese Government has devised means of employing the returned laborers.²⁸ The San Man Wan district in Chekiang Province, chosen to be a model city in municipal government, was the first to consider possible the absorbing of a large number of these men in agriculture, industry, road building, and in the construction of the harbors, docks, power plants, and factories. A wealthy Chinese, a long resident of Singapore and an experienced promoter of industries, petitioned the Chinese Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce for a charter to utilize the labor supply for the industrial development of the district. On June 16, 1920, this was granted,²⁹ but recent political developments have hindered any material progress in this project.

²⁷ Monthly Labor Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, August, 1921, p. 24.

²⁸ For regulations see Appendix IX, E, p. 211.

²⁹ China. Emigration Bureau. Conditions of Chinese laborers in France. Miscellaneous report, November, 1920, section of official correspondence, pp. 41, 42.

Chapter X.—CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

To recapitulate, the specific problems of this investigation are found in the following queries: Historically, what have been the relations between China and other nations to which a considerable number of Chinese have gone? What have been the antecedents and consequences of various economic, social, and sometimes political conflicts which have arisen from the contacts brought about by these emigrants? Economically, what rôle have the overseas Chinese played in commerce, labor, industries, and professions? In what ways have they benefited themselves, their fatherland, and their adopted countries? Socially, what has been the degree of their adaptability with special reference to education, self-government, marriage, and customs and manners? What special social problems have presented themselves and in how far have adequate adjustments been made?

In answering these questions the data available in some cases are fairly satisfactory, while in regard to others they are disappointing. However, on the basis of the data hereinafter summarized the writer submits certain considerations concerning China's policies, especially concerning emigration and population. These may be stated under four main headings—viz, (1) the foreign governments under whose jurisdiction the Chinese reside, (2) the Chinese themselves, (3) China, and (4) China's future policies on emigration and population.

CONCLUSIONS RELATING TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

(1) In countries where the Chinese have settled for a number of years and have become an integral part of the population, they have gone into trades and industries and helped to increase the economic wealth of these countries. Some of these industries were initiated by the Chinese, others being developed mainly through their aid in labor or capital. Thus, the retail trade in a number of countries studied in this monograph is controlled or dominated by the Chinese, particularly in Java and the Philippines. In the latter country over 30 per cent of the Chinese population belongs to the merchant class, which controls from 70 to 80 per cent of the trade in the islands. Furthermore, in each country under survey, the Chinese have helped to build up particular industries, such as tea culture in Formosa, pineapple growing and canning in Singapore, and tin mining in Banka and Billiton.

(2) When foreign governments have directly or indirectly engaged Chinese to develop industries by signing a contract with them, the experiments have been financially successful to the employers, as, for instance, in the gold mines at The Rand in the Transvaal and the war industries in France during the European war.

(3) In countries where the Chinese population is considerable, the Government derives much revenue from the Chinese community. Thus, in the Philippines over 65 per cent of the internal revenue

taxes is paid by the Chinese, and the Government of the Straits Settlements receives from 40 to 50 per cent or more of its revenues from the State monopoly of opium,¹ the opium being almost entirely consumed by the Chinese in the colony.

(4) In the pioneer days of European colonization influential Chinese were commonly employed as intermediaries between the colonial governments and the natives over whom they ruled. Due to their early trade relations and ability to speak native dialects, the service of the Chinese proved indispensable to the colonial governments.

(5) On the question of governing the Chinese the foreign governments have encountered innumerable difficulties. These arise mainly through their inability to appreciate Chinese manners and customs and their failure to suppress vice and social evils. In recent years the former difficulty has been partially solved by encouraging self-government of the Chinese under their own leaders, such as the "Captain China" system in the Dutch East Indies and the Chinese advisory boards in the Straits Settlements. The latter is yet a vexing problem to the colonial governments, particularly regarding such evils as gambling, opium, and secret societies.

CONCLUSIONS RELATING TO CHINESE EMIGRANTS.

(1) On the whole the socio-economic status of the Chinese emigrants has been materially improved over that of their premigration days or over that of their brethren in the same social class in China. A very small number of them have amassed fortunes, while a great majority have a higher scale of wages and higher plane of living than their friends and relatives at home.

(2) Marriages between the Chinese and members of other races have been rather frequent. This racial fusion seems to have produced commendable eugenic effects upon the offspring, although in some cases unworthy traits are also in evidence. Should intermarriage become sufficiently common, new light might be thrown on the question of desirability or undesirability of racial amalgamation.

(3) The little evidence available shows that Chinese emigrants of the first generation have shown little capacity for social adaptation, as most of them have been too much occupied in making a living in new lands and have had little opportunity for self-improvement. The process of assimilation usually begins slowly, with the second generation.

(4) The life of the Chinese in foreign countries is not pleasant. To a great extent, they have been legally discriminated against, socially ostracized, and occasionally humiliated. In recent social or economic conflicts with other racial groups, they have had to cope with the situation by deliberate and tactful action mainly by their own leaders, little protection being afforded by the Government of China.

CONCLUSIONS RELATING TO CHINA.

(1) In the processes of modernizing China, the part played by the overseas Chinese, though small, should not be overlooked. They have given a loyal and unflinching support to the two leading organiza-

¹ Since 1898, as shown in the Blue Books for the Straits Settlements, the revenue derived from the sale of opium has ranged from 41.8 to 59.1 per cent of the total revenue.

tions of Young China which brought about the Republic of 1911 and are committed to the social and political regeneration of the nation.

(2) The Chinese emigrants are usually interested in the welfare of their mother country and of their compatriots. Frequently, they have shown generosity in contributing money for educational and cultural institutions, for charity, famine relief, and other noteworthy purposes in China.² Of late, numerous industrial enterprises on a large scale have been undertaken by Chinese emigrants in cooperation with their friends in China to develop the natural resources, increase the wealth of the country, and give employment to a countless number of poor people.

(3) But considered in its larger aspects, Chinese emigration during the last few centuries has not materially relieved the pressure of the home population. It has been estimated that the total number of Chinese now residing abroad hardly exceeds 8,179,582. This is a truly insignificant number, as the total population of China is now estimated to be 375,377,000 persons, exclusive of the Province of Szechwan.

(4) In recent years the relations between China and other nations have been complicated by the emigration question, which has resulted in the enactment of Chinese exclusion laws and immigration acts prohibiting the free entry of the Chinese into certain Caucasian countries and their colonies or dependencies.

SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO CHINA'S POLICIES ON EMIGRATION AND POPULATION.

Instead of discussing the question of the equity or inequity of these discriminatory laws, consideration is here given to the methods suggested for China to meet the situation in a practical manner. Among the immediate measures that might appropriately engage China's serious attention is, first, governmental supervision of emigration. Private emigration companies, which are primarily concerned with profits, do not often hesitate to exploit helpless emigrants. Much of the vice and inhumane treatment formerly associated with the slave trade from Macao to Cuba and Peru still exists in the emigration to British Malakka, the East Indies, and the Philippines. Cases are on record of emigrants being induced to go to these countries through fraud and coercion. In fact, the emigrants to these places are sometimes known as "hogs" and the emigrant brokers as "hog dealers." The findings of the Chinese commissioner concerning recent conditions in the Dutch colonies as shown in Chapter IV (p. 64) are appalling. All these facts point to the urgent need of Government intervention to prevent the commercial agencies from inflicting further injustice and cruelty on the poverty-stricken emigrants.

² Thus, when the Washington conference decided to let China redeem the Shantung railway from Japan by paying her the cost of the line, \$28,600,000, Mexican (\$15,455,440, par), was at once pledged toward the redemption fund by the Chinese in the following places:

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Samarang..... | \$6,000,000 |
| San Francisco..... | 8,000,000 |
| Borneo..... | 1,600,000 |
| Java..... | 2,000,000 |
| Philippine Islands..... | 2,000,000 |
| Siam..... | 2,000,000 |
| Mexico..... | 3,000,000 |
| Singapore..... | 4,000,000 |

The data are from the North China Herald, Shanghai, weekly edition, Mar. 23, 1922.

Second, there is urgent need of revision of the treaties regarding emigration. By some of the existing treaties, such as the treaty of 1860, signed between Great Britain and China, China obligates herself to furnish laborers upon the demand of some foreign governments. There is no consideration or *quid pro quo* offered to China for her promise to send emigrants.³ The experiment in emigrant labor during the last half century has brought enormous benefits to foreign countries, but yields little gain to China and only slight improvement to the emigrants themselves. Therefore, the revision of conventions and treaties on the lines of mutual benefit to the contracting parties and the cessation of exploitation of human labor should be undertaken by China at the first appropriate moment.

In the third place, a model contract for emigrant labor should be adopted. Since 1860, Chinese laborers abroad have been used by foreign employers and governments mainly to enrich themselves. The Chinese contract to work for a certain period at a certain rate of pay and are not permitted to engage in any independent undertaking during the term of the contract. When the contract expires they are sent back to China. Thus the savings from their wages constitute their sole consideration. Yet experience has shown that these savings have amounted to very insignificant sums.

An effective way of improving this situation would be the enunciation and maintenance on the part of China of a guiding principle—namely, the social and economic elevation of the emigrants.

Recent laws of the Chinese Emigration Bureau, as discussed in Chapter I and reproduced in the appendix to Chapter I, perhaps have this objective in view. But to protect the emigrants in more practical ways a labor contract should include the following provisions, some of which agree in principle with the principal contents of the agreement on the employment of Chinese laborers promulgated by the Chinese Emigration Bureau in 1918: (a) No laborer should be permitted to leave China unless the wage offered is at least 50 per cent higher than that prevailing at home; (b) a part of the laborer's wage should be remitted monthly to his family without fail; (c) as far as practicable the wages of Chinese workers and those of other nationalities in the same occupations should be the same; (d) there should be adequate provision for the workers' education and ample and wholesome recreation; (e) there should be free passage to and from the port of embarkation, free meals, lodging, and medical attendance; and (f) in addition to wages and bonuses there should be a certain inducement to the workers, such as the privilege of engaging in commerce and trade in the country of employment after the term of contract. Should this condition be in conflict with the laws of the country, other inducements should be offered.

In addition to these proposed measures some more fundamental considerations should be outlined. China's emigration problem as set forth in these pages clearly arises from the pressure of population. Effective efforts toward solving that problem must therefore lie chiefly in the improvement of social and economic conditions in the home country. Certain suggestions along these lines are here offered:

³See Appendix to Chapter I, B, pp. 168 and 171.

(1) An interprovincial migration on a large scale would tend to equalize the density of population and relieve the congestion in some Provinces. Thus, Manchuria with an area of 363,700 square miles supports 13,701,819 individuals, or 37 persons to the square mile. The Province of Kansu has an area of 125,483 square miles and a population of 5,927,997, or a density of 47 persons to the square mile.⁴ In southwestern China, Yunnan Province has an area of 146,714 square miles and within its boundaries live 9,839,180 persons, or 67 persons to the square mile. These regions represent the lowest densities in the country. A more even distribution would be obtained if the inhabitants of the more crowded Provinces should go there, particularly from the Provinces of Anhwei (density, 337); Chekiang (density, 600); Chihli (density, 294); Fukien (density, 284); Honan (density, 454); Hunan (density, 341); Hupeh (density, 380); Kiangsi (density, 353); Kiangsu (density, 875); Kwangtung (density, 373); and Shantung (density, 550). Moreover, Manchuria, Kansu, and Yunnan have proportionately larger areas of arable unused lands than have other Provinces, as already shown in Table 4 (page 8).

In addition, Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Tibet, whose densities are not known, are believed to be less densely populated than the Yangtze Valley and the coast regions of the country. These regions have excellent farms and pastures. Young and adventurous Chinese should be encouraged to make homes there.

(2) Economic opportunities should be created in order to raise the plane of living of the wage earners. About one-fourth of the Chinese population is propertyless and must make a living through skilled or unskilled labor. When the demand for labor is slack in the country, many of them emigrate to seek a livelihood beyond the seas. Employment could be created for millions of them by the development of industries, mines, and factories along lines already started.⁵ In a small way, the creation of employment was successfully tried out during the North China famine of 1921. About 1,000 miles of highways were built in the Provinces of Shansi, Chihli, and Shantung by employing famine sufferers. These were given a daily ration plus a nominal allowance to the members of their families. As a result the famine sufferers and their families escaped starvation and new roads were built for the convenient transportation of agricultural products. What has been done as an experiment in this instance may be done on a large scale, and the multitude of people who yearly go out to Singapore, Muntok, and Tanjung Pandan as indentured laborers may be used to good advantage at home if important industries are sufficiently well developed to meet the increasing industrial needs of the country.

(3) The food supply of the country could be increased in three practicable ways. First, the food-producing area could be extended by the cultivation of arable lands in other Provinces than those in Manchuria, Kansu, and Yunnan in Table 4, above referred to.

Second, the acreage of cultivated land of China, which according to the report of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce is 1,574,-889,836 mow (262,481,639 acres)⁶ could be increased by at least 10 per

⁴ This and the succeeding figures concerning density of population are estimates of the Chinese Post-office Department made in 1920.

⁵ Tyan, M. T. Z.: *China Awakened*. New York, 1922, Chapter XII.

⁶ See Table 3, p. 7.

cent by diminishing, consolidating, and abolishing extensive graveyards, which are so common in most villages and usually occupy very fertile fields.

Third, an improved system of transportation would greatly facilitate the transportation of food articles from the food-producing districts to other Provinces for consumption or to seaports for export. This would insure a rise in prices and would give farmers an incentive to increase their output of farm products. An almost parallel instance is found in the United States. During the World War, the annual production of food in the United States was increased about 10 per cent over that of the pre-war period because of two circumstances: First, favorable crop conditions in the first two years of the war; and, second, heavy export demand and consequent high prices which led the farmers to plant larger acreages.⁷

(4) In spite of unsatisfactory social and economic conditions in recent years, the population of China appears to have increased greatly, as roughly indicated in Chapter I (p. 5). This large increase of population has further pressed upon the land supply of the nation. Intensive cultivation has been resorted to in many parts of the country, and the economic law of diminishing returns is generally in active operation. Because the soil is constantly used and because little relief is given to it, there seems ample evidence of soil exhaustion and depletion.⁸

As immigration is almost nil, this increase of population is almost entirely due to the excess of births over deaths during the last decade. Although reliable vital statistics for the entire country are not available, the indications are that the birth rate is high, as are also the death rate and infant mortality.⁹

Cultural advancement presupposes leisure. But, due partly to this pressure of population, in China, to-day, an immense number of people are busily engaged in making a bare living, and there is little opportunity for self-improvement. The struggle for existence is severe, and the struggle for achievement among the general populace is almost negligible. Livelihood for the wage-earning classes is on the verge of minimum subsistence, and little surplus energy is available for seeking anything higher. Advance in civilization is therefore hindered.

When education reaches the great masses and fundamental laws of population are generally understood, families will be smaller and the material wants of the people can be satisfied with proportionately less effort, so that poverty may be diminished and the cultural level substantially raised; the needy may no longer be forced to emigrate in large numbers; and the socio-economic welfare of the people will be materially improved.

⁷ Pearl, Raymond: *The Nation's Food*. Philadelphia, 1920, p. 78.

⁸ Lee, Mabel Ping-hua: *The Economic History of China*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, 1921.

⁹ In *The Changing Chinese*, E. A. Ross has given estimates for some Chinese cities.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

A.—CONVENTION TO REGULATE THE ENGAGEMENT OF CHINESE EMIGRANTS BY BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBJECTS, MARCH 5, 1866.¹

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China having requested that, in accordance with the terms of the conventions signed at Peking the 24th and 25th of October, 1860, a set of regulations should be framed to secure to Chinese emigrants those safeguards which are requested for their moral and physical well-being, the following after due discussion and deliberation to the Yamen of Foreign Affairs have been adopted by the undersigned and will henceforth be in force:

ARTICLE I. Any person desiring to open an emigration agency in any port in China must make an application in writing to that effect to his consul inclosing at the same time copy of the rules which he proposes to observe in his establishment, copy of the contract which he offers to emigrants, together with necessary proofs that he has complied with all the conditions imposed by the laws of his country regulating emigration.

ART. II. The consul, after having assured himself of the solvency and respectability of the applicant, and having examined and approved the copies of the rules and contracts, shall communicate them to the Chinese authorities and shall request them to issue the license necessary for opening an emigration agency.

The license, together with the rules and contracts as approved by the Chinese authorities, will be registered at the consulate.

ART. III. No license to open an emigration agency shall be withdrawn except upon sufficient grounds, and then only with the sanction of the consul. In such a case the emigration agent shall have no claim to compensation for the closing of his establishment and the suspension of his operations.

ART. IV. No modification of the rules and contracts, when once approved by the consul and by the Chinese authorities, shall be made without their express consent; and in order that no emigrant may be ignorant of them, the said rules and contracts shall in all cases be posted up on the door of the emigration agency and in the quarters of the emigrants.

The emigration agents shall be allowed to circulate and make generally known in the towns and villages of the Province copies of these rules and contracts, which must in all cases bear the seals of the Chinese authorities and of the consulate.

ART. V. Every emigration agent shall be held responsible, under the laws of his country, for the due execution of the clauses of the contract signed by him, until its expiration.

ART. VI. Every Chinese employed by the emigration agent to find him emigrants shall be provided with a special license from the Chinese authorities, and he alone will be responsible for any act done by him in the above capacity that may be, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in contravention of the laws of the Empire.

ART. VII. Every Chinese wishing to emigrate under an engagement shall cause his name to be entered in a register kept for that purpose, in the presence of the emigration agent and of an inspector deputed by the Chinese Government. He will then be at liberty to return to his home or to remain in the emigration depot to wait the departure of the ship which is to carry him to his destination.

ART. VIII. The contracts shall specify—

1st. The place of destination or the length of the engagement.

2d. The right of the emigrant to be conveyed back to his own country, and the sum which shall be paid at the expiration of his contract to cover the expense of his voyage home and that of his family should they accompany him.

3d. The number of working-days in the year and the length of each day's work.

4th. The wages, rations, clothing, and other advantages promised to the emigrant.

5th. Gratuitous medical attendance.

¹ This Convention was signed at Peking, in English, Chinese, and French, Mar. 5, 1866. Ratification was refused by the British and French Governments. The present text is not taken direct from the official originals. See China: Inspectorate General of Customs: Treaties between China and foreign States, Vol. I, pp. 467-477, 2d edition, 1917, Shanghai.

6th. The sum which the emigrant agrees to set aside out of his monthly wages for the benefit of persons to be named by him, should he desire to appropriate any sum to such a purpose.

7th. Copy of Articles VIII, IX, X, XIV and XXII of these regulations.

Any clause which shall purport to render invalid any of the provisions of this regulation is null and void.

ART. IX. The term of each emigrant's engagement shall not exceed five years, at the expiration of which the sum stipulated in the contract shall be paid for him to cover the expense of his return to his country. In the event of his obtaining permission to remain without an engagement in the colony, this sum will be placed in his own hands.

It shall always be at the option of the emigrant to enter into a second engagement of five years, for which he shall be paid a minimum equivalent to one-half the cost of his return to China. In such a case, the sum destined to cover the expense of his return home shall not be paid until the expiration of his second engagement.

Every emigrant who may become invalided and incapable of working shall be allowed, without waiting for the expiration of his contract, to claim before the legal courts of the colony or territory where he may be, payment on his behalf of the sum destined to cover the expense of his return to China.

ART. X. The emigrant shall in no case be forced to work more than six days out of seven nor more than nine hours and a half in the day.

The emigrant shall be free to arrange with his employer the conditions of work by the piece or job and all of extra labor undertaken during days and hours set apart for rest.

The obligation on holidays to attend to cattle or to do such service as the necessity of daily life may demand shall not be considered as labor.

ART. XI. No engagement to emigrate entered into by any Chinese subject under 20 years of age will be valid unless he produce a certificate from the proper Chinese authorities stating that he has been authorized to contract such engagement by his parents or, in default of his parents, by the magistrate of the port at which he is to embark.

ART. XII. Every four days, but not less, from the date of the entry of emigrant's name on the register of the agency, the officer deputed by the Chinese Government being present, the contract shall be read to the emigrant, and he shall be asked whether he agrees to it, and having answered in the affirmative he shall then and there append his signature thereto.

ART. XIII. The contract once signed, the emigrant is at the disposal of the agent and must not absent himself from the depot without the permission of the agent.

Before embarking, every emigrant shall be called before the officer deputed by the Chinese authorities to ratify his contract which shall be registered at the consulate.

Twenty-four hours before the sailing of the ship the emigrants shall be mustered on board before the consul and the inspector of the customs, or their deputies, and the list shall be finally closed for signature and registration by the consul and the inspector.

Any individual refusing to proceed after this muster shall be bound to repay the expenses of his maintenance in the emigration depot at the rate of one hundred cash (one-tenth of a tael) per diem; in default of payment he shall be handed over to the Chinese magistrate, to be punished according to the laws.

