

swung wholly clear; his toes still lightly touched the ground. Among oaths and derisive cries of "Rise 'em, Riley!" desperate efforts were made to swing the man clear of the ground, but to no purpose. The act of sickening brutality by which—the writer being witness—the victim's death was, in the fury of the moment, compassed, is not fit for these pages. The murderer, "Dutch Charley," a tinsmith by trade, was afterward sent to San Quentin from San Bernardino county for the murder of a squaw.

Charley's act was the crowning horror of that horrible night. It revolted even the

baser brutes who had urged him to its commission. Brutality had sickened itself. The babel of passion was hushed and abashed, and in sullen silence the mob fell to pieces and slunk away in the night, like a gorged and tired beast.

It was midnight, and a body of men appointed by the sheriff cut down the dead—twenty-three in number. Nearly all had been dragged through the streets at the end of a rope, and all were found shot and stabbed as well as hanged. Such was the first completed act of the drama prophesied by the Senate of 1854.

P. S. Dorney.

THE TACOMA METHOD.

THERE is no element of novelty about "The Tacoma method" except its application to the Chinese, for it has been the practice of communities, as far back as history extends, to expel intruders or exile obnoxious members.

The particular appellation which here denotes the crystallizing of the anti-Mongolian theories, and stands for the object and means of the removal of the little yellow man, will go far to immortalize the pleasant city at the head of Puget Sound. Although Tacoma was not the first locality on the Pacific Coast to bring agitation to the point of banishing them, it decidedly answered the question regarding the Chinese, as did the people of New York in regard to the Tweed ring. "What," asked the great expounder of public plunder, "are you going to do about it?" when brought face to face with the public reprobation of his iniquities; and, "What are you going to do about it," was asked of Tacoma's Committee of Fifteen, "in case these men do not leave on November 1st, 1885, as you have directed?"

"We shall see."

When the edict went forth, in October, that an exodus should be made in thirty days, there were about eight hundred Chinese in the city. They were engaged in trading, gar-

dening, manufacturing shoes and garments, mill and household work, and the various branches of menial labor. There were probably about six hundred white men and women unemployed and suffering; but it must be remembered that the average white man is equal to at least fifty per cent. more accomplishment than a coolie. It is only in the occupations which we consider the peculiar province of women, that the Chinaman can hold his own; but his manner of washing, cooking, and doing general housework will hardly bear comparison, in the matters of taste and neatness, with our own. So thoroughly had John acquired a foothold in Tacoma, that efforts were being put forth to discourage white acquisitions to the population, and the commercial and industrial conditions were becoming antagonistic to white occupation. The story of Singapore was about to be told of Tacoma, and the fate of the unfortunate Phillippine Isles awaited it. These facts were more noticeable in a city of 8,000 inhabitants, one-tenth Chinese, than they would have been among 300,000 people, one-fifth Chinese; and at least nine-tenths of the white residents sympathized entirely with the movement to make it a white man's town of peace and plenty.

It is below the mark to calculate the ship-

ment of money from Tacoma to China at five dollars per week per head of the Mongolian population. Of that amount, about two dollars per head returned in the form of the distinctive clothes and food of the Chinese, and the remaining \$2,400 or \$2,500 a week stayed in China, as lost to our trade and industries as though thrown into the ocean. The effect of such a constant drain on the financial blood which should have been left to course through the commercial arteries of a rising city, may easily be conjectured. Stagnation and distress were its instantaneous and constant accompaniments. In the months of December and January, a year ago, there were sixty-seven families almost wholly supported from the city treasury, while the authorities of the county had their hands full to meet the demands of charity on the public funds. During December and January last, only two applications for relief were made upon the city officials.

The outlook, on October 1st last, was not a pleasant one. The Chinese had established themselves in barracks, their usual practice, which fairly teemed with blue blouses; and existed, as is their wont, upon a regimen and with surroundings absolutely impossible to the white man. Nowhere in the purlieus of London or Paris do human beings support life under the conditions these people imposed upon themselves in a pleasant little city, with all out-doors for expansion and elbow-room. They were a menace to public health and safety, with their habits, vices, and diseases, and the ever-present probability of a conflagration breaking out in their tinder-box rookeries. They were hardly amenable to the laws, as they had codes, courts, and executioners of their own to deal with race disputes; while, in judicial controversy with an American, the needed witness, who would swear with cheerful effrontery to the most mendacious statement, was always to be found. They formed a colony of leeches. They kept white men and women out of work, and threatened financial disaster. They were shrewd and indefatigable petty thieves, hardly ever rising to the dignity of audacious crimes, but constituting

a class capable of furnishing the utmost annoyance to a small town with inadequate police protection.

