1912

The attitude of organized labor toward immigration

Luman West Sampson

State University of Iowa

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THE ATTITUDE OF ORGANIZED LABOR TOWARD IMMIGRATION

by

LUMAN WEST SAMPSON, B.A.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, State University of Iowa, 1912.
Despite definiteness of title, a brief statement as to the scope and plan of this dissertation may not be superfluous. The author has attempted to sketch in broad outline the historical development of organized labor's attitude toward American immigration, and to treat in greater detail the viewpoint of the American Federation of labor and the period since its organization in 1881. This emphasis finds justification in two facts: the three decades of this Federation's history practically mark the time limits of federal control of immigration, and the membership of the Federation has come to embrace nearly all union labor in the United States. It is true the Industrial Workers of the World are now much in the public eye and have shown considerable growth since their organization in 1905. Should their progress continue, they will no doubt, because of their plan of organization and their general attitude toward the foreign worker, become a power in dealing not only with the admitted immigrant, but with the whole question of immigration as well. Their organization is, however, still in its infancy and their number relatively insignificant.

As to plan and order of treatment, the various
topics into which the subject naturally resolves itself, have been selected and grouped primarily with reference to their importance and interrelation; and have been taken up in the chronological order in which they have assumed importance or have fixed the attention of union labor.

May, 1912.                       Luman West Sampson.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"I respectfully dissent from the statement that the immigration question is not a vital one. It may not be vital to those who are assured in this world's goods, but to the men who are dependent upon their days labor to live, to them it is not an academic proposition, but a vital question." Samuel Gompers, Talks on Labor, in the American Federationist, XIII, 98.

"The immigrant comes as a wage earner and the American wage earner bears the initial cost of his Americanization." John R. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, 117.

Immigration has long been recognized as a leading fact in American history. The sources of it, the character of the immigrants, and the effect of their coming, have held a prominent place in thought and discussion. Upon no portion of our population has this subject taken a more vital hold than upon the members of labor organizations. In their early records are found resolutions concerning immigration and no doubt they exerted considerable influence even before the Civil war. It is, however, since the war that their activity and influence have been most prominent and potent. A powerful labor press has been established which has been active in promulgating the doctrines of labor. Efficient lobbies have been maintained at both state and national capitals. In 1911, labor leaders were able to report sixteen members of Congress bearing union cards.

These three forces -- a labor press, a labor lobby, and
a labor membership in the House of Representatives are at once an evidence and a medium of the growing influence upon Federal immigration legislation, which has come with growth in the numbers and effectiveness of organized labor. In view of these facts, a study of the attitude of organized labor toward American immigration is of peculiar interest and importance.

By way of introduction to a detailed study of this attitude, it seems pertinent and even essential to outline briefly: first, the historical development of public attention to the immigration question; second, the reasons for especial emphasis upon it in recent years; and, third, the growth and progress of the labor movement in the United States.

In the constitutional convention some of the members expressed fear of foreign influence in the new government which they were establishing. During the administrations of Washington, Adams and Jefferson there is to be found a trace of opposition to the coming of the immigrant. Indeed Thomas Jefferson openly expressed the idea that it would be better to transport our raw materials to the laborers in European workshops than to bring such workmen to this country and with them their manners and principles. Immigration during the period from the Constitutional Convention to 1835 was, however, taken much as a matter of course. In its broad outlines this might well be termed the period of indifference.

1. John T. Morse, Jr., Life of Thomas Jefferson, p. 11.
The period from 1835 to 1860 is clearly defined by the "Native American" and "Know Nothing" movements. While based largely upon opposition to the immigration of Catholics, these organizations reached considerable proportions. The Native Americans in 1845, claimed 48,000 members in New York, 42,000 in Pennsylvania, 14,000 in Massachusetts, and 6,000 in other states. The movement early assumed the form of political activity and several representatives were seated in Congress where they actively urged measures in opposition to immigration. In the early fifties the Know Nothing party was organized. The early plan of the organization was that of a secret society, but by 1854 this character had been largely dropped. The tenets of the party were largely those of the Native Americans. The party was able to carry several state elections during its career, was represented in Congress and in 1856 made Millard Fillmore its candidate for President. Though active in their opposition to immigration the Know Nothings accomplished very little by way of shaping our immigration legislation.

During the Civil war and for several years after its close, immigration was not only welcomed but received legislative encouragement. The great struggle drew large numbers of the workers from the ranks of industry. It was with the idea of filling the vacuum thus made that President Lincoln urged the encouragement of immigration and hinted that aid might be extended to induce immigrants to come. The law of 1864 came in response to this demand for immigration.
and sought to encourage the coming of immigrants by legalizing contracts for labor made abroad. This favorable legislation remained in effect till 1868 when it was repealed.

The last period in our immigration history extends from the year 1868 to the present time. The characteristic feature of this period has been the demand for legislation restricting immigration. In response to this demand laws have been enacted from time to time which have placed some measure of restriction upon the coming of the immigrant. By the law of 1882 Congress withdrew the subject of immigration from state control. Various measures were enacted in this and the following years for the exclusion of Chinese coolie labor. In 1885 the importation of Contract laborers was forbidden. Legislation since that time has aimed to secure a better inspection of intended immigrants and by a continual addition to the excluded classes somewhat to restrict the number. Aside from such measures as these no positive exclusion law has been enacted.

It is evident from the growth of the immigration question thus briefly traced that it was early brought to the attention of the federal government. Federal interest in the matter has been indicated by legislation aimed to check the evils arising from immigration and by frequent investigations of the subject. The most significant development of this latter phase of its activity, was the appointment of the
Immigration Commission in 1907, in conformity with a provision in the immigration law of that year. This commission, consisting of nine members, and provided by the terms of the law with most liberal appropriations to carry on its work, has carefully investigated the subject of immigration both here and abroad. The findings as given in its report of forty volumes, marks the height of governmental interest in the matter.

Several factors have operated to draw the attention of Congress to the immigration question. Among the most important of these has been the constantly increasing volume of immigration resulting in mal-distribution and its attendant evils. The following table showing the yearly arrivals from 1881 to 1911 will indicate this growth:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>669,431</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>343,267</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>788,992</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>230,832</td>
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<td>1883</td>
<td>603,322</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>229,399</td>
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<td>1884</td>
<td>518,592</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>311,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>395,546</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>448,572</td>
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<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>334,203</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>487,918</td>
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<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>490,109</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>649,743</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>546,889</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>857,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>444,427</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>812,870</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>455,302</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,086,499</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>560,319</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,100,735</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>579,663</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,285,349</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>439,730</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>782,870</td>
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<td>1894</td>
<td>285,631</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>751,786</td>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>258,536</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,041,570</td>
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<td>1911</td>
<td>878,587</td>
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Another factor which has called attention to the immigration question has been its changing sources. This change began about the year 1882 and has been marked by a rapid
shifting of the sources of immigration from western to eastern and southern Europe. The earlier immigration was largely a movement of settlers from the more enlightened sections of Europe and formed an important part of the westward movement in this country during the last century. The new immigration, on the other hand, is largely a movement of unskilled laboring men from the less enlightened and advanced countries of Europe in response to the call for industrial workers. As one writer has stated it: "One of the most remarkable race migrations in history is recorded in the United States immigration statistics for the last two decades of the nineteenth century. A group of people of northern Europe that up to this time had constituted the bulk of our foreign born population, with an almost startling suddenness, yielded their place to races which, before 1880 were scarcely represented among us."  

With the rapid exhaustion of our public lands there has also been a tendency to move away from the early belief that America could serve as a home for the oppressed of all nations. Doubtless no one factor has, however, been more influential in directing attention to the immigration question than has organized labor. The immigrant comes primarily because of economic motives. It is the call of the dollar that brings him to our shores. Coming as a great unskilled laboring class, it is the ranks of organized labor that first feels their impact. Almost from its inception then, organized labor has been a factor in keeping the immigration question before the people and before Congress. To thoroughly understand the power represented by

the forces of organized labor it is now necessary to trace briefly the growth and development of labor organizations in this country. The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a germinal period. It was the day of beginnings in labor organization as in other things. From 1835 to 1850 has been termed "the flowering period" of American labor organization. It was an age of reform and the ferment in the air could not but exert its influence upon the organizations of the day. Accordingly, while trade unions multiplied rapidly, the most characteristic development was a large number of loosely organized, semi-political associations, in which unskilled laborers, farmers, and other employers were admitted. Typical of such organizations were the New England Workingmen's Association, the New England Protective Union and the Industrial Congress of the United States, which flourished about 1845.

The period from 1850 to 1866 has been characterized as the period of nationalization. In 1850 the National Typographical Union was organized and by 1866 "from thirty to forty national and international trade unions and amalgamated societies were in evidence, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men." The great industrial expansion following the close of the Civil war gave a great impetus to the labor movement. The years between 1866 and 1886, beginning with the formation of the National Labor Union and contemporaneous with the rise and rapid development of the Knights of Labor, was above all else a period
of amalgamation. The National Labor Union, organized in 1867, was a weak federation of local, state and national organizations. In the same year the Knights of St Crispin, an organization of shoemakers, came into existence. They became one of the most powerful labor organizations in the country at that time and at the height of their power claimed a membership of 640,000. This organization is of especial interest as being one of the first to actively oppose the coming of the Chinese. In 1869 the Knights of Labor were organized, by U.S. Stephens, and for a time showed phenomenal growth. In 1886 the organization had a membership of at least 600,000.

The year 1886 marks an important stage in labor organization, not alone because of the fact that in this year the Knights of Labor reached their greatest numerical strength, but because of the reorganization in that year of the American Federation of Labor, which had been organized in 1881 as the Federation of Trades and Labor of the United States and Canada. The decline of the Knights of Labor has been contemporaneous with and largely due to the growth of this organization. It marks the change from amalgamation to federation in labor organization. Today the American Federation of Labor is the most powerful labor organization in the world. Affiliated with it are practically all the labor unions of the country and in 1911 its membership was reported to be over 1,750,000. It is clear then that organized labor constitutes a very real power and it is with the use of that power as affecting the immigration question that the following chapters deal.

3. Adams and Sumner, Labor Problems, Chapter VII.
4. American Federationist, XIX, 55.
CHAPTER II

CHINESE IMMIGRATION

"I do not want to exclude the Chinaman from the United States because he is a Chinaman. I am opposed to the Chinese coming to the United States because his ideals, his civilization, are absolutely in antagonism to the ideals and civilization of America. Never in the history of the world have Chinese gone to any country in any considerable numbers without one of two things occurring—first, that the Chinaman has dominated, or he has been driven out by force. The Chinaman is a cheap man." Samuel Gompers, Talks on Labor, in American Federationist, XIII, 98.

No phase of the immigration question has received more attention from the forces of organized labor than the coming of the Chinese. While centered primarily in our west coast states, the Chinese have provoked discussion from organized labor throughout the land. Here was a race so radically different from our native stock in customs, and ideas, as well as in standards of living, that almost from their first arrival they have appeared to organized labor as a vast, menacing, yellow cloud upon the horizon of the labor field.

The attitude of organized labor toward the coming of the Chinese has been one of progressive hostility. Prior to the year 1852 there can not be said to have been a definite spirit of hostility toward the Chinese. During the years of free immigration probably 300,000 came to California. They at once found employment as cooks, laundry workers, and helpers about the mines. It is significant that these early arrivals were welcomed by the governor of the state, and other
officials as ushering in a new epoch in the labor history of the state. Epoch-marking their coming proved to be, though not in the sense that these men anticipated.

From 1853 on for a period of some ten years of more, there slowly but surely developed a spirit of hostility toward the Orientals. The lure of gold had reached even the Orient and the California immigrants from China were rapidly increasing in numbers. It is hard to determine how much of the hostile spirit should be ascribed to organized labor. The western country was filled with a motley crowd of men from all parts of the world thus rendering concerted action on a large scale impossible. Some organization did, however, no doubt exist among the mine workers and other laborers. Gradually there arose the belief that the gold should belong to Americans and more or less hostility was engendered toward all foreigners. As time passed this hostility was focused more and more upon the Chinese. That such labor organizations as then existed supported this movement is unquestioned.

This period extending to the outbreak of the Civil war, is characterized by legislation aimed directly at the Chinese. Such legislation took the form of miners taxes, which were collected only from Chinese miners, laundry regulations of a prohibitive nature, head taxes and other kindred measures. The municipalities took up the question and by various ordinances rendered the position of the Chinaman somewhat uncomfortable. This idea of legislative action was carried to the extreme bounds of constitutionality and at times even overstepped this boundary. There can be little doubt that much of this legislation was secured by the efforts of organized labor.

1. Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chinese Immigration, Chapter I.
workers. Labor has always held political power to a greater extent in California than in any other state. As early as 1854 the state election was carried by the Know Nothing party. Since that time labor has exerted much power and as a rule has controlled such a large block of votes as to be able to hold the balance of power between the political parties. Particularly has this been true of the city of San Francisco, where much of the Chinese trouble has arisen.

During the war Chinese immigration fell off to a noticeable degree. This coupled with the interest of the people in the progress of the war tended to divert attention from the Chinese. Yet during this period of national stress the forces of labor were slowly but surely mustering their strength for the stand which they were soon to take in regard to the Chinese and to which they were to adhere for all time to come. The primary demands of labor were for legislation forbidding the coming of the Chinese. The fear of competition with these Asiatics was enhanced by the fact that they came, not as free laborers, but as the virtual slaves of the "Chinese Six Companies." As President Garfield aptly said in his letter of acceptance a few years later, "The recent movement of Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such immigration (early immigration from Europe) either in its purposes or results. It is too much like an importation, to be welcomed without restriction; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude."

With the close of the Civil war and the resumption of all industrial activity, there came an increase in the number of Chinese immigrants and the inevitable clash with
the active forces of organized labor. In 1862 Anti-Chinese Coolie clubs are known to have been in existence. At its convention held in Philadelphia August 16, 1869, The National Labor Union adopted the following resolution; "Resolved that we are unalterably opposed to the importation of a servile race for the sole and only purpose of pauperizing the labor of the American workingman." In the early part of the year 1870, were held the great "Sand Lot" meetings of the unemployed in San Francisco. At first the motive back of these does not appear to have been that of hostility toward the Chinese. When, however, these unemployed men saw the Chinese actively engaged in industry though for wages which the Caucasian could not accept, there speedily came the great Anti-Chinese demonstration. The opposition at the time seems to have been largely led by the organization of shoe makers known as the Knights of St Crispin. The shoe making trade had been invaded to a considerable extent by the Chinese, hence the activity of the St Crispins. In San Francisco the demonstration took the form of a great procession made up of the laboring men of the city and others who had flocked there because of unemployment. Transparencies were carried displaying the protests against Chinese labor in such phrases as; "Woman's Rights and No More Chinese Chamber Maids", "No Servile Labor Shall Pollute Our Land", "We Want No Slaves Or Aristocrats", "The Coolie Labor System Leaves Us NO Alternative- Starvation or Disgrace", and "Mark The Man Who Would Crush Us To The Level Of The Mongolian Slave- We All Vote". A meeting was held following this demonstration at which resolutions were adopted declaring that the employment of Chinese in the boot 3. Lucile Eaves, A History of California Labor Legislation, p. 125. 4. Ibid.
and shoe business and in other trades had already reduced the wages of such trades fifty percent, and driven out many white laborers. A week later another meeting was held and it was there formally announced that the StCrispins had formed Anti-Coolie associations in several of the wards of San Francisco. From this period also dates our first evidence of cooperation on the part of eastern labor organizations with those of the west in their opposition to the Chinese. The reason for this is not far to seek. It was in this same year (1870) that Chinese were introduced into the shoe factories of North Adams Massachusetts, to defeat the demands of striking St-Crispins. A move was also made to introduce Chinese labor into certain of the southern states. Organized workers soon responded to this attack as is evidenced by the newspaper references to their activity. Under the caption "The Voice Of Free Labor", the Boston Investigator of July 6, 1870, printed the following comment;

"A large and enthusiastic meeting of the workingmen of this city was held in Tremont Temple last Wednesday afternoon and evening. Its object was to take some measures relative to the importation of Coolie labor into Massachusetts. Many speeches were made, the substance of which is embodied in the following resolutions passed by the meeting.

5. Eaves, p. 125.
6. With regard to this introduction of Chinese into the manufactures of the state the Springfield (Mass.)Republican said; "The van of the invading army of Celestials, seen in a vision, by Wendell Phillips, greatly feared by all Democrats, and not particularly welcomed by anybody, except in dire necessity, has arrived at North Adams, in the persons of seventy five Chinamen engaged by C.F.Sampson to man his shoe factories and free him from the cramping tyranny of that worst of American trade unions,'The Knights of St Crispin'. Quoted in, A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, IX, 84. from The Springfield Republican, for June 17, 1870 p. 8.Col., 3.
"These Celestials belong to no striking organization; do not care to be out nights, don't worry about their pay, do not presume to dictate to their employer, and have places guaranteed to them for three years." Boston Commonwealth, June 25, 1870. Ibid."
'Whereas, Efforts are being made to introduce into the manufactories of this state coolie labor from China in order to cheapen, and, if possible, degrade the intelligent educated day labor of Massachusetts, therefore be it resolved, that while we welcome voluntary laborers from every clime, and pledge them the protection of our laws, and the assurance of equal opportunities in every field of industry, still we cannot but deplore all attempts to introduce into the manufactories of this state a servile class of laborers from China, or elsewhere.**** Resolved; That we have voted for protection to American industry at the suggestion of the rich manufacturers who owned the protected products thinking to help ourselves, but we find now that, under the scheme of protection, capital is to get the protection and American labor is to be reduced to the Chinese standard of rice and rats." This determined attitude of opposition on the part of the white workers resulted in the speedy abandonment of Chinese labor in the East. The year 1880 saw the last of Chinese labor in the shoe manufacturing industry of Massachusetts. As time passed the labor organizations became still more determined in their opposition to the Chinese and endeavored to force radical legislation by the states. During the eighties it became apparent that the issues involved were so great that the matter must be taken from the state to the Federal legislature.