ART. XIV. Any sum handed over to the emigrant before his departure shall only be regarded in the light of a premium upon his engagement; all advances upon his future wages are formally forbidden, except in the case of their being appropriated to the use of his family, and the consul will take especial pains to provide against their being employed in any other way. Such advances shall not exceed six months' wages, and shall be covered by a stoppage of one dollar per month until the entire debt shall have been paid.

It is strictly forbidden, whether on the voyage or during the emigrant's stay in the colony or territory in which he may be employed, to make any advances to him in money or kind payable after the expiration of his engagement. Any agreement of this nature shall be null and void and shall give the creditor no power to oppose the return of the emigrant to his country at the time fixed by the contract.

ART. XV. The emigrant during his stay in the depot shall be bound to conform to the regulations adopted for its internal economy by the consul and the Chinese authorities.

ART. XVI. Any emigrant who may be riotous or guilty of any misconduct shall be immediately locked up until the arrival of the officers deputed by the Chinese authorities to whom he will be handed over to be punished in conformity with the laws of the Empire, the officers of the agency being in no case authorized to take the law into their own hands and inflict any punishment.

ART. XVII. The deputies of the consul and of the Chinese authorities shall at all times be empowered to demand admittance to the agency, and to summon the emigrants before them for purposes of interrogation.

They will be present at the signing of the contracts and at the embarkation of the coolies.

They will see to the maintenance of order, to the healthfulness and cleanliness of the rooms destined to receive the emigrants, to the separation of families and women, and to the arrangements on board the transport ships.

They may at any time demand that experts or medical officers shall be called in order to verify any defects which they may have remarked; they may suspend the embarkation of emigrants in ships the arrangements on board of which may seem to them defective, and they may reject coolies afflicted with contagious diseases.

ART. XVIII. The emigration agent shall be bound to pay into the customs bank the sum of \$3 for every male adult entered on the list of coolies embarked to meet the expenses of inspection.

ART. XIX. Any emigrant claimed by the Chinese Government as an offender against the law shall be handed over to the authorities without opposition through the consul; and in such case the whole sum expended for the maintenance of the emigrant in the agency or on board ship shall be repaid immediately to the emigration agent, at the rate of one hundred cash (one-tenth of a tael) per diem. The sum of the premium, advances, clothes, etc., entered in the agency register against such emigrant shall in like manner be repaid by the Chinese Government.

ART. XX. The emigration agent shall not be at liberty to embark emigrants on board any ship which shall not have satisfied the consul that, in respect of its internal economy, stores, and sanitary arrangements, all the conditions required by the laws of the country to which the said ship may belong are fulfilled.

Should the Chinese authorities, upon the reports of the officers deputed by them, conceive it their duty to protest against the embarkation of a body of emigrants in a ship approved by the consul, it shall be in the power of the customs to suspend the granting of the ship's port clearance until further information shall have been obtained and until the final decision of the legation of the country to which the suspected ship belongs shall have been pronounced.

ART. XXI. On arrival of the ship at her destination the duplicate of the list of emigrants shall be presented by the captain to be viséed by his consul and by the local authorities.

In the margin and opposite to the name of each emigrant note shall be made of deaths, births, and diseases during the voyage, and of the destination assigned to each emigrant in the colony or territory in which he is to be employed.

This document shall be sent by the emigration agent to the consul at the port at which the emigrants embarked, and by him delivered to the Chinese authorities.

ART. XXII. In the distribution of the emigrants as laborers, the husband shall not be separated from his wife, nor shall parents be separated from their children being under 15 years of age.

No laborer shall be bound to change his employer without his consent, except in the event of the factory or plantation upon which he is employed changing hands.

His Imperial Highness the Prince of Kung has further declared in the name of the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China:

1st. That the Chinese Government throws no obstacle in the way of free emigration; that is to say, to the departure of Chinese subjects embarking of their own free will and at their own expense for foreign countries; but that all attempts to bring Chinese under engagement to emigrate, otherwise than as the present regulations provide, are formally forbidden, and will be prosecuted with the extreme rigor of the law.

2d. That a law of the Empire punishes by death those who, by fraud or by force, may kidnap Chinese subjects for the purpose of sending them abroad against their will.

3d. That whereas the operations of emigration agents, with a view to the supply of coolie labor abroad, are authorized at all the open ports when conducted in conformity with these regulations, and under the joint supervision of the consuls and the Chinese authorities, it follows that where this joint supervision can not be exercised such operations are formally forbidden.

These declarations are here placed on record, in order that they may have the same force and validity as the regulations contained in the 22 articles foregoing.

B.—CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF CHINA, MAY 13, 1904.

Whereas a convention between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Majesty the Emperor of China was signed at Peking on the 24th October, 1860, by Article V of which His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China consented to allow Chinese subjects, wishing to take service in British colonies or other parts beyond the seas, to enter into engagements with British subjects, and to ship themselves and their families on board of British vessels at the open ports of China in conformity with regulations to be drawn up between the two Governments for the protection of such emigrants; and

Whereas the aforesaid regulations have not hitherto been framed, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of China have accordingly appointed the following as their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the Most Honorable Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquess of Lansdowne, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and

His Majesty the Emperor of China, Chang Teh-Yih, Brevet Lieutenant General of the Chinese Imperial Forces, His Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India.

And the said plenipotentiaries having met and communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I. As the regulations to be framed under the above-mentioned treaty were intended to be of a general character, it is hereby agreed that on each occasion when indentured emigrants are required for a particular British colony or protectorate beyond the seas, His Britannic Majesty's minister in Peking shall notify the Chinese Government, stating the name of the particular colony or protectorate for which the emigrants are required, the name of the treaty port at which it is intended to embark them, and the terms and conditions on which they are to be engaged; the Chinese Government shall thereupon, without requiring further formalities, immediately instruct the local authorities at the specified treaty port to take all the steps necessary to facilitate emigration. The notification herein referred to shall only be required once in the case of each colony or protectorate, except when emigration under indenture to that colony or protectorate from the specified treaty port has not taken place during the preceding three years.

ARTICLE II. On receipt of the instructions above referred to the taotai at the port shall at once appoint an officer, to be called the Chinese inspector, who, together with the British consular officer at the port or his delegate, shall make known by proclamation and by means of the native press the text of the indenture which the emigrant will have to sign and any particulars of which the Chinese officer considers it essential that the emigrant shall be informed respecting the country to which the emigrant is to proceed and respecting its laws.

ARTICLE III. The British consular officer at the port or his delegate shall confer with the Chinese inspector as to the location and installation of the offices and other necessary buildings, hereinafter called the emigration agency, which shall be erected or fitted up by the British Government and at their expense for the purpose of carrying on the business of the engagement and shipment of the emigrants and in which the Chinese inspector and his staff shall have suitable accommodation for carrying on their duties.

ARTICLE IV. 1. There shall be posted up in conspicuous places throughout the emigration agency, and more especially in that part of it called the depôt, destined for the reception of intending emigrants, copies of the indenture to be entered into with the emigrant, drawn up in the Chinese and English languages, together with copies of the special ordinance, if any, relating to immigration into the particular colony or protectorate for which the emigrants are required.

2. There shall be kept a register in Chinese and in English, in which the names of intending indentured emigrants shall be inscribed, and in this register there shall not be inscribed the name of any person who is under 20 years of age, unless he shall have produced proof of his having obtained the consent of his parents or other lawful guardians to emigrate, or, in default of these, of the magistrate of the district to which he belongs. After signature of the indenture according to the Chinese manner the emigrant shall not be permitted to leave the depôt previously to his embarkation

without a pass signed by the Chinese inspector and countersigned by the British consular officer or his delegate, unless he shall have, through the Chinese inspector, renounced his agreement and withdrawn his name from the register of emigrants.

3. Before the sailing of the ship each emigrant shall be carefully examined by a qualified medical officer nominated by the British consular officer or his delegate. The emigrants shall be paraded before the British consular officer or his delegate and the Chinese inspector or his delegate and questioned with a view to ascertain their understanding of the indenture.

ARTICLE V. All ships employed in the conveyance of indentured emigrants from China under this convention shall engage and embark them only at a treaty port and shall comply with the regulations contained in the schedule hereto annexed and forming part of the convention.

ARTICLE VI. For the better protection of the emigrant and of any other Chinese subject who may happen to be residing in the colony or protectorate to which the emigration is to take place, it shall be competent to the Emperor of China to appoint a consul or vice consul to watch over their interests and well-being, and such consul or vice consul shall have all the rights and privileges accorded to the consuls of other nations.

ARTICLE VII. Every indenture entered into under the present articles shall clearly specify the name of the country for which the laborer is required, the duration of the engagement, and, if renewable, on what terms, the number of hours of labor per working-day, the nature of the work, the rate of wages and mode of payment, the rations, clothing, the grant of a free passage out, and, where such is provided for therein, a free passage back to the port of embarkation in China for himself and family, right to free medical attendance and medicines, whether in the colony or protectorate or on the voyage from and to the port of embarkation in China, and any other advantages to which the emigrant shall be entitled. The indenture may also provide that the emigrant shall, if considered necessary by the medical authorities, be vaccinated on his arrival at the depôt and, in the event of such vaccination being unsuccessful, revaccinated on board ship.

ARTICLE VIII. The indenture shall be signed or, in cases of illiteracy, marked by the emigrant after the Chinese manner, in the presence of the Chinese inspector or his delegate and of the British consular officer or his delegate, who shall be responsible to their respective governments for its provisions having been clearly and fully explained to the emigrant previous to signature. To each emigrant there shall be presented a copy of the indenture drawn up in Chinese and English. Such indenture shall not be considered as definitive or irrevocable until after the embarkation of the emigrant.

ARTICLE IX. In every British colony or protectorate to which indentured Chinese emigrants proceed an officer or officers shall be appointed whose duty it shall be to insure that the emigrant shall have free access to the courts of justice to obtain the redress for injuries to his person and property which is secured to all persons, irrespective of race, by the local law.

ARTICLE X. During the sojourn of the emigrant in the colony or protectorate in which he is employed all possible postal facilities shall be afforded to him for communicating with his native country and for making remittances to his family.

ARTICLE XI. With regard to the repatriation of the emigrant and his family, whether on the expiration of the indenture or from any legal cause, or in the event of his having been invalidated from sickness or disablement, it is understood that this shall always be to the port of shipment in China, and that in no case shall it take place by any other means than actual conveyance by ship, and payment of money to the returning emigrant in lieu of passage shall not be admissible.

ARTICLE XII. Nothing in any indenture framed under these articles shall constitute on the part of the employer a right to transfer the emigrant to another employer of labor without the emigrant's free consent and the approval of his consul or vice consul; and should any such transfer or assignment take place, it shall not in any way invalidate any of the rights or privileges of the emigrant under the indenture.

ARTICLE XIII. It is agreed that a fee on each indentured emigrant shipped under the terms of this convention shall be paid to the Chinese Government for expenses of inspection, but no payment of any kind shall be made to the Chinese inspector or any other official of the Chinese Government at the port of embarkation. The above fee shall be paid into the customs bank previous to the clearance of the ship, and shall be calculated at the following rate: 3 Mexican dollars per head for any number of emigrants not exceeding 10,000, and 2 dollars per head for any number in excess thereof, provided they are shipped at the same treaty port, and that not more than 12 months have elapsed since the date of the last shipment.

Should the port of embarkation have been changed, or a space of more than 12 months have elapsed since the date of the last shipment, inspection charges shall be paid as in the first instance.

ARTICLE XIV. The English and Chinese text of the present convention have been carefully compared, but in the event of there being any difference of meaning between them, the sense as expressed in the English text shall be held to be the correct sense.

ARTICLE XV. The present convention shall come into force on the date of its signature and remain in force for four years from that date, and after such period of four years it shall be terminable by either of the high contracting parties on giving one year's notice.

SCHEDULE.

Regulations.

Ships employed in the transport of indentured emigrants from China under this convention must be seaworthy, clean, and properly ventilated, and, with regard to the following matters, shall comply with conditions as far as possible equivalent to those in force in British India with reference to the emigration of natives from India:

Accommodation required on board (vide sec. 57 of "The Indian emigration act, 1883").

Sleeping accommodation, consisting of wooden sheathing to the decks or sleeping platforms (vide rule regarding "iron decks," as amended the 16th August, 1902, in Schedule "A" to the rules under "The Indian emigration act, 1883").

Rules as to space on board (vide sec. 58 of "The Indian emigration act, 1883").

Carriage of qualified surgeon, with necessary medical stores.

Storage of drinking water (vide rule 113, as amended the 24th February, 1903, under "The Indian emigration act, 1883").

Provision of adequate distilling apparatus (vide schedule "C" to the rules under "The Indian emigration act, 1883").

The dietary for each indentured emigrant on board ship shall be as follows per day:

| | Not less than— |
|---|----------------|
| Rice, not less than 1½ pounds, or flour or breadstuffs.....pounds.. | 1½ |
| Fish (dried or salt) or meat (fresh or preserved).....do.... | ½ |
| Fresh vegetables of suitable kinds.....do.... | 1½ |
| Salt.....do..... | 1 |
| Sugar.....do.... | 1½ |
| Chinese tea.....do.... | ½ |
| Chinese condiments in sufficient quantities. | |
| Water for drinking and cooking.....gallon.. | 1 |

or such other articles of food as may be substituted for any of the articles enumerated in the foregoing scale as being in the opinion of the doctor on board equivalent thereto.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
May 13, 1904.

SIR: By Article VI of the convention about to be concluded between Great Britain and China with regard to Chinese subjects leaving the treaty ports of China under indenture for service in British colonies or protectorates it is provided that:

"For the better protection of the emigrant and of any other Chinese subject who may happen to be residing in the colony or protectorate to which the emigration is to take place, it shall be competent to the Emperor of China to appoint a consul or vice consul to watch over their interests and well-being, and such consul or vice consul shall have all the rights and privileges accorded to the consuls of other nations."

His Majesty's Government consider it specially important that the persons appointed to occupy, for the purpose named, the position of consul or vice consul should be experienced officers of Chinese nationality, that they should be exclusively in the service of the Emperor of China, and that in each case the name of the person selected should be communicated to His Majesty's Government, and their agreement to the appointment obtained.

I have the honor to inquire whether the Chinese Government are prepared to meet the wishes of His Majesty's Government in the matter. If so, and if you will inform me accordingly, this note and your reply might be attached to the convention in order to place on formal record the arrangement concluded.

CHINESE LEGATION,
May 13, 1904.

MY LORD MARQUSS:

In reply to your Lordship's note of this date, I have the honor to state that the Chinese Government are in entire accord with His Britannic Majesty's Government as to the great importance they attach to the consuls and vice consuls to be appointed under Article VI of the convention about to be concluded between the two Governments being men of great experience, and will consider it a duty which they owe to the emigrant to confine the selection of these officers to such as in all respects conform to the requirements specified in the note above referred to, which, together with the present one, it has been mutually agreed shall, in proof of this understanding, be appended to the said convention.

C.—TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, CONCERNING IMMIGRATION, NOVEMBER 17, 1880.²

[22 Stat. L. 826.]

Whereas, in the eighth year of Hsien Feng, Anno Domini 1858, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between the United States of America and China, and to which were added, in the seventh year of Tung Chih, Anno Domini 1868, certain supplementary articles to the advantage of both parties, which supplementary articles were to be perpetually observed and obeyed; and

Whereas, the Government of the United States, because of the constantly increasing immigration of Chinese laborers to the territory of the United States, and the embarrassments consequent upon such immigration, now desires to negotiate a modification of the existing treaties which shall not be in direct contravention of their spirit;

Now, therefore, the President of the United States of America has appointed James B. Angell, of Michigan, John F. Swift, of California, and William Henry Trescot, of South Carolina, as his Commissioners Plenipotentiary; and His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of China, has appointed Pao Chün, a member of His Imperial Majesty's Privy Council, and Superintendent of the Board of Civil Office; and Li Hungtsao, a member of His Imperial Majesty's Privy Council, as his Commissioners Plenipotentiary; and the said Commissioners Plenipotentiary, having conjointly examined their full powers, and having discussed the points of possible modification in existing treaties, have agreed upon the following articles in modification:

ARTICLE I. Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it.³ The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

ART. III. If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States, meet with illtreatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

ART. IV. The high contracting powers having agreed upon the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance therewith, such measures will be communicated to the Government of

² Concluded Nov. 17, 1880; ratification advised by the Senate May 5, 1881; ratified by the President May 9, 1881; ratification exchanged July 19, 1881; proclaimed Oct. 5, 1881.

³ Affected by various provisions of law, prohibiting the admission of Chinese laborers to the United States.

China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hardship upon the subjects of China, the Chinese minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States, who will consider the subject with him; and the Chinese Foreign Office may also bring the matter to the notice of the United States minister at Peking and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the foregoing at Peking, in English and Chinese being three originals of each text of even tenor and date, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged at Peking within one year from date of its execution.

D.—EMIGRATION TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CHINA, MARCH 17, 1894.

Whereas, on the 17th day of November, A. D. 1880, and of Kwang Hsu, the sixth year, tenth moon, fifteenth day, a treaty was concluded between the United States and China for the purpose of regulating, limiting, or suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to, and their residence in, the United States;

And whereas the Government of China, in view of the antagonism and much depressed and serious disorders to which the presence of Chinese laborers has given rise in certain parts of the United States, desires to prohibit the emigration of such laborers from China to the United States;

And whereas the two Governments desire to cooperate in prohibiting such emigration and to strengthen in other ways the bonds of friendship between the two countries;

And whereas the two Governments are desirous of adopting reciprocal measures for the better protection of the citizens or subjects of each within the jurisdiction of the other:

Now, therefore, the President of the United States has appointed Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State of the United States, as his plenipotentiary, and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China has appointed Yang Yu, officer of the second rank, subdirector of the Court of Sacrificial Worship, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, as his plenipotentiary; and the said plenipotentiaries, having exhibited their respective full powers found to be in due and good form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The high contracting parties agree that for a period of 10 years, beginning with the date of exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited.

ART. II. The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any registered Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of \$1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs a full description in writing of his family, or property or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to return under this treaty as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe and not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false, the right of return thereunder or of continued residence after return shall in each case be forfeited. And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period not to exceed one year in cases where by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return, which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure, and by him certified, to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States; and no such Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required.

ART. III. The provisions of this convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed, of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein. To entitle such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission into the United States, they may produce a certificate from their Government or the government where they last resided viséed by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port from whence they depart.

It is also agreed that Chinese laborers shall continue to enjoy the privilege of transit across the territory of the United States in the course of their journey to and from other countries, subject to such regulations by the Government of the United States as may be necessary to prevent said privilege of transit from being abused.

ART. IV. In pursuance of Article III of the immigration treaty between the United States and China, signed at Peking on the 17th day of November, 1880 (the fifteenth day of the tenth moon of Kwang Hsu, sixth year), it is hereby understood and agreed that Chinese laborers or Chinese of any other class, either permanent or temporary residing in the United States, shall have for the protection of their persons and property all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation, except the right to become naturalized citizens. And the Government of the United States reaffirms its obligation, as stated in said Article III, to exert all its power to secure protection to the persons and property of all Chinese subjects in the United States.

ART. V. The Government of the United States, having by an act of the Congress approved May 5, 1892, as amended by an act approved November 3, 1893, required all Chinese laborers lawfully within the limits of the United States before the passage of the first-named act to be registered as in said acts provided, with a view of affording them better protection, the Chinese Government will not object to the enforcement of such acts, and reciprocally the Government of the United States recognizes the right of the Government of China to enact and enforce similar laws or regulations for the registration, free of charge, of all laborers, skilled or unskilled (not merchants as defined by said acts of Congress), citizens of the United States in China, whether residing within or without the treaty ports.

And the Government of the United States agrees that within 12 months from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this convention and annually thereafter it will furnish to the Government of China registers or reports showing the full name, age, occupation, and number or place of residence of all other citizens of the United States, including missionaries residing both within and without the treaty ports of China, not including, however, diplomatic and other officers of the United States residing or traveling in China upon official business, together with their body and household servants.

ART. VI. This convention shall remain in force for a period of 10 years beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications, and if six months before the expiration of the said period of 10 years neither Government shall have formally given notice of its final termination to the other, it shall remain in force for another like period of 10 years.

E.—AN ACT TO PROHIBIT THE "COOLIE TRADE" BY AMERICAN CITIZENS IN AMERICAN VESSELS, 1862.⁴

No citizen or citizens of the United States or foreigner coming into or residing within the same shall, for himself or for any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, owner, or otherwise, build, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel, on any steamship or steam vessel, registered, enrolled, or licensed, in the United States, or any port within the same, for the purpose of procuring from China or from any port or place therein or from any other port or place the inhabitants or subjects of China, known as coolies, to be transported to any foreign country, port, or place whatever, to be disposed of, or sold, or transferred, for any term of years or for any time whatever, as servants or apprentices or to be held to service or labor. And if any ship or vessel, steamship or steam vessel, belonging in whole or in part to citizens of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or otherwise licensed as aforesaid, shall be employed for the said purposes or in the "coolie trade," so called, or shall be caused to procure or carry from China or elsewhere, as aforesaid, any subjects of the Government of China for the purpose of transporting or disposing of them as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, steamship, or steam vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts of the United States for the district where the said ship or vessel, steamship or steam vessel, may be found, seized, or carried.

