

almost exclusive members of the Buenos Ayres Rowing Club, which has a fine boat-house on the river in the charming suburb of Tigre. The Argentine clubs are all used for interminable gambling operations that go on day and night, while their social function is fulfilled by the organizing of splendid balls, which from time to time awaken the aristocratic creole society from its habitual torpor.

There are no amenities of life in Buenos Ayres, no society, no amusements except the theatre, which is expensive, and no distractions except gross and shameless debauchery that thrives flauntingly in most parts of the city. There is no society, because the rivalry of luxury will not allow families to arrange fêtes unless they can do so on a princely scale, to give a dinner party that is not a gorgeous banquet, or to receive of an evening without the accompaniment of a ball or grand orchestra. The old creole families live entirely among themselves, after the

usual Spanish style, hating and despising the *gringo*, or foreigner, who works and grows rich. There are no social leaders, no leaders of opinion even, no eminent citizens whose influence and efforts might create centres and elements of decent and healthy distraction. At Buenos Ayres each one looks out for himself, from the President of the republic down to the howling urchin who sells newspapers and tries to defraud the buyer of his change. The impression that the city and its sociological phenomena make upon one is wholly and repeatedly that of coarse and brutal materialism. There seems to be no poetry, no sentiment, no generosity in the life of its citizens; there is nothing amiable, witty, or attractive in the exterior aspect of men and of things. On the one hand you see the race for wealth in all the crudity of unscrupulous speculation and cynical malversation of public funds; and on the other hand, the ostentatious display of wealth in the grossest manifestations of vulgar luxury.

THE CHINESE LEAK.

BY JULIAN RALPH.

THE Philadelphia lawyer, who was long referred to generically as the most difficult personage to confuse or to hood-wink, has surrendered the palm to the modern journalist, whose shrewdness, persistence, and ingenuity now render him invincible in the pursuit of information. Yet the dethroned attorney and his successor would both have been halted and puzzled a great many times if they had joined me recently in an endeavor to learn the truth about the smuggling of Chinese into our country across the Canadian border.

A complete presentment of the case is unattainable, and must ever remain so. This is not alone due to the natural failure of the smugglers to preserve records of their operations; it is not wholly accountable to the impenetrability of the Chinese themselves with regard to all matters which they with common accord determine to keep from the official or public knowledge of Americans; these would be serious hinderances by themselves; but added to them is a worse obstacle still, a perfect *chevaux-de-frise* of falsehood, which starts up at every ques-

tion that is put to the average American or Canadian who is presumably in a position to know the facts in the matter, at least in a general way.

This was to have been expected, but it produced the unintended result of convincing me that where there was such a general reluctance to tell anything (and such a far greater reluctance to tell the truth), there must certainly be something worth while hiding—worth the while of the companies whose vessels carry Mongolian passengers, worth the while of the Canadian officials who gather taxes from all incoming Chinamen, worth the while of all the rest who wink at offences against the laws of this, to them, foreign country, and who, as individuals or as members of a community, benefit more or less directly by what goes on.

Yet whenever a casual question was put to a Canadian who did not suspect my especial interest in the subject, the full truth always came out. "The Chinese come here mainly to smuggle themselves across the American border," was a statement that was made to me and to my companions by at least twoscore men in

Victoria and on the British Columbian main-land, including several of the best-known and most influential men in the province. "They come here to enter your country, and you can't stop it, and we don't care," is how one official expressed himself.

Apart from this and apart from the conviction generated by the evasive and unwilling replies to my more ingenuous inquiries, I knew before I went there that some smuggling was done. I had read extracts from the amazing utterances in Congress, in which, among others, one speaker had likened the influx of contraband Chinese to nothing less than the swarming of the Huns in early European history. There had also come under my notice a bit of telegraphic flotsam in the New York newspapers, by which I learned that the smugglers at Victoria had become so impudent that they were running a steam-boat from their shores to ours, with cargoes of interdicted Mongolian laborers. This appeared to give the practice the dignity of a great business, though it scarcely warranted the Congressional view of swarming myriads pressing over the border. Clearly the one question to be determined was, to what extent the illicit traffic was carried on.

