

Humanizing the Other
Mark Twain's Explanation of the Burlingame Treaty 1868 - Part 2
By Philip Chin

1868 proved to be a high point in relations between the United States and China. Anson Burlingame, former Minister to China for the United States, now came back to Washington as a Chinese diplomat to negotiate a treaty with the United States. The resulting Burlingame Treaty allowed open immigration between the United States and China. It promised protection for the nationals of either country visiting the other and respect for their respective religious practices. For the first time, a foreign country recognized the American concept that citizenship could be changed upon immigration to a new country. Under the old rule that all other countries in the world had recognized up until that time, a British citizen was always a British citizen, a Chinese citizen was always a Chinese, and so on. America, a country now mostly made up of immigrants, couldn't afford to have that traditional system with millions of people immigrating to the country.

Mark Twain came out with his own commentary on the Burlingame Treaty in the New York Tribune on August 28, 1868. Clemens' explanations of the reasoning and history behind the provisions of the treaty reflect a deep understanding of foreign relations that help show why he'd been considered as the diplomatic replacement for Burlingame as United States Minister in China. He was trying his best to explain both Chinese concerns and interests in ways that Americans could sympathize with and relate to their own history and interests. As Mark Twain he could explain uncomfortable facts to Americans in the humorously sarcastic way that the Mark Twain pen name had become famous for.

Article 1 asserted the continued territorial rights of China over land seized or controlled by the colonial powers. Twain explained the situation by saying, "In or near one or two of the cities of China the Emperor has set apart certain tracts of land for occupation by foreigners. The foreigners residing upon these tracts create courts of justice, organize police forces, and govern themselves by laws of their own framing. They levy and collect taxes, they pave their streets, they light them with gas. These communities, through liberality of China, are so independent and so unshackled that they have all the seeming of colonies—insomuch that the jurisdiction of China over them was in time lost sight of and disregarded—at least, questioned." Twain then drew a connection to Americans by referring to one of the causes of the American Revolution for Chinese resentment, "... these foreign communities took it upon themselves to levy taxes upon Chinamen residing upon their so-called 'concessions,' and enforce their collection. Perhaps those Chinamen were as well governed as they have been anywhere in China, perhaps it was entirely just that they should pay for good government—but the principle was wrong; it was an encroachment upon the rights of the crown, and caused the Government uneasiness; the boundary thus passed there was no telling how far the encroachment might be pushed. The municipal council which taxed these Chinamen was composed altogether of foreigners, so there was taxation without representation—a policy which we fought seven years to overthrow."

Article 2 said that commerce in China would be protected by respecting the right to trade and navigation freely as stipulated by treaty. Any further rights would be at the discretion of the Chinese Government alone. Twain explained, "At a first glance, this clause would seem unnecessary—unnecessary because the granting of any privilege not stipulated in a treaty with China, must of course be a matter entirely subject to the pleasure of the Chinese Government.

Yet the clause has its significance. There is in China a class of foreigners who demand privileges, concessions and immunities, instead of asking for them—a class who look upon the Chinese as degraded barbarians, and not entitled to charity—as helpless, and therefore to be trodden underfoot—a tyrannical class who say openly that the Chinese should be forced to do thus and so; that foreigners know what is best for them, better than they do themselves, and therefore it would be but a Christian kindness to take them by the throat and compel them to see their real interests as the enlightened foreigners see them. These people harass and distress the Government by constantly dictating to it and meddling with its affairs. They beget and keep alive a 'distrust' of foreigners among the Chinese people."

He then talked about the efforts of the Catholic Jesuits to convert the Chinese to Christianity through education and good works. These Christians were welcomed and treated hospitably by the Chinese and won many converts. "However, to pursue my narrative, some priests of the Dominican order arrived, and very shortly began to make trouble. They began to cramp the privileges of converts; they flouted the system of persuasion of the Jesuits, and adopted that of driving; they meddled in politics, they became arrogant and dictatorial, they fomented discords everywhere—in a word, they utterly destroyed Chinese confidence in foreigners, and raised up Chinese hatred and distrust against them. For these things they were driven out of the country. When strangers came, after that, the Chinese, with that calm wisdom which comes only through bitter experience, caged them, or hanged them. I spoke, a while ago, of a domineering, hectoring class of foreigners in China who are always interfering with the Government's business, and thus keeping alive the distrust and dislike engendered by their kindred spirits, the Dominicans, an age ago. They clog progress. Article 2 of the treaty is intended to discountenance all officious intermeddling with the Government's business by Americans, and so move a step toward the restoration of that Chinese confidence in strangers which was annihilated so long ago."

