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THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW AMONG THE CHINESE IN CHICAGO¹

REMIGIO B. RONQUILLO

PREFACE

This is a study of Chicago's Chinatown, the most exotic district of the metropolitan population. An attempt is made in this study to investigate at first hand how the "city within a city," a portion of old China transported, as it were, into the heart of the World's Wonder City of Chicago, manages to get by without discarding necessarily its old and quaint ways of life, customs, and traditions as practiced today in Shanghai, Tientsin, or Canton.

Chicago's Chinatown affords the best example of "extra-territoriality" by way of the Chinese method. Peaceful, harmless, amenable to the city laws, it strives to live in its own particular way to suit itself, and at the same time mindful and cognizant of the existence of the city from whom it owes its life, liberty, and protection. For, unlike the extraterritoriality practiced on China by the Western Powers based upon coercion, might, and force, Chinese "extraterritoriality" in Chicago is one of peaceful acquisition and existence, voluntarily given by the city of Chicago, recognizing, respecting, and appreciating the Chinese way of living as the individual Chinese alone knows how to conduct himself in a metropolitan city like ours. So that as long as Chinatown does not violate the city laws, the city accords Chinatown the freedom to live in its own way unhampered,

¹This study was made by Mr. Remigio B. Ronquillo, a Philippino student in the Northwestern University Law School. It furnishes a supplement to the article on "Administration of Law Among the Chinese in Chicago," by Mr. Chu Chai, which was printed in Volume XXII, page 806, of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*.

The former study was stopped by the refusal of the Chinese leaders and representatives to allow any further and intensive study of the inner workings of the American Chinese ex-territorial government, either in Chicago or San Francisco. This refusal was no doubt due not merely to the desire of the Chinese to keep what they consider their own matters to themselves but their uncertainty as to the attitude which America took towards them and their country in the Japanese controversy. The present study, however, which is made by a Philippino who has formed many contacts with the Chinese, both in America and in the East, and is possessed of an intelligent and sympathetic background, serves to furnish us with a further insight into the somewhat curious ex-territorial government of the Chinese in Chicago which is certainly worthy of our interest.

ANDREW A. BRUCE.

subject of course to the higher jurisdiction of the laws of the city from which it receives its semi-independent nature.

Thus study has been suggested by Judge Andrew A. Bruce of Northwestern Law School whose interest in the foreign born elements in the city of Chicago is one of self-consuming devotion. Deeply interested in the welfare of the foreign born, he wishes for them the blessings that the city of Chicago can give, "with malice toward none, with charity to all." To live and let live is assuredly his motto, and this comprehends the all embracing nationalities in Chicago.

As there is absolutely no existing written material on the subject, the author had to rely on field work, making various trips to Chinatown, interviewing the Chinese residents, checking upon reports, and making observations. From these primary sources, and from statistics obtained from the Police Department, the Criminal Court, and the Municipal Court, this study has been pursued to a conclusion. I specially acknowledge the suggestions of Mr. Ting Chiu Fau, and Miss Ruth Soong, both Chinese students who have penetrated the inner workings of Chinatown.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Chinese beginnings in Chicago date back to 1875, when as a result of the humiliation and persecution of that race on the Pacific Coast in the early 70's, Mr. T. C. Moy, drifted eastward and settled on Clark and Van Buren Streets where he later put up a store and chop suey house.

The lone Chinaman who was destined to be the Moses of the Promised Land that was Chicago, found the people of the city more humane and considerate than the people on the Pacific Coast. His accounts reveal interesting observations:

"Funny, but every other man I met in the street was a foreigner or the son of a foreigner. And they never said to me that the Chinese have got the perfection of crimes of 4,000 years duration. They never asked me whether or not I ate rats and snakes, and they seemed to believe that a Chinaman has also a soul to save and a soul worth the salvation."

The lure of the hospitality of the city induced Mr. Moy to call for the other Moys in San Francisco and by 1885, there were forty

Moys in town and together with a few itinerant Chinese outside of that group, the Chinese colony of Chicago started to grow.

But it was not till 1912 that "Chinatown" was born. For in that year, the congestion that resulted in the Chinese quarters on South Clark Street by the successive waves of the Chinese inflow, found its outlet on Twenty-second and Wentworth Avenue, Chicago's Chinatown, bounded on the North by the car line of Archer Avenue, on the South by as far as the "open door" would allow, on the East by the Rock Island railroad, and on the West by the New York Central—a vast area for future expansion. The pivot, of course, is at Twenty-second and Wentworth, and it is here where pulsates the life-blood of Chicago's "Chinatown."