Early after my arrival in Victoria I gathered up the twenty or thirty newspapers that were scattered upon the table in the office of the principal hotel, the Driard House, and took them to my room to read. I had been sequestered in a newly opened region in British Columbia, and prior to that had spent some days upon the plains, so that I felt that hunger for news which seizes upon one who has finished a long voyage at sea. I had no thought of finding information with regard to smuggling, for in the newspapers of the Atlantic coast very scant and infrequent mention of the matter is made. Imagine my surprise, therefore, when I found some allusion to the subject in the way of active and present news in at least every alternate newspaper I took up. These journals were such as are published in Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, in Seattle and Tacoma, United States, and in smaller places near the border in both countries. Their dates of publication were within the months of June and July, 1890. This discovery impressed me as being, to say the least, significant.

In the *Victoria Colonist* of June 11, 1890, was a long account of the seizure of the steamer *North Star*, which, after a busy career in violating the laws of our country without interference by the Canadians, had at last excited their displeasure by returning from our border with smuggled goods upon which the Canadians impose an import tax. The customs authorities at Victoria charged the owners of the *North Star* with violating those statutes which require masters of vessels to produce bills of lading, to answer truly all questions with regard to each cargo, crew, and voyage, to take out clearance papers, and to produce any goods that may have been landed contrary to law.

In a Canadian newspaper, published on the main-land, I found a refreshingly frank account of the seizure of a smuggler's craft at Port Townsend, Washington. The boat was the sloop *Alert*, held on the charge of violating our Exclusion Act by taking Chinamen into our territory.

More than half a dozen of the news items related to the transportation of opium across the border by stealth. It was apparent, and it is the fact, that this form of smuggling is more extensively carried on and is more remunerative than the transportation of the interdicted laborers.

From the windows of the Custom-house at Victoria, British Columbia, I afterward saw the notorious *North Star*, which had been seized by the Canadians not for smuggling into our country, but for returning to theirs with smuggled goods. Unquestionably this was the steam-boat of which I had read in New York, and which I had naturally pictured in my mind as a vessel of at least ordinary steam-boat dimensions. Instead it was a tiny little vessel, rather like a good-sized cat-boat, with a boiler and a screw added to her outfit. She was in a desperately bad condition from age and neglect, and would not sell for more than \$200 at the outside. I was told that she frequently carried as many as 30 Chinamen at a time, and though there is no doubt that this is true, it is certainly the fact that her masters would have found it difficult to squeeze into her as many men of any other nationality. It was only after I had seen in two Western "Chinatowns" the raisin-like adaptability of the Chinese to compressed conditions that I comprehended

how Captain Caffee managed his "cargo." However, even 30 as an occasional load hardly bore out the idea suggested by the news of a genuine steam-boat making nightly trips to our shores.

The deeper I probed the matter the more clearly I perceived that the wretched and diminutive *North Star* fitly represented the business she was engaged in. In other words, like her, it is a business of small extent and petty results.

I do not intend in this article to return for any courtesies shown to me the evil of betraying those who assisted me. Suffice it that I went only to the best authorities, Chinese, American, and Canadian, and gradually I obtained what I sought. To give names here would be to work injury to all concerned, such is the vigor of feeling for and against the Chinese in our coast States, and for and against the smuggling in Canada—mainly *for it*, by-the-way.