Article 3 set forth the right to station diplomatic consuls in the ports of each country to protect the interests of their nationals abroad on an equal basis with such countries as Great Britain and Russia. The violent incident that Clemens had witnessed with the innocent Chinese man being beaten in San Francisco in 1864 and the police standing by laughing was obviously still fresh in his mind as he wrote his explanation:

It affords me infinite satisfaction to call particular attention to this Consul clause, and think of the howl that will go up from the cooks, the railroad graders, and the cobblestone artists of California, when they read it. They can never beat and bang and set the dogs on the Chinamen any more. These pastimes are lost to them forever. In San Francisco, a large part of the most interesting local news in the daily papers consists of gorgeous compliments to the "able and efficient" Officer This and That for arresting Ah Foo, or Ching Wang, or Song Hi for stealing a chicken; but when some white brute breaks an unoffending Chinaman's head with a brick, the paper does not compliment any officer for arresting the assaulter, for the simple reason that the officer does not make the arrest; the shedding of Chinese blood only makes him laugh; he considers it fun of the most entertaining description. I have seen dogs almost tear helpless Chinamen to pieces in broad daylight in San Francisco, and I have seen hod-carriers who help to make Presidents stand around and enjoy the sport. I have seen troops of boys assault a Chinaman with stones when he was walking quietly along about his business, and send him bruised and bleeding home. I have seen Chinamen abused and maltreated in all the mean, cowardly ways possible to the invention of a degraded nature, but I never saw a policeman interfere in the matter and I never saw a Chinaman righted in a court of justice for wrongs thus done him. The California laws do not allow Chinamen to testify against white men. California is one of the most liberal and progressive States in the Union, and

the best and worthiest of her citizens will be glad to know that the days of persecuting Chinamen are over, in California.

Article 4 referred to a previous treaty that had granted religious freedoms to Christian missionaries and their converts in China. The new treaty made this right reciprocal for the Chinese in the United States. Furthermore the new treaty stated, "...citizens of the United States in China, of every religious persuasion, and Chinese subjects in the United States shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship in either country. Cemeteries for sepulture of the dead of whatever nativity or nationality shall be held in respect and free from disturbance or profanation." Twain then explained to undoubtedly amazed American readers that Christianity had been present in China for over a millennium already. He talked about two American missionaries who had traveled over 1,000 miles into the western interior of China to look for a Christian grave that was rumored to be out there from the 7th Century. The missionaries not only found such a grave but were allowed to preach freely wherever they pleased along the way and were received hospitably by huge crowds of Chinese. Twain then appealed to the strong commercial instincts of Americans by saying, "Moreover, these missionaries sold—mind you, sold, for cash, to these assemblages—20,000 copies of religious books, thus wisely and pleasantly combining salvation with business."

Article 4 of the treaty he explained sarcastically was more for the benefit of the Chinese in the United States and their dead who needed protection from "civilized and enlightened" Americans.

If a Chinese missionary were to come disseminating his eternal truths among us, we would laugh at him first and bombard him with cabbages afterward. We would do this because we are civilized and enlightened. We would make him understand that he couldn't peddle his eternal truths in this market.

China is one of the few countries where perfect religious freedom prevails. It is one of the few countries where no disabilities are inflicted on a man for his religion's sake, in the matter of holding office and embezzling the public funds. A Jesuit priest was formerly the Vice-President of the Board of Public Works, an exceedingly high position, and the present Viceroy of two important provinces is a Mohammedan. There are a great many Mohammedans in China.

The last clause of article 4 was not absolutely necessary, perhaps. Still, it was well enough to have it in. When the lower classes in California learn that they are forever debarred from mutilating living Chinamen, their first impulse will naturally be to "take it out" of the dead ones. But disappointment shall be their portion.

A Chinaman's "tail" is protected by law in California; for if he lost his queue he would be a dishonored Chinaman forever, and would forever be an exile. He could not think of returning to his native land to offer his countrymen the absurd spectacle of a man without a tail to his head.