POPULATION OF "CHINATOWN"

There has never been an accurate census of Chinese in Chicago. As the Consul General says, perhaps the nearest to the exact figure was the registration of all Chinese in the city in 1931 at the office of the consulate which, allowing for non-registrants, estimated the total to about 5,000 souls. This number includes all the Chinese in town scattered far and wide in their regular business pursuits, leaving perhaps approximately 3,000 to make up the population of "Chinatown" proper.

Now, what are the activities of "Chinatown," and its far-flung "colonies" spread over the metropolitan district of Chicago?

No national group in Chicago could equal the Chinese in the variety and number of their gainful occupations. With absolutely no foundation, no friends, no money, to start life in a new and strange environment, these "wise men from the East" have "made good" to the credit of their native country and the wonder of Chicago. Following is a list of their varied pursuits:

Newspaper plants*	2
Churches	1
Church Organizations	2
Trade Guilds**	4
Restaurants	160
Laundries	200
Music and Dancing	15
Stores and Shops	50-60
Divers Associations	20-30

*Three Peoples Morning Daily and Labor and Commercial Daily.

**Laundry and Restaurant, also minor guilds like shoemaking, noodles, manufacture and so on.

Regular Chinese School	1
Tutoring for Chinese.....	3
Tutoring for English.....	3
YMCA tutorage for English.....	1
Private Tutorages for English by Americans.....	1
Sunday Schools	3
Chinese Consolidated Associations†	1

†Clans, charitable organizations, commercial, and industrial.

So we see a Chinese population in Chicago teeming in activity, engaged in gainful pursuits, and in some way or other, earning their daily bread and saving some too for the old folks at home. None of them are in extreme poverty and absolutely wanting of the needs of life, for everybody is in one way or another compelled to work by his trade guild, clan, tong, or association.

Very few know that the Chinese in Chicago have done some creditable work for the cause of the adopted land of their sojourn. Let Mr. Moy, the present leader, speak out:

"We have some things which we should not be ashamed to mention. When the United States entered the War, we sent about 110 of our best sons to the army. All of them were proved very intelligent, patriotic, and 'high spirited.'"

Which goes to show that our Chinese neighbors are not mere laundry men, tongsters, and chop suey cooks, but they are proving to be good citizens in the city of their temporary abode, industrious, thrifty, law abiding, and aware of the hospitality extended them by the city, reciprocated by making their district "Chinatown," "a city within a city," distinct and picturesque in every respect, but in harmony and concord with the ideal of the city to make Chicago the "Wonder City" of Cosmopolitan population.

We are now to deal with the organization of "Chinatown," and see for ourselves how the descendants of Confucius behave themselves before the law, and how the European idea of "extraterritoriality" carried to the last word according to the Chinese way of doing it: harmless and peaceful, and not the European practice of "extraterritoriality" in China, which is harmful and exerted by force. Perhaps an observation of the Chinese idea of "extraterritoriality" in bigger American cities will give the Europeans what should be the meaning of this "European-coined" term in International Law.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF CHICAGO'S CHINATOWN

To appreciate the ways of Chinatown, how the administration of law is carried out in particular, it is necessary that we should have a brief background of how things as they are in the colony came about. Why is it that the colony is orderly, is semi-independent of the city laws, why is there the Chinese Million Dollar "City Hall," and the so-called "Mayor of Chinatown?"

Back of the organization of Chinatown is the ideal of the Chinese society which has for its foundation the family as the unit of law. The foundation of Chinese society, I repeat, is the family and the religion is Ancestral Worship. By this I mean that the Father or senior male ascendant has control over his sons, his grandsons, and their wives as well as over hired servants to the last member of the household. Municipal law does not greatly concern itself with what takes place within the domestic forum or family group. The head of the family has certain powers and unless these powers are grossly abused, no interference whatsoever will come from the municipal law. In the Father is reposed the authority of the law and in fact, the direct administration of the law. In the Father is vested all the property of the family and he alone could dispose of it as he wishes. At his death, the oldest son takes his place and the family goes on and on as before, undivided, and a unified whole.

I said the religion is Ancestral Worship. Yes, the worship of ancestors, and the Father of the family is also the High Priest, who alone is capable of conducting the ceremony either at the family altar or at the tomb of the ancestors. Now, if these ceremonies are well performed, the spirits of the departed ancestors shower blessings upon the family household in the guise of abundant harvest, rich pastures, happiness and well content in the household. If on the other hand, these ceremonies are ill-performed, cursed be the family and calamity befalls to all.