SEC. 2. Every person who shall so build, fit out, equip, load, or otherwise prepare, or who shall send to sea or navigate, as owner, master, factor, agent, or otherwise, any ship or vessel, steamship, or steam vessel, belonging in whole or in part to citizens of the United States, or registered, enrolled, or licensed within the same, or at any port

⁴ United States Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the United States of America, from Dec. 5, 1859, to Mar. 3, 1863. Edited by George P. Sanger. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1863, Vol. 12, pp. 340, 341.

thereof knowing or intending that the same shall be employed in that trade or business aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or in any wise aiding or abetting therein, shall be severally liable to be indicted therefor, and on conviction thereof shall be liable to a fine not exceeding \$2,000 and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

SEC. 3. If any citizen or citizens of the United States shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, take on board of any vessel or receive or transport any such persons as are above described in this act for the purpose of disposing of them as aforesaid, he or they shall be liable to be indicted therefor and on conviction thereof shall be liable to a fine not exceeding \$2,000 and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

SEC. 4. Nothing in this act hereinbefore contained shall be deemed or construed to apply to or affect any free and voluntary emigration of any Chinese subject, or to any vessel carrying such person as passenger on board the same: *Provided, however,* That a permit or certificate shall be prepared and signed by the consul or consular agent of the United States residing at the port from which such vessel may take her departure, containing the name of such person and setting forth the fact of his voluntary emigration from such port or place, which certificate shall be given to the master of such vessel; but the same shall not be given until such consul or consular agent shall be first personally satisfied by evidence produced of the truth of the facts therein contained.

SEC. 5. All the provisions of the act of Congress approved February 22, 1847, entitled "An act to regulate the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels," and all the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 3, 1849, entitled, "An act to extend the provisions of all laws now in force relating to the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels and the regulation thereof," shall be extended and shall apply to all vessels owned in whole or in part by citizens of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or licensed within the United States, propelled by wind or by steam, and to all masters thereof, carrying passengers or intending to carry passengers from any foreign port or place without the United States to any other foreign port or place without the United States; and that all penalties and forfeitures provided for in said act shall apply to vessels and masters last aforesaid.

SEC. 6. The President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered, in such way and at such time as he shall judge proper to the end that the provisions of this act may be enforced according to the true intent and meaning thereof to direct and order the vessels of the United States and the masters and commanders thereof, to examine all vessels navigated or owned in whole or in part by citizens of the United States and registered, enrolled, or licensed under the laws of the United States, wherever they may be, whenever, in the judgment of such master or commanding officer thereof, reasonable cause shall exist to believe that such vessel has on board, in violation of the provisions of this act, any subjects of China known as "coolies," for the purpose of transportation; and upon sufficient proof that such vessel is employed in violation of the provisions of this act to cause such vessel to be carried, with her officers and crew into any port or district within the United States, and delivered to the marshal of such district, to be held and disposed of according to the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. This act shall take effect from and after six months from the day of its passage.

Approved, February 19, 1862.

F.—LABOR EMIGRATION LAW OF CHINA (PROMULGATED APR. 21, 1918.)¹

ARTICLE 1. All citizens of the Republic of China, who are laboring in foreign countries, shall be called emigrant laborers.

ART. 2. Emigrant laborers shall be limited to the following classes: (a) Those selected and sent abroad by the Government; (b) those directly recruited by agencies; (c) those recruited by contractors.

ART. 3. An emigrant laborer at the time of the employment shall be required to fulfill the following conditions: (a) Age from 20 to 40; (b) sound and healthy body; (c) free from contagious diseases; (d) possessing no bad habits; (e) good conduct and having committed no criminal offenses.

ART. 4. The emigration of these laborers under class (b) of article 2 shall be reported to and approved by the Chinese Government emigration bureau.

¹ Official translation. A somewhat different translation of the same law appears in *Hearings on Labor Problems in Hawaii before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Sixty-seventh Congress, first session, 1921, Serial 7, Part II, pages 930-935.* But regarding all differences between these two versions, the sense expressed in the translation here given should be followed.

ART. 5. Petitions to the emigration bureau regarding the emigration of laborers under class (b) of article 2 shall give the following information: (a) Name of the country and its specific locality in which the laborers are to work; (b) Name of the agency by which they are recruited; (c) the nature of work for which they are to be employed.

ART. 6. Without a special permit from the emigration bureau, no contractors shall be permitted to recruit laborers.

ART. 7. The recruiting of laborers shall be undertaken according to the labor recruiting agency regulations.

ART. 8. All contracts for Chinese labor, except those made by the Government, shall be referred to the emigration bureau for its approval. These contracts shall be made in accordance with the labor contract regulations.

The labor contract regulations shall be promulgated by the emigration bureau.

ART. 9. All laborers going abroad shall be required to provide themselves with passports, issued by the emigration bureau. All the passports, heretofore issued by the various organs to emigrant laborers, shall be canceled after the promulgation of the law.

ART. 10. At least 20 per cent of the wages of an emigrant laborer shall be set apart for his family. This sum shall be deducted from his wages by his employer every month and remitted to the director of the emigration bureau of the cabinet. It will be forwarded through a bank in China designated by the director of the emigration bureau to the laborer's family, and if the laborer has no family, the money shall be deposited in the bank and returned to himself upon his return home. (Such money shall be handed to either the Chinese legation or the Chinese consulate at the locality, by the employer, for remittance to China.)

ART. 11. No one shall be allowed to act as interpreter for emigrant laborers without being approved by the emigration bureau and without being given a permit.

ART. 12. Should there be any specific provision in treaties concerning Chinese emigrant laborers, such provision shall be observed.

ART. 13. Fees to be paid to the Government by laborers, prior to their going abroad in accordance with usual practice, shall be collected by the emigration bureau or its branch bureau in localities in which laborers are recruited.

ART. 14. If circumstances warrant, emigration commissioners shall be appointed to be stationed in the countries or specific places in which Chinese laborers are working. Such commissioners shall be appointed by the prime minister upon the recommendation of the emigration bureau. Members of the Chinese legations or consulates near the places where there are Chinese laborers may be authorized to act in such capacity.

ART. 15. Local authorities who assist in the recruiting of laborers shall be required to submit reports of their doings through the highest official of the locality to the emigration bureau.

ART. 16. This law shall take effect on the day of its promulgation.

G.—LABOR RECRUITING AGENCY REGULATIONS OF CHINA (PROMULGATED APR. 21, 1918).⁶

ARTICLE 1. All persons engaged in recruiting Chinese labor, either individuals or companies, shall be called labor recruiting agents.

ART. 2. Those who wish to be labor recruiting agents shall be required to make applications to the emigration bureau through its subbureau of the locality or its local representatives. Such applications shall embody the following details:

1. Name, age, native place, present address, and personal record of the applicant.
2. The location of the office or suboffice of the agency.
3. The total amount of capital for the undertaking.
4. The organization and nature of the company and all requirements as enumerated in articles 10, 82, 98, or 232 of the corporation law.

ART. 3. Those who come under any of the following classifications shall not be allowed to be labor recruiting agents:

1. Having been deprived of their civil rights and not yet given back.
2. Having been declared bankrupt and such order having not yet been annulled.
3. Having been declared unqualified to administer property, or such declaration still being in force.
4. Having been punished for violation of these regulations and during the three years following the punishment.

⁶ Official translation. A somewhat different translation of the same law appears in *Hearings on Labor Problems in Hawaii* before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Sixty-seventh Congress, first session, 1921, serial 7, Part II, pages 930-935. But regarding all differences between these two versions, the sense expressed in the translation here given should be followed.

5. Agency having been dissolved by this law and within the year after the dissolution.

ART. 4. If an agent fails to commence his business one year after the approval of his application, such approval shall be considered null and void.

ART. 5. Every time labor is recruited the agent shall be required to make application for permission to recruit to the emigration bureau through its subbureau or its representatives. The application shall contain the following information:

1. Name of the applicant, individual or company.
2. The place in which the recruiting shall take place.
3. Names of the countries and their specific places for which labor is recruited.
4. The kind of labor to be recruited.
5. The number of laborers to be recruited.

6. A copy of the contract signed between the foreign employer and the recruiting agent.

7. A copy of the contract signed between employers and employees. The contract referred to in clause 6 shall not violate Article VIII of the emigration law. If it is written in a foreign language, the text shall be accompanied by a Chinese translation.

ART. 6. No agent shall be allowed to recruit labor outside the areas assigned to him by the emigration bureau.

ART. 7. The assembling and departure of recruited laborers shall be reported to the local emigration subbureau or representatives of the head bureau so that officials may be sent for supervision.

ART. 8. Any agent, when obtaining the permission of the emigration bureau to recruit in accordance with article 2, shall be required to give a security for the undertaking and shall be, in accordance with article 5, required to pay a license fee. If an agent fails to pay the security or the license fee either wholly or partially he shall forfeit the right to recruit laborers. The license fee shall be \$10,000, and the minimum security for the undertaking shall be \$5,000. The sums may be increased by the emigration bureau when the number of recruits is over 2,500.

ART. 9. National bonds or Government certificates may be used for the securities, but their sum shall not exceed 30 per cent of the total amount.

ART. 10. The agent shall apply to the emigration bureau for the return of the security for the undertaking one year after the expiration of the labor contract. The security shall be returned when the agent applies for the cancellation of his license and is approved by the emigration bureau.

ART. 11. Besides compensations and expenses provided for in the contract, no other commission shall be demanded by agents from laborers.

ART. 12. The date of departure of laborers shall be announced to them at the time of recruiting. If the departure is delayed, not by unavoidable circumstances such as heavenly acts beyond human control, the laborers shall receive from the agents compensation for whatever damage that may accrue to them.

ART. 13. When any agent fails to comply with the terms of a contract, the laborers concerned shall be allowed to petition to the local emigration subbureau or the head bureau's representatives for assistance. Any expenses incurred therewith, after having been ascertained by the bureau chief, shall be defrayed out of the agent's security funds for the undertaking.

ART. 14. If any agent is guilty of the following misdemeanors his business permit shall be canceled and his license withdrawn: (1) Violation of these regulations, (2) disturbance of public order and peace, (3) ill-treatment of laborers.

In the last case loss sustained by the laborers through the cancellation of the business permit shall be indemnified by the agent concerned.

The amount of damage thus incurred shall be ascertained and made good by the agent's security funds for the undertaking by the emigration bureau.

ART. 15. If any agent is found recruiting laborers by dishonest means, in addition to the cancellation of his business permit he shall be punished with life imprisonment or imprisonment of the second grade, and his security shall be confiscated.

ART. 16. Any agent who wishes to carry on any business having direct connection with the migrant laborers shall be required to make application to the emigration bureau, stating the following: (1) The kind of trade and the place, (2) the amount of capital, (3) the plan for the business.

ART. 17. Any agent who, in violation of the regulations, recruits labor secretly shall be punished with imprisonment of the fifth grade, with hard labor, or fined not more than \$1,000 nor less than \$100.

ART. 18. All agencies which have been established with the permission of the proper authorities may continue their business, but shall, in conformity with these regulations, apply for licenses at the emigration bureau.

ART. 19. All agencies which have been established without the permission of the proper authorities before the promulgation of these regulations shall be required to apply to the emigration bureau for licenses within three months after the promulgation of these regulations.

ART. 20. These regulations shall take effect on the day of their promulgation.

H.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF AGREEMENT ON EMPLOYMENT OF CHINESE LABORERS, 1918.⁷

ARTICLE 1. It shall be stated in the contract that the contractor has received a permit from the emigration bureau to recruit laborers and has paid a certain amount of money as security.

ART. 2. The contract shall state that the employer has obtained the sanction of his own Government to entitle the Chinese Government to instruct the labor commissioner resident in that country to supervise, accord protection, and send members of his staff to the place of work for investigation relative to the treatment of laborers and similar matters.

ART. 3. The name of the country to which the laborers are sent and the name of the area where they work, the kind of work—all these shall be specified.

ART. 4. The name, age, and nationality of the agent of the employer and the address of his recruiting agency shall be fixed beforehand.

ART. 5. The total number of recruited laborers shall be definitely fixed beforehand.

ART. 6. The term for laborers shall be stipulated. Beginning from the day on which they commence work, all the absences on account of private affairs or without good reasons, with the exception of sickness, shall be made up at the expiration of the term.

ART. 7. The number of working hours is 10 at most. Should the law of the land prohibit a laborer from working 10 hours, it also applies to Chinese laborers.

ART. 8. The pay for Chinese laborers shall be the same as that for natives doing the same kind of work. Should any of them have special training or be able to do their work better, they shall be paid more in proportion to the degree of their skillfulness. After one year, all the laborers who have shown efficiency or improvement shall be rewarded by their employer in the form of increased wages.

ART. 9. Before the termination of the contract, should the employer propose to transfer the work to a third party or change its nature at variance with the provisions in the contract, he must secure the consent of the labor commissioner. Should the factory stop work and should there be no work for the laborers, besides giving to the latter the full amount of traveling expenses back home, it shall properly indemnify them for any loss sustained therefrom.

ART. 10. The employer shall undertake to guarantee that the Chinese laborers will be treated as equals of Europeans or Americans in the country in which they are to work. They shall also enjoy rewards, and any form of encouragement such as bonus, etc., none of which shall be withheld from them, or not paid fully.

ART. 11. On Sundays, the Chinese national holidays, the national holidays of the country in which they work, and the days when they are sick, they shall be allowed by the employer to stop work, and must not be coerced to labor. With the exception of the Chinese national holidays, those who are willing to work can do so, but they should receive the consent of the laborers.

ART. 12. The Chinese laborers shall receive extra pay either by day or by hours should the working hours be more than what has been fixed, and such an increase of working hours shall receive the consent of the laborers concerned.

ART. 13. The employer shall give food allowance and necessary daily expenses on holidays or when the laborers are sick or are traveling, although they may not receive their regular pay. If it is the custom of the country concerned that no deduction of wages is made on holidays or when the laborers are sick or traveling, the Chinese laborers shall enjoy the same privilege.

ART. 14. The employer shall give to the Chinese laborer a contract signed by him, which is written both in Chinese and in a foreign language, in which all the privileges the latter is to enjoy are stipulated.

ART. 15. The Chinese laborer shall give to the employer a statement giving his name, age, address (his home city), the regulations to be observed, and the duty to be performed by himself.

⁷ Official translation. A somewhat different translation of the same law appears in Hearings on Labor Problems in Hawaii before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 67th Congress 1st session, 1921, Serial 7, Part II, pp. 930-935. But regarding all differences between these two versions, the sense expressed in the translation here given should be followed.

ART. 16. The employer shall be responsible for all expenses involved in the physical examination of the laborer, his photographing, his permit, his equipment and traveling, and must not deduct them from his wages.

Regarding the physical examination and photographing of the laborer, the employer and a deputy from the emigration bureau will together attend to these matters at the time when the laborers are about to start for their destination. If any laborers are found sickly or are incapacitated, they can be rejected. After they have left the port, they are considered as qualified laborers, and can not be rejected.

ART. 17. The port of embarkation for the laborers shall be stipulated beforehand.

ART. 18. After the arrival of the laborers at the country concerned, the employer shall give to the resident deputy or the commissioner of the emigration bureau their list and inform him of the date on which they are to commence work and the places where they are to be sent. At the expiration of the agreement, when the laborers are to be sent back to their own country, the resident deputy shall likewise be informed.

ART. 19. Provisions shall be made in the agreement for the amount of money to be given to the family of each laborer, and that money is not to be deducted from his wages. Furthermore, the employer shall give to his contractor family expenses for the laborers at the time of their departure. An officer will be sent by either the emigration bureau or its branch bureau to inspect the giving of such expenses to the families of the laborers.

ART. 20. In the contract the amount of wages for the laborer shall be stipulated. At least 20 per cent of his wages shall be retained for the use of his family. The method of their payment is mentioned in article 10 of the labor recruiting agency regulations.

ART. 21. The employer shall furnish clothing, boarding, and lodging to the laborers and deduct from their wages whatever expenses are incurred according to the following regulations:

(a) *Clothing.*—At the time of their departure the laborers shall receive for the season: Socks, hats, coats, pants, cotton clothes, leather boots, overcoats, rain equipment and luggage, etc. If they are to work in a cold climate, woolen or other heavy clothing shall be added to the above list. Every six months they are to receive clothing. The qualities of the materials, the number of pieces, and all the shapes of clothing must be stipulated.

(b) *Food.*—Only tea and coffee are served for drinking. As to food, besides what is suitable to their constitution, the laborers shall have that which contains starch, albumin, fat, and other nourishing elements. Its quantity shall be fixed beforehand, and utensils shall be sufficient for the purpose.

(c) *Lodging.*—The lodging shall be as near to the working places as possible, and must be sanitary. Provisions shall be made for the extent of space to be occupied by each laborer. All the equipment, such as beds, mats, tables, chairs, lamps, stoves, etc., shall be furnished.

ART. 22. For the life insurance of the laborers, fees shall be deducted from their wages. Should they be required to do the kind of work which involves risks, the employer shall take out insurance policies for accidents and pay for them, and can not deduct such fees from their wages. All the insurance policies and receipts shall be given to the deputy of the emigration bureau for safe-keeping.

ART. 23. The amount of money to be deducted as provided for in the preceding two articles must not exceed one-third of the wages of the laborers.

ART. 24. At the expiration of the contract, the laborers shall enjoy the privilege of returning to their own country at the expense of the employer, who must send them back to the places where they were formerly recruited. Those who do not return home at the time can still enjoy the same privilege when they later return. Should the term of their contract be extended after having received the approval of the laborers, the employer shall consult the deputy of the emigration bureau so that the latter can attend to the matter.

ART. 25. In case of sickness, all medical expenses shall be paid by the employer, and can not be deducted from the wages of the laborers. After a lengthy time, if the sick are still not recovered, they shall be sent back to their own country. First of all, they shall be examined by a doctor and then given a medical certificate, but before their transportation back to the place where they were recruited, permission must be secured from the deputy of the emigration bureau. Their transportation expenses must be met by the employer.

ART. 26. The employer shall give pensions for those laborers who die of sickness on account of work or are disabled or meet with accidental death. The amount of such pensions shall be decided according to the law of the country concerned or what is customary to pay liberally in such cases. With the exception of the pensions for

the wounded, who shall receive their own pensions, all the other pensions and the sums insured, etc., shall be given to the deputy of the emigration bureau for remittance to China, and they shall be handed to the right parties according to article 10 of the labor recruiting agency regulations.

Family expenses, pensions, and sums insured shall be paid to the person designated by the laborer beforehand. Such recipient may be changed from time to time by a petition from the laborer to the deputy of the emigration bureau.

ART. 27. After his death the laborer shall be buried according to the current custom of the domiciling country. The burial expenses shall be paid by the employer, who shall report to the deputy of the emigration bureau the cause and the time of the death of the laborer and the place where he was buried for communication to the contractor, so that the latter can convey this information to the family of the deceased.

ART. 28. The employer shall pay all taxes, such as poll tax, etc., now or in future collected in the domiciling country, and can not deduct them from their wages.

ART. 29. The laborers shall enjoy all the legal rights, especially religious freedom, of the domiciling country. Regarding them the employer shall not undertake to bind them privately by any agreement.

ART. 30. Interpreters shall be engaged in the place where the Chinese laborers are working. Expenses for their employment shall be paid by the employer. The qualifications of the interpreters shall be such as provided for in article 11 of the labor recruiting agency regulations.

ART. 31. Should the natives of the country try to exclude and expel the Chinese laborer, the employer shall assume the whole responsibility and attend to the matter. Should legal action be taken in such cases, the employer shall pay all expenses incurred therewith. Any loss sustained by the laborer shall be indemnified by the employer.

ART. 32. The employer can report to the deputy of the emigration bureau any misconduct or repeated offenses of the laborers, so that they may be able to consult together and punish the guilty. Should any laborer repeat his offenses irrespective of warnings, or commit serious offenses, he shall be dismissed. In such cases, after having received permission from the deputy of the emigration bureau, the employer can send him back to the original port of embarkation, but must, however, pay all the traveling expenses for him.

ART. 33. The resident minister in China of the country which recruited laborers shall undertake to guarantee the carrying out of all the provisions in the contract.

ART. 34. On account of the difference of distances to various foreign countries and of the value of coins, wages for the Chinese laborers can not necessarily be the same. Therefore they shall be defined and stipulated at the time the contract is made.

ART. 35. The contract shall state that without the approval of the emigration bureau, of the cabinet in Peking, it will have no effect.

SUPPLEMENTS.