The political relations of the United States with China date from the year 1844 but aside from the recognition of the rights of the citizens of both to change their home and allegiance and a denial of the right of citizenship to the Chinese in 1868, no action had been taken in regard to Chinese immigration. These measures proving entirely unsatisfactory to organized labor upon the coast, pressure was brought to bear upon the California legislators in Congress, to secure further restrictive measures. The law of March 3, 1875 was the result. This law forbade the importation of Chinese women for the purposes of prostitution.

7. Quoted in, Documentary History, IX, 86.
8. T.V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, 414.
and of coolie labor under contract. This was a forerunner of the Alien Contract Labor law. In 1877 crop failures and a generally unsettled industrial condition resulted in Anti-Chinese riots in several parts of California. Though various measures were before Congress during the period from 1875 to 1880, such as the "Fifteen Passenger Bill", no legislation resulted. Prior to 1880 then it may be said that organized labor had gained no signal victory so far at least as Federal legislation was concerned.

In a report made to Congress March 9, 1880, a committee on "The present cause of the depression of labor" stated that serious trouble would ensue in California unless measures were speedily adopted to restrict Chinese immigration. It declared that the influence of Chinese labor was most demoralizing in all the industries and was driving white labor from the Pacific coast. The forces of labor were by this time well organized and a constant demand was being made upon Congress for further restrictive measures. The treaty of November 17, 1880, contained certain provisions more or less in correspondence to the demands of the labor organizations. By this treaty, power to exclude Chinese laborers was conceded to the United States government. It only remained for Congress to enact laws which should put the treaty into operation. Throughout the period the forces of labor were active in their efforts to secure both legislation and the cooperation of fellow trade unionists in the East. Clearly they were determined to stop the influx of Chinese laborers, even if by a last resort to violence.

10. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXII, 826.
The cause of labor was materially strengthened by the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1881. At the first meeting of this body the following resolution was adopted. "Whereas, the experience of the last thirty years in California, and on the Pacific coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese and their competition with free white labor, is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted therefore be it resolved; That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens unless checked, to extend to other parts of the union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States." 11 With such urgent demands for restrictive laws and the report of the committee as to the conditions on the Pacific coast before them, Congress now passed a bill embodying stringent restrictive features for placing the treaty of 1880 in operation. The coming of Chinese laborers was to be suspended for a period of twenty years and an elaborate system of registration and certification was provided for. President Arthur vetoed this measure, April 4, 1882, on the grounds that it exceeded the provisions of the treaty. As a result of this a modified form of the measure was passed providing for the suspension of the immigration of Chinese laborers both skilled and unskilled for ten years. Evasions of this law seem to have been numerous and the interpretation of its provisions varied

January 26, 1882 the committee on education and labor reported as follows;"It is an undisputed fact that there are over 100,000 Chinese in the state of California; that they are mostly coolies or Chinese laborers who were brought here under contract for a term of years by one of the Six Chinese Companies."
as shown by a resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor in 1882, in which it was declared that that body viewed with alarm the interpretation of the law by which large numbers of Chinese were being permitted to land upon our shores thus frustrating the very purpose of the act prohibiting their importation. It was further urged that the legislative committee secure a true interpretation of the law and, if need be, an amendment to cover the purpose of the law. An agitation was at once begun, with redoubled force, for a measure which should safeguard the interests of labor in a more thorough manner. The act of July 5, 1884, contained some of the features which labor desired.

Though these restrictive measures were in a degree effective, the evil had been largely done. Large numbers of Chinese were already in the country and their competition was keenly felt in many lines of industry. Because of this competition organized labor now took up the fight in a determined effort to drive out the Chinese. In November and December 1885, the Knights of Labor called a convention in San Francisco, for the purpose of discussing means of lessening the evils of competition with Chinese labor and other subjects of interest to the working people. The more radical members of this gathering gained the ascendancy, and

14. Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1882, p. 17. 15. The Act of 1884 extended the terms of the previous law and elaborated upon them so as to minimize the ease of evasion. Its provisions were also made applicable to Chinese demanding admission as subjects of countries other than China. The certificates of the exempt classes were made more elaborate and the term "merchant" was so defined as to exclude hucksters, peddlers and fishermen. The certificates were also made the only evidence admissible to establish the right to re-enter.
after indulging in much reckless talk, passed resolutions congratulating Seattle, Santa Cruz and other cities upon the fact that they had expelled the Chinese. The San Francisco gathering went further and called upon the supervisors to enforce the Anti-Chinese ordinances, and to take steps to remove the Chinese outside the city limits. Plans were in the making for a general boycott of all Chinese products. In the midst of the heated debates which ensued a delegate proposed to add a resolution demanding the complete removal of the Chinese from all parts of the Pacific coast, and especially that they be removed from San Francisco within sixty days. One hundred and seven of the two hundred members of the convention voted on this resolution which was carried by a vote of sixty to forty seven. Upon the passage of this resolution, the Knights of Labor and the more conservative trade unionists immediately withdrew unwilling to sanction a measure which might lead to violence.

At a separate convention of the Knights of Labor held a few weeks later absolute exclusion of the Chinese was advocated. In October, 1885, the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor met at Hamilton, Ontario. Here the Chinese question was again made a prominent issue. The Master Workman devoted a considerable portion of his address to the subject. The question of restriction of Chinese immigration he declared to be apparent beyond the need of proof and desired by nine tenths of the people of the Pacific coast. So large had the issue become, however, that it no longer rested for

16. These cities had driven out every Chinaman to be found within their borders. The move had been backed and supported by labor organizations.
17. For description of the meeting consult, Eaves. Labor Legislation in California, p. 185.
settlement with the people of the Pacific coast alone but, said he, "The shole people must act through their representa­tives, and put a stop to the further importation of the Chinese under any and all circumstances, for any purpose whatever, and for all time to come." While not upholding the massacre of Chinese which had recently taken place at Rock Springs, Wyoming, and disclaiming all participation of organized laborers in the deed, he held that conditions were becoming so intolerable that violence would result if necessary legislation was not secured. In concluding his remarks, he said: "The men of the West must not be allowed to fight the battle single handed and alone. The evil they complain of is no longer confined to one section of this country. It is spreading, and its influences are being felt in all of our industrial centers; and if a desire to assist our brothers in a righteous cause is not sufficient to animate us, and spur us to action, then self interest will soon prompt us to bestir ourselves. The entire order must act as one man in this movement. **** Draw up a bill and a demand for its passage and let us approve of them ere we adjourn. Slave labor must die and free labor must be its executioner." 19

The American Federation of Labor held its fifth convention in Washington, District of Columbia, in December 1885. After considering the evils to which labor had been subjected because of the coming of Chinese to the United States, a resolution was adopted assuring the workmen of the Pacific coast of the full and continued support of the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to free themselves from Chinese competition. The resolution further demanded the rigid enforcement of laws then on the statute books, and if necessary, the enactment of further laws to

18. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, p. 421.
19. Ibid.
effectively prevent the coming of the Chinese. Thus both of the powerful organizations of labor stood arrayed against the coming of the Chinese.

As time passed and the competition of the Chinese became if anything still harder to meet, organized labor put forth more determined efforts to better the prevailing conditions. March 11, 1886, there was held in the city of Sacramento, California, a mammoth Anti-Chinese State Convention composed, not only of a large number of representatives of labor organizations, but of other delegates as well. This body adopted a memorial to Congress in which the evils of the situation were set forth and legislative aid demanded. In October 1886 the Knights of Labor at their Assembly, held in Richmond gave favorable consideration to a memorial introduced by District Assembly number 162 of California. This document asserted that one third of the total male population of California was Mongolian, that "these slaves" could "work for twenty five cents a day, board themselves, and save a profit." In every trade, industry, and calling the competition of the Chinese had come and everywhere the Chinaman "with his foul presence, stands as a menace to the labor of free men." Never was a race of people depicted as more debased or harmful in character. "A thousand of them;" said the memorialists, "will occupy a building that would accommodate fifty Americans. They huddle together like rats in a room. Their very presence drives white people from the locality which they inhabit.*** Their vices are hydra headed. They are a set of thieves, cut throats, and pagans. They exalt perjury to a fine art.**

They crowd our men of families out of employment, and leave them to want and destitution. They make hoodlums of our boys, and drive our girls to worse than death by working for wages which to them mean starvation."22 That the Chinese had invaded a goodly number of industries is certain, if the following statement is even partially correct:

"They, (the Chinese) make nearly all our cigars, clothing, boots and shoes, slippers, underwear, woolen goods, overalls, soap, matches, boxes; they can all the fruit and fish; they raise nearly all the vegetables; they pick nearly all the fruit, hops and grapes; they raise nearly all the potatoes; they make nearly all the salt; they catch nearly all the fish; they make our brooms, cordage, ropes, brushes, candles, chemicals, fringes, glue, and linseed oil; they make nearly all our shirts; they laundry nearly all our clothes; thousands of them are servants in kitchens, offices and banks; they act as chambermaids in hotels, boarding houses and private residences; and they run most of the sewing machines in all branches of their use. In one word, wherever there is a demand for labor; you will find the meek-eyed but malignant hearted Chinaman."23

The American Federation of Labor at its annual meeting in 1886 adopted a resolution further commending the workmen of the Pacific coast and assuring them of continued support in their struggle with Chinese competition. The Chinese were declared to be a standing menace to not only the prosperity and happiness of the working men of the country but also to the peace of the nation. The demand for new laws was again reiterated. It was also hinted that the courts were being used as a back door for the admission of Chinese immigrants. In this and the succeeding year pressure was brought to bear upon Congress by every important

22. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, p. 433.
23. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
labor organization in the country asking for further legislation. The time was ripe then in the year 1888 for action by Congress.

The treaty negotiated with China in the year 1888 provided for the exclusion of Chinese laborers for twenty years and placed various restrictions upon the return of those departing from this country. China finally refused to ratify this treaty and the law thereupon enacted by Congress does not seem to have been satisfactory to the labor organizations. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in his address to the convention in 1889 stated that; "Reports to our office give ample evidence that the law excluding Chinese from coming to this country is flagrantly violated. They are permitted to come over our borders from neighboring countries and under pretense that they cannot be returned, they remain in opposition to the expressed will of the people. All laws which seek the protection of other interests, notably the tariff, are strictly enforced. Why the one strictly in the interest of labor is not, should and must be remedied. Then again peculiar constructions are given to the law by our courts which practically nullify its most potent provisions. The influence of the wealthy 'Chinese Six Companies' of California can only be appreciated by those who have been in that region, or are close observers and readers of their papers."28

In 1892, when the Geary law was under consideration by Congress it was most actively supported by the forces of organized labor. The records of Congress for this period contain references to hundreds of petitions from labor unions asking for the enactment of this law. Due to a

26. The chief feature of this provision was that no Chinese laborer was to be allowed to re-enter the United States unless he left a wife, child or parent, or property to the value of $1,000.
27. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXV, 504.
belief that the law was unconstitutional, the Chinese failed to comply with its provisions. Congress then extended the period of securing certificates, provided for in the law, six months longer. The labor leaders saw in the refusal of the Chinese to fulfill the terms of the law an open spirit of hostility and defiance to the laws of the United States. Even at the expiration of the six months extension of the registration period, labor leaders asserted that the officials made no effort to enforce the law and deport those who were not registered. Said a speaker in the American Federation of Labor convention of 1893, "It is quite evident that the Chinese and their 'Six Companies' do not regard our government as seriously inclined to enforce the law." Having in this convention declared against any attempt to subvert the law by amendment or treaty, the Federation adopted the following resolution; "Resolved, that the President of the United States be requested by this convention to enforce without delay the provisions of the Geary law."

Again in 1894 a treaty was negotiated by our government with China. The features of this measure seem to have been even less pleasing to labor than were those of existing legislation. It was deemed a move to overcome

30. Ibid, p. 33-34.
31. This treaty contained many of the features of the treaty of 1888 which failed of ratification. The provisions as to returning laborers were the same. Organized labor asserted that the Chinese, due to their disregard for any oath or affirmation, would have no difficulty in proving the existence of a 'lawful wife' or 'children or parents in the United States or of property to the value of $1,000.' Editorial, The Chinese Treaty, American Federationist, 1, 50.
the salutary and protecting safeguards of existing law upon the subject of Chinese immigration and was declared by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, to sweep aside the safeguards which protected our country from a wholesale invasion of Chinese workers. While the matter was pending labor organizations urged their protests both by petition and by legislative representatives, but accomplished little. In the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the year 1894 the recent treaty was discussed and the work of organizations to defeat it reviewed. It was here declared that labor was no opposed to the coming of the Chinese because of their nationality but because of their economic and moral standing. "We are opposed," said a speaker, "to the servile of all races, our own included."

Acknowledging temporary defeat of its wishes in the passage of this measure, organized labor now began to marshall its forces for the conflict which must arise when the term of the present legislation expired. On April 6, 1900, the San Francisco Labor Council passed resolutions asking for the re-enactment of all Chinese exclusion laws with added provisions to prevent the evasions of the past. It was led to this action by movements looking to the free entry of Chinese of all classes on the expiration of the laws then in force. Copies of this resolution were sent

32. American Federationist, I, 50.
34. American Federationist, VII, 147.
to all Congressmen and to labor unions throughout the country. This appears to have been the note of warning to the forces of organized labor. In December, 1900, the American Federation of Labor met in its annual convention. President Gompers in his report referred at some length to the Chinese question. Said he, "Information is conveyed that the Chinese exclusion act will terminate during the year 1903; and, in view of the fact that the necessity for the enactment of that law has increased a hundred fold in our day, its re-enactment is strongly urged, and the period of its existence made unlimited."35 Though the treaty did not expire till 1904, it was urged that it would be practically inoperative without the law to enforce its provisions. Action was urged upon the part of the Executive Council to confer with Senators and Representatives looking to the enactment of such legislation as might be necessary to secure rigid exclusion of the Chinese. Every move on the part of the representatives of the Chinese government or of those known to be favorable to the admission of the Chinese was closely watched. Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese minister, was made the subject of criticism in labor publications. The foes of labor were represented as basking in the 'sunny smile or lunar reflection of this representative of the Chinese coolies.' Even the visit of Minister Wu's brother to this country was viewed as a sly diplomatic move by the Chinese government and the brother was given the name "Foolee Melican Peeple." That Wu Ting

35. Proc., American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 27.  
37. Ibid.
Fang should have been permitted to deliver the Independence Day oration at Philadelphia, was looked upon as another step toward the admission of the Chinese. A writer in the American Federationist said, "To the patriotic American it was an insult to the spirit of our institutions that minister Wu Ting Fang was permitted to deliver the oration last Independence Day in Philadelphia. Not too much is to be expected of the honest officials of that city: but it should have grated on even their unsensitive ears, when this Celestial instructed them as to the meaning of the Declaration of Independence. How impressive when he dilated upon the assertion that all men are created free and equal, with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; I repeat, however, that the purpose of Minister Wu's geniality, eloquence and glorification of American institutions is but a covert and diplomatic effort to influence public opinion in favor of his people and prevent the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion law." 38

The months prior to the convening of the 57th Congress witnessed the massing of all the forces of labor for the struggle which clearly must ensue. The two great problems confronting labor at this time were given as the concentration of wealth and productive power in the hands of a few and, secondly, the manace of a possible overwhelming of our people by hordes of Asiatics. The evils of Chinese immigration were reviewed from every standpoint and always with the conclusion that every success of the Oriental was at the expense of the Caucasian. Action by the unions over the country was strongly urged. "From now until Congress convenes and during its sessions," said a labor writer, "one of the first duties of all citizens and particularly of organized labor, is to leave no effort untried to protect our people from the dangers which confront us in this direction.

39. Ibid.
Unions on the Pacific coast have already passed resolutions demanding renewed legislation. Their example will be followed by unions in all parts of the country. On November 31, and 23, 1901, a Chinese exclusion convention was held in San Francisco. The convention was attended by more than one thousand delegates from all parts of the state, one hundred and forty eight labor unions sending delegates. In addition there were representatives of county supervisors, city councils and trade, commercial and civic organizations. The convention declared for a continuation of the exclusion law. In summing up the arguments for exclusion in a memorial to Congress, the convention said:

"Therefore every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions impel your memorialists to ask for the re-enactment of the exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people have secured for themselves and their posterity." No doubt the strongest statement of organized labor's position in regard to the Chinese at this time was made in a pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Labor, entitled, "Some Reasons For Chinese Exclusion---Meat vs. Rice---American Manhood Against Asiatic Coolieism---Which Shall Survive." Here are summed up the arguments against the Chinese which organized labor had collected and used for fifty years. From every standpoint, morally, economically and socially, the Chinaman is pointed out as a menace.

The twenty first convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in Scranton Pennsylvania in 1901. At this meeting resolutions in large numbers were offered each demanding the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion law. These were referred to a special committee having the matter in charge, with the result that the following report was made to the convention. "Your committee respectfully offers the following as a substitute for all resolutions, together with a few of the many reasons for insisting upon the re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

1st. The mobility of the Chinese as a race and their tendency to move in vast numbers toward countries offering them opportunities (by excessive toil and the cheapest possible methods of living) to save enough with which to return to their native land.

2nd. An invasion of a people representing uncounted millions, wedded to inferior social standards, would itself become a calamity.

3rd. It would hamper our progress as a nation, by the introduction of a large element which on account of their highly developed race consciousness cannot be assimilated.

4th. Their presence in considerable numbers would engender a hostility which would make them a destroying factor in society.

5th. Their admission would provide an unfailing supply of degraded servile laborers that would effect our efforts to improve industrial conditions.

6th. It is not only a question of wages but one which concerns the moral and social well-being of the people.

7th. From common observation they foster vices peculiar to their race and most degrading to humanity.

8th. To admit them would be a dangerous reversal of a public policy which has proven to be sound.

9th. The demand for their exclusion in unanimous upon the part of all citizens save those having special financial interests to serve.