The Chinese regard their dead with a reverence which amounts to worship. All Chinamen who die in foreign lands are shipped home to China for permanent burial. Even the contracts which consign the wretched Coolies to slavery at \$5 a month salary and two suits of clothes a year stipulate that if he dies in Cuba, the Sandwich Islands, or any other foreign land, his body must be sent home. There are vast vaults in San Francisco where hundreds of dead Chinamen have been salted away by gentle hands for shipment. The heads of the great Chinese Companies keep a record of the names of their thousands of

members, and every individual is strictly accounted for to the home office. Every now and then a vessel is chartered and sent to China freighted with corpses.

The "tail" or "queue" that Twain refers to was the long hairstyle that Manchurian rulers had imposed upon all Chinese men upon conquering China in the 17th Century to show their submission to their new rulers. Any Chinese without a queue was regarded as a rebel and could be punished with execution. Any Chinese man that lost their queue to an American ruffian was therefore in very deep trouble if they wanted to return to China. Most of the Chinese laborers of the time wanted to just make their fortune in America and then return to China, not to become permanent residents or citizens of the United States.

Article 5 recognized "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and his allegiance." This was the American doctrine that citizenship could be changed voluntarily by immigration and naturalization that China was the first country in the world to join the United States in recognizing. The article also recognized the right of Chinese and Americans to freely immigrate to the other country " for purposes of curiosity, trade, or as permanent residents." A provision also forbade anyone from being taken to the other country without their free and voluntary consent. This was in direct response to those Americans in favor of excluding the Chinese under the charge that all Chinese were imported as "coolie labor." In other words they were either kidnapped or tricked workers who were akin to African American slaves prior to the Civil War. Such slave labor it was argued would undercut the value of free white labor and lead to a new civil war. Chinese were also said to be treacherous and universally dishonest, much as African Americans were so stereotyped.

Twain poked fun at these fears saying:

The present Chinese immigration, however, is the best class of people—in some respects, though not in all—that comes to us from foreign lands. They are the best railroad hands we have by far. They are the most faithful, the most temperate, the most peaceable, the most industrious. The Pacific Railroad Company employs them almost exclusively, and by thousands. When a chicken roost or a sluice-box is robbed in California, some Chinaman is almost sure to suffer for it—yet these dreadful people are trusted in the most reckless manner by the railroad people. The Chinese railroad hands go down in numbers to Sacramento and often spend their last cent. Then they simply go to the Superintendent, state their case, write their names on a card, together with a promise to refund out of the first wages coming to them, and with no other security than this, railroad tickets are sold to them on credit. Mr. Crocker and his subordinates have done this time and again, and have yet to lose the first cent by it. In the towns and cities the Chinamen are cooks, chambermaids, washerwomen, nurses, merchants, butchers, gardeners, interpreters in banks and business houses, etc. They are willing to do anything that will afford them a living.

Article 6 of the treaty aroused the interest (and venom) in Samuel Clemens particularly. His comments also incidentally showed how his thoughts were in the process of being changed about minorities in the United States. He wrote his longest commentary about the Burlingame Treaty for this section. The provision seems innocuous enough dealing with reciprocal residency rights until it reaches the final section that left the issue of naturalizing future Chinese as American citizens up to the United States Congress. The article reads, "Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; but nothing herein contained

shall be held to confer naturalization upon the citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States."

In full, Twain said:

There will be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth on the Pacific coast when Article 6 is read. For, at one sweep, all the crippling, intolerant, and unconstitutional laws framed by California against Chinamen pass away, and discover (in stage parlance) 20,000 prospective Hong Kong and Suchow voters and office-holders! Tableau. I am not fond of Chinamen, but I am still less fond of seeing them wronged and abused. If the reader has not lived in San Francisco, he can have only a very faint conception of the tremendous significance of this mild-looking, unpretentious Article 6. It lifts a degraded, snubbed, vilified, and hated race of men out of the mud and invests them with the purple of American sovereignty. It makes men out of beasts of burden. The first iniquity it strikes at is that same revolutionary one of taxation without representation. In California the law imposes a burdensome mining tax upon Chinamen—a tax which is peculiar in its nature and is not imposed upon any other miners, either native or foreign—and the legislature that created this rascality knew the law was in flagrant violation of the constitution when they passed it. Mr. Cushing, a great lawyer, and formerly minister to China, says that nearly all the Pacific coast laws relating to Chinamen are unconstitutional and could not stand in a court at all. The Chinese mining tax has been collected with merciless faithfulness for many years—often two or three times, instead of once—but its collection will have to be discontinued now. Treaties of the United States override the handiwork of even the most gifted of State legislatures.