1. The Chinese laborers can not be employed on any work in connection with military operations.

2. Should the laborers work in places near the fighting line, the deputy of the emigration bureau can urge the employer to remove them therefrom. After their removal from the fighting line, should there be no other work for them to do or should the emigration deputy still consider the working places not suitable, the employer shall give them three months' pay and the entire traveling expenses, and send them back to China to the port of embarkation.

3. In case the place where the laborers are working is not far from the fighting line, the emigration deputy in consultation with the employer shall devise means of defense for their protection.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

A.—GENERAL FORM OF CONTRACT (PERAK).¹

It is this day mutually agreed between the employer, —, his attorney, heirs, or assigns, and —, Chinese laborer, born at —, and aged — years, as follows:

1. That the said laborer is willing to proceed to — and be employed there as a — for — at — wages of \$—, subject to the following conditions, viz: That the said laborer receives an advance of \$—, which shall be deducted by installments by the employer at the rate of \$— per month.

2. That the expenses for conveying the laborer from any port in the Straits Settlements to his destination shall be borne by the employer.

3. That the said employer shall furnish the laborer with a suitable house, for which the latter will not be required to pay rent.

4. That the said employer shall provide the laborer with his daily food, consisting of rice with vegetables, salt fish, or other condiment, and also furnish him with one jacket, two pairs short trousers, one mosquito curtain, two bathing cloths, one sun hat, and a pair of clogs.

5. In the event of the laborer falling ill from natural causes, the employer shall furnish him with medicine and a place for his medical treatment until recovery; or send him in due time and by proper conveyance to the government hospital, where such is established, and, if the days of illness do not exceed 30 days, the loss of time shall be borne by the employer, and the laborer will not be required to make up for it; but should the illness of the laborer exceed 30 days during one year, or should he fall sick from his own fault, or contract any venereal disease, he shall, on recovery, or after the termination of his agreement, make good the days of his illness, and shall also pay to the said employer — cents as cost of food for each day's absence. Should the laborer desert and be captured, all expenses actually incurred shall be repaid by him.

6. Should the laborer be unable to work on account of venereal disease, or stop work through laziness, the number of days of such absence, together with any advances he may have received, shall be indorsed on the contract.

7. Where by a written contract of service a laborer is bound to repay to the employer the specified amount of certain advances already made to him or on his behalf, and such amount shall not have been repaid at the expiration of the period for which the contract is made, such period shall be deemed to be extended and the contract to be in force until such time as the whole of such amount shall have been repaid.

In every such case the employer shall, at the expiration of the original period of service, indorse on the contract the amount remaining due, and shall within one month thereafter give notice thereof in writing to the protector.

8. Ten hours shall constitute a day's work, but in case of emergency the laborer shall work beyond the specified time; such overtime shall be placed to the credit of the laborer, at the rate of wages mentioned in this contract.

9. The customary Chinese festivals will be considered as holidays.

The above nine articles having been clearly explained to both parties by the protector of Chinese, they have agreed to all of them, and have signed this contract with the understanding that they shall hereafter observe all the articles mentioned therein:

| Register number. | Name in English of employee. | Age. | Name in Chinese. | Original Country. | Advance. | Signature or mark of employee. |
|------------------|------------------------------|------|------------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| | | | | | | |

Office of Protector of Chinese,
—, 189—.

—, *Employer.*
—, *Protector of Chinese.*

¹ Under part 3 of Order in Council No. 4 of 1895, "The Labor Code."

B.—SINKHEH CONTRACT FOR TIN MINERS (PERAK).¹

This contract, made the — day of —, 189—, between the Chinese persons hereunder named and described, and each and all of them, hereinafter called the laborers of the one part, and — of —, his executors, administrators, and assigns, hereinafter called the employer, of the other part, witnesseth that it is hereby agreed by and between the said parties as follows:

1. The laborer will labor for the employer as a tin miner in — kongsi (mining establishment) at —, Perak, or in any other kongsi or place within the State which the employer may desire.

2. The laborer will complete an aggregate number of 360 days' work. Eight hours shall constitute a day's work.

3. The laborer will repay to the employer the sum hereunder entered against his name, being moneys advanced to him or expended on his behalf, and the employer may deduct the same from any wages due to the laborer.

4. The employer will pay to the laborer wages calculated at the rate of \$42 for 360 days' work.

5. The employer will furnish the laborer, free of charge, with suitable house accommodations, and with two suits of clothing, one mosquito curtain, one sun hat, two bathing cloths, and one pair of clogs.

6. The employer will provide the laborer, free of charge, with a sufficient supply of food of good quality.

7. The employer will convey the laborer to the place or places where his contract is to be fulfilled free of charge.

8. (a) If the laborer shall fail to complete 24 days' work in any month, he shall be liable to pay the employer 10 cents in respect of each day on which he may have been absent from work during such month for any cause other than bona fide sickness, and the employer may deduct the amount of such payment from any wages due to the laborer.

(b) If on the completion of 360 days' work the amount so deducted shall exceed — (here enter the amount of wages, less the amount of advance), this contract shall be deemed to be extended until the laborer shall have repaid the employer all moneys in excess of that sum. Wages during such period of extension shall be payable at the rate of 20 cents for each day's work.

(c) No laborer shall be detained under this contract for a longer period than two years.

9. If the laborer shall abscond and be arrested, he shall be liable to pay to the employer such expenses of his arrest as the protector or a magistrate may deem reasonable.

C.—SHAP-TSAU-YAT SHAP-TSAN-YI CONTRACT.²

Contract between —, advancer, and —, who undertake to work a mine —.

The mine belongs to —, is situated at —, and registered under No. —. The owner has provided the kongsi house, the various water courses, and the — pumps.

It is now agreed between —, who acts as advancer, and —, who acts as contractor for the supply of coolies, to open a mining kongsi on the — system, under the name of —, and that the provisions, opium, and other articles used in the kongsi shall be supplied by the advancer.

The following conditions have been agreed upon by the two contracting parties, viz:

1. All the tin ore produced from the mine may, after weighing, be taken away and smelted by the advancer, and the price for the same shall be according to current market rates.

If the advancer does not want to smelt the ore himself, but allows the tin ore to be sold, the full amount realized by the sale shall be handed over to the advancer and entered into the account books.

The advancer shall then pay the tithe to the mine owner, refund the expenses for opening the mine, if any, and deduct the amount expended for provisions by him, etc.

The balance, if any, shall then belong to the kongsi.

2. The coolies of the kongsi shall receive seven-tenths of their wages or earnings for any kind of work done in the eighth month, after the necessary deduction of the tithe to the owner, the expenditure in opening the mine, of the amount due to the advancer for provisions, etc., has been made; at the end of the twelfth month the balance due to them, if any, shall be paid in full.

If in the eighth month there is no balance due to the kongsi, only one settlement of accounts in full shall be made at the end of the year. If the mine is worked out

¹ Under part 3 of Order in Council No. 4 of 1895, "The Labor Code."

² Contract to work mine on cooperative system.

before the eighth month, all accounts shall be settled as soon as the remaining tin ore, if any, has been sold.

3. If there should be any clandestine sale of tin ore, the advancer shall, on the discovery, hand the parties concerned over to the authorities for punishment. If the advancer allows the kongsi people to dispose of the tin ore themselves, he shall be informed of the time when the weighing takes place, so that he may enter the correct weight in his books. If they fail to inform the advancer, a fine of \$100 shall be charged, one-half to the advancer, one-half to the kongsi.

4. The contractor shall supply the mine with — coolies.

If any contract coolies are used for stripping land, the advancer's instructions in regard to measurement and digging shall be agreed to by the kongsi people. If a new engine or pump or a new platform has to be brought to the mine and erected there, the kongsi coolies, under the direction of their headmen, shall assist in doing the work. If the water courses require repairs, the work connected therewith shall be done by the kongsi coolies.

5. The coolies of the kongsi shall work in harmony with each other. Any man creating a disturbance and lifting his hand to strike another shall pay a fine of \$5 [\$2.84, par, U. S. money]; if the party attacked strikes back he shall be fined \$3 [\$1.70, par, U. S. money]. For a general disturbance among the coolies the whole kongsi is liable to a fine of \$25 [\$14.20, par, U. S. money], the amount for such fines to be used at the end of the year for a general entertainment; but if the disturbance shall have been such as to have attracted the attention of the police or threatened the disturbance of the peace outside of the mines the matter can be dealt with only by the court in the usual manner.

6. Neither landlord nor advancer shall be responsible for any debts contracted by the kongsi coolies, either inside or outside of the kongsi, nor shall they be responsible for the payment of wages to carpenters, basket makers, blacksmiths, or others.

7. The implements used in the mine shall be handed over by the landlord to the kongsi, and a list of them shall be attached to this contract. Any other implements or utensils than those named above, the kongsi shall supply itself. The cost of such implements shall have nothing to do with the owner or the advancer. The implements handed over for use by the landlord shall be returned to him when the mine stops working. Any deficiency in the number of them shall be made good by the kongsi.

8. The kongsi coolies shall not be allowed to sell the rations supplied to them by the advancer to anybody outside of the kongsi. The rations supplied shall consist of a sufficient quantity of rice, not less than 1½ catties [1½ pounds] per day; vegetables, 1 cent [0.57 cent, par, U. S. money] per day; salt fish, 4 catties [5.3 pounds] per month; beans, every day in sufficient quantity if the coolies desire it; ground nut oil, one-half catty [$\frac{1}{2}$ pound] per month.

9. The working hours of coolies on the cooperative system shall be as follows: From 5.30 a. m. to 9.30 a. m. and from 12.30 p. m. to 4.30 p. m.

10. The agreement has been made for a term of — years.

11. Should any of the parties fail to conform to the above stipulations the case shall be laid before the secretary for Chinese affairs, his deputy, or the local authorities. The rations of the coolies must not be stopped by the advancer before the secretary for Chinese affairs, his deputy, or the local authorities have been communicated with.

If the rations are stopped on account of the kongsi failing to comply with the terms of the contract the mine reverts to the landlord, who may take other people to work it, and the present agreement is considered null and void.

In proof of the agreement made four copies of the contract shall be drawn up, one to be held by the advancer, one by the headman of the kongsi, one to be posted in the kongsi, and one to be filed in the Chinese secretariat.

The agreement shall be registered in the office of the secretary for Chinese affairs or, if outside of Larut, in the branch department, and shall take effect from —.

D.—AGREEMENT OF STRAITS SUGAR CO. WITH CONTRACTOR.

Articles of agreement made this — day of —, 190—, between —, for and on behalf of the Straits Sugar Co. (hereinafter called "the employer"), of the one part, and —, planter (hereinafter called "the contractor"), of the other part:

1. The employer hereby agrees to permit the contractor to cultivate — orlongs (1½ acres) of land in field No. —, situated at —, with sugar cane for period of five years from the date hereof.

2. The contractor hereby agrees and undertakes to cultivate the same and to grow three crops of sugar cane thereon in the said five years.

3. The employer shall clean and deepen all existing drains and draining trenches and shall dig such new drains as shall, in the opinion of the employer, be necessary for the proper drainage of the land during the first year of this agreement, after which period the contractor shall clean and keep in order all such drains.

4. The contractor shall keep the land in good heart and condition during his occupation thereof and shall deliver the same in like condition to the employer on the expiration or sooner determination of this agreement.

5. The contractor shall not sell his canes to any other person than the employer, and in the event of his selling to any other person the contractor shall pay to the employer by way of liquidated damages the sum of \$20 [\$11.36 par U. S. money] for each and every picul [133½ pounds] of canes so sold by him.

6. The contractor shall pay to the employer the sum of \$5 [\$2.84 par U. S. money] upon the transfer of his rights under this agreement to any other person.

7. The employer shall advance to the contractor the sum of \$— per month for 12 consecutive months during the cultivation of each crop and the further sum of \$1 [56.8 cents, par, U. S. money] on each of the contractor's feast days, such feast days not to exceed eight in number in any one year.

8. When the canes shall, in the opinion of the employer, be ripe for cutting, the employer shall cut them and shall deduct the cost of doing so from the amount to be paid by him to the contractor as provided for in the next clause.

9. The employer shall pay to the contractor for the juice extracted from the cane at the following rates: One and three-quarter cents [1 cent, par, U. S. money] per imperial gallon [1.2 gallons, U. S.].

10. The employer shall be entitled to deduct from the amount payable by him to the contractor under the last preceding clause the amount of all advances made by him to the contractor under the last preceding clause, the amount of all advances made by him to the contractor under clauses 5 and 8 hereof, all expenses incurred by him under clause 9 hereof, and a further sum equal to 5 per cent upon the net profits of the contractor, such net profits to be reckoned as the difference between the amount advanced by the employer and the sum payable for the price of the canes without any deductions. The last-mentioned sum shall be so deducted as compensation for the employment of tindals, watchmen, and other servants by the employer for supervising the work of the contractor.

11. In the event of the contractor neglecting to clear, prepare for cultivation, or cultivate any portion of the land which he hereby undertakes to cultivate, the employer shall be entitled to discontinue all advances he is liable to make under clauses 5 and 8 hereof until the land shall have been cleared, prepared, or cultivated to his satisfaction.

12. In the event of the contractor leaving the said land or neglecting to clear and trash his canes or attend to the proper cultivation thereof for a longer period than three months from any cause whatsoever except death, the canes shall become the absolute property of the employer, and this agreement shall terminate.

13. The employer shall provide the contractor with a book in which shall be entered all the advances made by the employer at the time of making such advance, and such book shall be presented to the employer on the first day of every month for inspection.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

A.—LAW RELATING TO RETURN OF CHINESE TO THE PHILIPPINES.

(Acts of Philippine Commission, No. 317, Dec. 13, 1901.)

SECTION 1. No Chinaman who left the Philippine Islands before the 19th day of August, 1898, and has remained outside of the islands until the present time, and who would be excluded but for the orders heretofore issued by the military governor of the Philippine Islands extending the time within which the Chinaman might be permitted to return, shall be permitted to enter the islands.

SEC. 2. Chinamen who have left the Philippine Islands since the 13th day of August, 1898, or who may leave in the future, shall be permitted to land only upon the production of a certificate of the collector of customs of the port of the Philippine Islands from which they departed, issued at the time of their departure. The period in which such legal return can be made after their departure from the islands is hereby limited to one and one-half years, which period shall be stated in the certificate to be issued by the collector of customs at the time of departure, and no extension of that period shall be granted for illness, or for any other cause, by any authority.

SEC. 3. All laws, regulations, and orders heretofore issued are hereby repealed in so far as the same are inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

B.—CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

(U. S. Statutes at Large, ch. 641.)

All laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming of Chinese persons, and persons of Chinese descent, and the residence of such persons therein, including sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14 of the act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of the Chinese laborers into the United States" approved September 13, 1898, be, and the same are hereby reenacted, and extended, and continued so far as the same are not inconsistent with treaty obligations, until otherwise provided by law, and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States whether in such island territory at the time of cession or not, and from one portion of the said island territory of the United States to another portion of said island territory: *Provided, however,* That said laws shall not apply to the transit of Chinese laborers from one island to another island of the same group; and any islands within the jurisdiction of any State or the District of Alaska shall be considered a part of the mainland under this section. * * *

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of every Chinese laborer other than a citizen, rightfully in, and entitled to remain in any of the insular territory of the United States (Hawaii excepted) at the time of the passage of this act, to obtain within one year thereafter a certificate of residence in the insular territory wherein he resides, which certificate shall entitle him to residence therein, and upon failure to obtain such certificate as herein provided, he shall be deported from such insular territory; and the Philippine Commission is authorized and required to make all regulations and provisions necessary for the enforcement of this section in the Philippine Islands, including the form and substance of the certificate of residence so that the same shall clearly and sufficiently identify the holder thereof and enable officials to prevent fraud in the transfer of the same: *Provided, however,* That if said Philippine Commission shall find that it is impossible to complete the registration herein provided for within one year from the passage of the act, said commission is hereby authorized and empowered to extend the time to a further period not exceeding one year.

Approved April 29, 1902.

C.—CHINESE RESTRICTION ACT.

(Acts of Philippine Commission, No. 702, Mar. 27, 1903.)

SECTION 1. The collector of customs for the Philippine Archipelago is hereby authorized and directed to make the registration of all Chinese laborers in the Philippine Islands as required and prescribed by section 4 of the act of Congress approved

April 29, 1902, entitled "An act to prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States, its Territories, and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent," and to employ for that purpose the personnel of the Philippine Customs Service, the provincial and military officers hereinafter provided, and such other persons as may be necessary.

SEC. 2. The insular collector of customs shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the efficient execution of this act, prescribing the form of certificates of registration required hereby, and making such provisions that certificates may be procured in localities convenient to the applicants.

SEC. 3. Each certificate of registration shall contain the name, age, date, and place of birth, registry of birth, if any, local residence, occupation, and photograph of the person therein described, and such other data in respect to him as shall be prescribed by the insular collector of customs, and shall be issued by the proper officer upon payment to him of a fee of 50 cents, United States currency, said fee to be accompanied by a true photograph of the applicant in triplicate to the satisfaction of such officer.

SEC. 4. Any Chinese laborer within the limits of the Philippine Islands who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to obtain within the time prescribed by section 4 of the act of Congress of the United States, referred to in section 1 of this act, the certificate of registration by this act provided to be issued, and who shall be found within the Philippine Islands without such certificate of registration after such time has elapsed, may be arrested upon warrant issued by the court of first instance of the Province or by the justice's court of the municipality returnable before said court of first instance, by any customs official, police, constabulary, or other peace officer of the Philippine Islands and brought before any judge of a court of first instance in the islands, whose duty it shall be to order that such Chinese laborer be deported from the Philippine Islands, either to China or the country from whence he came unless he shall affirmatively establish clearly and to the satisfaction of such judge, by at least one credible witness other than Chinese, that although lawfully in the Philippine Islands at and ever since the passage of this act he has been unable by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause to procure the certificate within the time prescribed by law, in which case the court shall order and adjudge that he procure the proper certificate within a reasonable time, and such Chinese laborer shall bear and pay the costs of the proceeding: *Provided, however,* That any Chinese laborer failing for any reason to secure the certificate required under this law within two years from the date of its passage shall be deported from the islands. If it appears that such Chinese laborer has procured a certificate in due time but that the same has been lost or destroyed, he shall be allowed a reasonable time to procure a duplicate from the insular collector of customs or from the officer granting the original certificate, and upon the production of such duplicate such Chinese laborer shall be discharged from custody upon payment of costs.

Any Chinese person having procured a certificate of registration, and the same having been lost or destroyed, shall have a right to procure a duplicate thereof under such regulations as may be prescribed by the insular collector of customs upon the payment of double the fee exacted for the original certificate and the presentation of his true photograph in triplicate.

No Chinese person heretofore convicted in any court of the States or Territories of the United States or the Philippine Islands of a felony shall be permitted to register under the provisions of this act without special authority from the civil governor.

SEC. 5. Every Chinese person having a right to be and remain in the Philippine Islands shall obtain the certificate of registration specified in section 3 of this act as evidence of such right and shall pay the fee and furnish his photograph in triplicate as in said section prescribed; and every Chinese person found without such certificate within the Philippine Islands after the expiration of the time limited by law for registration shall be presumed, in the absence of satisfactory proof to the contrary, to be a Chinese laborer and shall be subject to deportation as provided in section 4 of this act. Every Chinese person shall on demand of any customs official, police, constabulary, or other peace officer exhibit his certificate, and on his refusal to do so may be arrested and tried as provided in section 4 of this act.

SEC. 6. Any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in any certificate of registration or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate the person to whom said certificate was originally issued, or who shall falsely present any such certificate shall be punished by a fine not to exceed \$1,000 and imprisoned for a term not to exceed five years.

SEC. 7. Every Chinese person who may be entitled to come into the Philippine Islands shall, upon landing, if he so requests, be given by the collector of customs of

the port at which he lands a certificate containing his name, age, photograph, occupation, place of last residence, the date on which he landed, and such other data in respect to him as may be prescribed by the insular collector of customs, and such certificate shall be issued upon payment to the proper officer of 50 cents, United States currency, accompanied by a true photograph of the applicant in triplicate to the satisfaction of such officer.

SEC. 8. Each certificate issued under this act shall be made out in triplicate, and to each of the triplicate copies shall be attached a true photograph of the person to whom issued. One of such triplicate certificates shall be delivered to the applicant, one filed in the office of the registrar of Chinese for the district within which the application is made, and the third transmitted to the insular collector of customs for permanent record and file.

SEC. 12. The word "laborer" or "laborers" wherever used in this act shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including Chinese laundrymen and Chinese employed in mining, fishing, huckstering, peddling, or taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation.

The term "merchant" as employed in this act signifies a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise at a fixed place of business, which business is conducted in his name, and who during the time he claims to be engaged as a merchant does not engage in the performance of any manual labor except such as is necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant. The definition of "laborer" and "merchant" set out in this section shall receive the same construction as that given to it by the Federal courts of the United States and the rulings and regulations of the Treasury Department of the United States.