The Head of the family, therefore, is the direct administrator of the law. We shall see later how it works in Chicago's Chinatown. But you may ask, must the Head of the family be well versed in civil and criminal law? No, he is not a sage in legal matters, but he knows the difference between what is right and what is wrong. For there is no such thing as civil in contradistinction with criminal law in Chinese legislation. Every wrongful act, be it pickpocketing or non-payment of debt, or coveting another's goods, is a wrongful act and is therefore technically a criminal matter which affects the

injurer and the injured. As their law says, it is a criminal offense to "do what you ought not to do."

With the above as our background, we are now ready to make a trip to Chinatown and see for ourselves the administration of law among the Chinese in Chicago, from within, and from without, and examine to some degree from police and court records the degree of criminality among this national group.

NATURE OF CHINATOWN

What is the nature of Chicago's Chinatown? At first thought, it is not popular outside of the wholesome dinner of "Chop suey" that one gets as "a change" from "pork chops" and "liver and onions." Has one seen the picture show, Harold Lloyd's "Welcome Danger?" Well, that damaging picture has portrayed murder, slavery, opium smoking, and gambling identified with Chinamen. It is not by any means representative of Chicago's Chinatown, but just the same, the general opinion is that such a state of affairs prevails in Chinatown. This is a mistaken conception.

Chinatown in Chicago is an aggregation of Chinese who live as they should like to live after the pattern in their own native land, to enjoy life as they should enjoy, to trade as they should trade with other Chinatowns in America with their peculiar wares and goods, and to neutralize somewhat the effect of being a "foreigner" in a strange environ. It is a bit of Shanghai imported into Chicago, a branch of a different tree, so to speak, grafted into the trunk of the Chicago population. Shall this trunk let live this picturesque, foreign bough, or shall it permit it to perish by indifference and inanition?

Chicago answers that it shall live and it is in this spirit that it has recognized the existence of Chinatown, has respected its traditions and laws, and like the Chinese government as aforesaid, the Municipal law or the City of Chicago does not greatly concern itself with what takes place in Chinatown unless it is of such a nature that powers privileged to it are grossly abused or it is such that disturbs the order and peace of the city as a whole.

ORGANIZED FORCES IN CHINATOWN

Let us imagine a Chinese transplanted into the bewildering modernity of this city just arrived from a secluded village in Canton, China, where he may not have ventured farther than the family

cemetery or yonder hill, and to find himself as if by magic in the whirl of a city life like that of Chicago! That is a situation where there is a demand for organized forces that take the immigrant into their own hands and mould him, so to speak, to fit into the life of his adopted land of sojourn. As one of their leaders says:

"These associations are for mutual protection and benefit. It is our universal custom that when emigrating to a new foreign country, we form ourselves into a guild or association and every Chinese from the same region voluntarily comes to our guild."

"And what do you do in this guild or association?" I asked.

"Well," my informant said, "we open a hall or temple for our meetings and family worship. We elect our officers, who are usually the oldest in our group, and our organization functions according to our ways of life, in old China.

"If there are differences that arise in our group, we go to our officials and settle the dispute by conciliation and arbitration. If their decisions are not accepted by the disputants, they may go to your courts."

It must be understood that these guilds or associations are not commercial firms, nor justice courts, but they are voluntary associations working for their mutual benefit and aid and accommodation. These organizations have power of settlement, arbitration, and conciliation but they are not courts in the strict sense of the word. However, as a rule, their judgments are usually accepted and have the force of law. Woe unto a Chinese who does not abide by the rulings of these associations, for he is marked as a suspicious person and an outlaw.

I. The first agent of social control among the Chinese in Chinatown are the family groups. Let us know them by their names and then learn their functions:

1. Moy Shi Kung Sow	Society of the Moy Family
2. Lee Lung Si Tong	Society of the Lee Family
3. Du King Kung Sow	Society of the Chen, Hu, and Yuan Families
4. Chow Long Kung Sow	Society of the Tom, Han, and Hsick Families
5. Hwang Kiang Shia Long	Society of the Hwang Family
6. Chi Teh Kung Sow	Society of the Wu, Chow, Toy and Eng Families

Now, we might ask the question, what are these family Societies for?

These family Societies are knitted together into one paternal bond to protect their members, to give succor in time of distress and sickness, to instill in them the old Chinese virtues of obedience, frugality, loyalty, and the observance of the family codes, and to familiarize them with the ways, laws, and manners of their temporary land of sojourn, and to take all possible means to make the newcomers feel at home. To maintain and preserve the eternal relationship between parents and children, between husband and wife, between brothers and sisters, and to perpetuate them intact through the generations, these Societies exist as part and parcel of the paternal obligation. How strictly the family laws are observed may be seen in the total absence of divorce, of the all consuming loyalty of the members of the household to the oldest member in control, and the almost total absence of infraction of the laws, which if violated is a disgrace to the family as a whole.