Our Exclusion Act bears date October, 1888. Its force lies in this paragraph: "It shall be unlawful for any Chinese laborer who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may now or hereafter be, a resident within the United States, and who shall have departed or shall depart therefrom, and shall not have returned before the passage of this act, to return to or remain in the United States." Bearing the date of this act in mind, and understanding that there is only one steamship line to Canada from Asia, the extent of the smuggling (of new-comers) must be apparent in the number of Mongolians which that line of ships has brought from their country. The whole number is 4008, with and without certificates, in the period between 1887 (a year before our Exclusion Act) and the month of July, 1890. Of this 4000, some were returning on certificates and some were new immigrants. It is generally understood that 99 in 100 of these latter go to British Columbia in-



tending to smuggle themselves over our border. In all, since '87, these number 1910. The steamers of the Canadian Pacific Line arrive at intervals of about three weeks, and bring from 100 to 150 Chinamen at a time. One came while I was in Victoria. It carried 125 Mongols, 74 with certificates and 51 without. Several of those who carried certificates had obtained them improperly—nearly a dozen, as I remember the case—and were detained on the ship. Three weeks before that another steamer arrived with 140 Chinamen, 94 without certificates and 46 with those documents. Out of the 46 were 18 accused of having obtained their papers fraudulently, and 15 confessed their guilt. The other three were stubborn and stolid, and were released.

A word of explanation is needed here. When the so-called "Chinese must go" excitement raged in California, the agitation extended far and wide. The host of accusations brought against the Chinese with regard to their cheap labor, their vices, their contempt for our laws, and their wholly temporary and selfish interest in our country were not without their

effect even on the Atlantic seaboard. In near-by Victoria, which had a Chinatown of its own, the echoes of the sand-lots oratory in San Francisco developed an anti-Chinese party also. The agitation there resulted in the appointment of a commission by the Dominion Legislature to take testimony upon the question whether or not the Chinese were of value to the country. Very many witnesses were examined, and testimony both valuable and interesting was obtained on both sides of the question. As a result the commission decided that the province of British Columbia owed a great part of its progress (that is to say, its development) to the Chinese, that they were valuable allies of the whites there, and that much of what was most violent in the charges brought against their morals and habits rested upon a very slight basis. Then, apparently as a sop tossed to the clamorous anti-Chinese element, the commission recommended that an admission fee of \$50 (a poll-tax of that sum) be levied upon each newly arriving Chinaman who had never been to Canada before. To those who should depart from the Dominion, certificates were to be issued in order to distinguish them from the newer immigrants. This became and is the law of Canada.

The Canadian law is very like our own in that it visits its inflictions upon the laborers from China, and leaves their countrymen who are merchants, professional men, tourists, diplomats, and consular officials uninterfered with in their passing to and from Canada. The mere impost of \$50 a head upon the laborers has resulted in a double benefit to Canada, if they are right in their decision that the Chinese are an aid to civilization, since it at once leaves their doors open to this immigration, and has added to the revenue a sum of \$95,500 since 1887, or about \$3000 a month. In addition, a really notable Canadian institution, the line of steamers to China, which brings great stores of Chinese and Japanese tea, rice, opium, and oil into or across the Dominion, profits at the rate of \$50 per Chinaman for the steerage fare, or at least \$200,000 in all in three years.

It is only a rabid partisan who will swell the torrent of abuse that has been let loose upon the Canadian Pacific steamship owners for the part they play in transporting the Chinaman. The business is at once legitimate and inevitable,

and its results that annoy our customs officers cannot be held to concern this thoroughly honorable and dignified business corporation. The Dominion officials, for their part, are only concerned in securing the payment of the head tax by the new-comers, and, in truth, this gives them plenty of trouble and opportunity for the development of all the ingenuity that a white man always requires in dealing with a Chinaman. It is well to look at these things fairly and squarely. The Canadian customs officers enforce their own laws, and stop at that. Our customs men do the same. That irrepressible and incessant smuggler who ran the *North Star*, and all his kind, make it their business to replace the Chinamen and opium they land on our shores with the peculiar products of American industry which best reward the smuggler over the Canadian line—playing-cards, gambling "lay-outs," and whiskey—and no American official has ever found it his duty to protect our Canadian cousins against this fraud upon their revenues and defiance of their laws.