It is therefore recommended that the president and the incoming executive council are hereby authorized and instructed to concentrate all the resources of the organization upon a supreme effort to carry out our purpose, to invite the cooperation of all bodies in sympathy with the view expressed, and to publish and
distribute the necessary literature so as to awaken the public to a realization of the impending danger."43

In the meantime the 57th. Congress convened. Manifestly action on its part was imperative. Not only was every branch of organized labor demanding legislation in regard to the Chinese, but President Roosevelt as well, recommended the re-enactment of the exclusion laws in his message to Congress. Proposals for a new law were now presented to Congress in large numbers. December 6, 1901, a measure was introduced in the Senate by Senator Perkins, known as the Department Bill. A similar measure was also introduced in the House. These bills embodied the ideas of the immigration officials. A conference of Senators and Representatives of the Pacific coast states decided that considerable attention should be given to any such measures and a sub-committee was appointed to consider these bills. In speaking of the work of this committee and the work of organized labor in connection therewith, the American Federationist said; "After considerable and energetic efforts the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, having the full cooperation of the commissioners appointed by the Anti-Chinese convention of the state of California, have succeeded in having the conference composed of the United States Senators and Representatives to Congress of the Pacific coast states, recommend a measure which we have every reason to believe will accomplish the most effective exclusion of Chinese, not only from all foreign countries, but from the recently acquired insular possessions of the United States. We have heretofore refrained from recommending or advocating any particular measure of the many thus far introduced, on account of what we considered serious defects, both as to the omission of important provisions, and inclusion of unnecessary and impolitic matter. Having finally succeeded in obtaining the support of the Pacific coast delegation in Congress for the

bill drafted under our immediate supervision, meeting with all the requirements and exigencies essential for an effective exclusion, we feel that our battle has been considerably simplified and the possibilities of success much more assured."44.

This bill prepared by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the California commissioners was introduced in the Senate by Senator Mitchell of Oregon and in the House by Congressman Kahn of California. To the support of the measure organized labor rallied all its forces. All wage earners, all organizations of labor, all fair minded citizens were urged to express to their Congressman and Senators, by letter, resolution or otherwise, their insistence upon the enactment of the bill. Pressure of every sort was brought to bear upon Congress to secure its passage. Despite the protests of labor the bill was considerably amended. Several provisions which were deemed unconstitutional were stricken out. As approved April 29, 1903, the law was little more than a reenactment of existing laws upon the subject, to continue in force till a new treaty should be negotiated.

44. American Federationist, IX, 69.
45. Ibid, 124.
46. April 15, 1902 the following communication was sent by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, to Wm. P.Fry president protem of the Senate. "The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor being in session in this city of Washington D.C. had under consideration the matter of legislation relative to the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the United States and its insular possessions. It may be unnecessary to indicate how deeply interested are the men and women of our country whom we have the honor to represent in the matter of this legislation, and desirous of 47. United States, Statutes at Large, XXXII, Pt. I. 176.
The new law was by no means pleasing to organized labor. The American Federationist termed it "The Chinese Bunco Bill". The law was further spoken of in the following terms: "The United States Congress has passed and the

serving them as well as all people of our country, to the very best of our ability, we have adopted the following preamble and resolutions.

Whereas the Philippines, with their large Chinese population of the pure and mixed blood and their proximity to China serve, and could to a greater degree serve, as a reservoir of Chinese laborers, and a bridge over which Chinese would come to the mainland territory of the United States unless stopped by effective legislation; and whereas, Any law which does not exactly define the meaning to be given to the treaty terms 'official', 'teacher', 'student', 'merchant', and 'traveler' would in view of Chinese duplicity, be a mockery and of no value; and whereas, The seamen are clearly entitled to equal protection from Chinese competition and contamination as are other workers in our common country and, whereas, The validity of the entire Scott Act of 1888 is in controversy in an appeal case now pending before the Supreme court, and it is generally admitted that the attack will be sustained by the court, neither the Proctor bill nor the Platt amendment dealing in any way with the new questions or the emergency which will beyond doubt arise by the court's decision;

Resolved, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session assembled; That we hold said Proctor bill and Platt amendment utterly inadequate and contrary to the best interests of labor all over the country, in the mills of New England or the Carolinas, as well as the workers on the Pacific coast and in the inter-mountain states; and further Resolved, that we are fully convinced that the Mitchell Kahn bill, as reported from the committee on immigration and passed by the House of Representatives, is the only exclusion bill that will exclude, now before Congress; and we therefore urge all true friends of the policy of the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the United States to vote for this bill and to defeat any amendment offered thereto to weaken it in any of its essential or effective features." From, The American Federationist, IX, 284.

49. American Federationist, IX, 298.
President has signed a bill enacting into law what purports to be a measure for the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the mainland of the United States and its possessions. In point of fact the entire measure is as defective, deceptive and inefficient to accomplish the desired purpose as such a piece of patch work, of which the present law is composed, well can be,"50 Such a piece of "bungling" legislation was declared to be a menace to our Republic and to our civilization. The responsibility for the measure was placed upon the Congressmen who had enacted it and assurance was given that labor would not fail to appreciate and "repay in every lawful and honorable way within the power of American manhood and American citizenship." Especially was objection made to the clause in the new law which provided that measures taken for exclusion should not be "inconsistent with treaty obligations unless otherwise provided in the law." Chinese laborers coming from countries other than China were also considered a source of danger for which the new law made no provision. Later attempts were made to amend the law but they proved futile.

In view of the expiration of the treaty with China in the year 1904, organized labor now began to perfect plans for further legislation. Edward Rosenberg, a special representative of the American Federation of Labor, was sent to China to investigate conditions there. His report dealing with the subject of wages paid there and general living conditions materially strengthened organized labor's arguments against the admission of the Chinese. As China

50. American Federationist, IX, 298.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid, X, 651.
refused to continue the treaty in 1904, a move was at once made to secure further legislation. An effort was made to strike out the clause making legislation dependent upon "treaty obligations" but it was unsuccessful. Though considerable agitation was carried on the law enacted April 27, 1904, was merely a continuation of existing law. Though a few movements have been made since that year for a change in the status of the Chinese, no action has been taken and labor's position has remained substantially the same. One proposed change in the law remains for discussion. This was the measure advocated by President Roosevelt, that the terms of the law should be so changed as to provide for the admission of all Chinese save laborers. Organized labor at once made protest that such a step would constitute a reversal of our policy, would place a vast burden of proof upon our immigration officials and fill the land with Chinese laborers who because of their inherent deceitfulness would readily evade such a law.

Such then has been and is the attitude of organized labor toward the question of Chinese immigration. From the early endeavor to force out the Chinese by taxes and restrictive measures, labor turned to the policy of seeking to exclude the Chinese entirely. Since that step was taken there has been no reversal of its position. The battle has

53. The effort to secure a modification of the law so as to admit the Chinese to our insular possessions and the matter of the Chinese boycott are treated in the chapter upon labor in our island possessions.
been a long one; by far the larger portion of labors demands have not found enactment into law; yet it has never weakened or retreated a step from the position which it so early assumed. The history of Chinese exclusion from the United States is largely the history of organized labors efforts to secure it. Today as in the early days of the California struggle organized workers stand shoulder to shoulder in opposition to the Chinese.
CHAPTER III

CONTRACT LABOR

"If we cannot have cheap ready made clothes unless the garment manufacturers can turn needle workers adrift of the streets with every sag in the market; if we can not have cheap transportation unless the steel car manufacturers can use successive groups of raw immigrants to hammer down the rates of pay of the older men; if we can not have cheap meat without a crowd of men clamoring for work each day at the gates of the stockyards - then as a nation better for us to pay more for those things and less for our hospitals, our orphanages, our courts and our prisons, and the other social institutions where the waste of industry comes back as a toll upon humanity." Paul U. Kellog, in The American Federationist, February, 1911, p. 139.

The second feature of American immigration to focus the attention of organized labor, was the importation of labor under contract. Individual leaders seem to have recognized its significance at least as early as 1833. In that year Seth Luther, a labor agitator, is said to have made the declaration that American manufacturers were sending agents to Europe in order to induce working people to come to this country and thereby lower the scale of wages. Evidently the problem did not assume any great proportions at this early day; for T.V. Powderly, long associated with the Knights of Labor, says, "If the importation of Europeans to take the place of American workmen had been practiced prior to 1858, it had no appreciable effect on the condition of the laborers of that
and was not taken notice of by the working men of the United States. He attributes the efforts on the part of employers to import laborers in that year to a series of strikes among the members of the molding trade. The boss molders held a conference as a result of these strikes and issued a circular soliciting other employers of labor to unite with them in a league for the purpose of importing workmen from Europe to take the places of employees who under the influence of union agitation, "had become so restless as to strike against their interests."

This movement for the importation of laborers received its great impetus, however, in the years 1863 and 1864. On June 17, 1863 the state of Connecticut enacted a law chartering the "American Emigrant company." The avowed object of this company was to procure and assist emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States. A greater step was taken in the following year when by a law approved July 4, 1864, the Federal government made valid contracts, made in foreign countries by emigrants to the United States whereby such emigrants pledged their wages in the United States for not more than one year to repay the expense of emigrating. With the enactment of this law the Emigrant company found its field considerably enlarged. It could now pose as the agent of the Federal

1. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, p. 411.
2. Documentary History, IX, 74.
government in procuring immigrants. From the first it had possessed the power to purchase and dispose of land and by an amendment of June 18, 1865, the company was given the right to own and operate steamships, to transport immigrants and act as agents in the sale of lands. Under such legislation as this numerous emigrant companies sprang up but the American had largely preempted the field and remained the most powerful. By an amendment to the law in May, 1871, the name of this company was changed to that of "The American Emigrant and Trust Company."

A glance at the workings of this company will show what a power it must have been for the encouragement of immigration. Its operations were businesslike in every respect. It entered actively upon an advertising campaign both here and abroad. It sought to stimulate not only the desire of the immigrant to come to America, which was pictured to him as the land of greatest opportunity, but also to stimulate employers of labor to seek out these newcomers. Among the list of emigrants in requisition are mentioned mechanics of all descriptions; agricultural, railway and other laborers; miners and factory operatives; in fact all classes if skilled and unskilled workers. The company also

3. In a report of the company for the year 1865 occurs the following statement.
"The company represents a capital of one million dollars, nearly two thirds of which is paid up, and it acts as the agent of employers in the United States in making contracts with mechanics abroad, stipulating that they shall be hired for a specific term at a fixed rate of wages."
Quoted in , Documentary History, IX, 76.
advertised extensively in newspapers of the day and even published a periodical devoted to its interests.

Though labor was opposed to the importation of workmen as evidenced by the early statements of Seth Luther and the support given to such parties as the Native American and Know-Nothing, yet no organized protest seems to have been made against contract labor, as such, until the year 1868. By this time the work of the emigrant companies was clearly apparent. At the second session of the National Labor Union held in New York City, September 21, 1868 the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, Congress and the political parties of the United States favor the policy of protecting American industry by duties on imports; and whereas, Congress and the state legislatures have by legislation encouraged the introduction of foreign labor into the industries of the country, which labor when brought here comes into direct competition with American labor, whose protection is the avowed policy of the government: and whereas, Federal and state legislation has chartered companies to procure immigrants, and Congress has devoted large bodies of public lands to such companies:

Resolved, That Congress has no constitutional power to protect industrial investments at the expense of operative labor. Resolved, That Congress is invested with no authority to bestow the public lands upon private corporations particularly when such corporations use their franchises to bring the cheap labor of Europe into competition with the dearer labor of the United States." Here is voiced not only a protest against the work of the companies, but a statement

4. "LABORERS OF EVERY KIND SUPPLIED"
The American Emigrant Company is now prepared to supply miners, puddlers, machinists, molders and mechanics of every kind; also gardeners, railroad and farm laborers and female help, at short notice and on reasonable terms. For further particulars apply to, Thomas E. Sowper, Agent American Emigrant Company." Advertisement in the Missouri Democrat of May 15, 1865. Quoted in Documentary History, IX, 80.

5. Ibid, 321.
of the argument, since extensively used by labor, of a protective tariff for labor as well as for the products of labor. At a meeting of the National Labor Union held shortly after the one just mentioned a committee was appointed whose duty it was to secure the revocation of the charter of the American Emigrant Company.

This hostility of organized labor toward the importation of laborers grew rapidly. There is no doubt that the attitude of labor in this matter had much to do with the repeal of the law of 1864 after it had been in operation but four years. Though the repeal of this measure put an end to the activities of the emigrant companies, no restrictions were placed upon the importation of laborers and employers still sought workmen abroad. Though continued protests against contract labor were made, they accomplished little by way of correcting the evil. Aside from the Federal law of March 3, 1875, forbidding the coming of Chinese coolies under contract no legislative action was taken. With the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 the forces of labor were strengthened.

7. The law was repealed March 4, 1868.
8. The Philadelphia congress of the National Labor Union August 16, 23, 1869, adopted resolutions protesting against the importation of servile races for the sole and only purpose of pauperizing the labor of American working men. Though aimed primarily at the Chinese as noted in the preceding chapter this resolution also dealt with workers of other lands who came under contract.

Documentary History, IX, 237.
The twelfth clause of the platform adopted at that time reads as follows. "That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract." In 1884 the Knights of Labor then a powerful organization also had the matter of contract labor under advisement. The Philadelphia Assembly held in September of that year after a heated debate upon the question, adopted a resolution declaring for the prohibition of the importation of foreign labor under contract. Numerous petitions were also sent to Congress during this period requesting legislative action. In 1885 the system of contract labor had extended to a large share of the industries of the country. Realizing how serious was the situation, organized labor became more aggressive and it was evident that some action must be taken to prevent serious disturbances.

The culmination of these years of agitation came in

9. The following is taken from a petition submitted by the National Federation of Labor, the early name of the American Federation of Labor.

"The workmen see but little sympathy manifested for their hopeless condition by the rich employers grown fat on the unrequited toil of his laborers, and exclusive in his social relations— a great gulf stands between them in the scale of society— and he naturally seeks communion and fellowship with his fellow sufferers. They organize a trade union, with a very limited knowledge of parlimentary or statute law and endeavor in their humble way to right the wrongs which they feel themselves subjected to, by means of a strike for better wages which they feel themselves entitled to. But capital always resists such demands and imports from abroad with the surplus won from the toil of the strikers, another hungry crowd of workmen to take their places driving their old employees out of their homes as despised tramps." Congressional Record, 47th. Congress, 1st. Sess., 5428
1885 when Congress enacted the first Alien Contract Labor law. The enactment of this law was undoubtedly largely due to the efforts of organized labor. Mr. Justice Brown in deciding the case of the United States vs. Craig, laid emphasis upon the conditions which had grown up under the system of contract labor and the consequent appeal for legislation by the workers of the country.

Though designed to exclude contract laborers, this first law was defective. It made no provision for inspection nor any arrangements for its execution and, most important of all, it made no provision for the deportation of the contract laborers.

Though both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor lay claim to the introduction of the petition which resulted in the enactment of this measure it is clearly the result of agitation on the part of all forces of organized labor for years past. John R. Commons says, "The alien contract labor law of 1885 and 1888 was placed on the statute books through the efforts of the Knights of Labor and the labor unions." Races and Immigrants, p. 118.

12. Said he, "The motives and history of the act are matters of common knowledge. It had become the practice for large capitalists in this country to contract with their agents abroad for the shipment of great numbers of an ignorant and servile class of foreign laborers, under contracts, by which the employer agreed, upon the one hand, to prepay their passage, while upon the other hand, the laborers agreed to work after their arrival for a certain time at a low rate of wages. The effect of this law was to break down the labor market and to reduce other laborers engaged in like occupations to the level of the assisted immigrant. The evil finally became so flagrant that an appeal was made to Congress for relief by the passage of the act in question, the design of which was to raise the standard of foreign immigrants, and to discountenance the migration of those who had not sufficient means in their own hands, or those of their friends to pay their passage." 28, F.R., 795-798. Quoted in, House. Document, 59th. Congress, 2nd., Sess., No., 737.
laborer when he was detected. So inoperative did the lack of these provisions render the law that agitation was at once begun for its amendment. By the Act of February 23, 1887, the Secretary of the Treasury was given the power to exclude and deport contract laborers and by a second amendment in the year 1888 the Secretary was empowered to return, to the land from which they came, any laborers who should be discovered as having been landed contrary to the law. Labor was the great active agent in securing the passage of these amendments as it had been in procuring the original law. Despite these amendments the law was still regarded as defective. At the ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was not only asserted that the law was defective but that it was not being enforced in the spirit of its designers. It was even charged that the officers entrusted with its enforcement endeavored rather to bring it into ridicule. Resolutions were adopted at this meeting asking for amendments to the law and for a proper enforcement of the act. The Granite Cutters National Union presented a memorial at this meeting charging flagrant violations of the law and pointing out the methods of employers to escape conviction. It is quite probable that  

15. Ibid, p. 27. "Resolved by the delegates to the ninth annual session of the American Federation of Labor, that we favor such amendments to said law as to make it effective and carry out the will of the people."  
16. Ibid, p. 25. "To the President of the United States of America. We the undersigned citizens of the United States hereby call your attention to the attempts now being made to defeat the ends of justice in the case of the United States
employers were openly violating the law at this time. In testimony before the Industrial Commission, T. V. Powderly said that men connected with the Pennsylvania coal companies had stated that, in order to defeat the men in their demands it would be necessary to bring cheap labor from Europe and that shortly thereafter the mines began to fill with Italians, Hungarians, Russians and other people from far off lands. Hugo M. Starkhoff, United States Consul at Bremen, also reported in 1893; "I cannot tell to what extent contract laborers are covertly engaged for exportation to the United States but I have all reason to suspect that a great many people especially Poles and Bohemians and Hungarians are engaged under contract by mining companies, mostly of Pennsylvania." With these evidences of violation of the law vs. George Wilkes and Abner Taylor, just decided in the United States Circuit court 5th. Circuit and Western district of Texas at Austin. The defendant Wilkes pleaded guilty and the judge fined him the full penalty and costs for violation of the law prohibiting the importation of foreign labor under contract, but granted a stay of proceedings for twelve months, to enable him to apply to the authorities at Washington for relief from the penalties. We look upon this as an attempt to defeat the law, and if it is possible to render it null and void of effect, and therefore we most earnestly and emphatically protest against any interference with the law by the authorities at Washington, there being no provision in said law that we are aware of, to warrant any such interference. We call upon you as the chief executive of the nation to see that the law is not tampered with, but carried out to the full extent, the same as if the defendant was a person without the influence of a syndicate backing him up in his law breaking schemes as we have reason to believe he is being backed up by certain interested and influential persons."