We might be able to appreciate what these family controls are when we peer into their nature. These family societies have their regular meetings at stated intervals as set up in the family book. Each family has an Assembly Hall where is located the family altar placed on a sort of pedestal very much like those of Catholic Church altars. On them are tablets, photographs, and records of their ancestors which are revered for the beautiful lessons they inspire in the family group. Directly in front of the altar is a table with seats, and on the table are placed volumes of books. This table serves as the council table where emanates the promulgation and decrees of the head of the family group.

Let us have a picture of these altars in function. On the day set for the family concourse, the patriarch enters the hall followed by the members of the household. As they approach the foot of the altar, sacred music is played, a hymn or two in praises of the departed folks. An invocation is said by the elder, and followed by the presentation of offerings to the ancestors.

The preliminaries completed, the patriarch or elder as we may call him, seats himself before the table. He opens a big book before him wherein are recorded the birth, marriage, and death of the members of the household. On a separate entry are biographies and wills of the dead, and still on another are the provisions of the family laws. There are other entries but these are the most important of all. He reads a portion of these records and beseeches the household to pattern their lives accordingly in consonance with the rec-

ords. A Confucian passage from the classics closes the ceremonial, and we see another transformation.

What was a religious ceremony before transforms now into a civil function. The elder now is the magistrate of the ensuing functions. He takes the group into his confidence, and like a father to his sons and daughters, as he really is, in his patriarchal functions, he inquires if any member in the family is in debt; if any one had a brawl with the members of another family, if there are complaints to be made, and grievances to be aired out. If there are troubles that involve the other family groups, steps are taken to arbitrate the matter to a peaceful settlement, and to settle the question peacefully between the elders of the family groups involved.

The family patriarch is, as a rule, the oldest living member of the biggest family, and is elected by a council composed of the head persons of the various families, and holds his office on good behavior. He receives such a salary as the council of elders may designate, and enjoys all the privileges and immunities appertaining to his office as the high priest, and the family counselor.

What has the family to do with the administration of the law? It is the first unit of social control and acts as the point of contact between the individual and the law. The almost perfect organization and function of these various families are stalwart safeguards against infractions of the law and explain ably the comparative absence of criminality in Chinatown.

Except that the family system appears to be rather clannish, it functions very well as a social control. Minor disputes as aforesaid are settled without recourse to a court. For settling things in a court is always considered disgraceful by the Chinese and is to be avoided when possible. Let us bear in mind this fundamental: that a family or clan preserves family mores and morals by keeping its kith and kin within the bound of the law.

Now let us examine another agency of social control in Chinatown. We have so far dealt with the family or the clan in which the family is the unit in the organization, where a number of families organize themselves into a big family with the elder as the priest, the magistrate, and the counselor. We have seen it function in the observance of the family rites, in council, and in general as the overseer of the affairs of its constituents as honorable members of the family group. We are to see another functioning in a bigger and more embracing scope.

II. The Chinese Association: This is considered to be the residuary organization because it takes as its members any Chinese, any family, without recognition as to his or her who's who in Chinatown. In other words, it's everyone's association of those who desire to be within the group. Because of its all-embracing nature, it enjoys the biggest membership of all the Chinese organizations in Chinatown and environs. Its function may be stated as follows:

1. *To do charity work where charity is due:* That is to say, to aid destitute Chinese, the old and the poor, to provide them the necessities of livelihood and to return them to China if they so desire. And they all are thinking of going back to the beloved homeland in the future. The fact that we never see a Chinese beggar in town is eloquent proof of how this organization takes care of its own. It provides for relief even outside of its own body, and contributes liberally to relief in China and elsewhere where it is learned that Chinese are in need of succor.

2. *To arbitrate disputes between Chinese litigants:* This organization undertakes to arbitrate private and business disputes between Chinese parties by calling a general meeting of the Association. Notice that the decision of the Association when approved by the majority of those who are present are final and *are carried out with equal force as are decisions*. With one exception. Should the loser be dissatisfied with the decision, he could always appeal to the municipal courts but this is rare in Chinatown. A party or parties who seek justice in the Association must in all honor abide with its decision.

3. *To witness deeds and certify documents:* When applied to, the Chinese Association arranges and sanctions all the deeds between Chinese parties like the sale or purchase of a business, a transfer, and they stand as witnesses in matters concerning their members, to certify paper and make guarantees.