But to return to the Canadian relations with the Chinese. Every Chinaman who leaves Canada takes a certificate which shall serve as his passport when he returns. He may take out a certificate when he does not mean to leave the country. He may take one when he is merely going to smuggle himself over our border, and never means to go back to the Dominion. Or he may take a certificate when he has made all the money he needs, and is on his way to China to end his days there, after years of that luxurious idleness which the average laborer counts upon obtaining in China from the judicious investment of \$2000—the coolie's plum. Of course it is fair to presume that in many cases the certificates are demanded by men who mean to return. At all events, these certificates, which are passports to Canada, and indirectly to the United States, have a money value. They are sold in China. They can be purchased openly to-day in the streets of Hong-Kong, like ducks or chopsticks. There they possess a fluctuating value, and have been known to fetch as high as \$65. Sometimes they are let go at a less price than the \$50 they are expected to save in the avoidance of the poll-tax, the fluctuations being governed by the demand at the time of the departure of a vessel, because only so many uncer-

tified Chinese laborers may take passage on the steamers under the Canadian law—one to every fifty tons of the ship's burthen. Of those who carry certificates and of those not of the laboring class as many as choose may come.

It is to guard against trickery with the certificates that the customs officials at Victoria and Vancouver have all that they can manage. When a Chinaman enters the office of the collector to apply for a certificate, several men are called in—the interpreter and a clerk or two. The Chinaman gives his name, age, place of birth, and other particulars of value in identifying him. He is asked to step upon the platform of a measuring machine, such as is in use in our army and elsewhere—an upright pole marked off into feet and inches, and fitted with a sliding rod that gives the man's height when it rests upon his head. All this the Chinaman perfectly comprehends; but what he does not know is the description of himself that the men around him are going to write down in the big government book after he has gone, a description which takes in his general appearance, the peculiarities of his features and limbs and shape, with notes of every scar or pit or mark upon his hands, neck, face, and head.

And yet, in spite of these precautions, Chinamen who go away from Canada looking at least forty years of age, return appearing to be only twenty-four; and others who measure five feet and nine inches when they depart, come back in a few months several inches shorter or taller than when they sailed for China. They are new-comers, with the certificates of other men, of course. The silent scanning of the features of applicants for certificates does not pass unnoticed by these shrewd and intelligent people. The manner in which they endeavor to make themselves appear like the persons whose certificates they carry shows this. They frequently go as far as to disfigure themselves for life in order to save the \$50, and to bear out what they judge must be written in the customs book against the numerals that mark each of the certificates—which, by-the-way, contain no word of the descriptions of the



THE CHINESE PILOT: "THAT IS THE UNITED STATES."

men who take them out. While I was in Victoria one of these tricksters arrived with a great scar burned in his forehead, a cut disfiguring one cheek, and a deep pit burned in his neck. When questioned, and proven to be a fraudulent fellow, he confessed that he had never been to Canada before.

The cross-examination each certificated Chinaman must undergo in the British Columbian custom-houses before he is allowed to pass into the country without paying the tax is very searching. He is asked what city he worked in while in Canada, and then he must name the principal streets in that city, some of the names of the merchants there, and also the notable peculiarities of the town; what sort of looking things drag the railroad cars; what kind of machines are used to put out fires—a hundred questions cleverly devised. In spite of all this, the customs officials frequently have to admit that they cannot tell whether they are being imposed upon or not in especial cases. Doubtless many Chinamen slip through without attracting suspicion. The men who sell the certificates accompany the sales with descriptions of themselves, and with a great amount of the information they acquired of the locali-

ties they were familiar with. As to the general facts about Caucasian life, there are plenty of men in China and on the ships to post the immigrants fully.

Every three weeks, when a ship arrives, the Chinamen with certificates are questioned, and several are found to be the purchasers of the certificates of others, but not one Chinaman has yet been sent back on this account. All that Canada wants is her tax, and if any Chinaman caught at this trickery lacks the \$50, he finds his countrymen in Victoria or Vancouver willing to advance the money to him.

Understanding, then, that in this way have come into Canada more than 1900 Chinamen in the last three years, the reader will not yet comprehend why it was that one of the most thoroughly informed of Victorians should have said to me that he estimated the extent of the smuggling of Chinamen over our border at about 1500 a year.