In San Francisco if a Chinaman enters a street car to ride with the Negroes and the Indians and the other gentlemen and ladies, the magnificent conductor instantly ejects him, with all the insolence that \$75 a month and official importance of microscopic dimensions confer upon small people. The Chinaman may ride on the front platform, but not elsewhere. Hereafter, under the ample shadow of Article 6, he may ride where he pleases.

Chinamen, the best gardeners in America, own no gardens. The laws of California do not allow them to acquire property in real estate. Article 6 does, though. Formerly, in the police court, they swore Chinamen according to the usual form, and sometimes, where the magistrate was particularly anxious to come at the truth, a chicken was beheaded in open court and some yellow paper burned with awful solemnity while the oath was administered—but the Chinaman testified only against his own countrymen. Things are changed now, however, and he may testify against whom he pleases. No one ever saw a Chinaman on a jury on the Pacific coast. Hereafter they will be seen on juries, sitting in judgment upon the crimes of men of all nationalities.

Chinamen have taken no part in elections, heretofore, further than to sweep out the balloting stations, but the time is near at hand when they will vote themselves; when they will be clerks and judges of election, and receive and account for the votes of white men; when they will be eligible to office and may run for Congress, if such be the will of God. We have seen caricatures in San Francisco representing a white man asking a Chinaman for his vote. It was fine irony then, but in a very little while the same old lithograph, resurrected, will have as much point as it ever had, only the subject of it will have become a solemn reality instead of an ingenious flight of fancy. In that day, candidates will have to possess other accomplishments besides being able to drink lager beer and twirl a shillalah. They will have to smoke opium and eat with chop-sticks. Influential additions will have to be made to election tickets and transparencies, thus: "THE COUNTRY'S HOPE, THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE—DONNERWETTER, O'SHAUGHNESSY, AND CHING-FOO" The children of Chinese citizens will have the entry of the public schools on the same footing as white children.

Any one who is not blind, can see that the first ninety words of Article 6 work a miracle which shames the most dazzling achievements of him of the wonderful lamp. I am speaking as if I believed the Chinamen would hasten to take out naturalization papers under this treaty and become citizens. I do believe it. They are shrewd and smart, and quick to see an advantage; that is one argument. If they have any scruples about becoming citizens, the politicians who need their votes will soon change their opinions. Article 6 does not confer citizenship upon Chinamen—we have other laws which regulate that matter. It simply gives them the privileges and immunities pertaining to "residence," in the same degree as they are enjoyed by the "subjects of the most favored nation." One of the chief privileges pertaining to "residence" among us is that of taking the oath and becoming full citizens after that residence has been extended to the legal and customary period. Mr. Cushing says the Chinamen had a right to become citizens before Article 6 was framed. They certainly have it now.

Prominent senators refused to touch the treaty or have anything to do with it unless it threw the doors of citizenship open as freely to Chinamen as to other foreigners. The entire Senate knew the broadest meaning of Article 6—and voted for it. The closing sentence of it was added to please a certain Senator, and then he was satisfied and supported the treaty with all his might. It was a gratification to him to have that sentence added; and inasmuch as the sentence could do no harm, since it don't mean anything whatever under the sun, it was gratefully and cheerfully added. It could not have been added to please a worthier man. It sets off the treaty, too, because it is so gracefully worded and is so essentially and particularly ornamental. It embellishes and supports the grand edifice of the Chinese treaty, even as a wealth of stucco embellishes and supports a stately temple. It would hardly be worth while for a treaty to confer naturalization in the last clause of an article wherein it had already provided for the acquirement of naturalization by the proper and usual course.