This, surely, formed sufficient provocation for the promotion of an exodus, the magnitude and difficulties of which were early recognized. There was no form of statute law to which recourse could be had. What there was of law (the Burlingame Treaty and the Restriction Act) seemed to justify the infliction; for, though it was commonly conceded that more than half the Chinese in Tacoma had come from British Columbia in violation of Federal decrees, yet the fact of their presence was *prima facie* evidence that they were there in accordance with stipulations. An appeal to the higher law of self-preservation was determined upon, and the Chinese were asked to "go."

The response was gratifying. In less than two weeks more than half disappeared; in less than thirty days Chinatown wore such a deserted appearance, that it was thought not more than sixty or eighty of the denizens remained and these were unmolested in the employment of settling up their affairs. Whenever an occupant owned the building, money was raised among the citizens for its purchase, and white debtors were compelled to pay their Mongolian creditors; so that, in purse and person, not the slightest imaginable injury was wrought, and the only inconvenience imposed was the change of domicile—no more a matter of sentiment or regret to a Chinaman than to a horse. Men who have reached the apex of possible civilization, who have no homes, no wives, no children, no tender associations or ties of life beyond the instinct of living, do not suffer disruption of the heart-strings when moved from Cathay to San Francisco, or from Tacoma to Portland.

This we claim to be a distinctive feature of the Tacoma method, namely, the recognition and protection of all human rights that could, by any course of justice, be demanded for any class of men, in its natural and necessary removal from a community where it had ceased to be useful and had become dangerous, or let us say, only inconvenient.

When Tuesday, November 3d, peeped

over the Cascade Mountains, it found several energetic and determined citizens already afoot; for this was the day set for the final exodus of the Chinese, and the plans for its successful promotion had been laid by some few of the shrewdest and most determined of the leaders, who, however, thought that less than four-score heathen demanded their attention. Fifteen men proceeded to the first shelter, and rapped on the barricaded door, but no response was vouchsafed; and, while a consultation was being held on the means to bring about a parley, the steam whistles of the factories and the fire alarm bells sounded a tocsin, to which over five hundred citizens responded as if by magic. Of these, at least one hundred were deputy sheriffs or deputy marshals, and, very presently, the city mayor and marshal and the county sheriff mingled with them. This, too, forms part and parcel of the Tacoma method. The crowd was not a riotous gathering; it included a large proportion of peace officers; it was bent on no lawless purpose; no weapons were displayed, no threats made, no violence attempted. A young Chinaman who had cut off his queue and was studying English, was made the interpreter of the wishes of the citizens. He was instructed to tell his people that they would suffer no harm; and upon receiving this assurance the bars fell, the bolts were drawn, and door after door was opened. Confidence was easily established, and the committee had no further difficulty in obtaining admission to the buildings not yet deserted. But instead of less than a hundred, nearly three hundred Chinese were found in hiding. They were collected at a central point; so much of their wares as could not be carried by hand was transported in wagons, and shortly after noon a procession of the exodusters, guards, vehicles, and citizens on foot, wended its way over the southern hill, and the Chinese had gone from Tacoma.

The peace officers of the city and county were in attendance the whole day, and, by the utmost wresting of the law in opposition to the wishes of the citizens, could find no

action upon which to base interference, or interpose their authority. Had force been used to enter a building and remove an occupant, the sheriff and mayor would both have championed order; but there was no need of such vanity on that day. The Chinamen were notified in October to leave by November 1st. No alternative whatever was presented, nor was any required. The intruders found themselves unwelcome, and, as was the case after the recent Convention in Portland, Oregon, hardly waited the publication of the resolutions to begin their exit. Once gone, the question is settled.