This is because the draft is upon the resident Chinese as well as upon the new arrivals. British Columbia was once the seat of a very considerable Mongolian population, that has been dwindling rapidly in the last few years, through channels most of which have flowed stealthily over our border. In dealing with this branch of the subject I desire to have it understood that no official or accurate figures are at my hand, and I must quote from the language of a gentleman whose position in society and in public life causes him to be referred to—at least as frequently as any man in the province—as an authority upon all provincial matters.

It appears that five or six years ago there were about 18,000 Chinamen in British Columbia. To-day the number there is between 7000 and 8000. It is generally believed and asserted that the great majority of the 11,000 who have left the country have come into the United States. Many have gone back, some (not many) have gone eastward to other Canadian provinces, and thousands have come into the United States, surreptitiously for the major part. All the persons to whom I talked agreed as to this general fact. I mention it to show how it was possible that the best authority upon the subject should have said that the smuggling of the Chinese over our border amounts to about 1500 a year when less than 60 Chinamen per month pay the Canadian poll-

tax as new immigrants. My own observation would have gone far toward confirming this, for I saw that between my trip across Canada in 1887 and my visit last year there had been a great diminution in the number of Chinese in Canada. In Victoria it was most noticeable. The population of the Chinatown there has decreased one-half, the streets have grown deserted-looking, the theatre is closed for lack of support, and the Chinese themselves freely told me that at least 1500 men had gone away, principally to my country.

It will be seen, however, that although the introduction of contraband Chinese into our nation is a regularly maintained vocation, it is a business of small dimensions, certainly not fairly to be likened to the swarmings of the hordes that once overran Europe.

Yet, petty as the smuggling is, it is worth while to have measured it, and it will be equally well to understand why it is possible, and how it is carried on. Whoever would understand it must know that the entire northern boundary of our nation, from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific coast, is a gigantic wilderness. The prairie, the plains of the western provinces, and the thick-clustered mountains of British Columbia are repeated in our Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. Geologically and naturally there is no difference between the countries; the boundary line is an arbitrary mark. At intervals of a mile apart this otherwise intangible division is established by means of surveyors' "monuments," that are imbedded in the earth, and stand slightly above it, each marked "B. A." on one side and "U. S. A." on the other. There are few settlements on the line—almost none—and the whole region is practically known to men only as they cross it by the watercourses in canoes, or the far-apart trails of the great grass plateaus, and of the valleys between the mountains. There is no part of it over which a Chinaman may not pass into our country without fear of hinderance; there are scarcely any parts of it where he may not walk boldly across it at high noon. Indeed, the same is measurably the case all along our northern boundary—even upon the St. Lawrence north of our State, where smuggling has always been a means of livelihood whenever varying tariffs made it remunerative.

The lawless practice does go on from one end of the border to the other. Chinamen at work in the forests beside the Columbia steal in by the Kootenay trail; others cross the St. Lawrence, others the plains and prairie, others the Great Lakes. But, all combined, this defiance of our laws is so inconsiderable as to be unworthy of serious attention. What it might become if the Chinese really "swarmed" in Canada, and the waters of Washington State were closed against the invaders is quite another matter.

For it is in those waters that nearly all the smuggling goes on at present. Let those who are unfamiliar with that region glance at the map. They will see that the north west corner of the State of Washington is torn off, and the space that is left is filled with water dotted with an archipelago. The island of Vancouver fits partially into the gaping corner as if it had been torn out by some gigantic convulsion. The tatters and débris of the rent form the archipelago. Our national interest centred in that corner long ago when that portion of the boundary was in dispute, and the tension of a war feeling was only relieved when a foreign arbitrator settled the boundary, and gave us the island of San Juan, the most important in the group. The city of Victoria confines nearly all the population on that corner of Vancouver Island; the city of Vancouver is the main settlement on the British Columbia shore; and on our borders are such little places as Whatcom, New Dungeness, and Port Angeles, in the State of Washington. Port Townsend, on Puget Sound, is the principal American town near by, and the headquarters of the scanty force of customs officials who are supposed to guard against the smuggling, and who are entitled to the presumption that they are doing their best in this direction. Victoria has only 20,000 population, Vancouver fewer still, and the islands only here and there a house. Deer abound upon these islands, which are heavily timbered, and the waterways between them feel the keels of but few vessels—of none at all, except the smallest craft, outside the main channels. It would be hard to imagine a more difficult region to police, or a fairer field for smugglers. Old London itself has scarcely a greater tangle of crooked and confusing thoroughfares than this archipelago possesses, and these waterways are

so narrow and sheltered that mere oarsmen can safely and easily travel many of them. It is a smugglers' paradise.