The idea of making negroes citizens of the United States was startling and disagreeable to me, but I have become reconciled to it; and being reconciled to it, and the ice being broken and the principle established, I am now ready for all comers. The idea of seeing a Chinaman a citizen of the United States would have been almost appalling to me a few years ago, but I suppose I can live through it now. Maybe it will be well to say what sort of people these prospective voters are. There are 50,000 of them on the Pacific coast at large, and 15,000 or 20,000 in San Francisco. They occupy a quarter just out of the business center of the city. They worship a hideous idol in a gorgeous temple. They have a theater, where the orchestra sit on the stage (drinking tea occasionally,) and deafening the public with a ceaseless din of gongs, cymbals, and fiddles with two strings, whose harmonies are capable of inflicting exquisite torture. Their theatrical dresses are much finer and more costly than those in the Black Crook, and the immorality of their plays is fully up to the Black Crook standard. Consequently they are ruined people. Their prominent instinct being just like ours, let us extend the right-hand of fellowship to them across the sea. Some of the men gamble, and the standing of the women is not good. The Chinese streets of San Francisco are crowded with shops and stalls mostly, but there are many Chinese merchant princes who do business on a large scale. The remittances of coin to China amount to half a million a month.

Chinamen work hard and with tireless perseverance; other foreigners get out of work, and labor exchanges must look out for them. Chinamen look out for themselves, and are never idle a week at a time; they make excellent cooks, washers, ironers, and house servants; they are never seen drunk; they are quiet, orderly, and peaceable, by nature; they possess the rare and probably peculiarly barbarous faculty of minding their own business. They are as thrifty as Holland Dutch. They permit nothing to go to waste. When they kill an animal for food, they find use for its hoofs, hide, bones, entrails—everything. When other people throw away fruit cans they pick them up, heat them, and secure the melted tin and solder. They do not scorn refuse rags, paper, and broken glass. They can make a blooming

garden out of a sand-pile, for they seem to know how to make manure out of everything which other people waste.

As I have said before, they are remarkably quick and intelligent, and they can all read, write, and cipher. They are of an exceedingly observant and inquiring disposition. I have been describing the lowest class of Chinamen. Do not they compare favorably with the mass of other immigrants? Will they not make good citizens? Are they not able to confer a sound and solid prosperity upon a State? What makes a sounder prosperity or invites and unshackles capital more surely than good, cheap, reliable labor? California and Oregon are vast, uncultivated grain fields. I am enabled to state this in the face of the fact that California yields twenty million bushels of wheat this year! California and Oregon will fill up with Chinamen, and these grain fields will be cultivated up to their highest capacity. In time, some of them will be owned by Chinamen, inasmuch as the treaty gives them the right to own real estate. The very men on the Pacific coast who will be loudest in their abuse of the treaty will be among those most benefited by it—the day-laborers. The Chinamen, able to work for half wages, will take their rough manual labor off the hands of these white men, and then the whites will rise to the worthier and more lucrative employment of superintending the Chinamen, and doing various other kinds of brain-work demanded of them by the new order of things.

Through the operation of this notable Article 6, America becomes at once as liberal and as free a country as England—therefore let me rejoice. Singapore is a British colony. There are 16,000 Chinese there, and they are all British subjects—British citizens in the widest meaning of the term. They have all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Englishmen. They hold office. One Chinaman there is a magistrate, and administers British law for British subjects. A Chinaman resident for three or four years in England, and possessing a certain amount of property, can become naturalized and vote, hold office, and exercise all the functions and enjoy all the privileges of citizens by birth.

Article 7 of the Burlingame Treaty allowed Chinese students to study in "public educational institutions" and for American students to study in such schools in China. This article explained itself, Twain said.

Article 8 was a promise by the United States not to interfere in the "affairs or domestic administration" of China and to assist China in the "construction of railroads, telegraphs, or other material internal improvements" if asked. Moreover the United States would recommend that other world powers respect China's rights and assist it when asked as well.

Twain said this was the most important provision of all because:

It aims at restoring Chinese confidence in foreigners, and will go far toward accomplishing it. Until that is done, only the drippings (they amount to millions annually) of the vast fountains of Eastern wealth can be caught by the Western nations. I have before spoken of an arrogant class of foreigners in China who demand of the Government the building of railways and telegraphs, and who assume to regulate and give law to the customs of trade, almost in open defiance of the constituted authorities. Their menacing attitude and their threatening language frighten the Chinese, who know so well the resistless power of the Western nations. They look upon these things with suspicion. They want railways and telegraphs, but they fear to put these engines of power into the hands of strangers without a guaranty that they will not be used for their own oppression, possibly their destruction.