The United States government procured the indictment of twenty seven citizens of Tacoma for the crimes of conspiracy for the purpose of depriving a certain class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, and conspiracy for the purpose of preventing and hindering the constituted authorities of Washington Territory from giving and securing to all persons in said Territory the equal protection of the laws, under section 5519 of the United States Revised Statutes; and for the crime of insurrection against the laws of the United States, under section 5334, and "for other crimes." The chief of these offenses is comprehended in what is known as the "Ku-Klux" act, which was intended to protect from imposition the Southern freedmen under the XIVth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and which did not contemplate, nearly or remotely, the possibility of saddling the unsavory Mongolian on the States of the Union. The procuring of these indictments was at the instance of men whose interests are not identified with those of the people at large, chiefly contractors, manufacturing corporations, and speculative landholders, and they are of nearly the same tenor as those under which fifteen citizens were tried at Seattle and triumphantly acquitted. At that trial, extraordinary efforts were put forth to secure a conviction, and failed, although public sentiment was not so crystallized and unanimous as at Tacoma. Nor was the exodus movement in Seattle a success, partly owing to the fact that it is the elder city, and within the mu-

nicipal limits much real estate is owned by Chinese, which vested rights were taken advantage of by pro-Chinese, and financially influenced men to stimulate dissension where unanimity is one of the most necessary conditions. The consequence has been loss of life in the streets of the "Queen City," without permanently staying the exodus thence, and the planting of a rancor that will be felt for many a day.

In the latter part of November twenty Chinamen were found on the water-front of Tacoma, and, upon questioning them, it was ascertained that they were there in probable violation of the Restriction Act, and they were held until the United States Marshal arrived to take them into custody. Had there been three hundred, or even three score, of their fellows resident in Tacoma, these new-comers would have been immediately absorbed, beyond possibility of recovery, and the unauthorized population of the territory been augmented by just so many. As it was, their detection and detention were certainties. After a short seclusion on McNeil's Island, the location of the territorial penitentiary, the prisoners were taken before the United States Judge at Seattle, and by him committed to the Marshal, to be escorted to the boundary line of British Columbia, and forced into that country. The trip and its achievement are described by the august functionary:

"Oh, yes, we saw them safe into the land of the Britishers. The steamer on which we had the Chinamen extended her trip to Semiahmoo to accommodate us. Semiahmoo is only a few miles from the imaginary line dividing the United States from Canada. At that point we got enough provisions to last the Chinamen a day or two, and placing them in a large row boat, pulled across the bay. The beach was so flat that we could not get within two hundred yards of the shore. All hands took off their shoes (charming Hibernicism), and waded to the sand. We then took up our line of march for about two miles. On reaching the boundary line, we showed the Chinamen the road to New Westminster, gave them provisions, told them

to go, and never come back. We arrived at Semiahmoo at 5:30 in the morning, so you see the Chinese got a good early start for their journey. The United States Customs officer at Semiahmoo explained to the Chinamen that they must not come back to this side, or the next time they would lose their queues. The Chinese seemed glad to get out of custody, and the last we saw of them they were going down the road toward New Westminster, on a dog-trot, chattering like a lot of parrots."

Here the Federal authorities followed the line marked out by the Committee of Fifteen and the citizens of Tacoma, except, first, those who made exodus from Tacoma were not restrained of their liberty for one moment; second, they were not subject to great personal inconvenience; third, they were not sent into a foreign country; fourth, no threats of violence were made, or dire reprisal, in case of return. Those who went from Tacoma were kindly treated; warmed while waiting for the train by roaring wood fires; plentifully fed, and snugly sheltered. Those deported to Canada were here in defiance of the Restriction Act; so were many if not most of those who were requested to remove from Tacoma; and the difference is small in the defiance of a principle, whether it is the general motion of a community, or whether it emanates from the ermine. The Restriction Act does not comport altogether with the provisions of the Burlingame Treaty, for it is a law discriminating against the subjects of the Emperor of China, and is not applied to "the citizens of the most favored nations." These twenty Celestials came down from Canada, not across the sea, and had they been of any other blood or breed of mankind, would not have been molested; although twenty assisted emigrants, known convicts, or miserably poor of any European country would undoubtedly be refused landing at an Atlantic seaport. The Canadians have a law imposing fifty dollars each, "head-tax," on all Chinese entering the Dominion, under any circumstances of trade or travel, regardless of their having been there before. Return certificates do not afford the disci-

ples of Con-fut-tse an opportunity of exercising their dexterity in forgery. The Secretary of State at Washington construed that law to cover only arrivals at sea prior to January 1st, and gave instructions which resulted in the order from the bench and the subsequent action of the United States Marshal.