D.—DATA RE BOOKKEEPING LAW (ACT NO. 2972 OF PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE).

STATEMENT BY THE HON. JAIME C. DE VEYRA, PHILIPPINE COMMISSIONER, U. S. CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER 28, 1922.¹

It will be generally conceded that it is a sovereign right for a country to enact laws to protect the well-being of its citizens. Considered in that light, the Philippine Legislature has exercised its proper authority and paramount duty to pass the Act No. 2972, popularly known as the bookkeeping law, in the interests of the Filipino people.

Undoubtedly, the Philippine legislators are anxious to have account books in the country kept in systematic ways, as far as present conditions warrant. It is reported that through irregularities of books of Chinese firms which are written in their own language and which are not intelligible to our revenue collectors, a loss of from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 pesos [\$750,000 to \$1,000,000, par] per year is sustained by our Government. It is believed that by virtue of the new law the collection of revenues will be facilitated and losses diminished.

I believe, however, that the act can be improved upon by specifying certain limitations. For example, the small retail merchants whose business does not require regular bookkeeping are generally exempted from the sales or income tax. I think the legislature does not intend to bring this class of merchants under the operation of this law, but to avoid ambiguity this condition should be clearly stated in the act.

Furthermore, much misunderstanding would have been avoided if before the passage of this law the legislature could have found time to grant a hearing so that the Chinese could have freely expressed their views and clearly understood the true intent of the legislation.

LETTER BY CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, TO GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES, FEBRUARY 15, 1921.²

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, in mass meeting assembled on the evening of February 12, 1921, at the meeting rooms of the chamber in the city of Manila, after full discussion and consideration of the subject, unanimously adopted the following resolutions relative to the measure recently passed by the legislature, known as Act No. 2972, and now pending executive approval, the same being a proposed law making it incumbent upon the Chinese merchants in the Philippine Islands on and after a certain date therein mentioned, to keep all of their commercial records and books of account in the English or Spanish language or in one of the native dialects:

¹ In letter to author, Sept. 30, 1922.

² From memorandum by the Chinese merchants of the Philippines to the United States Senate, a copy of which may be obtained from the United States Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Whereas, on the last day of its session just closed the Legislature of the Philippine Islands passed a law known as Act No. 2972, the purport and tenor of which are to require all commercial transactions and accounts of commercial firms and individuals in the Philippine Islands from a date therein named to be kept in the English language, in the Spanish language, or in one of the native dialects of this country; and

Whereas the Chinese people are the only considerable population in the Philippines engaged in commercial pursuits that do not speak as their native tongue one of the languages or dialects aforesaid; and

Whereas this proposed law therefore protects all English-speaking, Spanish, and native merchants and places onerous burdens upon the Chinese people which it is sincerely believed it will be impracticable, if not impossible, for them to bear, regardless of their entire willingness and desire to do so; and

Whereas from every point of view the proposed legislation must be regarded as highly prejudicial and unfriendly to the Chinese people of the Philippine Islands and, in effect, destructive of their commercial and property interests, vested and otherwise, and is of extremely doubtful validity; therefore be it

Resolved, That the said measure known as Act No. 2972 will be highly detrimental to the members of this chamber in their capacity as merchants, and most earnestly urge His Excellency the Governor General to give the matter his most earnest consideration, which will result, we are fully assured, in his declining to allow the bill in question to have his official sanction and approval. And be it further

Resolved, That the following points are particularly brought to the attention of His Excellency as cogent reasons in our judgment why the said measure should not become a law:

1. The Chinese people are numerically a considerable element of the population of the Philippine Islands, and from the standpoint of merchants and taxpayers are a more considerable element and have been for centuries predominant in the commercial development and progress of this country; that they are entitled to the equal protection of the laws under the organic act of government.

2. In the United States and its possessions, also in the Dutch East Indies, Federated Malay States, Straits Settlements, French Indo-China, British Colony of Hong-kong, and hitherto in the Philippine Islands, the universal custom has been, in matters of this nature, for the Government itself to provide necessary translators or interpreters for all inspection of records of Chinese merchants and for such incidental legislation as comes under the police power, and that this universal usage has worked out satisfactorily up to the present time, obviating friction and misunderstanding and enabling Chinese retail merchants to pursue their lawful occupations without being made the special objects of discriminatory legislation such as the present bill proposes.

3. That in judicial procedures before any court in civilization it is likewise regarded as one of the proper functions of the Government to provide interpreters or translators not only for Chinese subjects, but for other foreign residents who do not happen to understand or speak the local language; that this custom prevails in public offices generally and upon the railways and transportation lines, in hotels and similar public places, it being generally regarded as one of the legitimate functions of government to make such provision for foreign peoples domiciled within their borders and engaged in lawful pursuits therein.

4. The Government, especially in view of the large number of English and Spanish speaking Chinese residents in Manila, can easily provide for all needed inspection of commercial records and accounts of Chinese firms by the employment of a few capable servants qualified to speak and translate Chinese into English and Spanish, while it will be physically impossible for small Chinese merchants to provide thousands of English, Spanish, or Filipino clerks to keep their books and records in one of these languages. Even were it possible to employ such personnel, it would still be impossible to comply with this law, because the Chinese retail merchants do not understand these languages and hence can not communicate or converse with such clerks in their ordinary business intercourse, and vice versa. Only skilled translators, with the requisite knowledge of accounting in addition, will be of any utility in enabling the Chinese to comply with this law.

5. This law will introduce the greatest confusion among Chinese retail merchants because they have been for centuries keeping their books of account in their own language, not only in the Philippine Islands but throughout the Orient. The large

commercial firms, which only constitute a small percentage numerically of the Chinese population in the Philippine Islands, would be less affected because they are financially able to employ the requisite personnel and, as a matter of fact, have already done so. At least 90 per cent of the Chinese retail merchants are of the small tienda-keeper class. They will be directly and disastrously affected by this measure, owing to the fact that practically none of them read or write English, Spanish, or local dialect, and it is likewise impossible for them to make themselves understood in talking with the bookkeepers and translators which the law would make necessary concerning the items of account to be entered or posted in their books of account.

6. The additional expense which this personnel would place upon the small merchants would also entail numerous errors, due to constant misunderstandings which would develop when the merchant would attempt to give directions for entry to an employee who does not understand Chinese. These errors would in the aggregate be far more numerous than can possibly happen under the present system, and the Chinese merchant would be penalized for infractions of the law in countless instances in which the fault would entirely be the mistake of such employees.

7. It would be practically impossible for these retail merchants to avoid keeping a duplicate set of records and accounts, one in Chinese for their own information and convenience, and the other in one of the languages mentioned, in order to comply with the onerous provisions of this law. This additional expense they would naturally have to add to the selling price of the commodities in which they deal, and would undoubtedly have to be borne by the consumers and patrons of their establishments and would hence immediately increase the cost of living of the people generally, especially as these merchants deal largely in the indispensable necessities of life, such as foodstuffs, clothing, etc. To increase the burdens of living in times like the present would be calamitous not only to the merchants but to the people in general throughout the small communities of the islands.

8. That for purposes of examination of books of accounts of Chinese merchants the bureau of internal revenue, under existing laws, has always been able to employ agents who can readily translate the records in question and experience no difficulty in obtaining the necessary information required by that bureau in collecting the public revenue; and under the existing laws, if they detect an error in those books of account, the Chinese merchant is heavily penalized.

9. That if the measure were so framed as to provide for a semiannual or annual report in one of the languages mentioned, from each Chinese merchant, covering his commercial dealings for such a period, it would offer possibilities of compliance, though even this would be a great hardship and to some extent a discrimination against Chinese merchants; but to require all transactions to be so recorded and kept will be manifestly impossible of performance, serving only the purpose of compelling these merchants to go out of business and retire in course of time to other lands where no discriminations of the sort exist and where it will be possible for them to pursue the various forms of lawful business in which they have been heretofore engaged in the Philippines for long periods of time, as already indicated.

10. That a law which practically deprives an individual of the only means within his power to earn his living in peaceable and lawful channels of trade is hardly in keeping with the spirit of free and enlightened institutions.

11. That as the object of this measure is assumed to be to facilitate the collection of public revenues, we respectfully submit that it is an attempted unlawful exercise of that right, since taxes may only be imposed and collected under uniform laws, and a measure of taxation which specifically exempts persons speaking a certain language from one of the most onerous provisions and requires large additional expenditures from a considerable portion of the population affected by the legislation, is clearly unlawful and must of necessity be so considered when it is demonstrable that by the terms of the law it will be physically impossible of performance by said ratepayers and can only have in operation the unlawful effect of driving them out of business or exposing them at once to the heavy penalties which this measure provides.

Finally, that the additional labor and inconvenience which this law will occasion the Chinese retail merchant is highly unwarranted and unjust discrimination against a class of local residents who have been undeniably a very great factor up to this time in facilitating collection of all forms of internal revenue and general taxation in the Philippine Islands. To a far greater degree we respectfully submit that this measure will prove injurious to the public economy of the country, since the withdrawal in considerable numbers of this class of industrious and experienced merchants to their nearby native country, which is now offering considerable inducements for their return, or their emigration to adjoining Oriental countries, in none of which such restrictive legislation exists, must greatly retard the commercial progress and advancement of the Philippine Islands; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be transmitted through the Honorable the Chinese Consul General to his Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, with the earnest hope that executive action will show that same spirit of fairness and consideration for Chinese interests which have happily characterized the public service of Governor General Harrison up to this time.

In accordance with the foregoing resolutions, the same are respectfully transmitted to His Excellency the Governor General.

PETITION OF OVERSEA CHINESE ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT, CABINET, AND MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHINA.²

We beg to bring to your attention the bookkeeping bill, as recently passed by the Philippine Legislature, which requires the sole use of English, Spanish, and the Philippine language for business bookkeeping and its strict and immediate enforcement.

Inasmuch as we are accustomed to the use of our mother language in business transactions and bookkeeping, which has given no obstacle, we feel that the sudden change into foreign languages will necessitate the employment of foreign cashiers, accountants, and clerks, which will greatly inconvenience the small merchants, if not the large companies and firms. Moreover, the owners or proprietors are not acquainted with English or Spanish, which will make them unable to inspect the accounts, and work great harm to the interests of their business. In fact this bill virtually puts all the Chinese out of business and drives them out of the territory of the Philippines.

We beseech you, therefore, to negotiate this matter with the American minister at Peking and the Governor General of the Philippines in order to repeal or amend the bill so that the traditional friendship between China and America shall be maintained.

RESOLUTION OF AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, SHANGHAI, APRIL 12, 1921.

Whereas, the Legislature of the Philippine Islands has passed a law, known as Act No. 2972, making it illegal after November 1, 1921, for any person, company, firm, or corporation engaged in business in the Philippine Islands to keep their books of account in languages other than English, Spanish, or a Philippine dialect, and providing heavy penalties for violation of the law; and

Whereas the Chinese merchants of the Philippines have to no small extent been instrumental in the growth and development of insular commerce, and have provided a most important part of the machinery for distribution of merchandise throughout the islands; and

Whereas many and probably the greater part of these industrious Chinese merchants would find it impracticable to conform to the regulations of the above law, which would doubtless make it impossible for many to continue in business in the Philippines, thus inflicting upon them undeserved hardship; therefore, be it unanimously

Resolved, That we, the American Chamber of Commerce of China, give our support to the attached protest of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai, in the belief that the omission of the Chinese language from the above-mentioned law is an unfortunate oversight, and that either this omission should be promptly remedied by amendment or the law repealed.

LETTER FROM MR. VICENTE VILLAMIN, DIRECTOR OF PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK CITY, TO GEN. FRANK MCINTYRE, BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS, JUNE 23, 1921.²

I have just received copy of Act 2972 of the Philippine Legislature, generally known as the bookkeeping law, requiring under penal sanction that all books of account be kept either in English, Spanish, or any native dialect, approved February 21, 1921.

If I recollect rightly, in 1914 injunction proceedings were brought restraining the collector of internal revenue from enforcing an administrative circular requiring substantially what the present law provides, and the Supreme Court of the Philippines decided that the circular was null and void, as there was no law authorizing it. At various times since then the subject matter of the law was more or less brought prominently to public attention. No legislative action, however, has been taken until the present law was enacted during the last days of the session. I understand that there was no time for a public hearing on the bill.

The law becomes operative from November 1, 1921. The question now raised is whether the law is wise or not—to be abrogated or let stand?

² From memorandum of Chinese merchants to United States Senate.

After considering the case on its merits, taking into consideration the prevailing conditions in the country and unharassed by local controversies, I express the opinion that the law is inexpedient and impracticable and should be revoked.

At the very outset let me say that the question is a Filipino question, to be decided on by the Filipinos in the way best calculated to serve the interests of the Philippines. It is not a question between the Filipinos and the Chinese, as some miserable persons would like to reduce it. It is whether a certain measure is good or bad, on which every one is entitled to express an opinion as a matter of civic duty.

Fair-minded men will concede to the Philippine Legislature the credit that in this instance it was actuated by the plausible purpose of facilitating the verification of sales tax by revenue collectors and the examination of books in proper cases. The cardinal intent of the legislature can not be assailed in this respect. Confronted, however, with a condition and not with a theory, the legislator, in his patriotic zeal to promote public welfare and to harmonize the different elements in his cosmopolitan and polyglot constituency, should not be unmindful that of the 75,000 merchants in the country, 15,000 are Chinese nationals who do not possess either the English, Spanish, or native dialects sufficiently to enable them to comply with the law and keep a record of their affairs straight at the same time. It may be stated parenthetically that Filipino merchants do not keep their books in native dialect.

The Chinese youths in the Philippines are now learning English and Spanish in the schools. When these eventually step into the shoes of their fathers in the management of their business, this language question will solve itself automatically. If I am informed rightly, the Chinese firms who have English or Spanish speaking bookkeepers do keep their books in either language.

Chinese merchants have their own system of bookkeeping, handed down to them by their forefathers from time immemorial, and it would be tantamount to oppression to force on them a new system, which will happen if they are compelled to employ modern bookkeepers. I do not mean to say that the Government should not prescribe what books to keep and lay down general principles for proper necessary regulation. It should, however, avoid to work hardships on anyone if that can be helped without subverting the law of the land.

I fear we do not have enough bookkeepers and interpreters to help Chinese merchants comply with the law. I heard it suggested that one bookkeeper may act for a number of firms. This is, to say the least, preposterous and conducive to many complications. A merchant wouldn't care, whether he is an American, Filipino, or whatnot, to have his competitors know his inside affairs. A premium will be placed on infidelity and the bookkeepers will be subjected to strong temptations. For the sake of business stability we do not want to see that happen in our country. If the law is intended to prevent the Government from being defrauded of its lawful revenue, any thinking man will at once see that it will not only fail of its purpose, but it will serve to facilitate the committing of fraud. In the case of the Chinese merchants, for instance, the books kept in their own language are intended to be their permanent record, whereas the books kept in either English or Spanish are for the revenue examiners and collectors only, and I would give more faith and reliance on the first set of books.

Dishonesty can be committed in any language. It seems to be the better part of policy to have satisfied, rather than dissatisfied, merchants who would pay willingly their dues in a spirit of cooperation and duty.

Sixty-five per cent or more of the internal revenue collections in the entire country are paid by the Chinese merchants. Considering their relative number, it would seem clear that they are discharging splendidly their obligations to the Government. As a people they are honest and punctilious in their duty.

The Government, without the law in question, is possessed of full and complete power to go through the books of any merchant for good cause, and the existing criminal laws can properly take care of violators of the revenue laws. It would be a sad commentary on the administration of our laws if we can not provide instrumentalities with which to cope with the situation without resorting to thick-skulled legislation.

At present the Government has in its employ competent interpreters, and they have rendered satisfactory service. I understand that in Java and other neighboring countries Chinese merchants are permitted to keep their books in Chinese, and we claim to be a more liberal country.

When the law goes into effect November 1, 1921, all merchants in the country who, through no ill intent on their part, will be compelled to commit misfeasance; will be driven into the two horns of the dilemma; criminal prosecution or suspension of business. The first involves the penalizing of innocence and ignorance, and the second will operate as confiscatory of property.

Filipino sense of sportsmanship will not tolerate either one or the other to come about. And yet, if we do not prime public opinion, we shall likely give a world exhibition from November that in the Philippines justice, even in its most relative sense, is a meaningless hue and cry even as we ask it for ourselves. I do not, therefore, hear from the Chinese community an appeal for charity. What I hear is a call for fair play.

Some folks would say: "If the Chinese or anybody else can not put up with such a law, let them shut up; and if they do not want to shut up, let them go back where they belong." This is irresponsible patter, expressed by people who have a monopoly on poltroonery. The Chinese grew with the country from its earliest days, and helped in its development. They are modest, law-abiding, and hard-working. Many of them became very successful and amassed big fortunes, which remain in the country from generation to generation. Very little goes to China. The Chinese are possessed of a peculiar knack for cordial conviviality with Filipinos. Many of our best citizens are of Chinese extraction. Can we forgive ourselves if we now, without provocation, deliver this lethal blow on our Chinese community by the enforcement of Act 2972 as enacted?

There are other considerations relating to this matter. Our Government is committed, I understand, to the policy of inviting foreign capital. Are we prepared to give the future investor indubitable proofs of our insincerity and inconsistency by starting to surround foreign capital with shackles and unnecessary encumbrances? None too timorous investors are already seeing causes why capital should not go to the Philippines, without us legislating one cause more into existence.

China is a good market for many of our raw materials. I claim to have some acquaintance with that field, and I say most emphatically that it is worth our good while to cultivate a closer economic rapprochement with it. It is good business and sound policy to be on the friendliest terms with China. The Chinese wail against the bookkeeping law will reverberate in China, and this, together with the poor showing of the Philippine National Bank in Shanghai, will make the Chinese, as well as other people, lose as much esteem as respect for us.

Add the commotion and controversy engendered by the law to the acute economic crisis through which we are now passing, and you will have a picture of chaos and calamity too sad to contemplate.

I would be grieved to know if some people should see in my argument against the law as weakening the hands of the Government by making concessions inimical to its prestige and power. I honestly believe that the controversy in hand is one which can be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned, compatibly with the dignity and policy of the Government.

The matter is one which should be dispassionately considered by persons directly interested in it. I am strongly of the opinion that it is making matters worse and rendering solution increasingly difficult to take the question to places and entities which have but the most remote interest in it, and could not be expected to appreciate fully the issues involved.

In considering the amendment or repeal of Act 2972, I hope I am not too pretentious to suggest that the following subjects be considered: (1) Severer laws for violators of the revenue laws; (2) a requirement of a semiannual or annual résumé of business transactions in the official language; (3) preparation of more interpreters for service in the country and for business with China; and (4) effective administration of the law.

In conclusion, I wish to express the hope that when the legislature convenes in October, public hearings be held in Manila to properly gauge public opinion on the law.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

A.—LAWS AND REGULATIONS RESTRICTING CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.¹

Chap. LXXX.

SECTION 1. No Chinese, except women who have relatives by marriage or blood residing in this kingdom, children under 10 years of age who have parents or guardians residing in this kingdom, clergymen, teachers, and merchants heretofore residing and doing business in this kingdom, except as hereinafter provided, shall be allowed to enter this kingdom unless upon condition that while here he will engage in no trading or mechanical occupation other than domestic service or agricultural labor in the field or sugar or rice mills, and that he will, whenever he shall cease to follow his vocation as agricultural laborer in the field or in sugar or rice mills, or as domestic servant, leave this kingdom; and that for every breach of such condition he shall, upon any conviction by any police or district justice, be liable to a fine of \$100.

SEC. 2. Conditional permits to enter this kingdom may be granted by the minister of foreign affairs for such Chinese, not exceeding 5,000 in number, as shall be recommended by the board of immigration, upon the application of the employers of domestic, agricultural, or mill labor, which said permits shall contain the condition, printed in both the English language and in Chinese characters, that the bearer is allowed to enter this kingdom solely on condition that while here he will engage in no trading or mechanical occupation other than domestic service or agricultural labor in the field or in sugar or rice mills, and that he will, whenever he shall cease to follow his vocation as agricultural laborer in the field or in sugar or rice mills, or as domestic servant, leave this kingdom; and that for every breach of such condition, he shall, upon conviction of any police or district justice, be liable to a fine of \$100. Permits to enter this kingdom may also be granted by the minister of foreign affairs for any Chinese resident in this kingdom at the date of the passage of this act: *Provided*, That such person shall have resided within the kingdom for two years immediately preceding such passage; and also to such other persons as may wish to sojourn temporarily in the kingdom as travelers, or as merchants having business interests in this kingdom: *Provided*, That such sojourn shall not exceed six months: *And provided*, Such person so permitted to enter shall give a bond to said minister in the sum of \$500, liquidated damages, conditioned that he will leave the kingdom within six months, and if he shall be found within the kingdom after the expiration of six months he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction be imprisoned at hard labor for a term not to exceed six months. For each permit granted under this section the minister of foreign affairs shall be paid a fee of \$5.