Those who transport the Chinamen are all white men. The resident Chinese act as their confederates and as the agents of the smuggled men, but do no part of the actual smuggling, that is to say, the boating. The great smuggling is of opium. The introduction of the Chinese themselves is of small account, so far as the defiance of our laws is concerned, as compared with the introduction of opium. Yet that extensive business also is carried on by white men. The Chinese cannot pass to and fro as white men can, therefore they leave the traffic to the whites.

These white men are of the class one would expect to find in such business. A government employé in Victoria told me that I would "be surprised to know what important and respectable persons were connected with the smuggling," but as he gave me no further enlightenment, and as I failed to obtain any proof that any num-



— FREDERICK KENNEDY —
Victoria B.C.

"JOHN."



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DYING OF THIRST IN THE DESERT.

ber of so-called respectable men profited directly by the business, I did not and do not believe that there are many such. Those who do the smuggling of the Chinese are unprincipled and reckless characters. They make their bargains with those Chinese whose business it is to arrange for the carriage of their countrymen into our country. The boats employed are small sail-boats, and quite as small steam-launches. When the owner of one of these boats has secured a sufficient number of Chinese to make the venture profitable if it succeeds, the journey is made at night, without compliance with the law which requires vessels sailing after dark to display lights at their sides. At times the contrabands are landed near Whatcom, at times near Port Angeles or New Dungeness. San Juan Island, within our border, is only twelve miles from Victoria, and has a few Chinese resident upon it. At times Chinamen are carried there. Once there they can cross to the main-land with more freedom, and with a possibility of obtaining testimony to the effect that they are and have long been domiciled on American soil. The smugglers charge \$20 to \$25 for landing each Chinaman on our coast; \$20 is the ordinary and usual charge. Wherever the Chinamen are landed they find either men of their own nationality to secrete them, or white men awaiting their arrival, and ready to take them to some Chinese quarters. Once on land the danger of arrest is greatly lessened, and after a newly smuggled Chinaman has made his way to one of the larger towns or cities near the coast, his fear of detention by our government vanishes entirely.

It is not the province of this article to discuss the trade in illicit opium, yet I will just touch upon the subject before withdrawing the reader's attention from the Canadian frontier. If there are important firms or individuals in Canada who are directly profiting by smuggling, it is from this form of it. It is evident to any one who studies the subject that the trade interests a large number of persons, and that the populace and the public press have stilled their conscience with regard to the impropriety of breaking laws simply because they are their neighbors' statutes and not their own. There is, perhaps, a nice moral question at the bottom of such a course, and the Canadians, instead of taking the bull by the

horns, allow the animal to roam unfettered.

The opium is manufactured in the cities of Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia. As one manufacturer expressed it, "sufficient is made in one week in either city to meet the demands of British Columbia for two years." There are ten or a dozen manufacturers in Vancouver, and more yet in Victoria. The opium imported is of a second quality, and is of Indian origin. It comes in the form of sap, and in the shape of balls that weigh about three pounds, and are encased in an envelope made by pressing leaves against the sticky substance. The Canadian revenue laws impose a duty of one dollar a pound upon this raw material, while our impost upon finished opium is ten dollars a pound. The difference when the raw material is worked into the finished product is therefore very great, and the temptation to smuggle is in direct proportion to the profit. The Chinese merchants in British Columbia find the method of manufacture very simple. The stuff costs two dollars and a half raw, or three dollars and a half a pound with the duty added. When it has been cooked into smokers' opium it has cost in the neighborhood of seven dollars, and it fetches from eight dollars and a half to twelve dollars and a half a pound in various parts of the United States.