4. *To maintain order in the Chinese community and to see that the rights of the Chinese residents in the city are not violated:* Should order in Chinatown be imperiled it takes action for its prevention. If the trouble is between Chinese, it acts as arbitrator. If the trouble is between a Chinese and an outsider, it seeks to rectify matters to the satisfaction of the outsider, for as I say it again, no Chinese likes to go to Court if he can avoid it, and he would rather be the underdog than expose himself to the gaze of the people and the "foreign" judge who knows little of his background. If the outsider is not satisfied after all inducements to stop litigation, then and only

then will the case go to Court with the Chinese having the backing of the Association. But this is very rare, and as the slang goes, "once in a blue moon." If the treaty rights of the Chinese are violated, the Association as the official representative of the Chinese in the city may seek the Chinese consul for protection:

The government of the Association is vested in a Board of Directors elected by the members once in three years. The Board appoints the Executive Secretary of the Association, to have supervision over all the affairs of the Association, finance, and administration. The Board is composed of thirty members, who are influential leaders in Chinatown. An Advisory Council composed of the leading members of the various families and clans gives advice to the Executive Board. If one should go to 2216 Wentworth Avenue, one is impressed with the beauty and magnificence of the building of the Association. This is a Million Dollar building which houses most of the activities of Chinatown. It has a membership of about 4,000 and includes almost all the Chinese in Chinatown.

III. The Mon Sang Association.

The Mon Sang Association is a sort of organized labor. Its main purpose is to protect its members from being exploited in their labors, to protect restaurant workers, to guard their health, and to find suitable jobs, each to his own particular inclination.

On September 1, 1918, thirty-six Chinese waiters in the Chicago area met in a society family hall and adopted the following resolutions:

"The welfare of the Chinese community demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied man should, as a minimum be compensated by sufficient income to support in comfort himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and disability, and should as a maximum, be allowed to work 8 hours a day and 6 days a week. Under no other condition can a strong, contented, and efficient personality be developed."

The above resolution was promptly accepted by the restaurant owners, and soon, the restaurant workers were also demanding music clubs, reading rooms, recreation, social outings, English classes, sickness benefits, insurance and such other things, which in most cases were accepted by employers.

Because of its welfare work, the Mon Sang Association enjoys the largest membership of any Chinese organization in Chicago with the exception of the On Leong Chinese Association. It has in the neighborhood of 1,000 members mostly of the wage-earning group.

As yet, the Association is not a member of the Chicago Federation of Labor nor the American Waiters' Union.

IV. The Church of Christ in Chinatown.

On October 10, 1915, the Chinese Church of Christ was organized and is now under the Chicago Church Federation. Sunday schools have been inaugurated one for children and one for adults. Although the membership is not large, it has a considerable moral influence in Chinatown.

The annual expenditure for the support of the church is about \$4,000. It has no endowment and is supported in the main by contributions. The Chicago Church Federation is a heavy contributor to this amount, and the balance is contributed by generous Chinese Christians in Chinatown.

TONG

Now we come to the notorious organization of Chinese. Known as the Tong. But unlike other notorious organizations in the Chicago area which make flagrant violations of the law the Tongs are comparatively quiet and do not operate outside the Chinese groups. Only when there is what is called a "tong war" between two tongs is there any publicity of this sort of organization. And it is only among their own nationals that this "war" comes about.

What is a tong? A tong is nothing but an organization of Chinese of the same interests, usually, commercial and economic, which protects the interests of its members. No women and no boys under 18 years of age are eligible to the tongs. But in spite of these limitations they have a big membership, collect regular dues, install their officers, and exert their influence in Chinatown. No one really has fathomed the secrets of the tong unless he is a member of a tong.

But a tong member is well guarded from harm by another tong. He finds financial succor, legal protection, business assistance, and many other advantages that he could not otherwise get from other organizations. They protect gamblers and it is from this that they get big revenue. They protect prostitution houses, and in this they also derive a substantial resource.

Now, what Al Capone and his gang were before his incarceration, is substantially what a tong is. A Chinese immigrant finds it hard to acquaint himself upon arrival and is prone to find temptations. Very early he becomes the victim of gambling like "ma-Jong." When he indulges himself in gambling, the tong is his pro-

tector. Arrangements are made, that the gamblers pay certain dues to the owner of a gambling house who is himself a member of a tong, who pays a large amount to his tong in order to get the "legal permit" from the tong to open such a house. In return, the tong protects them by bribing the policemen, hiring watchmen, bailing arrested gamblers, and seeing that the members get out by "hook or by crook."

Gambling is just one temptation. Women are another temptation. Be it remembered that out of a total of some 5,000 Chinese in Chicago, there are only about 40 women, and one can imagine the social problem involved. The Chinese Exclusion Act has prevented the Chinese from importing their women. Taking advantage of this situation, the tong men smuggle young girls from China for this purpose. The owner of the prostitution house owns the victims and pays tax to the tong which delivered the girls, and gives to the owner, protection. Prostitution houses in the town are in the guise of hotels, and gambling houses, as stores.