SEC. 3. The master of any vessel in which any Chinese for whom such permit shall not have been granted other than teachers, clergymen, or merchants formerly residing or doing business in this kingdom, shall be brought into this kingdom and landed here, shall be liable to a fine of \$100 for every Chinese so illegally brought into this kingdom, upon conviction thereof by any police or district justice, and such fine shall be a lien upon the vessel in which the Chinese shall have been brought into this kingdom, and shall be enforced by proceeding in admiralty.

Supplementary act, approved May 3, 1894.

SECTION 2. The board of immigration shall keep proper accounts with each laborer of the amounts deposited by him under this act. At the heading of each account shall be pasted the laborer's photograph and be written in his name and the number of his certificate. All moneys thus deposited by the laborers shall be invested by the board of immigration in the postal savings bank, and the interest shall be credited to each laborer's account at the same rate and in the manner as is being done by the savings bank.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of properly identifying the laborer he shall upon arrival in this country furnish the board of immigration with two three-fourth face photo-

¹Published by Chinese Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs, June 30, 1896.

graphs, one of which is to be retained by the board of immigration, and the other is to be attached to the laborer's certificate of identification.

SEC. 4. When the laborer shall cease to follow his avocation as an agricultural laborer in the field, or as a laborer in sugar or rice mills, and shall depart from the Hawaiian Islands, the amount to his credit shall be used as follows: The board of immigration shall apply so much thereof as may be necessary for the payment of his passage and pay the remainder to him.

B.—PEONAGE STATUTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Revised Statutes, sec. 1990.)

SECTION 1990. The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in the Territory of New Mexico or in any other Territory or State of the United States, and all acts, laws, resolutions, orders, regulations, or usages of the Territory of New Mexico, or in any other Territory or State, which have heretofore established, maintained, or enforced, or by virtue of which any attempt shall hereafter be made to establish, maintain, or enforce directly or indirectly, the voluntary or involuntary service or labor of any persons, as peons, in liquidation of any debt or obligation, or otherwise, are declared null and void.

SEC. 5526. Every person who holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

In the peonage cases (123 Fed. 673) Jones, district judge, says: "What is meant by the phrase holding or returning a person to 'a condition of peonage,' as used in the Revised Statutes? At the time of the passage of the act of Congress (Rev. Stat. 1990 and 5526) a system of service, popularly called 'peonage,' existed in New Mexico, though not so termed in the laws of the Territory, which spoke of the relation as that of master and servant. It derived the institution from Mexico, which in turn inherited it from Spain. Peonage was not slavery as it formerly existed in this country. The peon was not a slave. He was a freeman, with political as well as civil rights. He entered into the relation from choice for a definite period as the result of mutual contract. The relation was not confined to any race. The child of a peon did not become a peon, and the father could not contract away the services of his minor child, except in rare cases. The peon, male or female, agreed with the master upon the nature of the service, the length of its duration, and compensation. * * * The courts of the Territory (New Mexico), after the passage of the thirteenth amendment, holding that it destroyed the right formerly existing under the territorial laws to hold to service, released peons from compulsory service on writs of habeas corpus wherever applied to. * * * The right, privilege, or immunity of a citizen of the United States to be free from slavery, or involuntary servitude of any kind, except upon due conviction of crime, being given or secured by the Constitution of the United States to every citizen of the United States, Congress, under the authority vested in it by the thirteenth amendment, had power not only to strike down and annul laws which supported the system of peonage in New Mexico, but by direct and primary legislation of its own to punish criminally individuals who in any part of the United States violate the rights of citizens of the United States in this regard by lawlessly subjecting them to the results and evils, 'the conditions,' of the forbidden system."

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution provides: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

No citizen of the United States, or foreigner, coming into or residing within the same shall, for himself or for any other person, either as master, factor, owner, or otherwise, build, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any vessel, registered, enrolled, or licensed in the United States, for the purpose of procuring from any port or place the subjects of China, Japan, or of any other oriental country known as "coolies," to be transported to any foreign port or place to be disposed of, or sold, or transferred for any time, as servants or apprentices, or to be held in service or labor.

If any vessel, belonging in whole or in part to a citizen of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or otherwise licensed therein be employed in the "coolie trade," so called, contrary to the provisions of the preceding section, such vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts of the United States for the district where the vessel may be found, seized, or carried.

C.—LAWS AND ACTS AFFECTING CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN HAWAII.*

(1) *Entry into United States from Hawaii.*—There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands, except upon such conditions as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States; no Chinese, by reason of anything contained in the joint resolution providing for annexing the Hawaiian Islands approved July 7, 1898, shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands. (30 Stat. 751.)

(2) *Chinese exclusion act without limitation.*—The general Chinese act excludes Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent from coming into the United States or any of its Territories. (32 Stat. 176; 33 Stat. 428.)

(3) *Coolie trade prohibited.*—There is a law relating to the coolie trade, and which prohibits the same, and there is one relating to the exclusion of Chinese under the general immigration laws, and those laws would be affected.

The Revised Statutes of the United States, 2158 and following, and also Eighteenth Statutes, 477, prohibit coolie trade and contracting to supply coolie labor, and make a violation of the law a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment.

(4) *Exclusion of aliens under general immigration law.*—The resolution seeks to admit "such aliens otherwise inadmissible." This conflicts with the general exclusion of aliens under the immigration law and would permit all classes of criminals, anarchists, and the like to be admitted to Hawaii unless the rules and regulations adopted by the Labor Department specifically excluded them.

(5) *Literacy test.*—Section 3 of the immigration law prohibits the landing of "all aliens over 16 years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish."

(6) *Contract labor in Hawaii.*—The enabling act of the Territory of Hawaii (23 Stat. 332; 31 Stat. 143) specifically prohibits contract labor.

(a) All contracts made since August 12, 1898, by which persons are held for service for a definite term are declared null and void and terminated, and no law shall be passed to enforce said contracts in any way, and it shall be the duty of the United States marshal to at once notify such persons so held of the termination of their contracts.

(b) Importation of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, or its Territories, is prohibited.

(7) *Contract labor in the United States.*—The law of the United States prohibits the admission, under section 2 of the immigration law, of "persons hereafter called contract laborers who have been induced, assisted, or encouraged to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment, whether such offers or promises are true or false, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled."

All contracts or agreements, express or implied, parol or special, which may be made between any person or company and any foreigner or alien to perform labor or service in the United States or its Territories, previous to the migration or importation of the person whose labor or service is contracted for, shall be void. (23 Stat. 332.)

The laws of the United States even provide that any informer giving original information that the contract labor laws have been violated shall be entitled to a portion of the penalties recovered from the person violating the law.

They have gone so far as to give any informer who assists the Government in the prosecution of the case half of the penalty recovered.

(8) *Head tax.*—The head tax provision is affected by this resolution. Section 2 of the immigration law provides: "There shall be levied, collected, and paid a tax of \$8 for every alien, including alien seamen regularly admitted, as provided in this act, entering the United States." (29 Stat. 875.)

(9) *Three per cent immigration law.*—The 3 per cent provision of the immigration law would be repealed, so far as Hawaii is concerned. That is the law we just passed at this session of Congress.

The Sixty-seventh Congress has just passed a law limiting immigrants coming to this country or its Territories to 3 per cent of the number of that particular nationality who resided in the United States according to the census of 1910.

(10) *Peonage laws.*—Peonage is a crime in the United States and has been defined thus:

"Peonage is a status or condition of compulsory service based upon the indebtedness of the peon to the master. The basic fact is indebtedness." (Clyatt v. United States, 197 U. S. 207.)

* From the testimony of Hon. John L. Cable, in Hearings on Labor Problems in Hawaii before House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 67th Cong., 1st sess., serial 7, Pt. II, pp. 788-790

Peonage is a crime in the United States. Section 269 of the Criminal Code provides: "Whoever holds, arrests, or returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

In section 3944, United States Compiled Statutes, 1918, the law provides that peonage is abolished.

"The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in the Territory of New Mexico, or in any other Territory or State of the United States; and all acts, laws, and resolutions, orders, regulations of the Territory of New Mexico, or any other Territory or State, which have heretofore established, maintained, or enforced, or by virtue of which any attempt shall hereafter be made to establish, maintain, or enforce, directly or indirectly, the voluntary or involuntary service of labor of any persons as peons in liquidation of any debt or obligation or otherwise, be, and the same is hereby, declared null and void."

It will be noted that the crime of peonage is complete when a person holds any person to a condition of peonage; that is, according to the above definition, in a condition of compulsory service based on indebtedness.

Under the resolution as drawn a Chinese not being able to pay his passage would be indebted to someone when he took work in the islands of Hawaii. He would be compelled to continue work of an agricultural nature, because if he left the plantation and went into the city he could be arrested and deported. Debt therefore holds him to work.

So far as those 10 provisions are concerned, in my opinion, this resolution would suspend them so far as Hawaii is concerned. Of course, Congress would have the lawful right to do that, but so far as constitutional provisions being violated is concerned the resolution could not do that.

(11) *Bringing within the United States any person from any foreign country to be held for service or labor.*—The law provides in substance that whoever brings within the United States any person to be held in service or labor shall be fined not more than \$10,000. The section is found in Thirty-fifth Statutes, 1139, and reads as follows:

"BRINGING SLAVES INTO UNITED STATES.—Whoever brings within the jurisdiction of the United States, in any manner whatsoever, any person from any foreign kingdom or country or from sea, or holds, sells, or otherwise disposes of any person so brought in, as a slave, or to hold to service or labor, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, one-half to the use of the United States and the other half to the use of the party who prosecutes the indictment to effect, and, moreover, shall be imprisoned not more than seven years."

The section was no doubt reenacted as the result of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

D.—CONTRACT OF SUGAR-CANE WORKERS.³

This agreement, made and entered into this 9th day of March, A. D. 1921, by and between the Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.), a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the law of the Territory of Hawaii, party of first part, hereinafter called the "company," and the several contractors subscribing their names hereto, parties of the second part, hereinafter called the "contractors,"

Witnesseth, that the said company for and in consideration of the promises and agreements to be kept by the said contractors, hereby covenants and agrees as follows, to wit:

1. To permit the said contractors to enter into and occupy for the purpose of cultivation of sugar cane, on the system hereinafter set forth, that section of land described in the company's maps as field No. 20, covering in all about 158.50 acres, now planted with sugar cane by the said company, and standing debited therefor on the books of the company with the sum of \$483.79.

2. To loan and advance for the term of said contract, for the living expenses of said contractors, money at the rate of \$26 for men and \$19.50 for women per month of 26 days' service of 10 hours each day, performed by each of said contractors, while said contractors faithfully perform the terms, conditions, and covenants herein set

³ Hearings on Labor Problems in Hawaii before House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 67th Cong., 1st sess., serial 7, Pt. II, pp. 723-725. Compare U. S. Commissioner of Labor Report for 1902, pp. 65-67. Also for sample of "Penal Labor Contract" in force in Hawaii until Annexation see same report, p. 14 note

forth by them to be kept and performed. Any work on Sundays to be computed at the rate of time and a half.

3. To furnish without charge lodgings sufficient for contractors' use and to keep the same in ordinary repair, on contractors' careful and proper use thereof.

4. To furnish fuel for the domestic use of the contractors, to be cut and gathered by the contractors at such place or places as the company shall designate.

5. To furnish tools, in the first instance, for irrigating purposes.

6. To furnish water in main plantation ditches for irrigation purposes.

7. To furnish such fertilizer as the said company may deem necessary to be used on the said premises.

8. To pay within one month after the termination of this contract the sum of \$1.12 for each ton of 2,000 pounds of clean cane, grown and cultivated as herein set forth, on said premises, and should said contractors also cut and load said cane by direction of the company, then the further sum of 46 cents per ton on 2,000 pounds of clean cane grown, cultivated, and cut on said premises and loaded on railroad cars or other means of transportation, and each of said contractors shall be entitled to receive as his share for all services by said contractors done and performed hereunder, such proportionate part as his labor bears to the entire amount of labor and services rendered on said clean cane to be determined by the weight thereof as delivered at the mill of said company.

And the contractors, for and in consideration of the promises and agreements to be kept and performed by the said company as herein set forth, do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said company as follows, to wit:

I. That they will cultivate thoroughly and well and properly irrigate the cane growing and to be grown during the term hereof on the section of land mentioned herein until said cane shall be matured and ripe, and until the said cane shall be cut and harvested; the said term of cultivation, however, shall not exceed the term of 18 months from the date of beginning work under this contract, to wit, July 15, 1920.

II. To conduct to and throughout the cane fields the water furnished by said company, and there carefully and economically to use the same for the purpose of irrigating said cane.

III. To clean and strip the said cane along the side of all roads and railroads for a distance of 30 feet, and along both sides of all main ditches, level ditches, and water courses for a space of 5 feet.

IV. To keep the edge of said premises, the field itself, and all roads and ditches on said premises, clean and free from weeds, and to keep at all times all watercourses clean and free from leaves.

V. To carefully apply such fertilizers as may be furnished for said premises in the manner directed by the said company.

VI. To keep in repair or replace all tools and ladders furnished by the company to the contractors, and to return the same at the termination of this contract.

VII. To permit said company to deduct and said company is hereby authorized and empowered to deduct from the amount due the contractors, under the terms hereof, all loans and advances made to the said contractors for living expenses.

VIII. To permit said company to deduct, and the said company is hereby authorized and empowered to deduct, from the amount due the contractors, under the terms hereof, the sum debited against said premises on books of the company at the time of the execution of this contract, and the actual cost of all labor procured and furnished by the company under the terms hereof, in order to well and properly cultivate and irrigate said cane, when said labor shall have been procured and furnished by the company.

IX. To cut and load on cars or place in flumes or other sufficient means of transportation furnished by the company the sugar cane grown on said section of land whenever said company shall direct contractors so to do.

It is mutually agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows, to wit:

A. That all work, labor, and service to be performed by the contractors under this agreement shall be subject to the supervision of the company in all cases; that the company shall have the right at any and all times to direct in what manner the same shall be performed and employ extra labor to do any of the work herein specified; that the cost of the employment of such labor shall be charged to and deducted from the contractors' share.

B. That the right is hereby reserved to the company to enter upon said premises, or any part thereof, at any and all times for any purposes.

C. That the company shall have the right, in its discretion, to burn off the field to facilitate harvesting, before cutting the cane, but any field so burned shall be cut and ground with the least possible delay.

D. That this agreement may be terminated at any time by the company for failure on the part of the contractors to carry out any of the terms hereof, or upon such interference by the said contractors with the work on said premises as shall prevent the proper and efficient cultivating or harvesting of said cane, and by the contractors upon giving two months' notice to the company. When this agreement shall have been thus terminated the contractors shall be entitled to wages at the rate of \$20 to November 1, 1920, and \$30 from November 1, 1920, for men and \$15 to November 1, 1920, and \$22.50 from November 1, 1920, for women per month of 26 days' labor actually performed, less all advances made under the provisions hereof.

E. No contractor or contractors shall have the right to transfer or assign his share to any other without the written consent of the company, and in case of any such transfer it shall not be recognized, and all settlements shall be made with the original contractor, his heirs or legal representatives in case of death.

F. The contractors shall agree on the appointment of a representative who shall have the right to inspect the weighing of cane grown on said premises, and the cleaning and reweighing of the cane and refuse from all sample cars hereinafter referred to.

G. The company shall in no way be held liable for damages to said crop or any portion thereof by fire, storm, or unavoidable delays in the mill, pumps, or for delays caused by strikes of workmen on plantation, or from any accidents or delays which are beyond the control of the company.

H. In case of the death of a contractor during the term of this agreement, the estate of said contractor shall be entitled to immediate settlement at the rate of \$20 to November 1, 1920, and \$30 from November 1, 1920, for men and \$15 to November 1, 1920, and \$22.50 from November 1, 1920, for women per month of 26 days of labor actually performed, deducting advances as aforesaid, or settlement may then be given said contractor hereunder. In case of accident to or sickness of said contractor, whereby said contractor is prevented from performing the labor under this agreement, said contractor may, with the consent of the company, supply the labor in place of his own, failing to do which the company may supply labor in place of said contractor, and receive and deduct such proportion of the entire amount due said contractor as the labor substituted by the company and performed in the place of said contractor shall bear to the entire amount of labor performed hereunder and according to the terms hereof.

I. It is agreed that for the purpose of this contract, the term "clean cane" shall be understood to be the actual net weight of the cane after all refuse, including green and dry leaves, dead and rotten cane, shall have been removed from the said cane; and to ascertain this an average sample car shall be cleaned and weighed each day at the expense of the company, and the percentage of refuse from such sample car shall be accepted as the basis for the deduction to be made from the gross weight of all cane from the said premises weighed each day at the mill of the company.

J. This agreement, in so far as cultivation is concerned, shall terminate and be considered at an end 18 months from the date of beginning work under this contract and in so far as harvesting is concerned, it shall terminate and be at an end when the last cane upon the field shall have been placed upon cars and weighed. Settlement shall be made not later than one month thereafter. It is also agreed that should the company desire it, the contractors shall perform any necessary work in the field hereinbefore mentioned before the field is harvested and after the termination of their contract for cultivation, and receive remuneration therefor at ruling rates of pay for the work they may be called upon to perform.

K. It is agreed that in all cases where the company is concerned its manager, or such person as by him may be designated, shall be its representative and shall be so recognized and treated by the contractors.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.¹

A.—REGULATIONS REGARDING EMPLOYMENT OF CHINESE LABORERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

(Issued under Sec. 29 of Labor Importation Ordinance, 1904.)

Recruiting.

1. No person shall recruit Chinese laborers for introduction into the Transvaal unless he is in possession of a license to do so issued by the official mentioned in Regulation No. 2.

Such license shall be issued on such conditions as the said official may impose in accordance with instructions given to him by the lieutenant governor.

All instructions issued to the said official shall be published in the Gazette.

Contract of service.

2. Every contract of service entered into under the labor importation ordinance, 1904, shall be signed by the laborers to be bound thereby, in the presence of an official styled "Transvaal emigrant agent," representing the Transvaal Government, and stationed at such ports of embarkation as may be notified in the Gazette. Notice shall be given in the Gazette of the name and residence of each of the said officials.

3. The official mentioned in the preceding regulations shall, before any contract is signed by the laborers, explain to them in their own language the provisions thereof, and also the clauses set forth in the first schedule attached to the contract, and shall certify at the foot of the said contract that he has done so, and that the laborers who signed the contract did so voluntarily, and without any undue pressure or misrepresentation.

No contract shall be registered at the office of the superintendent not certified as aforesaid.

4. Every contract of service shall be signed by the parties thereto in duplicate original in the presence of the official mentioned in the preceding regulations, and shall be as nearly as possible in the form set forth in Form No. 1, so these regulations and a certified copy of such contract translated into the Chinese language shall be delivered to each laborer by the said official. One duplicate original of the said contract shall be delivered by the said official to the importer or his agent who signed the said contract, and the other duplicate original shall be forwarded by the said official to the superintendent.

5. No such contract shall be signed by laborers until they have been examined by a qualified medical practitioner, and certified to as being mentally and bodily sound.

6. It shall be competent for any laborer to terminate his contract of service at any time without assigning any reason on tendering to his importer the expenses incurred in introducing him and his wife and children (if any) into the Transvaal, together with a sum sufficient to defray the expenditure necessary in returning them to the port at which they embarked.

Notice of the termination of any contract by the laborer shall be forthwith given by the employer to the superintendent.

Renewal of contracts.

7. Every renewal of a contract of service shall be in writing, and shall be signed by the employer and the laborers to be bound thereby in the presence of the superintendent, who shall explain to them the nature and effect of such renewal.

The said renewal shall be, as far as possible, in the same form as the original contract, and shall be registered at the office of the superintendent.

¹ Great Britain Parliament. Further correspondence relating to labor in the Transvaal mines, 1905, vol. 62, pp. 3-9. (Cd. 2183.)

Applications for licenses.

8. Any person desirous of obtaining a license to introduce laborers shall make application therefor to the superintendent, stating the number of laborers proposed to be introduced by him, and the mine or mines where they are intended to be employed.

Every application shall as nearly as possible be in the Form No. 2.

9. Every such application received by the superintendent shall be forwarded by him to the lieutenant governor, but no license shall be granted to the applicant unless and until the superintendent certifies to the lieutenant governor: (1) That suitable accommodation for the housing of the laborers and suitable hospital accommodation and medical attendance at the mines where the laborers are to be employed will be ready on their arrival; (2) that the bond and security mentioned in section 22 of the said ordinance have been given by the applicant.

Licenses.

10. Every license to introduce laborers shall be in the Form No. 3 to these regulations.

Transfer of laborers.