There are thirty or forty firms of Chinamen manufacturing it constantly in the two British Columbian cities, and one firm—not the largest—admitted to me that they produce from two hundred to three hundred pounds a month. There is scarcely a devisable manner of concealment of the little cans in which the opium is put up that is not practised in smuggling this article over our border. It comes in barrels of beer, in women's bustles, in trunks, in satchels, under the loose shirts of sailors, in boat-loads by night, in every conceivable way. By collusion with steam-boat and steam-ship captains, and through corrupt officials in our own country, the greatest profits are made possible.

But to return to the more important subject of the illegal introduction of the Chinese laborers among us. Some exciting incidents connected with the chase and capture of smuggled men near our southern border have turned public interest and curiosity toward that frontier. I remember that before I left New York in

the early summer there was a most unpleasant bit of reading in the telegraphic news concerning a party of Chinamen who had made their way far into the Apache country, and were said to be certain to meet death at the hands of those blood-thirsty Indians should they be so unfortunate as to escape dying of thirst and exposure. At San Francisco I found the officials and employés of the Treasury Department able and willing to provide full information of the Chinese leak on the southern frontier. It happened that one earnest officer had just returned from the pursuit and capture of a band of self-smuggling Chinamen.

From his account of his and their adventures I obtained a tolerably complete view of the *modus operandi* of swelling our Chinese population through that inlet. The steam-ship *Newbern*, for Guaymas, Mexico, had started from San Francisco on April 25th of last year with 55 Chinamen in bond for Mexico. She took as another passenger Mr. L. S. Irvin, a Special Treasury Agent, and an assistant. He suspected that the Mongolians were bent upon landing at a place called Ensenada, in Lower California. This little Mexican village had long been the seat of persistent though not extensive smuggling operations. It is close to the California border (within 60 miles of it), and Chinamen booked for other points had made it a practice to disembark there and work their way into the States. The United States authorities had determined to break up the traffic at that point, and it had consequently become very difficult to continue the practice.

To Mr. Irvin's surprise the *Newbern's* Chinamen had been informed of the impracticability of smuggling themselves in at that point, and all continued with the vessel as far as Guaymas. They did not then suspect that they were under surveillance. Having landed, they took the cars of the Ferrocarril de Sonora for a journey of eighteen hours' duration toward the Mexican and American border, and at places called Imrez and Magdalena they came together. Those villages are near the frontier, and at each one are Chinamen engaged in ranching. Mr. Irvin employed some men of the neighborhood to follow the Chinamen as they went, in parties of six or eight at a time, into the country to form a couple of camps as points of preparation and depart-

ure. He employed white men, knowing full well that the natives could not be depended upon, except for sympathy with the smugglers. However, the white men who thus suddenly appeared in that desolate region, in the neighborhood of the camps and without visible occupation, aroused the quick suspicions of the Chinese, and they became motionless and idle. Thereupon all the "shadowers" were withdrawn, and two new men took their places. These new and unsuspected agents of our government saw the Chinamen move deeper into the country in little squads, to assemble at the place of one of their countrymen, a miller, still nearer the border.

The Chinamen were well supplied with money. At the outset they had sent \$5000 in advance of themselves along the railroad by express, and now that they were far distant from the railroad and imagined themselves no longer watched, they began to bargain with the Mexican smugglers in the neighborhood for the procurement of mule teams and guides. They got a large wagon and six mules, as well as several desperate border men, who would have killed any white men who openly followed them. The shadowers were fully aware of their danger, and, while watching every movement of the smugglers, did not permit themselves to be seen—a feat not to be lightly measured when the character of that bare, white, sun-searched region is taken into consideration. The Mexicans employed by the Chinese halted at the border, and gave the famished, tired, and thirst-torn fugitives directions for reaching Tucson, the nearest large town in Arizona, and the seat of a colony of 600 or 700 Chinamen. There were 24 of these Chinamen in this first expedition. They had travelled two weeks at the pace of a mule team, and when they were deserted by their guides on our border they had but 20 gallons of water, and a march of 30 miles to reach a fresh supply. Some of them are described as having been in a pitiable condition of fatigue and physical weakness. Their first halt in our country was at a Papagoe Indian village, and there our federal agents arrested them, and took them to Tucson. Mr. Irvin identified them, and putting himself in communication with the Secretary of the Treasury, received an order to see that they were returned to China. The 31