A tong has a law unto itself, and woe unto them who do not obey its law. A tong man must have a job. If he has no job, he is supported by his tong, but because he is jobless, he runs the risk of being selected as a gunman to kill whomsoever is designated by his tong. This big job is paid from \$2,000 to \$5,000 depending upon the importance of the one spotted for assassination. Different degrees of punishment are provided for in violation of tong laws. A tong member must be loyal to his tong. He must be obedient to his tong head, and faithful to his brothers of the tong. The greatest honor achieved is to die for his tong. A mutual agreement between the tongs excludes from membership anyone expelled from any tong.

There are three degrees of punishment for those who break any of the tong laws: warning, paying fines, and expulsion. The last punishment is disgraceful. Unless an expelled tongster has enough money to bribe another tong to receive him, or he is a useful member to the second tong, he is done away for good and therefore it is rare that he breaks away from his own tong.

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN CHINATOWN

The family groups, then, that function as a family government, having their family laws, under a family head who executes the laws, is the first unit of social control among the Chinese in Chinatown. These family groups or clans settle minor family disputes which save the parties involved, the trouble of appealing to a court.

They preserve family morals and mores by keeping its kith and kin within the bounds of the law. They look after the well-being of their members, their morals, their health, their food, their clothing, their debts, their grievances with other families, and see to it that the family tradition is beyond reproach.

Bigger than the family groups is the Chinese Association which takes its membership from the rank and file of Chinese in Chinatown. Besides doing social service among their members, they arbitrate disputes between Chinese litigants in their courts, they witness deeds, certify documents, preserve order in the Chinese community, and do all such other duties as they are expected to perform to maintain order and decorum in Chinatown, as befits the "extra-territoriality" privilege granted them by the city administration.

The Mon Sang Association as a labor organization takes care of the labor conditions among the Chinese in Chicago, to secure employment, to reduce working hours, improve working conditions, and see to it, that no Chinese is idling in the street and begging for livelihood. Should an "astray" Chinese be found a liability to the good name of the Chinese in Chicago, this Association, cooperating with the other Chinese organizations, raises money for his return back to China rather than be a misfit here among his fellows. This humanitarian way of getting rid of their beggars, their idlers, their criminals, and other undesirables explains why it is a rarity to see a disorderly Chinese walking the streets of Chinatown.

The religious work being done by the Chinese Christian Church in Chinatown also is a strong agent for social control. Cooperating with the Young Men's Christian Institute, its objectives are as follows:

1. To bring the younger generation of Chinese into an acquaintance with the life of Jesus and to accept Him as the Saviour, and participate actively in the rapid evangelization of Chinatown.

2. To provide opportunities for self-improvement toward an intelligent citizenship and the development of efficient Christian character.

3. To minister unto the needs of every parishioner, to improve the Chinese community, and develop local civic pride, to make Chinatown a progressive factor in the life of Chicago.

The Chinese Christian Church is slowly but gradually entering into the homes of Chinese in Chinatown. With more help from the Chicago Church Federation and the Christian Citizenry of Chicago,

its future is bright and eventually it will become the center of the moral forces in the Chinese community as a whole.

Having discussed the various agencies of social control in Chinatown that undertake first hand administration of the law, let us examine the degree of criminality among the inhabitants, and see if this national group behaves well before the eyes of the law.

It has been the talk that Chinese crime is as old as Chinese civilization, that "the Chinese have got the perfection of crimes of 4,000 years," and that the United States has been the refuge of Chinese criminals from all over the world. Let us study the record of crime in the Chinatown of Chicago as revealed by the reports of the Police Department and the Municipal Court, and see for ourselves whether or not the assertion is true. Let us take the years from 1917-1925 when the Chinese population of Chinatown was at its highest growth.

From the following Tables I and II, we see that the Chinese are no higher statistically than other nationalities in the city as to criminal record.

Considering that they are total strangers as Orientals, that they cannot speak English, that their background is Chinese in all particulars, that they are looked down upon as "Chinks" (an obnoxious cognomen for Chinese), that the Chinese population are almost wholly males, their quota is good and averages lower than the city population.

Another thing. It is a proven fact that a higher criminality obtains more among its male than its female population. Since the Chinese in the city are predominantly male, we might expect a higher criminal record. But no. Both tables disprove the expectation.

We are now to study the statistics on conviction of Chinese by the Municipal Court, the Police Court, and the Criminal Court of Chicago, and see for ourselves the almost negligible number of convictions. Which goes to prove that the various agencies of social control in Chinatown are veritable safeguards of their morals and good behavior.