18. Report on, European Immigration to the United States, by Herman J. Schultes, member of the United States Treasury Department Committee on Immigration, 1895. p. 50.
before them, the labor organizations renewed their efforts for further legislation. At the meeting of the American Federation of Labor in 1895, the committee on resolutions presented a strong statement of the evils suffered by American laborers because of the competition of contract laborers. The harmful effects were declared to be apparent in reduced wages and a general deterioration of the economic, social and moral conditions of the workers.

Despite these protests no change was made in the law until the year 1903. By the Act of March 3rd. of that year, among other amendments to the law, the following provision was inserted: "Provision is also made in section two that the inhibition of the importation of skilled alien workmen under contract to perform service in the United States shall not operate to prevent bringing of such workmen into the United States if labor of like kind unemployed, can not be found in this country." This has been the cause of much protest on the part of organized labor. Trouble soon arose when employers whose workmen had struck, sought laborers from abroad on the ground that "workers of like kind" could not be found unemployed in this country. Organized labor attempted to defeat such action by a protest to the authorities at Ellis Island. Though for a time the board sustained the protest, the employers made appeal to the Department of Commerce and Labor which in turn referred the matter to the

Attorney General. In his opinion the Attorney General declared that "workers of like kind" could not be obtained in the United States. As a result of this opinion the workmen were admitted. This occurred in several cases of strikes or lockouts and in each case substantially the same ruling was followed. In speaking of these cases, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor said, "We contend that the alien contract labor feature of the immigration law was designed and enacted for the purpose of preventing American workmen from being defeated in an effort to improve their condition, and particularly to prevent deterioration and that, therefore, regardless of whether the relations of workmen with their employers are of the most amicable character or whether they anticipate, or are engaged in a trade dispute involving either a strike or a lockout, employers are prohibited by the law from bringing workers to the United States, under contract, or promise of employment whether written or implied.****That workmen have been locked out by their employers or are on a strike does not enter into the situation regardless of the question in contention between such workmen and such employers." Organized labor put forth every effort to secure a modification of this interpretation of the law, even petitioning Secretary of War William H. Taft, in the absence of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. While the ruling seems to have held in the cases mentioned, such action was not followed to any extent by the employers. The forces of labor were too powerful to warrant such action.

Another special problem which has arisen under the Alien Contract labor law is the one relating to sailors. Unions of seafaring men have constantly sought to have the terms of the act applied to their profession. They have

21. For an account of these cases see, Proc. American Federation of Labor, 1907, pp. 39-40.
22. Ibid, p. 35.
sought this both because of the manner of enforcing their contracts and because of the employment of alien seamen under contract. Though actively supported in this move by the American Federation of Labor they have been unable to have the terms of the act so extended. Many petitions in regard to this extension of the law have been presented to Congress. The following, presented to the 57th. Congress by the Firemen's Union of New York gives the view of the sailors in the matter; "Resolved that being good enough to fight under the flag for its honor, we ought to be good enough to make a living under it." 

Thus instances might be multiplied of special objections which organized labor has found grounds to make against the law. Among these are the protests of the Musicians unions and the problems presented by the acquisition of our island possessions. Convictions under the law have been few. As stated in the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1908, "It is very difficult to secure evidence in such a form as will be sufficient in detail to enable suit to be brought under the penal provisions of the act, though from an administrative point of view the circumstances are often sufficiently convincing that the law has been surreptitiously evaded."

Organized labor has fully recognized this difficulty and has endeavored to meet it in various ways. The principal remedy suggested has been that the trial of the contract

24. Treated in the chapter on our insular possessions.
labor cases should be so arranged that they may be investigated immediately upon the detection of the contract laborer. By this plan the testimony of the laborer could be taken as evidence and doubtless more convictions of importers would be the result.

Another feature of the contract labor law which has caused protest by organized labor is the provision of section six of the law, permitting the importation of laborers by states and territories. No action seems to have been taken under this provision of the law until the year 1907. No sooner had the states attempted to secure laborers however, than organized labor began to make protest. By a decision of the department of Commerce and Labor the action of the states was sustained. Labor now made appeal to Congress. In a circular letter addressed to each member of Congress on January 19, 1907, by the American Federation of Labor, occurs the following statement: "Under the recent ruling of the Department of Commerce and Labor the right of states to practically nullify the alien contract feature

26. The section reads as follows. "That it shall be unlawful and be deemed a violation of section four of this act to assist or encourage the importation or migration of any alien by promise of employment through advertisements printed and published in any foreign country; and any alien coming to this country in consequence of such an advertisement shall be treated as coming under such promise or agreement as contemplated in section two of this act, and the penalties imposed by section five of this act shall be applied to such a case: provided, that this section shall not apply to states or territories, the District of Columbia, or places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, advertising the inducements they offer for immigration thereto respectively." Immigration Laws and Regulations of the United States, July 1, 1907, p. 7.
of our immigration laws, it certainly becomes necessary that an amendment of existing law in that regard should receive the earnest attention of Congress and its enactment."27 Action on the part of Congress was prompt in this case. February 16, 1907, the House of Representatives passed a resolution requesting of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor information as to the "introduction of foreign laborers into the state of South Carolina by one, E.J. Watson" together with the opinion of the department as to whether such laborers were lawfully admitted to the United States and the grounds for the opinion. The reply of the Department was in part as follows. "For present purposes it will suffice to indicate the salient features of the case as follows. It appears that the agricultural and manufacturing industries of South Carolina were languishing and in danger of material injury for lack of labor; that this was particularly true of the cotton industry, fully twenty percent of the spindles in the state being idle; that this condition would undoubtedly work to the injury, not only of the operating companies and their stockholders, but to the injury of labor already employed. That the South Carolina mills had tried in the state itself, in adjoining states, and in various parts of the United States to secure the necessary labor, but without success, by reason of the great demand for labor throughout the South; that the sanitary, educational, and living conditions provided for mill workers in the state, as well as the hours of labor required and the rate of wages paid were satisfactory in themselves and were being constantly improved; that immense property values and the welfare of thousands of laborers are involved in the successful operation of the mills of South Carolina, wherefore not only the interests mentioned but the state itself would suffer from an insufficient supply of labor; that the mill owners, being forbidden by Federal law from themselves procuring the immigration of foreign contract laborers, were denied relief from this source, unless the immigration of laborers could be secured through the agency of the state. An appeal to the legislature resulted in the passage of an Act, approved February 23, 1904, creating a State Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration"
besides appropriating the sum of $2,000 for defraying the expenses of the new department the act contained the following provision. 'That the Commissioner be empowered to make such arrangements with oceanic and river steamship companies and immigration agencies in this country and abroad as may best serve the interests of successful immigration, the necessary expenditures being made within the annual appropriation for the general expenses of this department; provided, however, nothing herein shall forbid the Commissioner acting without fee as the agent of such citizens of the state, who, through the South Carolina immigration association and the department, wish to meet the excess expenses of bringing desirable immigrants to their farm or other lands. That in the discharge of these duties the Commissioner, of such person as he may select, is empowered to visit such immigration centers whenever necessary to produce the best results.'

In commenting upon this provision of the South Carolina law the report continues: "A commissioner having been duly appointed an association of private persons (whether the South Carolina Immigration Association or the cotton Manufacturers Association of South Carolina in not clear) made up a fund amounting to $30,000 or more, which was placed at the disposal of the Commissioner, and which with the sum appropriated by the state ($2,000) constituted a general fund for the encouragement of immigration." Such action as this declared Mr. Gompers; "Is a perversion of the very essence and purpose of the law, it being a matter of common knowledge that the contracting for foreign laborers by employers through the agency of states is a mere subterfuge." Later a decision of the Attorney General held that if a representative of a state or territory induces an alien to immigrate by holding out to him individually a promise of employment, such alien is inadmissible. By this decision action under the provision of the law was effectively check-

30. Ibid.
32. 26 Opinions Attorney General, 410, Advance Sheets.
In the course of the determined struggle which organized labor has carried on against the introduction of contract labor, various measures have been advocated as means of relief. One of these which has received much favorable support is that of extending the period of time in which such laborers may be deported to two years and that the employing contractor should be held liable for five years after the arrival of such contract laborer. Other measures suggested are: first, that an immigrant debarred on landing as coming in violation of the law, as contract laborers, should be prohibited by statute from entry at any port of the United States for at least one year thereafter. Second, the appointment of special agents to go abroad and return by way of the steerage, thus becoming conversant with the men and their plans for work in the United States; A third measure advocated, is a better system of exclusion at the port of admission and of deportation which it is claimed would have a most beneficial effect. Finally organized labor has sought to eradicate the padrone system. In the year 1895 the American Federation of Labor passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that the incoming executive council be directed to consider, the advisability of taking such steps as may be necessary to secure the abolition of the padrone system in this country." While the padrone system has not to any appreciable extent injured the great rank and file of

33. The idea of a more speedy trial has already been cited.
35. Ibid, 1894, p. 12.
36. Ibid, 1895, p. 81.
labor in America, yet its existence constitutes a direct violation of the Alien Contract Labor Law. As such then it has encountered the opposition of organized labor.

While not a feature of the Contract labor law the Division of Information of the Federal bureau of immigration has a direct bearing upon the workings of that law, and is therefore discussed in this chapter. The purpose in establishing the Division was to disseminate knowledge of the demands for labor among the newly arrived immigrants. It was one of the steps in the move for "better distribution of immigrants." It seems to have been the aim of Mr. Powderly, who was placed at the head of the new Division, to connect its work closely with the forces of organized labor in the United States. Circulars were addressed to all labor unions asking for information as to the labor situation, the existence of strikes and lockouts, and the general demand for labor. Replying to this circular and to a personal letter from Mr. Powderly, Samuel Gompers, as President of the American Federation of Labor, indicated his belief that the new Division could be made of much value. Again in the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1907, Mr. Gompers referred to the Division in the following terms: "One of the provisions of the recently enacted immigration law, the creation of a Division of Information. The purpose of this provision is that workmen lawfully coming to the United States may be aided in a more intelligent choice of a location in which to seek employment. It is intended to be a means for the better distribution of immigrants lawfully entitled to come to our country and if administered

37. American Federationist, XIV, 559.

The Division was created by the Act of February 30, 1907.
fairly is calculated to be of least injury to labor." 39
A spirit of cooperation with the new division was manifest when, in discussion of this portion of the president's report, the committee having the matter in charge expressed the view that if properly administered it would no doubt be of considerable service to labor, and asking all affiliated unions to cooperate with the Division in order that the most good might result.

First hostile action toward the division seems to have been taken by the Knights of Labor. At their national General Assembly held in November, 1908, the following resolution was adopted. "Your committee appointed to submit resolutions relative to the question of immigration referred to in the General Master Workman's address, would respectfully submit the following: We are heartily in accord with the views expressed (in the address) in the abuses of the immigration laws in turning the bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor into an advertising agency and an employment bureau for obtaining employment for incoming immigrants, who are thus being furnished better opportunities for securing employment than citizens and residents of this country, therefore be it resolved; That the General Assembly of the Knights Of Labor condemns that clause of the present law known as "Section forty of the Act of Congress, approved February 20, 1907, entitled 'An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States' and urge upon Congress the immediate repeal of that section of the law, coupled with the abolition of the Division of Information and Distribution which is working grave injury to labor generally in this country." 41 This position of the Knights of Labor was soon assumed by the American Federation of Labor. A crucial question in regard

41. Hearings before Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-First Congress, page 94.
Strikes occurred and labor made the charge that men had been supplied by the Division of Information to take the places of the strikers. They further made the assertion that, in the establishment of this Division, the United States government had made an open bid for more immigrants, and that they were given a preference over native American workmen.

At the Washington Labor Conference in 1907, Mr. Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, said: "I do not presume to speak as an expert as to whether the Division of Information has been a useful division or not, but I can, I think, say with a reasonable degree of accuracy that, unless the prevalent idea is soon dissipated, that the American government contains a bureau of information which directs foreigners coming to our country as to where they can secure employment, the Division might better be discontinued. The very fact that it is advertised abroad that the American government has in this country a division, the purpose of which is to find employment for men arriving here acts as an encouragement to the subjects of other countries to seek employment here." Mr. Gompers upon the same occasion, commented upon the early friendly relation between the Division and organized labor, but added; "Just grounds for suspicion have arisen as to the real purpose, and particularly the work of the bureau. Some have, with good reason complained that it was being turned into a labor bureau to help tear down the existing standards of life in our industrial centers. We know that shipping agents, railroad agents, land agents, agents for companies and corporations and employers of all sorts have made it appear to the workers of these several countries that the United States has established a bureau that will find work for them when they come to the United States."
At this meeting it was stated by Mr. Garretson representing the Order of Railway Conductors, that it was his belief, that the bureau would foster the very evil that it was designed to check, rather than prove an agency of good.

The hostile attitude assumed by organized labor toward the Division of Information and Distribution is the same which is assumed toward other ventures in the effort to secure better distribution of immigrants. Back of this movement labor sees the great steamship combine deriving its profits from the transportation of steerage passengers and having now so flooded the great cities that the labor market is overcrowded, seeking an outlet by way of the "distribution" movement. In discussing the matter Mr. Gompers said; "In the light of our survey of the situation, then, the principal aim and mission of the schemes for immigrant distribution come plainly into view. It is not to supply our country with any needed labor. It is not the building up of any American community. It is not even to assist American labor equally with foreign labor. It is to promote and assist the coming and going steerage passenger regardless of the effect on American labor."

In fine, organized labor regards "the distribution movement as a colossal game which the steamship companies and the nations of Europe are playing upon the United States. A game which labor fears is to result in the reduction of American workers to the European level. A substitution, for the traditional independence of the self sustaining and self respecting American wage earner, of the broken spirit, the semi pauperized existence and the slum habits of the 46. American Federationist, XVIII, 513-529.
class of European laborers who now mostly make up the cargoes of the steamships in the combine. Thus labor views every move for distribution of immigrants as a blow aimed at its interests. As a writer in the American Federationist says; "English speaking labor can find its way to any job anywhere, that will yield a fair living even if it has to travel in a box car. The trouble today is that, no matter how it travels, it finds on the job a previous arrival - a man speaking a strange tongue, living with a gang of others in a shack, working for a serf's wages, submitting in a slavish spirit to outrages on him as a human being, and in debt to the agencies that have found the job for him and paid his way to it."  

47. American Federationist, XVIII, 529.
48. Ibid.
"On behalf of American labor, it is to be said that the action of the trade unions in this country on this most delicate international question involves a step that touches the heart of every man contemplating it. That step, the advocacy of exclusion, is not prompted by any assumption of superior virtue over our foreign brother. We disavow for American organized labor the holding of any vulgar or unworthy prejudices against the foreigner. We recognize the noble possibilities in the poorest of the children of the earth who come to us from European lands. We know that their civilization is sufficiently near our own to bring their descendents in one generation up to the general level of the best American citizenship. It is not on account of their assumed inferiority, or through any pusillanimous contempt for their abject poverty, that, most reluctantly, the lines have been drawn by America's workingmen against the indiscriminate admission of aliens to this country. It is simply a case of the (self preservation of the American working classes." ) Samuel Gompers, "Immigration Up To Congress", American Federationist, January, 1911, p. 3.

Organized labor very early recognized the fact that the coming of the immigrant had an important bearing upon its solidarity and general welfare. While a study of the early history of labor organizations does not reveal an open spirit of hostility toward the immigrant, it does show a deep interest in his coming and the probable effects both upon the unions and the nation. This attitude is well shown by the appointment of a committee, by the National Labor Congress in 1870, to constitute an International
Bureau of Labor and Emigration. The duties of this committee are enumerated in the following resolution adopted at that time; "Resolved that the duties of this bureau shall be generally to enter into correspondence with trades, labor and emigration associations in Europe, obtain and forward information as to the condition of trade and labor, rates of wages, strikes and other such intelligence as may be valuable in the work of ameliorating the condition of labor here and in the old world; to publish the same as may be desirable and otherwise aid the one high purpose of all who work for our reform - that of the complete unity and enfranchisement of labor everywhere." Manifestly back of this step toward cooperation with labor in the old world was a desire to protect the workers here from an influx of European workers at inopportune times. When the Knights of Labor met for their first session in 1878, they dropped from the preamble, prepared for their adoption, the clause calling for prohibition of the importation of servile races. The reason given for this action was the desire to show a friendly attitude toward all workers of whatever race. The early attitude of organized labor may then be characterized as one of cooperation rather than of open hostility. Several reasons may be given for this position. The immigration of that day was largely of kindred races, and easily assimilated. Furthermore the immigration of the Chinese to the Pacific coast states long kept the attention of labor turned in that direction.

With the changing sources and rapidly increasing volume of immigration since 1880, organized labor has

1. Documentary History, IX, 339.
2. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, p. 429.
awakened to the seriousness of the situation as never before. In 1885 at the fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, a resolution was adopted favoring the restriction of alien land holding to one section of land. No doubt labor was led to this action by the fear of a foreign landed aristocracy rather than of competition with foreign workmen. In the next four years however, the attitude of labor organizations toward the coming of the foreigner changed from one, of silent acquiesence, to one of active protest. In 1886 the Knights of Labor petitioned Congress that a tax of $500 be levied upon each immigrant landing on our shores, a measure which it was believed would materially reduce the number of immigrants and would also yield a very considerable sum for the maintainence of the immigration service. By 1889 even more radical suggestions were ventured. In the convention of the American Federation of Labor for that year a resolution was introduced asking for the total suspension of all immigration for a period of fifteen years. Such a proposal, though it failed of passage, shows that organized labor was preparing to take drastic action to check the coming of the immigrant which was believed to be productive of much of the unemployment then existing. A similar resolution was introduced in 1897

at the seventeenth convention of the Federation but was reported adversely by the committee having it in charge.

