

A HISTORY OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO
ARIZONA TERRITORY:
A FRONTIER CULTURE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

By

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Prejudice against Chinese immigrants in the United States, including Territorial Arizona, grew steadily during the nineteenth century until in 1882 America passed a federal act aimed at excluding them. Variations of the Chinese Exclusionary Act remained in effect from 1882 until 1943, when Congress finally and completely eliminated the anti-Chinese laws. It is within the context of these racist regulations and the concurrent racist public opinion that most historians examine the Chinese experience during the Territorial Period.

The emerging scholarship about Chinese immigrants in the United States during the nineteenth century focuses on the racism that resulted because of their transience. The idea that they were sojourners, that is, temporary residents never meaning to be permanent caused hostility and contributed to racism.¹ There are other factors that contribute to racism and the perception of racism: religious differences, ethnicity, language, class and gender aspects. Competition over resources, (including women, due to their scarcity on the frontier during this period) among people are often inappropriately blurred and labeled “racism.” The Chinese remained in isolation, in Chinese-only communities; they did not learn more English than was necessary for their employment. They maintained their cultural traditions and foodways, and planned their return to China.

¹ Paul C.P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: a Study of Social Isolation*. (New York: New York University Press, 1987): 57.

In America permanent residents, native-born and immigrants resented the Chinese attitude of “visitor,” and their lack of interest in becoming “American.”²

In this thesis chapter one is the introduction and it contains acknowledgements, dedication, a brief introduction of the scholarship, a historiography of the subject matter, and the research methodology; chapter two reviews early exchanges between the United States and China and how merchants, missionaries, and government officials shaped the early relationship between the two cultures and set the stage for later Chinese immigration. Chapter three discusses the establishment of the Arizona Territory; chapters four and five relate various experiences of Chinese who arrived in Arizona Territory between 1870 and 1890. Chapter five addresses specifically the issues of opium and Christianity as they pertain to the frontier and to Yavapai County, especially in the territorial capital of Prescott as well as the cases of exclusion which reached Yavapai County. Chapter six discusses the fire of 1900 that devastated the territorial capital, rumors of a Tong presence in Arizona, and the dénouement of the Chinese sojourn in Yavapai County Arizona.

Historiography

Lawrence Michael Fong's "Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona" is an overview that includes Yavapai, Tucson, and Nogales and briefly comments on the experience of Chinese in the territory and relationships between Chinese and Mexicans.³ His thesis is that whites in Arizona feared the Mexicans as a political power and that this animosity extended to the Chinese. The Chinese experience was “one of relative accommodation during their initial migrations and settlement

² Ibid: 64.

³ Lawrence Michael Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History*, 21 (Autumn 1980): 227-56.

throughout the Territory.”⁴ Unfortunately, Hong’s stated assumption is that “to understand the Chinese experience in Arizona it is necessary to examine their treatment in California.”⁵

The biggest problem with the historiography of the Chinese in Yavapai County, Arizona, stems from a major work by Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, husband and wife archaeologists who were retired Research Associates of Arizona State Museum. In 1989 they published "Chinese Sojourners in Territorial Prescott" in a special edition of the *Journal of the Southwest*. This article became the definitive study on the Chinese in this area, and it has been the jumping off point for subsequent historical scholarship. In many succeeding publications about the Chinese in Arizona writers cite the Listers, or writers allege the same “facts” discovered by the Listers without attribution.

Unfortunately, there are many egregious factual errors in the Lister and Lister article, so many that they jeopardize the credibility of the entire work. For example, Lister and Lister claim that one of the founding fathers of Prescott Arizona was a Chinese man named Quong Clong Gin who purchased property during the first sale of town lots in June 1864. They cite as evidence that Gin’s name is recorded on the official 1864 Robert Groom Map found in the Sharlot Hall Archives. These authors accuse subsequent scholars and citizens of the territory of deliberately overlooking Gin’s acquisition of this land in 1864 because they were racist against Chinese. Lister and Lister state that Quong Clong Gin was undoubtedly a victim of racism and left Prescott Arizona by 1870 because he was unable to realize his dream of freedom. They assert that later Chinese residents built boarding houses and dwellings on the land established as Chinese by Quong Clong