11. (1) Every agreement for the transfer of the services of a laborer shall be in the Form No. 4 of these regulations, and shall after such transfer has been approved of by the consul or vice-consul for the Chinese Government in this colony (in case such appointment has been made) be signed by the transferor, the transferee, and the laborer in the presence of, and attested by, the superintendent, who shall, before attestation, explain the full meaning and effect of such agreement to the laborer.

(2) No laborer shall leave the transferor's employment until the agreement for transfer, or a certified copy thereof, shall be registered at the office of the superintendent.

(3) Every laborer whose services have been transferred shall, before entering the employment of the transferee, deliver up to the superintendent his passport, and the superintendent shall thereupon issue to him another passport, on which shall be impressed the number given to the laborer in the register of the superintendent, the name of the transferee and of the mine or mines at which the laborer is to be employed.

(4) Such passport shall be issued without any fee for the unexpired portion of the period for which the passport delivered up by the laborer to the superintendent held good.

12. The sanction of the lieutenant governor to the transfer of the services of a laborer under section 11 of the said ordinance shall be given in writing, but only on the production of: (1) A certificate signed by the superintendent that the agreement of transfer has been explained to the laborer, and that he consents thereto, and has signed the same; and (2) the approval in writing to such transfer signed by the consul or vice-consul for the Chinese Government in this colony, if there be such an officer.

13. In the transfer of laborers, as far as may be possible, members of the same family and neighbors from the same village and persons who may agree in representing themselves to be friends and associates shall not be separated from each other.

Passage of laborers to South Africa.

14. Every laborer who has signed a contract of service shall be carried from the port of embarkation in China or Hongkong to the port of Durban, in Natal, in a ship whose master holds a certificate from the official mentioned in Regulation No. 2, stationed at such port of embarkation. Such certificate shall be granted in accordance with instructions issued to such official and published in the Gazette.

Arrival of laborers at Durban.

15. (1) On arrival of such ship at Durban, the said laborers, and their wives and children accompanying them, shall land and be medically examined in accordance with such laws and regulations as may be in force in Natal.

(2) The superintendent, or any inspector authorized by him, shall meet all laborers arriving at Durban, and make arrangements with the proper authorities for the conveyance of such laborers with their wives and children to the Witwatersrand district.

(3) No laborer arriving at Durban in a ship other than one whose master has obtained the certificate mentioned in regulation No. 14 shall be introduced into the Transvaal. Before any laborers are allowed to land the master of such ship must produce his certificate to such official as may be appointed to proceed on board and demand it.

(4) The superintendent, or any inspector authorized thereto by him, shall satisfy himself that every laborer arriving at Durban for introduction into the Transvaal signed his contract of service in accordance with the requirements of regulation No. 3.

(5) If the superintendent or inspector is satisfied with regard to any laborer that his contract does not comply with the requirements of regulation No. 3, and that, after understanding the said conditions and provisions as aforesaid, he is unwilling to proceed to the Transvaal under his contract, the said laborer with his wife and children (if any) shall be returned to the port at which he embarked, at the expense of his importer, and the superintendent or inspector, as the case may be, shall make the necessary arrangements for such return.

Vaccination.

16. Every laborer and every woman and child accompanying a laborer shall be vaccinated by a medical officer appointed by the emigration agent, either before embarkation or during the voyage from such port to Durban, in accordance with the instructions issued to such agent and published in the Gazette.

No laborer, woman, or child shall be allowed to enter the Transvaal unless and until the said medical officer shall have certified in writing that this regulation in respect of laborer, woman, or child has been complied with, and such certificate shall be given by the said medical officer to the superintendent or some person acting for him at Durban.

Depot.

17. (1) The superintendent may establish at some convenient place within the Witwatersrand district a depot under the control of the superintendent to which all laborers on arrival in the Transvaal with their wives and children shall, if required by the superintendent, be taken and kept until handed over to their employers.

(2) No laborer shall leave the said depot until he is in possession of a passport and has complied with such requirements for the purposes of identification as the superintendent may demand.

(3) Any laborer contravening this regulation shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £5 [\$24.33, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

(4) Any person who in any way aids or assists any laborer in leaving such depot as aforesaid in contravention of this regulation shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 [\$486.65, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment not exceeding 12 months, and (in case such person holds a license for the introduction of laborers) to forfeiture of his license.

Register kept by importer.

18. The register required to be kept by the importer under section 16 of the labor importation ordinance shall be in the Form No. 5; and the monthly returns from such register made to the superintendent shall be in the Form No. 6.

Register kept by superintendent.

19. The superintendent shall keep a general register of laborers, and shall insert therein the name of every laborer introduced under the said ordinance, and shall in every year number each laborer by a particular number, proceeding by regular numerical progression, and shall distinguish therein under different heads the number, name, and age of every laborer, the surname of his father, and the village and district from which he has been imported, the name of the importer by whom such laborer was introduced, and of the person to whom the services of such laborer may have been transferred, the period for which such laborer is bound, the date from which such period commences, and such other particulars as may from time to time be given to the superintendent under sections 16 and 17 of the said ordinance.

Passports.

20. Every laborer shall carry a passport, which shall be issued to him by the superintendent. The passport shall be a tin ticket, on which shall be clearly imprinted the registered number of the laborer and the name of his employer.

There shall be paid by the employer on the issue or renewal of such passport a sum at the rate of 2s. [48.7 cents, par] for every month from the date of its issue or renewal until the 31st day of December of the year in which it was issued or renewed.

Care and treatment of laborers when sick.

21. Every employer shall provide his laborers and their wives and children residing on his premises with medicine and medical attendance during illness, and any employer who neglects to do so shall for every such offense be liable to a penalty not exceeding £50 [\$243.33, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, and shall further be liable to pay any reasonable expense incurred by the superintendent in providing such medicine and medical attendance.

Work.

22. Every employer shall be bound to give work to every laborer for six days in every week, except on the days mentioned in the next succeeding regulation and on days when it is impossible for work to be done by reason of bad weather or other cause; and if any laborer willing and able to work has no work given to him to do on any working day he shall be entitled to his full day's wages for every day so lost to him; provided always that by mutual consent one or more days' leave may be given and taken without wages.

23. Every laborer, in the absence of any express agreement to the contrary, and except in the case of sickness or of such bad weather or such other good cause beyond his control as prevents his working, shall be bound to work in the service of his employer for 10 hours in every 24 by day or night except Sundays, Christmas Days, and Good Fridays, and days of Chinese festivals specified in the contract.

Wages.

24. The wages of every laborer shall be paid monthly in current coin of the realm in accordance with his contract, and no payment of wages to a laborer shall be of any force or effect unless the same has been made as aforesaid.

25. No employer shall deduct any sum from the wages of a laborer in respect of moneys paid during his term of service save and except such sum as may have been advanced to the laborer before arrival in the Transvaal and certified to by the official before whom the contract of service is signed, unless such moneys have been paid with the consent in writing of an inspector or magistrate.

26. No employer of a laborer shall charge him with the payment of any moneys on account of stores supplied to such laborer, or deduct any sum in respect thereof from the wages due to him.

27. If the wages of a laborer are due, an inspector may demand payment of same from the employer; and if such wages remain unpaid for a period of 14 days after demand has been made the inspector may sue for, and recover, the same on behalf of the laborer in any competent court.

28. In the event of a laborer dying during his time of service the employer shall pay to the nearest inspector, or to the superintendent, the whole of the wages which would have been payable to such laborer up to the date of his death; and the superintendent shall deal with such wages in manner provided by any law or regulations in force in this colony relating to the administration of the estates of deceased persons.

Piecework.

29. Any laborer instead of working for day wages may, if desired both by himself and his employer, do piecework at such rate as may be mutually agreed upon between himself and his employer. Any laborer may make any bargain he pleases with his employer for working at any time extra hours.

30. Every employer shall provide and keep at such mine at which he employs laborers a book to be called a paybook showing the daily earnings of such laborers. The paybook shall be in such form as the superintendent may require, and shall at all times be open for inspection by the superintendent.

31. Any employer neglecting to keep such book as aforesaid shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 [\$486.65, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

Inspection of laborers.

32. Every employer once in every year on receiving 48 hours' notice in writing, signed by the superintendent, and also at all times on receiving a like notice signed

by the lieutenant governor, shall muster and produce before the superintendent or other officer named in such notice, at or near their respective places of employment, all laborers employed by him.

Any employer contravening this regulation shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 [\$486.65, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

Women and children.

33. Every laborer shall be entitled to be accompanied by his wife and children under the age of 10 years at the expense of the importer; and every laborer who, after being introduced into this colony, desires his wife and children under the age of 10 years to join him in the Transvaal may, provided that before or at the signing of his contract such laborer shall have registered with the official before whom the contract is signed the names and residence of his wife and children and the respective ages of the children, require his employer to introduce them at his (the employer's) expense, and on the employer refusing to do so the laborer shall be entitled to terminate his contract and thereupon shall be returned to the port at which he embarked in pursuance of his contract at the expense of the importer.

34. In any case in which the services of a laborer are transferred by the importer to some other person who holds a license to import laborers, the wife and children of such laborer shall not be separated from him, but the transferee shall provide proper accommodation for such wife and children on the premises on which the laborer is employed, and shall be liable for the expense incurred in returning the wife and children of such laborer to the port at which they embarked in case such laborer dies while in the service of such transferee as aforesaid, or any of the events happen during such service which render such laborer liable under the ordinance to be returned to his country of origin.

Before such transfer is sanctioned by the lieutenant governor, the superintendent shall certify that the transferee has complied with the conditions (1) and (2) in the next succeeding regulation.

35. The wives and children of laborers shall not be introduced into the Transvaal except by a duly licensed importer, who shall before such introduction obtain a license therefor from the lieutenant governor in the Form No. 11, but no such license shall be issued until the superintendent certifies to the lieutenant governor:

(1) That suitable accommodation for the housing of such wives and children on the premises on which the laborers to whom they belong are employed will be ready on their arrival;

(2) That a bond with proper security has been entered into by the importer for the return of such wives and children to the port at which they embarked in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance.

36. Every importer shall keep a register of the wives and children of laborers residing on his premises in the Form No. 8, and shall enter therein all births and deaths occurring among them, and shall cause a return in the form No. 9 to be made to the superintendent once every month of the number of such women and children on his premises, and the number of births and deaths during the preceding month; and in the case of the death of any woman or child he shall forthwith forward to the superintendent a medical certificate as to the cause of death.

Any contravention of this regulation by the importer shall be punishable with a fine not exceeding £100 (\$486.65 par), and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

37. (1) The superintendent shall issue to every woman introduced under the said ordinance on her arrival a passport free of charge, which shall be in form similar to the passport issued to a laborer, and shall have imprinted thereon the registered number of the holder, the premises on which she resides, and the registered number of the laborer of whom she is the wife.

(2) Every woman shall be liable to the penalties imposed under sections 19 and 20 of the said ordinance for being without her passport, or being away from the premises on which she resides without a permit granted to her by the owner of such premises, or by some person authorized thereto by the owner. Such permit shall authorize the woman to whom it is issued to be absent from such premises for a period not exceeding 48 hours from the time it was issued, and shall be in the Form No. 7.

(3) On the transfer of the services of any laborer, the wife of such laborer shall deliver up her passport to the superintendent, who shall thereupon issue to her a new passport, having imprinted thereon the name of the transferee and the premises on which such woman is to reside.

(4) The provisions of section 28 of the said ordinance shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to every woman introduced thereunder.

Return of laborers to China.

38. Every laborer, on the expiration of his contract of service, or on the happening of any of the events which under the said ordinance or under these regulations render a laborer liable or entitled to be returned to his country of origin, shall, subject to such directions as the superintendent may give, be sent to the depot by his employer, and there kept at the expense of such employer until he can be returned through Durban, Natal, to the port at which he embarked.

39. Every laborer in being returned to China shall be returned only in a ship the master of which is in possession of a certificate authorizing him to carry laborers.

40. The said certificate shall be issued by an official authorized thereto, and stationed at Durban, on the conditions, as far as possible, required for the granting of a certificate to the master of a ship carrying laborers from China to Durban.

Access of laborer to superintendent or court of law.

41. (1) Every laborer shall be entitled to a permit under section 19 of the ordinance in Form 7 to enable him to proceed to the office of the superintendent for the purpose of making a complaint against his employer, or to enable him to have access to a court of law, in order to obtain redress for any injury to his person or property, or in order to attend as a party to, or witness in, any civil or criminal proceedings in such court when duly summoned to do so.

(2) Any laborer obtaining a permit as aforesaid and making a complaint which, in the opinion of the superintendent to whom it is made, is frivolous, shall be liable to be fined by the superintendent to an amount not exceeding £2 (\$9.73 par), which may be deducted from his wages and paid into the colonial treasury.

(3) Any employer refusing to give a laborer a permit for the purposes mentioned in subsection (1) of this regulation shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £10 (\$48.67 par), and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

Interpretation of terms.

42. In the above regulations and in the said ordinance the term "premises" shall include the mine at which the laborer is employed and the whole of the land adjacent thereto held under mining title for purposes in connection therewith.

B.—FORM NO. 1—CONTRACT OF SERVICE.

It is this day agreed between A. B., acting for and on behalf of C. D., carrying on business within the Witwatersrand district, Transvaal, South Africa, and the laborers who are signatories to this contract in the presence of E. F., Transvaal emigration agent at — and representing the Government of the Transvaal as follows:

The said laborer shall proceed at the expense of the said C. D. to the said Witwatersrand district and shall there work for the said C. D. on any of the following mines, — or for any person to whom the said C. D. may with the consent of the said laborers assign his rights under this contract in accordance with the provisions of the labor importation ordinance, 1904, and any regulations made thereunder for a period of three years to commence from the date of the arrival of the said laborers in the Witwatersrand district, subject to the following conditions:

1. Each of the aforesaid laborers, so long as he remains in the Transvaal, shall be employed only in unskilled labor (meaning thereby such labor as is usually performed in mines in the Witwatersrand district by persons belonging to the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa south of the Equator) in the exploitation of minerals within the Witwatersrand district and in particular he shall not be employed in any of the trades or occupations following except for unskilled labor therein, to wit:

Amalgamator.

Assayer.

Banksman.

Blacksmith.

Boiler maker.

Brass finisher.

Brass molder.

Bricklayer.

Brickmaker overseer.

Carpenter.

Clerk

Coppersmith.

Cyanide shiftman.

Drill sharpener.

Driver of air or steam winch.

Driver of mechanical or electrical machinery.

Electrician.

Engine driver.

Engineer.

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| Fireman overseer. | Pattern maker. |
| Fitter. | Pipeman. |
| Ganger. | Plasterer. |
| Iron molder. | Plate layer. |
| Joiner. | Plumber. |
| Machfne rock driller. | Pumpman. |
| Machine sawyer. | Quarryman overseer. |
| Machinist. | Rigger. |
| Mason. | Sampler. |
| Mechanic. | Signaller. |
| Miller. | Skipman. |
| Millwright. | Stonecutter. |
| Mine carpenter. | Timberman. |
| Mine storeman. | Timekeeper. |
| Mine overseer. | Tinsmith. |
| Onsetter. | Turner. |
| Overseer, in any capacity other than the management and control of laborers. | Wire splicer. |
| Painter. | Woodworking machinist. |

2. Each of the said laborers shall for the period fixed in this contract only serve the said C. D. or any person who has obtained a license under the labor importation ordinance to introduce laborers and to whom the rights of the said C. D. under this contract may have been duly transferred with the consent of such laborer.

3. Each of the said laborers shall on the determination of this contract by effluxion of time or otherwise be returned without delay at the expense of the said C. D. to (here state port at which laborer embarked).

4. Each of the said laborers shall so long as he remains in the Transvaal be subject to the provisions contained in the labor importation ordinance and the regulations made thereunder and more especially to such of the said provisions as are substantially set forth in the first schedule to this contract.

5. The laborers shall be paid at the rate of 1s. [24.3 cents, par] for each working-day of 10 hours, payable on the completion of every 30 days' work, in the currency of the Transvaal, to commence from the arrival of the laborers on the premises of the said C. D.

6. Any laborer instead of working for day wages may if desired both by himself and the said C. D. do piecework at such rate as may be mutually agreed upon between himself and the said C. D., but only the actual days employed on such piecework shall be reckoned in the period of service.

Any laborer employed at labor to which piecework is not applicable shall be paid for the work on which he is employed at the rates detailed in chamber of mines' schedule of native pay, May, 1897, restored January, 1903, which is as set forth in the second schedule to this contract.

If, however, within six months from the date of the said laborers' arrival in the Witwatersrand district the average pay of the laborers employed by the said C. D. under the said ordinance does not equal 50s. [\$12.17, par] for 30 working-days the rate shall be increased from 1s. to 1s. 6d. [36.5 cents, par] for each working-day of 10 hours.

7. The laborers shall be provided free of any charge with housing, water, fuel, medical attendance, and with daily rations on the following scale: One and one-half pounds of rice; one-half pound dried or fresh fish or meat; one-half pound vegetables; one-half ounce of tea; one-half ounce of nut oil; salt; or approved substitutes at discretion of superintendent.

8. The said C. D. shall be bound to give work to each of the said laborers for six days in every week except on Sundays, Christmas Days, Good Fridays, and on the days of Chinese festivals mentioned in paragraph 16 and on days when it is impossible for work to be done by reason of bad weather or other cause; and if any laborer willing and able to work has no work given to him to do on any day not included in the aforesaid exceptions he shall be entitled to his full day's working wages for every day so lost to him; provided always that by mutual consent one or more days' leave may be given and taken without wages.

9. Each of the said laborers, in the absence of any express agreement to the contrary and except in the case of sickness or of such bad weather or other good cause beyond his control, as prevents his working, shall be bound to work for 10 hours in every 24, by day or night, save on Sundays, Christmas Days, Good Fridays, and on the days of Chinese festivals mentioned in paragraph 16.

10. The said C. D. shall not make any deduction from the wages of any of the said laborers in respect of moneys paid to him during his term of service save and except

such sum as has been advanced to such laborer by the said C. D. and set opposite his signature to this contract unless such moneys have been paid with the consent in writing of an inspector or magistrate.

11. There shall not be reckoned in any laborer's term of service any period of imprisonment, desertion, or unlawful absence from work, nor shall any laborer be entitled to any wages for any day during which he has been absent from work through sickness or other cause.

12. Each laborer acknowledges to have received from the said C. D. an advance of the amount set opposite to his signature, which shall be deducted by installments from his pay at the rate of

13. In the event of any laborer being killed or permanently injured in the course of his employment, compensation will be paid by the said C. D. to him or to his next of kin, as the case may be, at the following rates:

In the case of death, £10 [\$48.67, par].

In the case of permanent total disablement, £10.

In the case of permanent partial disablement, £5 [\$24.33, par].

14. Any laborer may at any time terminate this contract without assigning any reason, on tendering to the said C. D. the expenses incurred in introducing him and his wife and children into the Transvaal, together with a sum sufficient to defray the expenditure necessary in returning them to (here state port at which laborer embarked).

15. Every laborer shall be entitled to be accompanied by his wife and children under the age of 10 years at the expense of the said C. D., and every laborer who after being introduced into this colony desires his wife and children under the age of 10 years to join him in the Transvaal may, provided that before or at the signing of his contract such laborer shall have registered with the official before whom this contract is signed the name and residence of his wife and children and the respective ages of the children, require the said C. D. to introduce them at his (the said C. D.'s) expense, and on the said C. D. refusing to do so the laborer shall be entitled to terminate his contract and thereupon shall be returned to (state port of embarkation) in pursuance of his contract at the expense of the said C. D.; provided always that the wife and children of a laborer shall be maintained at his own expense after his arrival at the premises of the said C. D. where he is to be employed.

16. Sundays, Christmas Days, Good Fridays, and the following Chinese festivals shall be holidays: Chinese New Year (three days); Dragon Boat Festival (one day); Full Moon Festival (one day); Winter Solstice (one day).

17. With the consent of both parties thereto this contract may be, on the expiration thereof, renewed on the same terms and conditions as aforesaid for a further period or periods not exceeding in all three years.

18. Each of the aforesaid laborers undertake to permit himself, his wife, and children, if any, accompanying him to be vaccinated either in the depot in China or on board ship at the discretion of the surgeon superintendent.

(Signed) A. B. on behalf of C. D.

(Each laborer must sign here his name or make his mark.)

At — on this the — day of —.

CERTIFICATE.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the above contract was entered into in my presence and that I carefully explained to the laborers bound thereby in their own language and prior to their signing the said contract the provision thereof and of the schedules attached thereto.

I further certify that the said laborers voluntarily signed the said contract, and I am not aware of any undue pressure or misrepresentation by which they were induced to sign.

I further certify that the amounts set opposite the respective signatures of the laborers were acknowledged by them in my presence to have been received by them.

(Signed) _____

(Description of official position.)

FIRST SCHEDULE TO CONTRACT.