From these statistics, it appears that most of the charges against Chinese in Chicago are misdemeanors, and as the police say, cover a field of minor law infractions like the following:

Sitting in a vacant flat.

Walking around Chicago all night.

Stalling cars on the boulevard.

TABLE I

CONVICTION ON CHARGES OF FELONY PER 1,000 POPULATION IN CHICAGO
1917-1925

(Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Police Department)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Chinese Population</i>	<i>City Population</i>	<i>Chinese Conviction</i>	<i>City Conviction</i>	<i>Per Cent Chinese</i>	<i>Per Cent City</i>
1917	2,050	2,544,060	2	4,903	1.0	1.9
1918	2,151	2,595,520	1	4,340	0.5	1.7
1919	2,252	2,644,060	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
1920	2,353b	2,699,352b	4	4,283	1.6	1.6
1921	2,711	2,749,910	3	4,224	1.1	1.5
1922	3,069	2,801,370	2	4,017	0.6	1.4
1923	3,427	2,852,830	2	4,014	0.6	1.4
1924	3,785	2,904,290	0	4,856	0.0	1.7
1925	4,143	2,955,750	4	4,976	1.0	1.7

(a). Convictions not reported.

b. U. S. Census 1920.

TABLE II

CONVICTION ON MISDEMEANOR CHARGES PER 1,000 POPULATION IN CHICAGO
1917-1925

(Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Police Department)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Chinese Population</i>	<i>City Population</i>	<i>Chinese Conviction</i>	<i>City Conviction</i>	<i>Per Cent Chinese</i>	<i>Per Cent City</i>
1917	2,050	2,544,060	39	41,126	19.5	16.4
1918	2,151	2,595,520	47	30,797	22.4	11.8
1919	2,252	2,644,060	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
1920	2,353	2,699,352b	34	24,194	14.8	9.0
1921	2,711	2,749,910	32	36,011	11.8	13.1
1922	3,069	2,801,370	41	43,765	13.0	15.6
1923	3,427	2,852,830	105	63,470	30.9	22.3
1924	3,785	2,904,290	46	68,347	12.1	22.7
1925	3,143	2,955,750	46	79,062	11.2	37.3

(a). Convictions not reported.

b. U. S. Census of 1920.

Standing in door ways at night.

Sleeping on wagons.

Picked up on suspicion.

Smoking cigarette in a park.

Out of the total number of Chinese convicted about one-fourth were convicted for the violation of minor laws as above. Disorderly conduct is a term that only the police know how to interpret, and places heavy hands upon the Orientals.

It is not surprising why next to "disorderly conduct" comes "inmates of houses of ill fame," as a Chinese weakness in the crime

record. This could be explained by the fact that out of the 5,000 Chinese in the city today there are only about 40 women. One could estimate the temptation on the part of the males who are thrust into a big city where temptation lurks and gets its victim, provided he has money in hand. It is said that prostitutes who seek their patronage attract them, go along with them, pick their pockets, and when their money is gone, turn them to the police who give these victims the heavy hand.

The rest of the Chinese convicted were charged with violations of the speed law, and parking ordinance, gambling, opium smoking, license renewal, and a number of petty offenses as seen in Table IV. As compared with other nationalities, the Chinese present a splendid record and they show how well the various social controls at Chinatown function for the good of Chinatown in general, and the individual Chinaman in particular.

The Chicago Police Department should be more careful with their arrests. Unjustified arrests create disrespect for law and breed ill to innocent citizens and to society. And the Chinese, who are the wards of the U. S. while they are sojourning in the country, should be dealt with sympathetic understanding of their situation and their needs, considering their sensitivity to arrests which means to them great humiliation and disgrace.

Let us examine why Chinatown prefers to exercise its privilege of "extraterritoriality" in connection with the preservation of law and order within its own premises.

In the first place, no Chinese cares to go to Court unless necessary. Their philosophy of life is the old Confucian way of peace and righteousness, "Do not do unto others as you would have them not do unto you," a divine command from their ancestor that rings with plaintive echo in their minds: Arbitration and reparation are more desirable to them than litigation which is not only expensive but deplorable as it exposes them to public view as maldoers. So that they would prefer to be tried in their own court by their own people to excuse them from public curiosity and gaze, and also to obtain justice the justice only comprehensible to the Chinese—the morality of justice.