The case, then, is resolved into this: "The Tacoma method," in the abstract, is an application of the principle that all of the rights of the people cannot be conditioned or defined in the statute books, with specifications of encroachments or traversements; and that remedies and resorts must be left, in some degree, to be indicated by emergencies. Every government on the face of the earth recognizes this principle, and to all communities of the governed it is a vital one. It may be objected that, under it, the murders of Christian ministers in heathen lands are more to be regretted than reprehended: or that the hanging of Mary Dyer, on Boston Common, or the whipping of Rev'd Obadiah Holmes, in Salem, was justifiable. From the standpoint of Christian tenderness, brotherly love, and religious sentiment, such occurrences seem monstrous; but in social economics, where hard facts, and not necessarily of the Gradgrind order either, are alone to be dealt with, the peace, contentment, welfare, and opportunities of the majority, and the claims of corporative orders of civilization, obtain. Under that ruling, mawkishness and cant are excluded.

In the organic act of the State of Oregon, there is a provision (Section xv.) that, after A. D. 1857, no Chinaman shall own or possess any real estate or mines, or independently engage in mining there; and it is simply a recognition of the fact that the race is an undesirable element, and should not be allowed to obtain a foothold on our soil; for that it is which really fixes a man, as the earth about the roots of a tree, to one spot. The Chinamen are to be regarded merely as nomads, and to be constitutionally continued a transitory race. No such distinction, unfortunately, exists in Washington Territory, and the agitation so near fruition in Seattle has borne only sorrow.

Tacoma is to be congratulated on the advantages it possessed in dealing with the Chinese question; and all derogatory reports to the contrary, escaped even the appearance of riot or violence. The conditions precedent were general determination, unanimity, firmness, and judicious counsels and leadership. Above all, the keeping of counsel and promptness of action commended themselves by their prominence. It was only because of the active participation of the sober, intelligent, and respectable citizens, whose motives could not be questioned or integrity impeached, that a speedy and peaceful result was reached. The few interested men who would have espoused the cause of the Mongolians, were overwhelmed and awed when they saw the class and character of those arrayed against them.

It is now a little more than three months since the coolies left Tacoma, and the desirability of their absence is demonstrated. The late Christmas without Chinese was a veritable fête day, and the merchants unite in declaring that they have not had such a generous and substantial holiday trade for many years. What can be more natural? The \$2500 a week, buried in China, had been retained in home circulation for about eight weeks,—a neat little difference, in favor of the city, of \$20,000. Only the year before, every fourth citizen carried a subscription paper; a widow with children, a father out of work and a motherless brood about him, starving men and women who needed transportation to homes of kindred or to places where situations could be had—all these appealed to the self-denial of the charitably inclined. This year, not an eleemosynary scheme was set on foot. To us and our race, Christmastide means giving. It opens the purse; it blesses every mite, yes, even every smile bestowed on the young, the old, the poor, the helpless, the halt, the lame, and the blind, for whose miseries the heart of the Master bled. Who ever heard of the Chinese being thus warmed by the fires of love and charity? Like the horse-leech's daughter, they cry "give" and are never satisfied.

All that the Tacoma method has of antagonism is a determination to rid the community of a public curse, chiefly Chinese. All that it implies is such a full and positive exhibition of general purpose, that denial will be immediately recognized as the height of

folly. All that it defies is individual selfishness. It is an exemplification of the local application of Abraham Lincoln's principle of a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

George Dudley Lawson.

SEQUEL TO THE TACOMA METHOD.

THE so-called Tacoma method has borne its legitimate fruitage at Seattle, in Caucasian blood spilled in the streets, citizens imprisoned, and the business of the city turned upside down under stress of martial law. The real animus and essence of the Tacoma idea is antagonism to the authority of law. The restive desire to be freed from the unwelcome presence of the Chinese, which pervades all respectable classes on Puget Sound, is not really shared by the coterie of lightweight communist agitators who have created all the disorder in the violation of law. That deep founded occasion of popular disaffection was in reality only their tangible stock-in-trade, in plying their subversive vocation. It was their open vaunt that "We don't so much mind the poor China boys themselves; the white Chinamen are the worst." One of their orators, from the platform at Seattle, before a crowded audience, uttered the menace: "As soon as we get through with the other Chinamen, then we'll make the white Chinamen go." Why not? If they could demonstrate their undisputed power, as at Tacoma, to drive out at will and without formality one class of residents, what should hinder them from serving in the same way any other class obnoxious to the "majority?"