No liquor, mining, trading, general dealer's, importer's, hawker's, or other license whatever shall be granted to any laborer or to any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for any laborer; nor shall it be lawful for any laborer to acquire lease or hold

either directly or indirectly any house, land, building, or fixed property, or any mynpacht claim, stand, or any right whatever to minerals or precious stones either in his own name or in the name of any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for him.

Every laborer shall always carry a passport which his employer shall obtain for him from the superintendent.

No laborer after being introduced into the Transvaal shall leave the premises on which he is employed without a permit signed by some person authorized thereto by his employer; and no such permit shall authorize the absence of the laborer to whom it is issued from the premises on which he is employed for more than 48 hours from the time it was issued; nor shall any such permit authorize the laborer to go outside the Witwatersrand district.

Any person leaving the premises on which he is employed without such permit or having received such permit remains absent from such premises more than 48 hours or goes outside the Witwatersrand district shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £10 [\$48.67, par], and in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

(1) Any inspector appointed under the labor importation ordinance and any police officer may demand from a laborer the production of his passport, and if he is absent from the premises on which he is employed the permit mentioned in the last preceding paragraph.

(2) Any laborer who fails to produce his passport or permit (in case he is absent from the premises on which he is employed) when asked to do so may be arrested and on conviction for being without such passport or permit, as the case may be, he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £10 [\$48.67, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

(3) On payment of such fine or expiration of such sentence of imprisonment as may be imposed under the last preceding paragraph the laborer may be sent back to his employer, and in case his employer can not be found and he refuses to be engaged to any other person authorized to employ laborers imported under the labor importation ordinance he may be forcibly sent back to China.

In reckoning the term of service for which a laborer is bound under his contract for the purpose of ascertaining when such term expires all periods shall be excluded during which the laborer has been absent from his work owing to any of the following causes: (a) Imprisonment after conviction of any offense; (b) desertion from service; (c) unlawful absence from work duly certified as such by the superintendent.

If a laborer who has contracted to serve in the Transvaal shall after his arrival there refuse without good and sufficient reason to proceed to the place where his service is to be performed or to perform such service he may in addition to any other penalty to which he may be liable be ordered to be returned to China.

In the case of every laborer who under the conditions of his contract or the provisions of the labor importation ordinance is required to be returned to China the superintendent shall take all necessary steps for his return at the expense of the importer; provided that where any laborer is ordered to be returned on account of any offense committed by him the importer shall be entitled to deduct the cost of so returning him from any wages then due to him.

(1) Any laborer liable to be returned to China who refuses to return may be arrested without warrant and brought before a magistrate and shall upon conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding £10 [\$48.67, par], and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

(2) If any laborer sentenced to pay a fine or suffer imprisonment under the last preceding paragraph shall after the payment of such fine or expiration of the term of imprisonment, as the case may be, refuse to return to China he may be forcibly sent back to such country by the superintendent.

Any laborer who enters the Transvaal unless he previously enters into a contract of service shall be liable on conviction to the penalties mentioned in paragraph 4 of this schedule.

Any laborer who shall desert from the service of his importer or shall refuse to work for him when required to do so or who shall unlawfully absent himself from work or who shall perform any work or carry on any business other than that of unskilled labor in the exploitation of minerals or who shall enter the service of any person other than that of the person importing him or of the person to whom his contract has been lawfully transferred under the labor importation ordinance shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £25 [\$121.66, par] and in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two months.

Any laborer who shall have any interest, whether as partner or otherwise, in any trade or business shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50 [\$243.33, par] and in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

A.—HUI MIN CONTRACT FOR COMMON LABORER.¹

(Promulgated by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and communicated to the French minister at Peking, May 14, 1916.)

I — age of — an inhabitant of — town — county — Province declare that according to the regulations of labor as laid down by Mr. Tao-re-de,² I agree to be a common laborer for a period of five years, beginning with the date of embarkation. But any time after the three years, Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative has the option of terminating the contract.

This contract is made according to the "regulations of labor" and I agree to adhere to them in all respects.

Two copies of this contract are made on — day — month, — 1917, at — place.

Signature of laborer, if able to sign.

His right thumb print.

His left thumb print.

NOTE.—I hereby declare that because I can not sign my name, I have made two thumb prints before my witnesses, which will testify my consent to observe all the clauses of this contract.

Signature of witnesses.

TERMS OF THE CONTRACT.

1. No Chinese laborer is to be employed in any sort of military operations. He is to be engaged only in industries and agriculture in France, Algeria, or Morocco. [The French minister at Peking shall guarantee the vigorous observance of this clause.]

2. The term of the contract is five years, beginning with the day he embarks, and the date of embarkation shall be mentioned on each individual card, without, however, including the time of his return trip home after the expiration of the contract. Mr. Tao-re-de (Chinese name for M. Trupitl with whom this contract is made) or his representative, reserves the right to terminate the contract at the end of the third year after the signing. If at the end of five years, a laborer should wish to remain in France, Algeria, or Morocco, he would not thereby forfeit the privilege of a free return passage to China. [This is guaranteed by the French minister in Peking in the name of the French Government.]

3. (a) The wage for a working-day is 5 francs. Laborers receiving board shall get 3.25 francs a day. Those receiving both board and lodging shall get 3 francs a day. On the other hand, the laborer must give from his daily wage 25 centimes for clothing and shoes, and 25 centimes for expenses in case of sickness and insurance against death.

In addition to the regular daily wage, the laborer shall receive bonuses for overtime work, for assiduity, and for economy, as allowed to French laborers doing the same work.

(b) The daily wage of 5 francs, above-mentioned, is only for common laborers. Skilled workers should specify their special professions at the time of enlistment, so that when they arrive in France they will be given a test to show their skill. If proficient, their wage will be paid according to their special work.

(c) In case of sickness or of legal holidays when the laborer shall cease work, he shall receive only board and lodging. [But, at all times, if he quits work without the consent of his employer, he shall receive only his lodging.]

(d) At the request of the laborer, the employer shall arrange a convenient way for remitting his money to his family in China. Furthermore, the employer shall

¹ In translating this contract into English, the Chinese original and the French version have been carefully compared and their differences noted. Words which appear in the French but not in the Chinese text are given in brackets, and those which appear in the Chinese but not in the French text, in parentheses.

² The Chinese translation of M. Trupitl, who as representative of the French Government signed this contract with China.

arrange a convenient way for depositing or using his money either in France or in China. The manner in which the laborer may wish to deposit money or send it to China shall be agreed upon between Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative and the Hui Min syndicate or its representative. The employer must give a proper receipt to the laborer for deposits or remittances.

4. Each laborer shall receive free transportation from the port of embarkation in China to his destination in France, Algeria, or Morocco. At the expiration of this contract, he shall be sent back to the same port of embarkation free of charge. On the voyage, the laborer is entitled to a bonus of 1 franc a day, and a sum of 40 francs must be advanced at the time of embarkation. This money he can spend at his will. [When he is returning to China he shall get only food.] Imposts, contributions of all kinds, as well as legal taxes, to which the Chinese laborer in France may now or in the future be subject, shall be assumed by his employer.

5. At the time of leaving China, each laborer shall receive a new outfit comprising the following: 2 blue cotton shirts; 2 blue cotton trousers; 1 pair of cloth shoes; 1 hat; 2 pairs of Chinese socks; 1 padded garment; 1 pair padded trousers; 1 padded quilt for traveling, with cooking utensils; 1 traveling bag; 1 pair woolen lined trousers; 1 straw mat.³

Upon reaching France each laborer shall receive the following: One pair of leather shoes; one hat, according to the season.

Six months after the laborer's arrival in France and in every six months thereafter during the period of this contract, he shall receive clothing as follows: Two blue shirts and trousers; one pair of leather shoes; one hat; one padded coat; one pair of padded trousers; two pairs of socks.

In addition, one padded coat and one pair of padded trousers will be given him annually, at the end of September of each year. Thus, for those laborers who want to spend the year 1917-18 in France, these clothes will be given them at the end of September, 1917.

6. According to the third article of this contract, laborers shall be given board and lodging and clothing. The minimum daily ration for each laborer shall be as follows:

| | [1 gram = 0.03523 ounces.] | Gram. |
|---|----------------------------|-------|
| Rice ⁴ | | 100 |
| Wheat or kaffir corn ⁴ | | 1,000 |
| Meat, salt or fresh fish..... | | 180 |
| Salt fish ⁵ | | 100 |
| Dried beans ⁵ | | 60 |
| Fresh vegetables..... | | 230 |
| Tea..... | | 15 |
| Lard or vegetable oil..... | | 15 |
| Salt..... | | 15 |

Besides, the laborer shall receive necessary eating utensils; his lodging house which he shares with other workers shall be as near his working place as possible. He shall be provided with a bed or sleeping boards, with a straw mat and coverlet. Light and fuel shall also be provided for him by his employer.

7. It is agreed that each laborer's family shall be given 30 francs at the time of his embarkation, as a consolation to the family. This sum shall be remitted through a bank decided upon by the Hui Min syndicate.

8. The laborer must observe the regulations of the shipyard or factory where he is employed: he shall do his work with celerity, zeal, and in a manner which does not call for reproach on the part of the employer. On the other hand, the employer shall treat him with kindness. The laborer shall have the same opportunities for rest and vacation as enjoyed by French workers employed in the same establishments. In addition, the Chinese laborers shall have a holiday on October 10, their national holiday. Aside from the above exceptions, the laborer must be punctual in attending to his work. (If at the wish of the employer, the laborer consents to work on holidays for 10 hours a day, he is entitled to the regular wage plus a bonus of 1 franc. Moreover, if at the wish of the employer and the consent of the worker, working hours may be increased from 10 upward and each additional hour is paid at the rate of 50 centimes.)

The paragraph in parenthesis is the Chinese version, and its French equivalent reads as follows: The daily wage mentioned in article 3 of this contract is for 10 hours.

³ The last three articles are omitted in some contracts.

⁴ In the French contract rice and wheat or kaffir corn are combined.

⁵ Not in the French contract.

Overtime work or work on holidays shall be paid at the rate of 50 centimes per hour for manual laborers.

9. When sick, the laborer shall receive medical care free of charge. If the illness exceeds six weeks, and if the attending doctor advises him to return to China, the employer should inform Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative, who shall notify the Chinese consul in Paris. Not later than eight days after receiving such notice, the Chinese consul may independently engage a physician to examine the case. If both doctors give the same advice, the laborer must be sent back to China, and every clause of the contract shall be terminated without indemnity to either party. If the two physicians do not agree, the case shall be submitted for consideration to a competent court at the place where the worker was taken ill.

The employer shall be responsible for food and travel expenses in sending the laborer home.

10. If the laborer dies within the period of the contract, his family is entitled to compensation as follows:

(a) If the laborer dies a natural nonaccidental death within six months after the signing of the contract, the compensation shall be 135 francs [\$26.06, par].

(b) If the death occurs six months after the signing of the contract and before the expiration, the compensation shall be 270 francs [\$52.11, par]. If a death is caused by an accident when the laborer is returning home, his family is entitled to a compensation of 270 francs. In case of death from a war maritime risk during the voyage to France, the worker's family will be entitled to indemnity (a), or 135 francs. But if the laborer dies a natural nonaccidental death at the expiration of the contract, there shall be no compensation.

11. The French law of April 9, 1919, respecting accidents, is applicable to Chinese laborers. But the legal formalities have actually ruled that if a foreign worker dies accidentally no indemnity is paid to his family if they are not residing in France. It is now stipulated that in case of a death caused by an accident during work, the dispositions of article 10 above mentioned shall apply, namely, if the death is within six months from the signing of the contract, the compensation shall be 135 francs [\$26.06, par]; and if it is after a period of six months and before the expiration of the contract, the compensation shall be 270 francs [\$52.11, par].

12. The dead shall be buried according to local customs of France and at the expense of the employer. Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative shall inform the Chinese consul of the death.

13. During his residence in France the laborer shall enjoy all the liberties, especially religious liberty, as guaranteed by French laws to its citizens. On his part, the laborer shall conform to the laws of France. The employer shall see to it that the laborer is not subject to maltreatment by his fellow workers.

14. An office shall be established in Paris to have control of all matters pertaining to Chinese laborers in France, Algeria, and Morocco. This office shall assume all responsibility for transmitting the laborer's mail. The laborer's mail to his family and friends shall be received by the Hui Min syndicate, sent through this office, and delivered to the addressees. This office shall also receive home mail of the laborer and deliver it to him.

15. During the period of this contract no laborer is permitted to undertake directly any commercial enterprise. If the laborer is employed at a certain establishment or factory, he shall not, before the expiration of that employment, seek another employer. If for some reason his employer can not continue to employ him, Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative shall find him a new employment, according to the terms of this contract.

16. Idleness, inexecution of orders, all deeds which are contrary to discipline and honesty, or persistent disregard of regulations of the shipyard or factory where the laborer is employed shall constitute a cause of immediate repatriation, after due notice is given to the Chinese consul in Paris. The laborer shall then be sent back by the next boat sailing to China.

If the removal occurs at the end of the first year after the signing of this contract, the Hui Min syndicate shall be responsible for the repatriation fee to the extent of 300 francs [\$57.90, par], but the syndicate may exercise a right of recovery from the laborer if it deems desirable.

17. Workers of the same trade or occupation shall be organized into groups of 25 men each, under a leader. The leader shall receive wages, board, and lodging equal to those of any other laborer, but in addition he gets a bonus of 2½ centimes [0.48 cent, par] a day.

En route to France, each leader who performs his duties satisfactorily shall upon his arrival in France receive a bonus of 10 francs [\$1.93, par]. (An interpreter will be assigned to groups in a proportion as large as possible.)

18. At the time of his enlistment the laborer shall have his picture taken, giving his name, age, home, etc. Besides, there shall be a record made in the roll book of his number, with his photograph. He must conform to the requirements of physical examination and registration. Before landing he shall first be examined by a doctor appointed by Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative and must be recognized as physically efficient. All laborers shall be between the ages of 20 and 35.

19. When a laborer violates the contract before its expiration without a legitimate cause, he must pay to Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative the sum of 600 francs [\$115.80, par] of traveling expense. Likewise the laborer forfeits his free passage home. The Hui Min syndicate guarantees the execution of an obligation of 300 francs [\$57.90, par] per worker.

20. Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative reserves the right of subletting all or a part of this contract to any responsible factory owner. After the subletting, the sublessee shall receive and be governed by the articles of this contract. Also Mr. Tao-re-de or his representative shall guarantee that the laborer fulfills all the articles of this contract.

21. All difficulties arising between the employer and the laborer which are not amicably settled shall be submitted to French tribunals for examination at the place where the worker is employed.

B.—SUMMARY OF BRITISH CONTRACT.⁶

By the terms of this contract, dated this — day of — year, I, the undersigned coolie, recruited by the Weihaiwei Labor Bureau, declare myself to be a willing laborer under the following conditions regarding the nature of employment, which are explained and made clear to me by the Weihaiwei Labor Bureau, namely:

1. *Kinds of work.*—On railways, roads, at factories, mines, dockyards, fields, forests, etc., and not to be employed in military operations.

2. *Rates of pay.*—Daily pay abroad: Laborer, 1 franc; gangs (60 men), 1.5 francs. Monthly allowance to family in China: Laborer, \$10 (\$5.40, par, United States money); gangs (60 men), \$15 (\$8.11, par, United States money).⁷

3. *Bonus.*—\$20 (\$10.81, par, United States money) to be given to each laborer at embarkation.

4. *Compensation.*—For death or total disablement, \$150 (\$81.06, par, United States money); for partial disablement, \$75 (\$40.53, par, United States money).

5. *Passage, food, lodging, etc.*—Free passage to and from China under all circumstances; free food, clothing, housing, fuel, light, and medical attendance.

6. *Duration of employment.*—Three years, with option of employer to terminate it any time after the first year of contract, providing a notice is given six months before, or any time for misconduct or inefficiency on the part of a laborer. Free passage to be given to worker back to Weihaiwei or a port north of Woosung.

7. *Deductions.*—No daily pay abroad during sickness, but food given. Monthly pay in China continues up to six weeks' sickness; after six weeks' sickness no monthly pay in China. No daily pay abroad for time lost owing to misconduct. In cases of offenses involving loss of pay for 28 days or more deductions of monthly pay in China will be made.

8. *Hours of work.*—Obligation to work 10 hours a day, but a shorter or longer period may be fixed by the labor control on the basis of a daily average of 10 hours. Liability of seven days a week, but due consideration will be given to Chinese festivals as to which the labor control will decide.

C.—REGULATIONS OF CHINESE LABORERS' SOCIETY IN FRANCE.⁸

1. *Aims.*—The aims of the society are to encourage cooperation among Chinese laborers, to broaden their knowledge, to promote their material and spiritual well-being, and to elevate their plane of living. The society in no way functions as a political party.

2. *Program.*—The society plans: (a) To cooperate with commercial and industrial organizations in China in order to increase opportunities for employment of the proletariat. (b) To disseminate industrial knowledge in order to help educate the Chinese people. (c) To develop industries in order to increase economic wealth and to insure social progress. (d) To advocate the establishment of evening schools freely in order to provide special training for workers.

⁶ Confidential report to International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. of North America, submitted by Dwight W. Edwards, 1918, which agrees in the main with a memorandum from the British War Office, Apr. 26, 1922, to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

⁷ For wages of skilled laborers see Table 27, p. 149.

⁸ Abridged translation from Report of the Chinese Emigration Bureau, No. 7, p. 16 et seq.

3. *Resolutions.*—Members of this society are resolved not to gamble, drink, smoke opium, visit prostitutes, waste time in unprofitable ways, or disturb public peace. Members shall give friendly warnings to those who violate any of the foregoing resolutions. If such warnings are not heeded, the offenders shall by vote of the counsellors be expelled from the society.

4. *Departments.*—(a) The recording department takes charge of the minutes of meetings and correspondence of the society. (b) The finance department receives all moneys and incomes of the society and makes budgets and expenditures. (c) The social relations department promotes friendship with Chinese industrial organizations and those of other nations and also with local branches in France. (d) The research department carries on social and industrial research of the society. (e) The education department takes charge of educational publications of the society. (f) The miscellaneous department takes charge of miscellaneous affairs of the society.

D.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE Y. M. C. A. VERSAILLES CONFERENCE, APRIL, 1919.

1. *Resolved*, That the conference request the Chinese department of the Y. M. C. A. in France to arrange a series of lectures for the local camps, and recommend to all hut secretaries to lay special emphasis on lecturing in the future.

2. *Resolved*, That the Chinese department of the Y. M. C. A. in France should at once print the phonetic system as adopted by the Chiao-yu-pu and the 600 character books, and distribute the same by the quickest means when ready.

3. *Resolved*, That the Chinese department of the Y. M. C. A. in France be requested to provide in money and in securing governmental permission for members of the Chinese labor corps who wish to remain to study in France, England, or the United States and who are qualified to do so.

4. *Resolved*, That the Chinese department of the Y. M. C. A. in France be requested to petition the National Committee of China to devise immediately ways and means to project the hut idea in France to China for the uplifting and educating of the masses, and, in carrying out this resolution, recommend the following suggestions: (a) To ship as soon as possible the equipment that is now being used in the different huts in France and that later will be of use in hut work in China; (b) to start work first in centers to which most of the laborers return; (c) to utilize temples (and other public buildings) when available.

E.—REGULATIONS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF RETURNED LABORERS.

(Promulgated by the Chinese Cabinet, Aug. 9, 1919.)

1. The term "returned laborer or laborers" as employed in these regulations defines one who during the European war was employed at factories or in agriculture abroad, or one who has similar training and experience.

2. Before the end of his service abroad, the laborer should, in person or through the labor commissioner, request his employer to issue a certificate specifying his specialty and record.

3. When laborers are returning to China the labor commissioner shall report the following to the emigration bureau: (a) The number of returned laborers; (b) the kinds of their work; (c) the number of years they were abroad; (d) the name of the vessel on which they return to China; (e) the port where the laborers now reside; (f) the original home of the returned laborers.

4. When a group of laborers arrive at the port of embarkation, the branch office of the emigration bureau or the commissioner of customs or the commissioner of foreign affairs shall report their number to the emigration bureau.

5. Returned laborers who wish to work at factories should, after their landing in China, report to the branch office of the emigration bureau or the commissioner of customs or the commissioner of foreign affairs for recommendations.

6. When any large industry or factory in the country needs special workers, the emigration bureau shall recommend competent workers among the returned laborers who are qualified for the jobs.

7. Those laborers who worked in navy yards and munition factories abroad shall be recommended to the ministry of army and navy and arsenals for employment.

8. Those laborers who worked in factories or in agriculture abroad shall be recommended to the ministry of agriculture and commerce for employment.

9. Those laborers who wish to go abroad again should apply at the emigration bureau, and those who wish to go to South America should, preferably, take their families with them.

10. Those laborers who had shown bad conduct abroad are not permitted to emigrate again, and they also forfeit the privilege of recommendations for jobs.

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