The Burlingame Treaty was praised with unusual enthusiasm for Mark Twain, who was noted more for treating such serious issues with knowing cynicism. He was always looking out for the hypocrisy lurking behind fine words:

There is nothing mean, or exacting, or unworthy in any of its provisions. It freely offers every privilege, every benefit, and every concession the most grasping suitor could demand, to a nation accustomed for generations to understand a "treaty" as being a contrivance whose province was to extort as many "advantages" as possible and give as few as possible in return. The only "advantage" to the United States perceptible on the face of the document, perhaps, is the advantage of having dealt justly and generously by a neighbor and done it in a cordial spirit. It is something to have done right—a species of sentiment seldom considered in treaties.

In ratifying this treaty the Senate of the United States did themselves high credit, and all the more so that they did it with such alacrity and such heartiness. This is a treaty with no specific advantages noted in it; it is simply the first great step toward throwing all China open to the world, by showing toward her a spirit which invites her esteem and her confidence instead of her customary curses. There is nothing in it about China ceding to us the navigation of an ocean in return for the navigation of a creek; nor the monopoly of silk for a monopoly of beeswax; nor a whaling-ground in return for a sardine-fishery. Yet it is a treaty which is full of "advantages." It is more full of them than is any other treaty, but they are meted out with an even hand to all—to China upon the one hand, and to the world upon the other. It looks to the opening up, in China, of a vast and lucrative commerce with the world, and of which America will have only her just share, nothing more. It looks to the lifting up of a mighty nation and conferring upon it the boon of a purer religion and of a higher and better civilization than it has known before. It is a treaty made in the broad interests of justice, enlightenment, and progress, and therefore it must stand. It bridges the Pacific, it breaks down the Tartar wall, it inspires with fresh young blood the energies of the most venerable of the nations. It acquires a grand field for capital, labor, research, enterprise—confers science, mechanics, social and political advancement, Christianity. Is it not enough?

Samuel Clemens' understanding of the provisions was unfortunately flawed because he didn't foresee how the views of Congress and the American people would change in just a few years. The Article 6 provision that he mocked as pointless that left it up to Congress to determine if Chinese could be naturalized as American citizens was not an empty one. It pointed the way towards the disastrous and discriminatory course that American relations with China would take for almost a century afterwards.

The governing immigration law remained the Naturalization Act of 1790, the very first American immigration law, that held that only "free white persons of good character" were eligible for naturalization. The 14th Amendment opened the door for Chinese to become American citizens by birth, as decided by the Wong Kim Ark case in the United States Supreme Court in 1898. Numerous acts of Congress though, starting in 1870 increasingly limited the Burlingame Treaty with the voluntary agreement of the Chinese government until the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act explicitly prohibited Chinese from ever becoming naturalized American citizens and banned the immigration of Chinese laborers in direct contravention of the treaty.

Congressional laws progressively limited Chinese immigration until the treaty itself was unilaterally renounced by Congress. The violence and murder that Samuel Clemens hoped would end against the Chinese across the Western United States because of the Burlingame Treaty not only spread but increased in severity in the coming years. By 1902, a law was proposed to make the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and subsequent laws against Chinese immigration, citizenship, and naturalization permanent and extended to the newly acquired American colonies and territories overseas. The vote for the law came up for final approval in the United States Senate that Mark Twain had given such "high credit" to for passing the Burlingame Treaty in 1868.

Senator George Hoar of Massachusetts said:

I cannot agree with the principle upon which this legislation or any legislation we have had in this country since 1870 rests. I feel bound to enter a protest. I believe that everything in the way of Chinese exclusion can be accomplished by reasonable, practical, and wise measures that will not involve the principle of striking at labor because it is labor, and will not involve the principle of striking at any class of human beings merely because of race, without regard to the personal and individual worth of the man struck at. I hold that every human soul has its rights, dependent upon its individual personal worth and not dependent upon color or race, and that all races, all colors, all nationalities contain persons entitled to be recognized everywhere they go on the face of the earth as the equals of every other man.

As this bill violates that principle, in my judgment, I am bound to record my protest if I stand alone.

The final Senate vote was seventy-six to one.

It wasn't until the Naturalization Act of 1952 that such racist provisions against naturalization were eliminated. By that time the United States and China were at war against each other in Korea and American immigration and naturalization for most Chinese was again an impossible dream.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33077/33077-h/33077-h.htm>

Martin B. Gold, *Forbidden Citizens: Chinese Exclusion and the U.S. Congress: A Legislative History*, Alexandria, Virginia, TheCapitol.Net, Inc., 2012, ISBN-13: 978-1587332357

PC 6/27/2015