There was really no occasion nor excuse for the riotous outbreak at Seattle on the morning of February 7th, in the detriment to the white community of Seattle from Chinese competition. But few Chinese servants remained in the employ of American families. With the single exception of the Pacific Improvement Company, of San Fran-

cisco (the C. P. R. R.'s coal colliery), all the mills, the railroads, and the collieries of Puget Sound had dismissed all their coolie employees. The Chinese laundries and cigar factories in Seattle were successively closing up for want of patronage. The city authorities, backed by the judicial sanction and executive process of the courts, were as rapidly as practicable freezing out the Chinamen by means of discriminating ordinances. One of these denied Chinamen the privilege of peddling vegetables. Others were passed to put the final quietus on their only remaining resort, the laundry business. These ordinances were being sternly enforced, and the gravamen of the cry of the agitators was in effect removed. But the whirlwind of communistic lawlessness brewed in the Tacoma violence must spend its force in the Seattle tragedy. The blood-barrier of legal restraint once broken through, what is to check the career of destruction until it has expended its fury?

Every man in Seattle who had accumulated a little real or personal property was made to tremble under the insolent menaces of the irresponsible fomenters and ring-leaders of sedition, after the Tacoma affair. One of the agitators went through Oregon, declaring that two hundred of their adherents sat in the court-room during the "conspiracy trial" at Seattle, with Colt's revolvers under their coats, determined that the accused should come out clear, whatever the verdict might be. On the evening of the 6th they hurled their contemptuous defiance of law into the face of the public, in the shape of a series of insolent anarchic resolutions;

though the programme of riot inaugurated at day-break on the following Sabbath morning was the hatch of a midnight plot. The people and the authorities were taken unawares. So it was in the case of the Tacoma achievement three months previous. There the affair was of considerably less moment, because of the less number of Chinamen, and the analogy of their condition there, in their shanty quarters, to a mere mining camp. In Seattle they were twice as numerous, and one firm, Wa Chong & Co., owns brick buildings there assessed at \$13,000.

The Tacoma affair of November 3d and 4th was the signal of alarm to the officials charged with the maintenance of the laws in Seattle, as they knew the "Tacoma method" was immediately to be tried on in that city. There was no time to lose, and the utmost decisiveness of action in the crisis was requisite. The sheriff of King county swore in as deputies over one hundred law-abiding citizens, who, with a company of two hundred and fifty Home Guards, were provided with arms, and prepared to act in any case of emergency. The Seattle Rifles and Company D of the territorial militia received orders to be in readiness for action at a moment's notice. Not deeming these precautions sufficient to ensure absolute security, Governor Squire prevailed on the President to send General Gibbon and ten companies of United States troops from Fort Vancouver barracks to the scene of disturbance, prepared to quell any symptoms of disorder. The troops did not stay long, and a great many affected to laugh at the affair as rather a ridiculous occurrence. The commotion all at once quieted down, and, of course, there was nobody in the neighborhood that had ever entertained the slightest idea of doing or saying anything extreme or unlawful. People, generally, were disposed to look upon the whole matter as a tempest in a tea-pot, that had happily settled itself for good and all. And so the matter stood when the outburst of February 7th occurred.

The incidents of the affair are well known and need to be rehearsed but briefly. The service of process of Court by writ of *habeas*

corpus upon the ejected Chinamen on the steamer and the wharf—the attack upon and attempt to disarm the Home Guard by a yelling mob, as the remnant of Chinamen who could not find room on the steamer were being escorted from the wharf to their quarters, to await the sailing of the next steamer—the killing of one man and wounding of four others—the consequent proclamation of martial law, and its enforcement by Gen. Gibbon and the arms of eight companies of Federal troops quartered in the city—all these are familiar facts.

What is their lesson? The logic of such serious events is clear. One admonition in particular is thus flashed upon our hitherto too dull perception, in the gleam of martial bayonets and the indelible characters of blood already shed—plain as the hand-writing on the wall: that there is no time to be lost in ridding the coast of the curse of the Chinese presence peaceably and legally, by voluntary non-intercourse and municipal proscriptive ordinances.

On a just interpretation of the treaties, laws, and constitution bearing on the subject, they can be lawfully excluded by ordinances. They have the legal right to enforce contracts. Very well; make it unlawful for citizens or corporations to enter into contracts with them. They are guaranteed the same safeguards as other aliens in respect to "travel and residence" in the matters of "life, liberty, and deprivation of property without due process of law." Very well; limit them strictly to those, and, if necessary, all other aliens with them, in respect to the occupations in which they are engaged. Then they will very soon be starved out of the country by a kind of "natural selection" or artificial election.

Another lesson rings in our ears from the volley of the Seattle Home Guard: that is, that proceedings without law are bound to result in catastrophes without law. Any attempt to dishonor the majesty of inviolable law is certain to bring upon the head of the guilty individual, or mob, or community, the heavy hand of retribution, both swift and sure.

H.