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

Gin.⁶

Contradicting the Listers, the fact is that Quong Clong Gin is not listed anywhere on the Robert Groom Map of 1864. Rather, Quong Clong Gin is listed as the owner of lot 10, in block 13 on the Map of Prescott, 1882.⁷ Obviously, white racists did not run Gin out of town in the 1860s, he was not even in Arizona until twenty years later, and then it is important to note that he purchased property after the passage of the Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882. The Robert Groom Map of 1864 contains lot numbers only, and no names whatsoever. Faulty interpretations and further problems abound in the Lister's article, generally stemming from the assumption that if events occurred in Chinese communities in California, especially San Francisco and Los Angeles, then similar events must have occurred in the Arizona Territory.

Contrary to the flawed scholarship, much credible research exists in the subject of the Chinese experience in Arizona. An example of excellent scholarship is historian Kathryn Reisdorfer's carefully researched 2003 article "Charley Hong, Racism, and The Power of the Press in Jerome, Arizona Territory, 1909."⁸ Reisdorfer examines how one Jerome newspaper editor, Bill Adams appearing in the newspaper as W. S. Adams, used racism when it suited his purpose to slander a Chinese business competitor, Charley Hong. The slander of Hong began only after Adam's wife opened a competing restaurant in Jerome. Another Jerome newspaper editor, Laura Nihell, exposed the real motives behind Adams' attack on Hong and she subsequently suffered from sexist attacks in print.

⁶ Florence C. and Robert H. Lister, "Chinese Sojourners in Territorial Prescott," *Journal of the Southwest*, vol. 31 (Spring 1989): 2,4,14.

⁷ Robert Groom Map 1864, MAP #794; Map of Prescott, 1882, MAP #829, Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁸ Kathryn Reisdorfer, "Charley Hong, Racism, and the Power of the Press in Jerome, Arizona Territory, 1909" published in the *Journal of Arizona History* (Summer 2003):133-146.

Nihell became Hong's champion, and in the end the published mêlée between Adams and Nihell became more important than the race-based accusations Adams had made against Hong and his restaurant. Reisdorfer's concludes that "In this case, the newspapers did not just report events, they created them." Her scholarship examines racism, sexism, and the role that the territorial press played in trying to forge, or claiming to represent, public opinion.

Historian Paul Hietter studied minority defendants in Territorial Arizona and concluded that Chinese defendants "faced a higher likelihood of having their cases prosecuted to a verdict than did white and Mexican defendants," and that the Chinese "were treated less equitably than whites in terms of indictment conviction rates."⁹ He further concludes that after 1900 conviction rates for Chinese and white defendants were virtually equal.¹⁰ In my findings I determined that the Chinese received better treatment in courts after they became experienced enough in the United States to hire attorneys.

Grace Pena Delgado, *In the Age of Exclusion: Race, Religion and Chinese Identity in the Making of the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands, 1863—1943*, focuses on how the exclusionary acts created ethnic identities which delineated borders between Arizona and Sonora.¹¹ Delgado contends that border culture is a multifaceted situation that necessitates a close look at political power and economic concerns. The fact that there were Chinese living in Sonora and Arizona was a contributing factor to nativistic conceptions and attitudes of both Americans and Mexicans.

⁹ Paul Hietter, "A Surprising Amount of Justice: the Experience of Mexican and Racial Minority Defendants Charged with Serious Crimes in Arizona, 1865-1920," *Pacific Historical Review*, 70 (May 2001): 186.

¹⁰ Ibid: 206-207, 210.

¹¹ Grace Pena Delgado, *In the age of exclusion: Race, religion and Chinese identity in the making of the Arizona-Sonora borderlands, 1863—1943*, Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000.

Floyd Doon Cheung's dissertation, *"Kingdoms of Manly Style": Performing Chinese American Masculinity, 1865-1941*, compares expositions by the Anti-Chinese League in Tombstone Arizona with demonstrations by the Tucson's "Active Justice Society."¹² This work is an exploration of how manifestations of masculinity influenced Euro-American concepts of capitalism and imperialism. One conclusion is that Chinese in this period neither accommodated nor ignored white racism, and that Chinese actively protested against racist politics, namely the anti-Chinese league.