In general it may be said that such radical suggestions as these have never received much support from organized labor as a body, for as John Mitchell has said; "The American wage earner is not an advocate of the principle of indiscriminate exclusion which finds favor in some quarters, and is not likely to become an advocate of such a policy unless he is driven to this extreme as a matter of self preservation." The decade from 1880 to 1890 may be characterized as one of growing dislike of the immigrant on the part of organized labor. The only measures taken in opposition to his coming were, however, the recommendation of a higher head tax and the suggestion of prohibiting all immigration which we have seen received little support.

Meanwhile immigration increased year by year and immigration legislation by no means kept pace with the demands of labor. In the eleventh convention of the American Federation of Labor the president reported at considerable length upon the immigration problem. The situation confronting the workers was declared to be appalling. The United States was described as the dumping ground for the criminals and diseased of Europe. Companies were said to exist for the express purpose of promoting such emigration to the United States. The effect of this emigration, it was pointed out, was not to better the

7. American Federationist, XVI, 259.
8. The American Federation of Labor has long supported the idea of a higher head tax as a restrictive measure. See proceedings of the Federation for the years 1881 to 1907.
condition of the worker in the old world, but to bolster up the "effete and tyrannical" monarchies and promote the growth of the various transportation companies engaged in the service. In 1893, Mr. Gompers, president of the Federation, said; "There can be no question but unrestricted immigration is working a great injury to the people of our country. Organizations supposed to be beneficial and charitable in their nature and supposed philanthropists simply gather hordes of people, pack them in vessels worse than cattle, with no room or ventilation, where even the decencies of life cannot be observed, and in that frightful condition thrust upon our shores, there to be forced into the mines, railroads and sweatshops of our country."10

In the year 1893 the country was in the throes of a great insudtrial depression. Thousands of men were out of employment. To remedy this condition organized labor proposed that immigration should be further restricted. Their attitude is clearly reflected in the Congressional Record for this and the following year when literally thousands of petitions were presented by labor unions asking for restrictive legislation. This period of depression seems to have united labor in its demands as had nothing else.

A writer in the American Federationist summed up the situation as follows; "The supreme call of the present hour is an immediate closing of our ports against any and all immigration, the embargo to continue till every American workman, by which I mean every workman in the United States, now our of employment, shall have been provided for."11

In support of this argument, the writer cited the wide extent of unemployment, the congestion of immigrants in our

large cities, and the problem caused thereby, and adds: "We have as a country already absorbed all of the world's population that we can at present properly care for."

During this period of depression the efforts of labor were concentrated on a restrictive measure which they have almost continually supported since that time. This is the illiteracy or educational test. A bill embodying this feature was introduced in the Senate in 1893 and was actively supported by labor, however, it failed of passage. In 1896 the convention of the American Federation of Labor definitely recommended that the executive committee support the Lodge-Corliss bill embodying the educational test, which was then before Congress. Upon the failure of this measure through the veto of President Cleveland labors forces at once began an agitation for a similar measure. In 1897 the Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted the following resolution; "While we believe that our Republic should remain an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, we realize at the same time that immigrants not possessing at least an elementary education, and being without means of self-support upon their arrival here, gravitate toward the slum district of our large cities and more readily become the victims of unfair employers,***Resolved that this convention declare in favor of a law restricting immigration the extent of debarring all immigrants over fifteen years of age(with the exception of aged parents and wives), who are unable to read and write in their own language and who are without sufficient means and prospects for immediately becoming self supporting."14 The agitation for the educational test does not seem to have been renewed till 1902. The explanation of this long silence was given by President

13. For the grounds of his veto see, Senate Document,54th, Congress, 2nd.Sess., No. 185.
Gompers in the convention of the American Federation of Labor for 1902. The period, he said, was one of increasing industrial activity. The number of the unemployed was greatly decreased and as a result labor felt the pressure of immigration less keenly. For this reason the matter was allowed to drop till 1902, when the resolution of the convention of 1897 was given effect in a bill placed before Congress for restriction of immigration by means of the illiteracy test. "Such a measure", declared President Gompers: "if enacted into law, will exclude hardly any of the natives of Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, France or Scandanavia. It will exclude only a small proportion of our immigrants from North Italy. It will shut out a considerable number of South Italians and of Slavs and others equally or more undesirable and injurious." It was further argued that such a measure would prove of direct benefit to the more desirable classes of immigrants and to the workers of the country, excluding as it would those who from lack of intelligence were "slowest to appreciate the value of organization." It was likewise stated that the measure would prove of direct benefit to the excluded classes by tending to spur them on to meet the standard thus set up for admission to the United States. That organized labor was a unit in demanding the enactment of this measure into law is indicated by more than four thousand petitions sent to Congress in its behalf. Representatives of labor organizations likewise presented arguments before the Congressional committee having the matter in charge, showing

why the measure was demanded. Despite the desperate efforts put forth by labor to secure this law it was defeated. At practically every convention of the American

17. H.R. Fuller of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers very clearly stated the arguments of labor when in testimony before the committee he said: "Our first and main reason for desiring an educational test is because it seems to be the most effective plan which has yet been proposed for the restriction of that objectionable class who come here and enter our labor market in competition with our own working men, and who, by their manner of living and lack of higher ambitions and interest in our country, are undesirable competitors with the American laboring man.

These immigrants work for lower wages than the American workmen like to work for, it being their practice to accept employment without inquiry about the amount of wages they are to receive or the number of hours they will be required to work, and this has a tendency to drag the American workman down to their level. Many of them come here with no other desire than to accumulate all the wealth they can for the purpose of returning with it to their native country, and to accomplish this they live in holes and hovels and subsist on what an American could not endure.

The American workman has a family to support and children to educate in accordance with American standards and customs. The foreigner has not. In this way our workmen are competing under a disadvantage, and I believe it is wrong to compel the American workman, whose wages contribute so much to the good of our country both materially and morally, to compete with the foreigner who absorbs all and gives nothing in return.

The American workman has high ambitions. He loves his country and his American home. He is a tax payer. He is a part of, aye, and the principal part of, our government. The foreigner who comes here to compete with him is not. Why then is he not entitled to this protection at the hands of his government?

Every engineman, fireman, trainman, yardsman, and telegraph operator who seeks employment in this country today is required not only to pass an educational test but a physical examination. Why then should not the alien who comes here to compete with him be required to stand at least a perfunctory educational test and that is all that we ask by this bill. We favor restriction of immigration by an educational test because it seems to be the most restrictive measure yet proposed.***Education and education alone, will civilize the world and it is through education and education alone, that the great army of wage workers can ever hope to achieve industrial success. Why then not encourage it?

Federation of Labor since that time resolutions have been adopted asking that the illiteracy test be made a feature of our immigration law. In 1908 at the Denver convention the resolution was couched in the following terms; "Whereas the illiteracy test is the most practical means for the restricting of the present immigration of cheap labor, whose competition is so ruinous, therefore be it resolved, by the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor that we earnestly beseech and petition Congress to enact the illiteracy test into law." Labor has consistently held to this test as a remedy for immigration evils and with the recommendation of the illiteracy test by the Immigration Commission in 1911, its position was materially strengthened.

Another phase of the immigration problem was presented to labor in 1896 by the action of representatives of labor in Italy. Concerted action on the part of the laborers of the two nations was proposed with a view to securing less restrictive legislation on the part of the United States. The reply of President Gompers, speaking for the American Federation of Labor, is a concise and definite summation of the conditions existing in America. He pointed out the fact that no such organization existed on the part of Italian workers as had been built up and perfected by the workers of America. This in itself he said constituted a barrier to cooperation under laws not restrictive in their nature. He further cited the condition with which American laborers were constantly confronted in

the case of trouble with employers, namely, the threat, often carried out, of replacing them by Italian workers. It was because of these conditions that labor had sought from Congress laws restricting in part the coming of immigrants, not only from Italy, but from other lands as well. The letter concluded with the following argument much used by labor, against unlimited immigration. "Nor is the view taken by our fellow workers upon the immigration problem an entirely selfish one. The old and effete monarchical institutions of several European countries are perpetuated by the outlet of thousands upon thousands of workmen who seek our shores. These governments - these institutions are thus relieved of the acute industrial and economic situation when, as a matter of fact, if these people would remain at home, improvements and reforms would be a matter of absolute necessity and would soon be forced or conceded."20.

While throughout the period from 1880 to 1896 the attitude of organized labor had been one of increasing opposition to immigration, still as a body labor stood committed to no definite policy. In speaking of this matter President Gompers said; "For years numberless people have assumed to quote organized labor as being either in favor of or opposed to the restriction of immigration, and each of them without the slightest degree of authority or accuracy. As a matter of fact the American Federation of Labor has exercised exceptional care in expressing the desires of the wage earners of our country upon this exceedingly important subject."21 In 1896, however, the time seemed ripe for some definite action. The report of a special committee to the convention of the American Federation of Labor having been adversely received it was finally decided to refer the matter to the various affiliated unions of the Federation for decision. Now the issue was to be clearly drawn. During the summer of 1897

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor forwarded a circular to each of the affiliated unions calling their attention to the importance of the immigration question and urging their careful consideration of the matter in order to properly instruct their delegates to the coming convention. The Nashville convention met December 13, 1897. The immigration question was at once brought to the front by the report of the president which discussed the question at considerable length. The delegates were urged to put the organization upon record as favorable to or opposed to immigration. There ensued a heated debate upon the question. The Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners International Union presented a series of resolutions asking the forces of organized labor to support them in voting against any further restrictive measures. Other delegates stated it to be their belief that the capitalists rather than the trade unions were opposed to immigration and that the introduction of machinery was a much greater evil than immigration. Yet the great weight of the argument was for the restrictive policy and when the vote was taken the American Federation of Labor stood committed to the policy of restriction of immigration by a vote of 1858 to 351.

From 1898 to 1907 the immigration question was a prominent on in the councils of organized labor. Though

22. American Federationist, IV, 97.
23. Proc., American Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 64.
various measures were introduced in Congress during this period looking to the further restriction of immigration. No restrictive legislation of importance was enacted. The period was one of comparative prosperity and for this reason labor may not have been as active in urging legislation. Still in 1902, Mr. Shattuck, chairman of the House committee on Immigration, stated that the labor interests of the country were demanding restriction of immigration with an almost unanimous voice. The attitude of labor during this period is also shown by a letter addressed to a member of the House by Mr. Gompers. While recognizing the value of the present laws, he still regarded them as of trifling effect as compared with the needs and just demands of the laborers. The intelligence and prosperity of the working people upon which the strength of the nation depends was declared to be menaced by the immigration constantly coming to our shores. The very fact of the increase of immigration in the years of prosperity was pointed out as a menace to American workers, tending as it did to reduce the standards of living and by the increase of competition depriving the workers of the full benefits of prosperity. At a later date a writer in the American Federationist graphically put the situation in the following statement; "If we had an immigrants day, as we have a labor day, and if in a parade containing all the un-naturalized immigrants who have landed within the last five

years, should march side by side with all the organized workers in the country, the immigrants would outnumber the unionists by fully a million.

Think of what that means! After seventy five years of agitation and education, unionism has succeeded in bringing into orderly organization two and one half millions of American workers. It has battled for a rational work day and a fair wage. It has struggled for a decent standard of living and a self respecting, independent manhood. But in five years, only five years, three and one half millions of unorganized, untrained, Un-American laborers have been poured into the country to compete with our workers, to labor long hours for a small wage, to degrade our standard of living, and to combat, in every possible way, the great work being done by the unions. 26

In the national convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1905 it was again urged that restrictive legislation be secured. The executive council stated that, while animated by good will toward all workers, still organized labor could not and indeed dare not lose sight of the ends so long sought, the higher standard of living and the shorter work day. Not so much were the immigrants of that year to be feared, continued the report, as were the other millions who would follow them and by their coming not only depress the condition of the earlier arrivals but of all American workers as well. At the convention in 1906, no restrictive legislation having been secured, the American Federation of Labor renewed the resolutions of previous years, demanding such legislation.

At the time of the enactment of our present immigration

26. American Federationist, XII, 749.
27. Proc., American Federation of Labor, 1905, pp. 75-76.
28. Ibid, 1906, p. 206. It is interesting to note that the failure to secure further restrictive legislation during this period is attributed to the position taken by Speaker Cannon. The American Federation of Labor published at this time a pamphlet embodying newspaper comments upon the position of the Speaker.
law, in 1907, all the forces of organized labor were engaged in a struggle to secure a law embodying the features they had so long desired. Circular letters were sent to all members of Congress asking support of measures containing these features. Petitions were also forwarded in large numbers having the same object in view. Despite these efforts the bill as enacted and as it stands today upon the statute books, does not contain provisions which organized labor deems imperative for its protection.

Since 1907 the attitude of labor has remained one of opposition to immigration. In 1908 a representative of the American Federation of Labor went to Europe, there to carefully investigate conditions at the sources of immigration. Conferences were held with representatives of Italian labor organizations but no beneficial move seems to have resulted. In the 1909 convention of the American Federation of Labor it was declared that so strongly were the employing class intrenched that efforts to secure further restrictive legislation would be practically useless. Labor saw, however in the recent strike at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, and in other movements in the industrial field, the rapid approach of the condition where efforts of employers to defeat restrictive legislation would.

30. The Survey, XXII, 656. This strike occurred in the establishments of the Pressed Steel Car Co. and was participated in by a great number of foreigners. This showed that even unorganized and un-Americanized workers will strike when the conditions imposed become too burdensome. The strike lasted two months, cost ten lives and probably a million dollars in property, and lost time.
prove futile.

Thus the situation remained during the sessions of the Sixtieth and Sixty first Congresses. Though various measures were introduced and numerous "hearings" had upon them, no legislation resulted. With the report of the Immigration Commission and its recommendations in 1911, labor has once more taken up the agitation. As Mr. Gompers puts it, the matter is now "Up to Congress". The final inning in the tug of war over the immigration question he believes has been reached. In speaking of the matter he says; "In this contest tremendous forces are engaged. On the side of America are the upholders of two distinctive American sentiments, the maintainence of American institutions as they are, unimpaired through the financial degradation of the working classes. On the pro-immigration side is the powerful immigration machine, composed of the trans-ocean combine with all its thousands of agents and other innumerable parasites, the bankers, padrones, etc, who are coining money out of the millions of immigrants coming in the course of years into this country from Europe." 31

Back of this movement for further restriction of immigration is labor's slogan of better conditions for the workers, the maintainence of the American standard of living, and the shorter work day. In the coming of the races of Southern and Eastern Europe, labor sees the certain defeat of these ambitions. As one labor writer puts it; "We have long been fighting the presumed blighting influence upon our industries of the competition of prison labor, and, in some departments, of female labor, and, in others, of the machines that have come so largely in substitution for hand labor, though all these are but as a drop in the bucket, so to speak, as compared with the demoralizing and deadening effect of foreign labor, coached by emigration agents in the employ of our great manufacturers and mine operators, brought

31. American Federationist, XVIII, 1.
by sordid steamship companies, like so many cattle, at so much a head, and dumped upon our shores at the rate of from 500,000 to 800,000 every year. "32 To this migration labor traces the extensive unemployment in the coal fields and other industries, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few: and further views it as the most deadly weapon in the hands of the enemies of organized labor. Because of this, organized labor seeks to restrict the coming of the immigrant. To accomplish this it seeks the imposition of a higher head tax; the incorporation of an educational test in our immigration law, and other measures designed to check the stream of laborers now coming to our shores. Fully committed to the principle of a living wage and the maintainence of the American standard of living, organized labor stands firm in its determination to, if possible, prevent the coming of laborers who have a tendency to lower those standards.

33. Ibid.
CHAPTER V

INSULAR PROBLEMS

"The sugar planter of Hawaii, the adventurer in the Philippines, are all of one stripe in trying to deceive the American people into a belief that there is a dearth of workmen and that the only recourse is to the Chinaman. As a matter of fact there has not yet an honest attempt been made to Americanize either the Philippines or Hawaii." Samuel Gompers, "Talks on Labor," American Federationist, XIII, 99.

In 1898 the United States acquired her first important insular possessions, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. This territorial expansion touched at vital points both the labor controversy in America and the American immigration question. It was opposed not only by anti-imperialists who saw in it subtle dangers to our political institutions, but by labor leaders who saw in it the annexation of insular labor problems and the revival of the Chinese menace to the mainland of the United States. In the opinion of the latter if annexation took place the islands would prove but stepping stones from China to America, the beneficial legislation of the past twenty years would be nullified, and our gates would be opened to a vast inundation of Mongolian laborers. 1

How vital then, wrote President Gompers, is the importance

1. American Federationist, V, 93
of saving American labor from the evil influences of close and open competition of millions of semi-barbaric laborers in the Philippine Islands; and how futile to talk of legislative barriers against Chinese coming to America from the islands, since hindrance to free migration between states, territories, and possessions were forbidden by the constitution.

A glance at insular conditions with respect to population and labor will aid our understanding of the attitude of organized labor toward the American insular policy. Porto Rico and Guam may be passed over, since they have not drawn the fire of opposition. The population of the Philippine islands was largely an unknown quantity at the time of their acquisition; indeed, it was not till the census of 1903 that we had any accurate knowledge of their inhabitants. It was a well known fact, however, that large numbers of Chinese laborers had been imported to the insudtrial centers of the islands and that they formed a large proportion of the laboring class at the time of annexation to the United States. The conditions of laborers in the islands was often servile, the Chinese workers especially being brought there under contracts to labor for stated periods at scanty wages. Besides these imported Orientals we find a large native population representing every stage of progress from barbarism to civilization. The dominant employing

3. American Federationist, V, 93.
element in the islands was of course the foreign capitalists who had acquired large holdings and to whose efforts the importation of laborers was largely, if not entirely, due. These men were largely exploiters who cared nothing for the development of the islands nor the welfare of their population, so long as their own interests were subserved.