Chinamen who did not fall into the hands of our officers still remain in Sonora. They may yet attempt to make the passage into Arizona.

In San Francisco just now there is outspoken indignation among the anti-Chinese on account of a local current that is swelling the Chinese leakage into our country. The present law (enacted October, 1888) declares in substance that in the case of any Chinese laborer who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may now or hereafter be, a resident within the United States, and who shall have departed or who shall depart therefrom, and shall not have returned before the passage of this act, such laborer may not return to or remain in this country.

The enactment of this law worked grievous pain to those who believe the course of our government toward the Chinese has all along been marked by unconstitutional, unchristian, and dishonorable action. Especially was this felt since the Exclusion Act resulted in the nullification of 24,443 certificates, or "tickets of leave." These under a previous law had been issued to departing Chinamen, and accepted by them in good faith, and in the understanding that such certificates were tokens of the national promise that the holders might return to America whenever they pleased. This act is known as the Exclusion Act, and since its passage no Chinese laborers may legally enter or return to this country.

But they do. There are two steam-ship lines in the trade between China and San Francisco, the Pacific Mail and the Occidental and Oriental companies. If what is alleged against the ordinary and natural lines of business that they follow be true, it behooves those who are pelting the Canadian Pacific steam-ship line with stones to restrain their indignation, and first observe that ancient custom which is said to have made a cleanly city of Jerusalem, where every man saw to the ordering of his own door-yard. The accusation is that these two lines bring into San Francisco a number of contraband Chinese, who, through a form of trickery called "habeas corpusing," obtain the right to remain within the jurisdiction of our government. Five steamers arrive in San Francisco in each two months, or one in every twelve days. In the past year, up to July, 1890, they had brought to that city 1344 Chinamen. In January they brought 191; in February,

73; in March, 185; in April, 335; in May, 240; and in June, 320. Of this 1344 the component members were mainly men of those classes that the law permits to go and come—merchants, students, scientists, diplomats, consular agents, and their servants, etc. But in the number came 370 who declared that they were not Chinese, but were American citizens by birth, and must be permitted to land. That is to say, there were 60 a month of this class of travellers. All were taken off the ships by act of habeas corpus, in order to permit an investigation of their claim in the federal courts.

The fact appears to be that of 60 Chinese, on an average, who try to enter at San Francisco every month, without unquestioned authority under the law, a large proportion succeed. Less than twenty-five per cent. are sent back to China. The claimants of citizenship may be men who were once before laborers here, and who possess our violated pledges in the form of certificates; some may in reality be born citizens. However that be, the cunning and inclination toward dishonest dealing with our government which are marked characteristics of the Chinese (whether our course with them has or has not been of a similar character) give some basis for the suspicion that the flood of testimony in support of each "suspect" case is not always genuine. So does the fact, which I obtained upon high authority, that the first examination of the "suspects" while on shipboard is wholly perfunctory and mechanical, whereas the truly searching examination is made only after the alleged citizens have been long on shore, and have had ample time to assume a character and a familiarity with our institutions more or less in keeping with their assertion that they were born upon the soil. In the mean time the flood of official business has been swelled by the legal proceedings, and the anti-Chinese in the press and in politics have obtained an excuse for charging that a selfish interest in fees and emoluments is one of the influences that keep this door ajar.

It will be seen that through this opening also the smuggling is very limited, as is the case on the southern frontier. Therefore the most serious breach of the exclusion law is that on the Canadian frontier, which, as we have seen, amounts to no more than 1500 a year, if not less.