In the second place, they are ignorant of the English language and when they are brought to court, they speak only broken English

TABLE III

CONVICTIONS OF FELONIES COMMITTED BY CHINESE IN CHICAGO FROM 1917-1925
(Compiled From the Annual Reports of the Police Court, the Municipal Court,
and the Criminal Court)

<i>Kind of Crimes</i>	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Larceny	2	—	—	3	1	1	1	—	1
Assault to Commit Murder	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1
Crime Against Children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Receiving Stolen Property	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Crime Against Nature	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Burglary	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Conspiracy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Murder	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Others	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Total	2	1	—	4	3	2	2	—	4

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR SPECIFIED MISDEMEANORS BY CHINESE IN
CHICAGO FROM 1917-1925

(Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Police Court, the Municipal
Court, and the Criminal Court)

<i>Offense</i>	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Disorderly Conduct	13	7	—	4	7	13	36	15	12
House of Ill Fame	1	23	—	3	8	3	29	8	6
Gambling	19	—	—	13	6	—	15	—	2
Opium Dens	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Speed Law	1	2	—	2	—	—	1	3	3
Parking Ordinance	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	2	1
Assault	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	3	1
Rules of Road	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	1
Search and Seizure Law	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
Delinquency Contributor	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—
Liquor	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Obtaining Money Under False Pretense	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stopping at Boulevards	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
License Renewal	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Carrying Concealed Weapons	—	1	—	2	4	13	10	8	4
Others	2	11	—	4	1	2	5	2	9
Total	39	47	—	31	30	39	104	43	40

From the revelation of the statistics of Tables V and VI it would appear that the police were not careful in their arrests in that most of these arrests were dismissed by the courts. Approximately only 11% of the felony charges and 24% of the misdemeanor charges were proved to be valid arrests resulting in conviction by the courts. What about the 89% and 76% cases dismissed?

TABLE V

NUMBER OF ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS ON FELONY CHARGES AGAINST THE CHINESE IN CHICAGO FROM 1917-1925

(Compiled from the Annual Report of the Police Department, and the Municipal Court of Chicago)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrests</i>	<i>Convictions</i>	<i>Per Cent of Con- victions Per Year</i>
Total	163	18	10.00
1917	5	2	40.0
1918	3	1	33.3
1919	10	—	—
1920	14	4	28.6
1921	26	3	11.5
1922	21	2	9.5
1923	10	2	20.0
1924	25	0	00.0
1925	49	4	8.2

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS ON MISDEMEANOR CHARGES AGAINST THE CHINESE IN CHICAGO—1917-1925

(Compiled from the Annual Report of the Police Department, and of the Municipal Court of Chicago)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrests</i>	<i>Convictions</i>	<i>Per Cent of Con- victions Each Year</i>
Total	1539	390	23.2
1917	139	39	28.0
1918	54	47	87.0
1919	72	Not reported	Not reported
1920	125	34	27.2
1921	130	32	24.6
1922	119	41	34.4
1923	193	105	54.4
1924	397	36	11.6
1925	310	46	14.8

which only arouses ire on the part of the judges. Then too, the public derision and insult that follows when a Chinaman endeavors to speak the "Chink English." Justice is often-times cheated when the ignorant Chinaman endeavors to plead his case. And when he can speak no more, his limited vocabulary being exhausted to the point where he has to say yes or no to questions as he understands them, the case is finished as far as the court is concerned and the justice sought by the Chinese is often lost by his inability to speak the language.

In the third place is the lack of competent interpreters that prevents Chinese from securing justice in the Courts of the city. Sometimes, the interpreters are policemen who boast that they can understand Chinaman's English. Sometimes the prosecuting attorney puts leading questions and almost always he gets the answer in the affirmative. If the Chinaman cannot speak, he either shakes or nods his head in reply, and the prosecuting attorney is adept to "suggest" questions that generate a favorable reply to convict the witness. In other instances, interpreters are picked at random in the courtroom, the result of which is always detrimental to the Chinese. All these place the defendant Chinese at a serious disadvantage because he cannot properly present his case, and the result of this is obvious, that the innocent are punished. For the good of the Chinese defendants as well as defendants of other nationalities, competent interpreters hired by the city and appointed by civil service examination should be provided in all criminal cases tried in the city courts of justice. Unless this is done there is always room for doubt as to the justice meted to Chinese or other nationalities not able to speak the English language.

In the fourth place, both judge and jury are inclined to think and are easily convinced that when a Chinese is brought to court, he is probably guilty of the crime of which he is charged. In Miss Abbott's article on "Immigrants and Crime," appearing in the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, II:557, she says: "Very often one encounters among the foreign born of Chicago the very definite conviction that an innocent man has no better chance of release when brought before the Municipal Court than a guilty one."

But very happily however, although it is probable that many of the convicted Chinese brought before the Chicago Courts were actually innocent, a very large number of the arrests made were discharged as shown in Tables V and VI which goes to show that most of the arrests made by the police were ungrounded arrests, and should not have been made in the first place if the police had exercised more reasoning and judgment to fit each individual case.