Confronted by such conditions as these organized labor began at once to devise methods for the mitigation of the evils arising therefrom. The agitation took the form of demands for law which should prohibit the passage of Chinese from the islands to the mainland of the United States, to prevent their migration from one island group to another, and finally for the application of the Chinese exclusion law to our insular possessions. With this end in view, and fearing importation of laborers from the Philippines, by certain interested parties, the San Francisco Labor Council, in 1899 adopted resolutions demanding that such importation should be prohibited. The resolutions concluded with a declaration favoring full and complete independence for the Filipinos. Soon agitation was begun for the extension of our Chinese exclusion laws to the islands. The American Federation of Labor was back of this movement and urged it on every

5. American Federationist, VI, 66.
occasion. In a lengthy editorial in the American Federationist for February, 1902, it was stated that the acquisition of the Philippine islands had created a serious condition demanding the immediate attention of Congress. It was desirable, said the writer, not only that our exclusion policy be extended to the islands, but that Chinese laborers be forbidden to go from one island group to another or from the islands to the mainland. Having carefully reviewed the evils of Chinese competition wherever it existed, the writer sums up his arguments as follows: "On behalf of the inhabitants of the Philippines, it may be said, there is conflict of evidence on the effect of Chinese immigration to the islands; but whatever the relative value of Chinese and Filipino labor really is, the experiment of protecting the native laborer is due. Until it has been proven by experience that exclusion of Chinese laborers would be opposed to the welfare of the islands in general, all doubt should be resolved in favor of the Filipinos whose country we have taken, and against the tendency to make the archipelago a Chinese colony.*** The Philippine side of the Chinese question is new and exceedingly important. Congress must not evade it and must not deal with it weakly or negatively. The people whom Kipling designated, 'A nation with a devil born capacity for doing more work than they ought' must not find the Philippines an open door to America."6

The demand which organized labor made upon Congress was then, not that the Chinese must leave the islands, but that they must cease to come to them. The failure of Congress to enact legislation to this end, labor attributed to the work of the capitalists and transportation

6. American Federationist, IX, 70,
companies, both rail and steamship. At its annual convention in 1902, The American Federation of Labor again voiced this demand and adopted resolutions declaring the employment of Chinese in the Philippines to be detrimental to workers engaged in like industries in the United States. Congress was urged to enact legislation to keep the Chinese out of the islands. Through the columns of its periodicals organized labor opposed the argument advanced by employers in the islands, that labor must be imported to supply the demand. It was asserted that native labor was sufficient in quantity and would be available under proper conditions. This position was strengthened when Mr. Edward Rosenberg, a special representative of the American Federation of Labor, after a visit to the islands in 1903, reported, that the reluctance of the Filipinos to work was due to the natural hesitancy of a progressive people to work for low wages under bad treatment. With a rise in wages and better living conditions he asserted that, they were available for work in any number and that they proved to be most excellent workers. Such then were the conditions in the islands at the time when labor made appeal for the extension of our immigration laws to the insular possession.

Concerning conditions in Hawaii a larger body of facts are in evidence. The labor problem here is practically

7. American Federationist, IX, 127.
as old as the history of industry in the islands. In the earliest days there existed a system of native feudalism. With the advent of the shipping industry came a great increase in the demand for labor. The larger portion of this demand is traceable to the rise and growth of the sugar industry. Sugar growing had prevailed in the islands since 1823, and by 1850 it had grown to such proportions that employers saw in the lack of labor a serious handicap to further extension of the industry. The native stock of labor proving insufficient, a form of contract labor was designed by the island government. An act passed in 1850 stipulated that: "All engagements of service contracted in a foreign country to be executed in this are valid, except that engagements made for a longer period than ten years be reduced to this limit."\(^{10}\) This act remained in force till 1897 and under its provisions large numbers of laborers were imported. In 1852 Chinese coolies were first imported, under contracts for five years service at three dollars a month, together with food, shelter and passage expenses. Serious abuses soon grew up under this system which the island government endeavored to check by legislation. Owing to the hatred of the native Hawaiians for the Chinese, efforts were made to procure laborers from other lands; but China still remained the great labor reservoir and by 1886 the Chinese made up one fourth the population of the islands. It is significant that in this year, while


\(^{11}\) Ibid, p. 11.
over 30,000 Chinese entered the islands but 5,606 were engaged in plantation labor. On every hand complaint was made by the artisan class, of Chinese competition. It was stated that the Chinese were fast invading every industry and driving out all other workers. In an attempt to remedy this condition the government sought vainly to exclude the Chinese and by an agreement with Japan to encourage the coming of laborers from that country. Thus the islands were thrown open to all laborers of the Orient whose competition threatened to drive the native Hawaiians from the Islands. It is further claimed that, at the time of annexation, President Dale of Hawaii was arranging with the sugar planters for the importation of 3,000 to 6,000 more contract laborers. The condition of wages and the manner of enforcing the contracts were also of such a nature as to cause alarm on the part of organized labor in this country.

13. Ibid.
15. The Hawaiian labor code provided as follows: "Sec. 1419. If any person lawfully bound to service shall willfully absent himself from such service without the leave of his master, any district of Police judge of the Republic, upon complaint made under oath by the master, or by any one on his behalf, may issue a warrant to apprehend such person and bring him before said justice; and if the complaint shall be maintained, the justice shall order such offender to be returned to his master, and he shall be compelled to serve the remainder of the time for which he originally contracted. Sec. 1420. If any such person shall refuse to serve according to the provisions of the last section, or the terms of his contract, his master may apply to any district or Police justice where he may reside, who shall be authorized by warrant or otherwise, to send for the person refusing, and if such refusal be persisted in, to commit such person to prison, there to remain, at hard labor, until he will consent to serve according to the law. And in case such person
Upon the annexation of Hawaii, Chinese immigration thereto was declared subject to the laws of the United States. No provision was made, however, to prevent the coming of the Orientals from the islands to the mainland and of this, labor at once made complaint. A shipload of Chinese laborers from the islands was declared to be equally as great a menace to American laborers as a shipload from Canton. In reply to the arguments of the sugar planters asking for continued admission of the Chinese to the islands, H. R. Fuller of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers declared such action on the part of the planters to be a seeking for special privilege, which the government by all means should not grant. Very clearly, said he, labor which is obtainable for $17.00 a month should not be allowed to actively compete with American labor. Such a wage he asserted would prove a mere

16. American Federationist, IX, 70.

so bound as aforesaid shall have returned to the service of such master and in obedience to such order of such justice and shall again willfully absent himself from such service without the leave of his master, such district or police justice may fine such offender not exceeding five dollars for the first offense, and for every subsequent offense thereafter not exceeding ten dollars, and in default of payment thereof such offender shall be imprisoned at hard labor until such fine is paid; and at the expiration of such imprisonment, such justice shall order such offender to be returned to his master to serve for the remainder of such original term of service."

Quoted in, American Federationist, V, 137.
pittance to an American workman with proper standards of living and a desire to educate his children.

Labor organizations had early reached considerable strength in the Hawaiian islands and the forces there actively cooperated with the efforts on the part of the unions in the mainland. On December 5, 1903 at a mass meeting of white mechanics and workingmen of Honolulu, resolutions were adopted refusing the aid of that body to the Merchants Association in their efforts to secure full admission of Chinese laborers. Japanese and Chinese mechanics were declared to have superseded white workers to a very considerable extent. Not only was this true of the sugar industry, but these Oriental laborers, after completing the terms of their contracts, entered the towns and there by their competition drove out workers in other trades. The resolution concluded with the following declaration: "Whereas there are many thousands of idle Asiatics in these islands, enough to supply all demands; and whereas, if the United States Congress passes legislation to admit Chinese laborers, what assurance have the white and Hawaiian mechanics that all the Japanese now employed on the plantations as skilled

"It is not easy to give an adequate idea of the resentment felt by the white mechanic and the white merchant who see themselves being steadily forced to the wall, and even being driven out of the Territory by Asiatic competition. They feel that they are being defeated in the struggle, not because of superior mechanical skill or superior business ability on the part of their successful competitors, but because of a lower standard of living in the face of which they are helpless." As to the demand for Chinese labor the report continues: "It must be remembered that the planters association includes a very strong element composed of men who are citizens of other countries than America, who regard tropical countries as colonial possessions, to be exploited for the benefit of the citizens of the home country."
laborers would not be discharged and being allowed to stay in the country, would enter into competition on a larger scale both here and on the Pacific coast, with skilled white labor; and whereas; the laboring classes of the United States have been for years opponents of the importation and admission of Asiatic labor into the United States: therefore, be it resolved; by the representatives of the various trades in the Hawaiian islands that we do decidedly oppose any and all legislation tending to import any more Asiatics into the Hawaiian islands."

Conditions seem to have grown steadily worse in the Islands. On May 15, 1903 the Honolulu Trades and Labor Council adopted a series of resolutions denouncing the demand of the sugar planters for Oriental labor, in the most severe terms. The planters were charged with bad faith in the past and the islands were declared to be full of Asiatics who under the terms of their contracts should have been deported. Though the planters were demanding Chinese labor because of the reported scarcity of workers, the cities were reported to be full of idle laborers. In view of these conditions, the American Federation of Labor renewed its efforts for legislation to remedy the conditions in the Islands. The policy of our government was deemed one which threatened the complete degredation of the native Hawaiians and allowed the insular territories to be used as a bridge to the mainland, by Asians. "Immediate steps" said one writer,"should be taken to have the present immigration laws enforced in the Hawaiian Islands. The Koreans now coming to these islands have their passage paid by the Sugar Planters Association in direct violation of law."
In the year 1904 Congress extended all immigration legislation to the insular possessions. Though this was exactly what organized labor had long demanded, it by no means solved the problem confronting labor. In 1905 employers in the Islands renewed the agitation for admission of Chinese laborers. They were led to this by the action of the Japanese workers, who struck on the most trivial pretexts, now that they were in control of the labor market. Organized labor both on the mainland and in the islands now gathered its forces to resist any modification of the law. Charges were made that the planters had imported twice as many laborers as were needed in order to secure cheap labor for the plantations.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1905 the situation in the islands elicited much discussion. President Gompers said; "Perhaps one of the most momentous questions which will confront the American people, and of which this convention must take cognizance, and deal with earnestly, intelligently, and emphatically, is the campaign inaugrated in several quarters for what is called a modification of the law excluding Chinese from entry into the United States or its possessions. Within the past year manifest efforts have been made in this direction particularly inaugurated and stimulated by antagonistic employers, and some of their associates." Even the sending of agents to European centers in search of laborers was characterized as an "ostensible" diplomatic move on the part of the planters and the allied "interests". Resolutions

23. American Federationist, XII, 633.
were adopted at this meeting approving of the position taken by labor in the matter and claiming that the move for admission of the Chinese was fostered by the steamship and railroad companies owning vessels engaged in the trans-Pacific trade, by German, British and American capitalists in the islands and by capitalistic schemes in the United States. The "Chinese Boycott" of American products then in operation was characterized as a "manipulation by monetary interests to force Congress to so modify the Chinese exclusion laws, as to permit the importation of Chinese into the United States and its possessions in the Pacific." It was further demanded that the Japanese and Koreans should be brought under the operation of the exclusion laws. Efforts were made in 1906 by interested parties to secure some modification of the exclusion laws but without avail. In his report to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for that year, Mr. Gompers stated that this defeat of the employing class was definitely due to the position assumed by organized labor.

Since 1906 there seems to have been little if any discussion of labor conditions in the islands on the part of organized labor. The exclusion laws have remained unaltered and the result seems to have been favorable to the workers of the United States. Their attention has been turned to other matters and thus the problem rests.

26. Ibid.  
27. Ibid, 1906, p. 23.
With the undertaking of the construction of the Panama canal by the United States government a new problem was presented, the discussion of which covers the period from 1903 to 1909. Organized labor favored the project and saw in it a solution of some of the difficulties which confronted it. In 1903 the American Federation of Labor adopted the following resolution: "Whereas the government of the United States is about to undertake at Panama, the construction of a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the most important work ever assumed by this or any other nation, and many thousands of workmen of every kind will be employed on the work and, whereas, we are threatened in the immediate future with an industrial depression, during which thousands of American workmen will doubtless be thrown into idleness, and especially those engaged in the very class of labor which will be most in demand at Panama, and whereas; the United States now has among its citizens hundreds of thousands of laborers of the Italian and other Southern races, adapted in every way to the class of labor to be undertaken at Panama: be it Resolved; That the Congress of the United States be urged by the 23rd. annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to require that none but citizens of the United States be employed on the construction of the inter-oceanic canal."28

Again in 1905 the canal situation was before the annual convention where the presidents report directed especial attention to the menace of the Chinese who were being considered as possible laborers upon the canal. Every consideration of the economic, political, and social features of Chinese immigration was held to forbid the thought of their employment upon the canal. It was also held that the laws of the United States were applicable to the canal zone. Any importation of Chinese laborers would then

constitute a contravention of such laws. This fear of the employment of the Chinese seemed to be warranted when Chairman Shonta, of the Panama Canal Commission, announced that he had decided to contract for Chinese labor to be employed upon the canal. Aroused by this announcement, organized labor declared such a procedure to be a direct violation of the Alien Contract Labor law and of the Chinese exclusion laws as well. Such a policy was looked upon as evidencing an open spirit of hostility toward organized labor. The plan of the Commission to confine the Chinese laborers to the Canal zone, under contract not to leave there, was further characterized as an infringement of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution and denounced as a measure which would involve the use of stockades similar to those of South Africa and other equally harsh measures. Federations of labor in several states likewise adopted resolutions opposing the employment of the Chinese upon the canal. So active was the

31. The following resolution was adopted by the California State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in 1907.

"Whereas, bids have been asked by the Panama Canal Commission for the supply of 2,500 Chinese laborers, under conditions virtually amounting to involuntary servitude; be it, Resolved, by the California State Federation of Labor that we protest against the proposed employment of Chinese on the Panama canal, as a violation of the Chinese exclusion and alien contract labor laws; further Resolved, that we especially object to the terms under which it is proposed to hold the Chinese laborers to their contracts with the "labor agents", said terms being a violation of the Thirteenth amendment to the Constitution
opposition that in April, 1907, the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor was able to make the following report: "It may not be amiss to say at this time that even though the government advertised for, received, and considered bids for the employment of Chinese coolies in the construction of the Panama canal, which is the largest individual piece of work ever contemplated by the United States government, yet almost within the time of writing this report the administration has entirely abandoned the preparation to employ coolie labor in the construction of the work. Daring to repeat ourselves, we are firmly convinced that the abandonment of this un-American policy was largely if not wholly, brought about by the determined effort and energy displayed by the President of the American Federation of Labor."32

Here all controversy over the employment of laborers upon the canal ended. In 1908 and 1909 some complaint of discrimination against Americans in favor of foreigners was made but the matter seems to have been quietly adjusted. All in all our insular possessions and the canal zone have constituted an important chapter in the history of the dealings of organized labor with the immigration question.

32. American Federationist, XIV, 347.
CHAPTER VI
JAPANESE KOREANS AND HINDUS

"Japanese competition is a menace to your social, industrial and political welfare, as well as to ours. Neither we nor you can live like Americans and educate our children for enlightened citizenship on the wages such competition, if continued, will compel us to accept. Present immigration laws, together with the coming of the Jap, are resulting in thousands of these Asiatics swarming in upon the industrial market, and Japanese house-servants, cooks, waiters, shoemakers, laundry workers, etc., are filling places while white men and women walk the streets in vain in search of work in these and other lines." From "White or Jap -- Which?" circular published by the Anti-Japanese Laundry League.

A more recent phase of immigration to cause solicitude on the part of organized labor has been the coming of the Japanese and Hindus. Until 1898 Japanese immigration was a negligible factor. In that year, however, the number of Japanese arrivals was considerably increased and from then on for a period of years the influx grew annually larger till it came to represent a considerable factor in our immigration. Because of their remarkable adaptability

1. In this dissertation the Koreans are identified with the Japanese.
2. In 1900 the census reported 24,326 Japanese in Continental United States exclusive of Alaska. The following table shows the yearly arrivals for a period of years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>14,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>20,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>14,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>30,834</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>16,418</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>3,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4,575</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and industry, they soon made their way into various occupations, and like their precursors, the Chinese, they soon encountered the hostility of organized labor. They chiefly found employment upon the Pacific coast, hence it is here that we first find objection made to their coming.

April 6, 1900, the San Francisco Labor Council adopted the following resolutions: "Resolved that we urge the enactment, at the present time, of a law for the total and perpetual exclusion from the United States of all Japanese, other than those accredited by their government as its diplomatic staff. We deem the immediate passage of such a law an imperative necessity to the preservation of the American standard of living. For some time past the number of Japanese entering this country and state have shown a rapidly increasing ratio to other immigrants, until they are now become an actual factor of competition in every pursuit -- manual labor, mechanic arts and sciences. As a danger to our people, the Japanese should stand indicted by every argument that has heretofore proved effective for the exclusion of the Chinese, and by the further reason that their apparent assimilativeness makes their encroachments the more insidious without in any degree lessening the practical evil of their presence." 3

Such action on the part of an allied branch, could not long escape the notice of the national organization of labor. In the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1901 the question of Japanese immigration was considered and recommendations made that the Executive Council, if possible secure the extension of the Chinese exclusion laws to the Japanese and other Asiatic races. In 1903, after a visit to Japan, Mr. Edward Rosenberg, special representative of the American Federation of Labor

3. American Federationist, VII, 147.
wrote, that the passage of an act by Congress applying the provisions of the Chinese exclusion law to Japanese and Koreans was absolutely necessary to protect the people of our insular territory and of the mainland. Efforts to secure legislative action failing, the question was again presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1904. In this year the convention was held in San Francisco, the home of the Asiatic labor problem. In the resolutions adopted at this time, the influx of Japanese and Koreans was considered as more dangerous and threatening than the coming of the Chinese had ever been. The sentiment of the American people as crystalized in the Chinese exclusion law, would, it was asserted, find stronger justification in the demands for prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese and Korean laborers. The demands for such a measure were based upon the lower standards of living of the Japanese and the great problem of race preservation. Having demanded the passage of such a measure, a committee was appointed to draw up a petition to Congress expressive of labor's view in the matter.

As in years past, so now, the California legislature did not long remain unresponsive to this discontent on the part of organized labor. In 1905, by a joint memorial, to the United States Congress, the legislators of

5. American Federationist, X, 1873.
California asked that the threatened flood of Japanese coolies be stemmed.

The period from 1905 to 1908 marks the crisis in the history of Japanese immigration to this country. Early in 1905 the San Francisco Labor Council adopted resolutions every possible effort to bring the seriousness of the situation to the attention of representatives in Congress, that the evil which had reached "alarming proportions" might be checked by legislation. It was also in this year that O. A. Tweitmoe, organized, "The Asiatic Exclusion League." This organization was financed at least in the beginning, by the labor unions. The league soon proved itself a power in opposition to the Asiatic element upon the coast, and is today one of the most active forces in opposition to Asiatic labor. 

With the increase of Japanese immigration in 1906, the situation became tense. During this year Japanese came not only from Japan but also in large numbers from Canada and Mexico. Their introduction in several instances as strike breakers greatly increased the hostility of organized labor toward them. In September 1906, The Building Trades Council, of San Francisco, called upon employers of Japanese labor in that trade to dispense with

8. Ibid,
9. This was true of coal mining in Southern Colorado and Utah and of the smelting industry in Utah and of the shops of at least one railway company. Abstract of report of the Immigration Commission 1911, on Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States, p. 50.
such workers under penalty of being placed upon the unfair list. Business agents and delegates of the union were also instructed to keep a close watch upon Japanese restaurants and report union men found patronizing them, also upon barber shops and other establishments conducted by Mongolians. Fines of from ten dollars to fifty dollars were to be imposed upon any union member so detected.

To the use of this weapon may be attributed the fact that Japanese workers were not more extensively employed in machine shops, foundries and similar trades where the unions have been well organized and powerful. The political power of labor at this time is shown by the fact that a committee of the San Francisco Labor Council was able to report that they had secured the introduction of exclusion planks in the platforms of the Socialist, Republican, Democratic, Union Labor, and Independence League parties.

10. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept., 14, 1906. The Chronicle for October 22, 1906 contains notice of a meeting of the Society of Carpenters and Joiners in San Francisco, where resolutions were adopted to the effect that a fine of fourteen dollars, the maximum allowed by the laws of the society, be imposed upon every member who directly or indirectly, either in person or through a member of his family, patronized a store, business or concern conducted by or employing Japanese or other Mongolians and appointed a committee to secure a list of such firms for publication.


At the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in November, 1906 the Japanese question was extensively discussed. The introduction of power driven machinery into the countries of the Orient would, it was claimed, drive many more Asiatics to seek employment in America. Emphasis upon industrial expansion at the expense of the general welfare of American labor was severely criticised. "If" said a speaker, "the sale of petroleum and other products shall be deemed sufficient cause for opening our ports and our country to the hordes of Asia, little room will be left in the coming ages for our race in this land. Backed as these hordes are by great military powers, capable and eager to extend their population and their dominion, the danger seems so great and the result so inevitable that exclusion, preemptory and absolute exclusion, is the only remedy."13 The resolutions of previous years, demanding legislation prohibiting the coming of Japanese laborers, were reaffirmed at this meeting.

In 1907 the crisis may be said to have been reached. The rise of the Japanese school question in the cities of California and especially in San Francisco, threw the state into a furor, and threatened international difficulties. Thus the attention of the Federal government was drawn to the Japanese immigration question. Organized labor, both in California and in neighboring states cordially supported the movement to exclude Japanese pupils from the schools. The action of President Roosevelt in the matter was severely criticised by the labor organizations as were the reports of the situation made by Secretary

The following denunciatory resolutions adopted by the Washington State Federation of Labor are illustrative of the general attitude of the labor organizations: "Whereas the President of the United States having taken advantage of his high office, has, through his official message, declared his antagonism to the action of the citizens of California on the Oriental school question in threatening and demagogic language; and Whereas, Omnipotence not being a human attribute, and the President, apparently uninformed on the particular subject, his sources of information evidently prescribed and limited and his conclusions necessarily erroneous; and Whereas, The action taken by the citizens of California is the result of ripe experience with knowledge gained by actual and long continued contact with the question at hand; be it, Resolved , That we express our confidence in the judgement and fairness and patriotism of our fellow American citizens of California and our belief that to the best of their ability they are upholding the standard of American citizenship, civilization and morality. We further express our approval of their action in segregating their children from the contaminating influence of the Oriental moral status as evidenced in the widespread fact that a large percent of all Japanese women in the United States are slave prostitutes; be it further, Resolved, That we condemn the needless, bombastic and inflammatory language of President Roosevelt regarding his willingness to use the armed forces of the United States against the citizens of our sister state as unwarranted and uncalled for, unbecoming to the delegated servant of a free people and better fitting the ukases and edicts of unlimited monarchy.***Resolved, That for the best interests of both Japanese and Americans it is best that the Japanese be excluded from this country in the same way and to the same extent that the Chinese are now excluded."15

In commenting upon the action of the California people, the American Federationist of February 1907, expressed the opinion that all action taken had been thoroughly within the constitutional rights of the people, and that the situation had now been brought to the stage

14. See appendix A for resolutions adopted at this time by the California State Federation of Labor.
where Federal action by treaty or legislation was imperative. Such action was taken, when upon March 14, 1907, the President made use of the power granted him in the law of February 30, 1907 and refused admission to "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii and come therefrom." By an agreement reached with the Japanese government it was further arranged that emigration of Japanese subjects to the United States should be systematically discouraged. This arrangement contemplates, "that the Japanese government shall issue passports to Continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers, or are laborers who in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country."16

The problem of Japanese immigration was settled by this action upon the part of the two governments. The question of Japanese competition with white labor, however, remained, for it was estimated in 1909 that there were from 95,000 to 100,000 Japanese in Continental United States. In the mines, upon the railroads, in the canning factories, laundries, and other industries, their competition if felt and for this reason organized labor continues its agitation against them. The Asiatic Exclusion League actively carries on its work in the western states. A second organization whose work it is to defeat Japanese and Asiatic

competition, is the Anti-Jap Laundry League, with headquarters in the city of San Francisco. The league is financed equally by the proprietors, workers and drivers of all the white laundries in San Francisco. It aims to drive out the Japanese who have invaded the laundry business, by a systematic educational campaign. The customers of the Japanese laundries are persuaded in every possible manner to withdraw their patronage, without which the Japanese establishments could not exist. Follow up letters are sent to such patrons and, if these fail to accomplish the desired result, a representative of the League calls in person. Besides this work the league carries on an extensive advertising campaign directed against all Orientals. The motto of the league is "Maintain the White Man's Standard in a White Man's Country." While perhaps not primarily a labor organization, its ends are identical with those of organized labor. The Japanese problem may then be said to still remain unsettled from the viewpoint of organized labor.

While labor's battle against the Japanese and Koreans was approaching its most critical stage, another Asiatic race had begun to invade the American labor field. This race was the East Indian or Hindu, whose coming scarcely antedates the year 1905. The early Hindu arrivals came from Canada whither they had emigrated at the

17. See appendix B for copies of these letters.
18. Copies of circulars distributed by the league are reproduced in appendix C.
solicitation of various steamship and transportation companies. Finding the climate of that region too severe, they very naturally drifted southward into the states of Washington and Oregon, where they found employment chiefly, about the lumber and shingle mills. Late in the year 1907 they were found as far south as California where they were engaged in railroad construction work.

Though the least secure of any race in their position in the industrial field, the Hindus were nevertheless competitors with white labor and as such soon encountered the opposition of the labor unions. Their arrival was noted in the American Federation of Labor convention in 1906 and the danger from their growing numbers pointed out. In 1908 a writer in the American Federationist said:

"Indeed they (the Hindus) have become equally if not more of a pest to the Pacific coast people than the Chinese. Like the sheep who follow the first intruder through the broken fence, the Hindus followed the first invasion until they are today a strong body, battling against American labor organizations, and little by little placing our western country in the same condition as the one they came from, plague smitten and famine stricken."20 The first actual clash of these Orientals with American workmen occurred at Bellingham, Washington, on the night of September 5, 1907, when their quarters were invaded by a mob composed largely of the workers in the lumber mills. No actual violence was done to the Hindus and they suffered no injuries save self inflicted ones caused by jumping from buildings to escape. Their dwellings were, however,
demolished and their belongings thrown into the street. Later, seeing the inability of the police to cope with the situation, the mob "rounded up" the Orientals and herded them in the city hall for the remainder of the night. Next morning, though assured of protection by the authorities, and of employment by the mill owners, the frightened Hindus sought once more the protection of the English flag. To show clearly the attitude of organized labor, mention is made of events which now occurred in Vancouver, British Columbia. Soon after the occurrence at Bellingham, the hostility toward the Japanese and Hindus in Vancouver culminated in an incipient riot, during which many windows were broken in the Asiatic quarters but no violence done to the persons of the Orientals. At this demonstration the effigy of the Lieutenant Governor of the province was burned because of his refusal to sign the "Natal bill" which was intended to give some measure of relief from the flood of Orientals pouring into the province. These events are noteworthy as indicating the general attitude of the people as well as of organized labor toward this class of immigration. In speaking of the Vancouver meeting Mr. Grant Hamilton, writing in the American Federationist said: "The vast outpouring of people participating in the Vancouver demonstration represented twelve times the numerical strength of organized labor in the Dominion city. This itself indicates the wide spread antipathy of the general public to the invasion of their country by the human products of a dwarfed civilization." 21.

Following these demonstrations the Canadian government adopted measures for the exclusion of the Hindus and the American government has endeavored by rigid examination to exclude as many as possible. In the American Federation of Labor convention in 1910, it was evident that labor still looked upon the law as defective. Resolutions were adopted calling for further laws or treaties to exclude all Asiatics from the United States and from employment as seamen in the merchant marine. It was further stated that a rigid investigation of the rulings of the immigration officials upon the Pacific coast would be highly advantageous as numbers of Hindu coolies of the lowest type were being admitted.

Thus today, while it has gained many of its demands, organized labor finds in this more recent phase of our immigration a field for continued effort.

23. The following table shows the number of Hindus admitted for a period of five years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,710</td>
</tr>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>1,782</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VII
LABOR AND THE ADMITTED IMMIGRANT

"Unionism is a great nation-wide factory, taking in the raw material of humanity and making of it intelligent, self reliant men, fit for citizenship in a self governing country." Lydia Kingsmill Comader, Evil Effects of Immigration, American Federationist, XII, 749.

The last phase of the immigration question, and in many ways the most important one, presented to the labor organizations of America is the problem of the admitted immigrant. What shall be the attitude of the unions toward him? This question has demanded serious attention for upon its proper solution has depended very largely the strength and homogeneity of organized labor.

In the early days of their history the unions adopted what may be termed the exclusive policy, in dealing with the immigrant who had gained admission to the country. This was the plan of keeping the immigrant out of the union by various devices, chief among which was the imposition of stringent entrance requirements. For example the Flint Glass Workers, formerly imposed an admission fee of $100 upon foreigners while for Americans the fee was but $3. Later the fee for foreigners was reduced to $50.00, while that
for Americans remained the same.1 The New York Immigration Commission of 1909, in its report cites several instances of discrimination on the part of local unions of that state against the immigrant: "Where the organizations stated that they did discriminate against admitting immigrants to membership the reason almost invariably assigned, was that the members must be citizens of the United States or must give proof of their intention to become citizens." Occasionally the discrimination is directed against members of a certain race. One local union of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, stating that no Italians were admitted. In the case of the Cigar Makers International Union this provision is for the exclusion of Chinese coolies and tenement house workers.

This policy of exclusion was soon observed to be detrimental to the union for it had a tendency to drive the immigrant workers into shops and industries not controlled by labor organizations, and thus intensifying their competition with organized labor. Today practically the entire tendency of unionism is in the opposite direction. In reply to a questionnaire addressed to all affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, in every instance the statement was made that no discrimination was made against the immigrant as such. It may be inferred

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See constitution, Requirements for membership.
then that discrimination as found at present is largely
the work of local organizations. At least one union, The
Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers International, explicitaly
provides in its constitution that there shall be no
discrimination because of race or color. This tendency to
shift from the exclusive to the inclusive policy is shown
by the racial composition of the various labor organi-
zations of the United States. Answers to the questionnaire
would indicate that a rapid change is taking place in the
racial membership of most of these organizations. Where
the workers composing the union were formerly Americans,
Englishmen, and Irishmen, there is a tendency today for
their membership to be largely made up of Poles, Slovaks,
Italians, Hungarians and other races of our more recent
immigration.

Efforts to organize the immigrants were first made
by effecting organization along race lines. Examples of
this form of organization are afforded by the history of
labor organization in the stock yards of Chicago, as well
as by the early woodcutters organizations of that city.
This form also prevailed among the longshoremen. In 1897
the Long Shoresmen's Union was composed of unions of Swedes,
6
Italians, Finns, Slavonians and Portugeese. This policy
of separate organization by race was not found to work
well and there has been an increasing tendency to
disregard race lines in organizing the immigrants. Among

the membership of the United Mine Workers of America are to be found representatives of twenty six nationalities, speaking over thirty languages and dialects. In order to reach such a diverse membership the constitution and by laws of the organization are printed in nine different languages. The meetings are addressed in two or three tongues. By means of interpreters all parts of the body are kept in touch with each other thus inspiring a mutual feeling of respect and confidence among the workers.

At first, efforts to organize the immigrants appear to have been largely the work of local organizations of labor. It was not till the Pittsburgh convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1905 that the matter was considered by that body. In this meeting the problem of the admitted immigrant was considered at some length. Their presence it was stated constituted a great problem upon the proper solution of which the very existence of organized labor was dependent. The problem lay in the fact that many of these immigrants had known nothing of labor organizations in the old world and were thus more difficult to organize. Aside from discussing the question no action seems to have been taken at this meeting. In 1907 the question again received the attention of the convention. At this meeting the following resolutions were adopted: "Whereas the political and religious persecution now prevailing in several countries in Eastern Europe are resulting in the increase

of the volume of immigration into the United States from those countries; and Whereas, These immigrants ignorant of the American wage earners methods of organized resistance against the oppression of their employers, are compelled to work for wages any unscrupulous employer may offer, and thereby becoming a menace to the welfare of the American wage earners, and Whereas, The only method hitherto adopted by the American Federation of Labor in dealing with the immigration problem, has been in carrying on an agitation for restrictive legislation which proved itself to be futile and ineffective; and Whereas, The only method of organizing these immigrants is by carrying on among them written and verbal agitation for trade unionism; and Whereas, The only literature accessible to them is either of a purely capitalistic or socialistic character, and they have no means of becoming imbued with ideas of trade unionism and, Whereas, The trade union propaganda of the American Federation of Labor carried on by organizers and writers who are ignorant of the language and character of the immigrants can therefore be of no use to them; be it therefore, Resolved, By the delegates to the twenty seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be instructed to devise ways and means of bringing these immigrants into the ranks of organized labor, by publishing trade union literature and appointing organizers who shall teach them the idea of unionism in their own language.8 Since that time efforts to organize the immigrant workers have constituted a considerable portion of the organization work of the American Federation of Labor and much has been accomplished.

This movement for the organization of immigrant workers is of far-reaching importance, not only to unionism in America, but to the immigrant himself and to the nation as a whole. First of all the efforts of organized labor to reach these newcomers is of the greatest significance to the nation. It is of prime importance that the thousands of immigrants coming yearly to our shores, shall acquire, as quickly as possible, a knowledge of our

language, customs and institutions. The suffrage will be extended to these people when as American citizens they shall seek it and our political welfare demands that they shall be able to cast an intelligent vote. In its relation to the immigrant the labor organization occupies a unique position. As one labor leader puts: "It is the only body of organized effort that takes the raw material as it is landed upon our shores and attempts to assimilate it, to mould it, to teach it to become American citizens, to stand for an American Standard of living." It is indeed the only force to reach the adult immigrant, with any effective power for Americanization. The school reaches the children of the immigrant but not the adult immigrant. The church it is true reaches the adult but it is often not a force for Americanization. Each nationality is inclined to have its own church with a priest of their own nationality. It means but a transplanting of their native church to the land of their adoption. Hence each race worships by itself, does not come in contact with other nationalities in so doing, and clings the more closely to the old world clannishness and narrow race prejudice. "On the other hand", says W. Z. Ripley, "the newspapers, at least such as the masses see and read, and the ballot under present conditions in American cities, have no uplifting or educational power at all. The great source of intellectual inspiration, to a large percentage of our

inchoate Americans in the industrial classes remains in the trade union." As a result of this association with the union the immigrant acquires a knowledge of the language and of the principles of self government, so essential to citizenship. As President Gompers has said: "The worker finds the union his club, his school, his debating society, where he learns his duty to his fellow men. It is his own free and democratic institution."

The benefit of this to the nation is unquestioned. Reports of police officers stationed in the stock yards district of Chicago show that after the organization of the unions among the Bohemian and Polish workers, there was less disorder, better living, more intelligence and more understanding of American institutions and laws. As a result of this fewer policemen were stationed in the district and less crime was committed. So too in the coal fields, where formerly the foreigners were given over to the most bitter and often murderous feuds, organization brought with it a cessation of such disputes. Clearly all this is a distinct gain to the nation.

11. As J.R. Commons has said; "Just as our New England fathers learned self government through the polity of the Congregational church, so the American workingman is learning self government through the labor union.*** Thus through the labor union the immigrant learns his primary lesson in democracy whose basis is liberty and law. World Today, V, 1319.
* American Federationist, XVI, 866.
Very closely related to the importance of the labor movement to the nation is its importance to the immigrant. The tendency to minimize social warfare just discussed is of the greatest value to the immigrant. So too is the acquiring of the language and a knowledge of our customs and laws. The labor union takes the immigrant with his narrow old world ideas, his fear of government, based upon his experience with the tyrannical governments he has known in Europe, with his law standards of living and lack of ideals and seeks to inculcate the ideas properly associated with an American laborer. Continually the idea of "better" is dined into his ears. Better wages, better hours, better conditions, better standards of living. Eventually despite his old world sluggishness the immigrant begins to seek these better things. Having awakened this desire for improved conditions the labor organization because of its strength as a bargaining power, insures to the immigrant laborer the realization of such desires.

Turning from a consideration of the importance of the organization to the nation and to the immigrants, we consider the importance of the movement to the labor unions. So long as the immigrant remains outside the labor organization, his lower standard of living and lack of ideals make him a most dangerous competitor. His enrollment if the ranks of labor is then an advantage to the union in that he may now be taught higher standards and thus the
force of his competition lessened. With the increased membership there is also a certain advantage to the unions. In no case has the organization of the immigrant workers resulted in such strength to the labor union as in the case of the United Mine Workers. We are, however, to bear in mind the fact that immigration to the coal fields disrupted the existing organization of labor in those fields and that it has only been after the most strenuous efforts that the present organization has been perfected. Indeed this has been the great problem confronting the labor unions. As John R. Commons has said: "The organization of workmen in labor unions has been more difficult in this than in other free countries, owing to the competition of races. Hitherto it has been the easiest possible matter for a manager apprehensive of agitators in forming a union, to introduce a new race and a new language into his works. Indeed almost the only devise and symptoms of originality displayed by American employers in disciplining their labor force has been that of playing one race against another." 14 Not only does this constitute a hindrance to the organization of labor unions but even when organization has been perfected the hostility of one race toward another is a source of internal weakness. "The Magyar is traditionally at the outs with his Slavonic neighbors. The Finn, the Pole, the Slovak, and the Lithuanian all have their sectional jealousies." 15 In the case of the coal fields organization has triumphed and today the United Mine Workers are one of the most powerful labor organizations in the world. A study of the labor

14. Races and Immigrants in America, pp. 149-150.
organizations connected with the steel industry afford a striking example of the failure of organization. From 1883 to 1893 the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had a strong organization in this industry. As a result Sunday work was practically eliminated, the laborers enjoyed the various holidays and had one day set apart for a picnic held annually by the Amalgamated Association. Today the organization has been driven out of some of the plants entirely and occupies but a precarious position in others. Now the roar of the mills is heard from week to week and the Fourth of July and Christmas constitute the only holidays and even these are denied to members of the blast furnace crews. Celebration of the First of September, labor's national holiday, is unheard of in the steel mills. Today fully sixty percent of the workers are immigrants, few of them are citizens and the majority are unable to speak the English language. Efforts to organize these workers have largely proven futile. How complete is the defeat of labor in this industry is evidenced by the following advertisement published in various papers of Pittsburgh:

MEN WANTED, TINNERS, CATCHERS, AND HELPERS.

To work in open shops, Syrians, Poles and Roumanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fares paid and no fees charged. 18

Manifestly the admitted immigrant

has had a very great effect upon the labor unions of the country. In some cases, where successfully organized, he has perhaps strengthened the unions. In many instances, however, he has constituted a weakening force working for the disintegration of such organizations. The membership of two unions, in industries largely affected by the immigrant, for the years 1903 and 1909 will vividly show this effect. In 1903 the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers had a membership of 15,000. In 1909 its membership was reduced to 6,000. The membership of the Union of Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen was in 1903, 34,400 and in 1909 but 6,300. Thus instances might be multiplied, but enough have been cited to show that the admitted immigrant constitutes at once a source of strength and a factor of weakness to the labor organizations. As one writer has expressed it: "There is no country in which the problem of labor organization is more complicated by a multitude of disintegrating causes than in the United States and these causes are based directly on immigration."

APPENDIX A

Resolutions adopted by the California State Federation of Labor, at the Seventh Annual Convention, held at Stockton, California, January 7-11, 1907.

Resolution No. 17.

Whereas, President Roosevelt, in his message to the present session of Congress, makes certain statements concerning the attitude of the people of San Francisco and "one or two other places," in their treatment of the Japanese now resident in these localities, with reference specifically to the common school regulations adopted by the San Francisco Board of Education, providing for the accommodation in separate schoolhouses of Caucasian and Mongolian pupils; and

Whereas, The President characterizes these regulations as evidence of a "most unworthy feeling," as a "wicked absurdity," and as a "confession of inferiority in our civilization"; and

Whereas, Based upon such conception of our municipal and State policy, and the motives inspiring it, the President declares his intention to "deal summarily," so far as the present power of the Federal Government permits, with the "very small body of our citizens that act badly," and gives notice that "in the matter now before me affecting the Japanese, everything that it is in my power to do will be done, and all of the forces, military and civil, of the United States which I may lawfully employ, will be so employed," and

Whereas, The President, still proceeding upon the grounds herein noted, makes certain recommendations to Congress, to wit, "that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens," and "that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties"; therefore be it

Resolved, By the California State Federation of Labor that the views expressed by President Roosevelt concerning our attitude toward the Japanese indicate misinformation or misconstruction of the facts; that his threat to "DEAL SUMMARILY" with us is therefore uncalled for, and his request for an enlargement of his powers quite unnecessary; further

Resolved. That the action of the San Francisco Board of Education, in providing separate school-houses
for Caucasian and Mongolian pupils, which action is authorized and in fact required by the State Constitution, is indorsed and supported by practically unanimous sentiment of the State, and cannot by any reasonable process of construction be regarded, either in intent or in effect, as "shutting them (the Japanese) out from the common schools," and is therefore not open to the terms of expletive which the President has applied to it; further

Resolved. That we insist upon, and shall to the limit of our power maintain our right under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of California, and as a matter of practical necessity to the moral and mental well-being of our people, segregate the pupils in the common schools in such manner as reason and experience shall dictate, an to adopt and enforce such other regulations as may be deemed wise and expedient in the conduct of our educational and other State or municipal affairs; further

Resolved, That in its treatment of the Japanese and other aliens now resident within its borders, California cannot justly be charged with unfair discrimination, but, on the contrary, is entitled to credit for liberality exceeding that of many other States in the matter of the rights and privileges accorded aliens, further

Resolved, That we deplore the tenor of President Roosevelt's message, in so far as it treats of the Japanese in the common schools of San Francisco, as misleading in its statements of fact, unsanctioned in its inferences and conclusions and unworthy the dignity of the high office whence it emanates; further

Resolved, That we resent the President's threats of compulsion by armed force in a matter clearly within the purview of municipal and State authority, as insulting to the State, and as intolerable reflections upon its rights as a sovereign constituent of the United States; further

Resolved, That we are opposed to the President's recommendations that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese, and that the powers of the Federal Government be enlarged for the purpose of subverting the proper authority of this and other States; further

Resolved, That the powers vested in the Federal Government by the respective States are designed for use in protecting the latter in the exercise of their reserved rights and functions; consequently any attempt or threat to use these powers to prevent or obstruct the freest possible exercise of these rights and functions must be regarded as an act of usurpation, menancing the freedom of the American people, endangering the stability of American institutions and demanding the strongest possible protest on the part of every patriotic citizen; further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be submitted to President Roosevelt, the members of Congress and United States Senators from California, and the press.
Resolution No. 18.

Whereas, Secretary Metcalf, in his report to President Roosevelt on the Japanese question in San Francisco, makes numerous misstatements and misrepresentations, among which is an implied charge of bad faith against the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, in connection with the action of the latter body in advising the segregation of all Mongolian Pupils in the public schools, and the matter of discrimination against Japanese restaurant keepers; therefore be it

Resolved. By the California State Federation of Labor that the action of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League in the first named of these matters is in no sense inconsistent with its constitutional declaration that "the League, as such, shall not adopt any measures of discrimination against any Chinese, Japanese or Korean, now or hereafter legally resident in the United States," but, on the contrary, is merely an exercise of the unquestionable right of of our citizens, acting individually or collectively, to secure the enforcement of all laws of the State designed for the regulations between the respective races; further

Resolved, That the allegation that the League has formally and officially participated in a boycott on the Japanese restaurant keepers is contrary to fact and based chiefly upon a misrepresentation of press reports of the League's proceedings; further

Resolved, That we deny and protest against these and other features of Secretary Metcalf's report to President Roosevelt as unjust, untrue and misleading; further

Resolved, That the report of Secretary Metcalf is utterly unworthy of credece in any particular, the same being an obviously one-sided and grossly exaggerated presentation of incidents which, so far as they exist at all, bear no significance to the question at issue between the Governments of the United States and of Japan, or between the State of California and President Roosevelt; further

Resolved, That we hereby express our lack of confidence in Secretary Metcalf, as one who, having been honored and trusted by our citizens, has sought to betray our interests in a manner affecting the welfare of present and future generations, with the object of bolstering up an assault upon our rights as a self-governing commonwealth, and with intent to justify a blow at the most fundamental principle of national liberty.
APPENDIX B

Follow up letters used by the Anti-Jap Laundry League in their campaign against the Japanese laundries.

No. 1.

Having in mind a report received to the effect that a Japanese calls at your residence for laundry, we most urgently request that you, in behalf of our white boys and girls engaged in the laundry industry, give the following your earnest consideration.

This industry, which has given to a considerable portion of our citizens a fair and substantial means of earning a livelihood, is being rapidly monopolized by Asiatics. In Alameda County this Oriental competition has become so successful that large numbers of white girls are forced to work side by side with Japanese and in the midst of contaminating Oriental influences.

Already in San Francisco we see the beginning of a repetition of these conditions and we earnestly appeal to your Caucasian womanhood to help us check the evil before it gets beyond control.

But recently our Board of Health condemned some of these Asiatic wash-houses and referred to them as "A favorable place for the harboring and breeding of rats and other vermin" and "a nuisance and menace to life and health." We cannot too strongly impress upon you the danger of disease that lurks in clothes exposed to Oriental filth and dirt.

We will also point out the significant fact that the Japanese in no way contribute to your subsistence and therefore have no claim upon your sympathy or support, while the white race, from whom your living is made, is entitled to your first consideration and patronage.

If the Japanese should invade the field of industry upon which you are dependent for a means of subsistence, to the extent of forcing you to the wall (which is a possibility) would you not be entitled to and justified in appealing to your fellow-men and women for their moral support in resisting a Mongolian invasion that threatened your separation from the bread-and-butter necessities of life?

Under these circumstances are we asking too much when we urge you to desist patronizing Japanese Laundries?

Hoping to hear from you, we are

Respectfully,
ANTIFAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.
A short while ago we communicated with you, explaining the reasons for our crusade against Asiatic competition and appealing to you to patronize your own kind, the Caucasian, in preference to the Japanese.

Not having heard from you, we again solicit you moral support and will explain more thoroughly the great need of your co-operation upon this momentous issue.

We oppose the encouragement of the Japanese for the reason that, whenever and wherever they retain a foothold, the white man and woman are forced to retreat before the unequal competition which makes it absolutely impossible for a Caucasian to maintain the established standards of the white race.

For example we will refer to the Hawaiian Islands where the business men some years ago encouraged the importation of cheap Japanese labor and expected great profits to accrue therefrom. Results are that today these islands are at the mercy of the Japanese who control fully 80% of the industrial pursuits.

The Asiatics are endeavoring to establish the same conditions in California. They have taken the Vaca Valley, are making vast inroads in the San Joaquin Valley, and already have control of the potato output of the state and have increased the price of this commodity fully 75%.

There are now 120 Oriental laundries in San Francisco and unless our people desist patronizing them, the time is not far distant when they will be in complete control of this line of industry and thousands of our white men and women thrown out of employment.

You depend upon the white man's co-operation and patronage and we appeal to you to reciprocate. Shall our appeal be made in vain? We anxiously await your decision.

Respectfully,

ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.
No. 3.

Having received no answer to our previous communications, we are making another appeal strongly urging you to patronize your own kind, the Caucasian, in preference to THE JAPANESE WHO CONTRIBUTES NOTHING TOWARD YOUR SUBSISTENCE and is detrimental to the white man's prosperity.

From your silence we presume that you do not realize the injury you are inflicting upon your fellow-men and women when you foster and encourage an Asiatic competition that a Caucasian cannot possibly meet unless he adopts Oriental methods of living.

You are also undermining the welfare of the community, for it is owing to the apathy of a large class of white men and women that the Asiatic is enabled to ship enormous sums yearly from this port. During the last fiscal year the appalling amount of $2,629,789.94 was shipped to Japan through the San Francisco post office alone.

Possibly you patronize the Japanese for the purpose if effecting a few cents saving per week. Your idea of economy is erroneous. By encouraging Mongolian competition you will eventually drive it to your industrial line and reap the harvest of your short sighted policies.

All classes - Business men, Union men, civic improvement organizations, etc., are extending to us a helping hand in our great crusade, for they realize that this is a white man's country and that it is the duty of every loyal citizen to maintain the white man's standards.

We trust to hear from you at an early date, but should you fail to respond we shall not be discouraged but shall continue to appeal to you again and again, both by letter and in person, until you have heard and answered the call of your white brothers and sisters.

Respectfully,

ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.
WILL THE JAPANESE PREDOMINATE?

SHALL IT BE THAT THE JAPANESE ELEMENT OF THE PACIFIC COAST WILL CONTROL OUR AFFAIRS, OR WILL THEY BE SUBJECT TO THE DOMINANT INFLUENCE OF THEIR PREDECESSORS, THE CAUCASIANS?

The answer depends entirely upon the action taken now by the White Race. If we stand idly by, while the Japanese monopolize industry after industry, will we have just cause for complaint after our Western Civilization has been absorbed by the Asians and their Oriental morals and cheap standards of living?

Are you aware of the fact that the Japanese have practically monopolized nearly every line of business in the Hawaiian Islands, and are in control of fully 90 per cent of the industrial fields?

Do you realize that the Japanese have conquered our Vaca Valley, are making vast inroads in the San Joaquin Valley, are monopolizing the Vineyards in Fresno County, and are in complete control of the potato output of the state and have INCREASED THE PRICE OF THIS COMMODITY FULLY 75%?

If you doubt the dangers resulting from Japanese occupation and competition in our midst, consider well these official figures: Despite the financial stringency of the times, the little brown men are SHIPPING ANNUALLY TO JAPAN from San Francisco, Seattle and Honolulu, OVER $10,000,000.00.

This is not merely a future, but a PRESENT DANGER, most grave and alarming. Take for instance the Laundry Industry. This business which has given to a considerable portion of our citizens a fair means of earning a livelihood is being rapidly monopolized by Asians. Perhaps you do not know that there are 18 large Japanese Laundries in San Francisco at the present time, and this competition in the laundry business has increased over 100 per cent in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties within the past two years.

And the tide of Asiatic competition is already
reaching the American tailors, grocers, retail dry goods merchants, shoe dealers, etc. How long then we ask you, will it be before you find yourself in the same position as the Laundry people, with the same gigantic struggle confronting you?

And to you Mr. Capitalist. If it is possible for the Japanese to completely monopolize a residential section, as they have in certain parts of this city, can they not spread this monopolization at will? And is the desirability of a residential section, or the value of adjacent property, enhanced by the presence of these Orientals?

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM LIES WITH THE PEOPLE.
THE ONLY WAY TO SUCCESSFULLY COMBAT THE INROADS OF THE JAPANESE IS TO REFUSE TO PATRONIZE OR EMPLOY THEM IN ANY OF THEIR INDUSTRIES.

ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE
Phone Market 3692 483 Guerrero St., San Francisco

No. 2.

CAN WE COUNT ON YOU?

FELLOW CITIZEN:

Is a White Man or a Japanese handling your laundry work?

The laundry industry, which has given so a considerable portion of our citizens a fair means of earning a livelihood is being gradually monopolized by unfair Asiatic competition. Perhaps you do not know that there are over 20 large Japanese laundries in this City, and that Japanese competition in the laundry business has increased over 100% within the last two years.

And what, we ask you, will this success of the Japanese in the laundry business, if not checked result in? For an answer, look at the condition of the Hawaiian Islands where Japs do 75% of all work, where almost every business, professional and otherwise, is controlled by the cunning Oriental, and where the population, once white, is now mainly yellow.

How long will it be, think you, before this tide of Asiatic Competition will have swept away the business of
American tailors, grocers, retail dry goods stores and shoe stores?

How long, Mr. Mechanic, Mr. Electrician, Mr. Chauffeur, do you think it will be before the Japanese students of our technical schools will be underbidding you?

How long, Mr. Bank Clerk, Mr. Lawyer, Mr. College Professor, do you think it will be before even your dignified calling will be invaded by the Japs?

As things are now, it will not be long, dear reader, until public opinion, having become calloused by continual meeting and patronage of the Jap in easily assailable occupations will accept his services in all lines.

HELP US NOW, THEN, DEAR FRIEND, TO FIGHT THIS FIGHT WHILE YET IT MAY BE FOUGHT. Believe us, be convinced, that we and the other industries already attacked are but the van of the great bulk of California industrial and merchant classes that this yellow wave is surely and by no means slowly reaching.

We appeal to you especially, Mr. Union Man, and to you Mr. Small Merchant. It is not only your laundry business we want, we want you to help bring your friends.

HELP US CREATE A PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THIS MATTER.

THINK ABOUT IT. READ ABOUT IT. TALK IT OVER.

ANTI-JAP LAUNDRY LEAGUE.
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