Nancy Lee Prichard's dissertation, *Paradise found? Opportunity for Mexican, Irish, Italian and Chinese born individuals in Jerome Copper Mining District, 1890-1910* suggests that copper mining camps in the Far Western United States offered opportunities for upward mobility to foreign-born individuals, including Chinese workers.¹³ Living in this region allowed immigrants, including Chinese, chances for better jobs, home ownership, a better education for their children, as well as a higher level of social and political participation. This was due to non-discriminatory managerial policies in large-scale copper mines.

In conclusion, some good studies exist but many studies contain errors and others are based on the notion that experiences in Territorial Arizona are reflective of experiences in California. My study presents a more accurate view of the history of Chinese in Arizona during this period. Prejudice against Chinese immigrants in the United States, including territorial Arizona, grew steadily during the nineteenth century until in 1882 America passed a federal act aimed at excluding them. Variations of the

¹² Floyd Doon Cheung *"Kingdoms of Manly Style": Performing Chinese American Masculinity, 1865-1941*, Ph.D., Tulane University, 1999, dissertation in American Studies.

¹³ Prichard, Nancy Lee, *Paradise found? Opportunity for Mexican, Irish, Italian and Chinese born individuals in Jerome Copper Mining District, 1890-1910*, Ph.D., University of Colorado at Boulder, 1992.

Chinese Exclusionary Act remained in effect from 1882 until 1943, when Congress finally and completely eliminated the anti-Chinese laws. It is within the context of these bigoted regulations and the concurrent prejudiced public opinion that most historians examine the Chinese experience during the territorial period. Most scholars contend that the fact that the Chinese were sojourners caused hostility and inspired racism. Incorrectly, many historians contend that the Chinese in Arizona were outcasts, scorned by whites. A first hand examination of documents reveals that these racist theories are not fact based. My study will add to the case studies of territorial Arizona and correct flaws in the current historiography.

This thesis examines how the people of Yavapai County, Arizona, experienced Chinese immigration from 1860-1911. The focus of this thesis is not on the traditional discussion of racial inequalities and racism as the arbiter of social class. Rather my study explores inter-cultural communication and cooperation. This is primarily an archival study that juxtaposes racist newspaper reports of the period with an examination of church records, social club records, medical records, legislative records, hospital records, diaries, letters, non-rationally motivated newspaper articles, and cemetery records. This is primarily an archival study that juxtaposes racist newspaper reports of the period with an examination of church records, social club records, medical records, legislative records, hospital records, diaries, letters, non-rationally motivated newspaper articles, and cemetery records. I examined records at the National Archives, Laguna Niguel; The Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, Prescott Arizona; the Yavapai County Archives, Yavapai County Arizona; the Claremont College Asian Studies Library, Claremont California; the

Oklahoma State University Library Documents Section; and the Oklahoma State University Western Americana microfilm collection.

CHAPTER II: EARLY US-CHINA RELATIONS

Traditionally intercultural experiences happened between very small segments of the world's inhabitants, and usually between elites. Merchants, missionaries, and government officials were the chief explorers of foreign lands, and consequently the primary culture brokers in early United States–China relations.¹⁴ Eventually the interaction between the two cultures included domestic co-cultures which made it essential for people to acknowledge and co-exist with others whose worldviews were notably different from their own. When ordinary people from different cultures interact face-to-face, the reality of their cultural sharing is profoundly different from exchanges between elites. Much of what emerges from an examination of elitist communications, such as newspaper editorials and government communiqués, is a rhetoric skewed toward personal gain and personal agenda. Individuals with power offer their personal views as public opinion, when in fact these are individual opinions based on their personal schema and motivated by their personal racial, ethnic, and religious stance. Frequently, newspapers slant information toward their publishers' bias, rather than attempt accurately to report events. The result is that our histories do not accurately reflect the intercultural exchanges that took place on a daily basis. There are multiplicities of worldviews and the public perspective found in newspapers does not always reflect the attitude of the many,

¹⁴ Jesuit missionaries from Europe were active in China before 1644. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990): 43-44.

nor does it adequately explore the scholarly aspects of multiple worldviews, namely scientific, metaphysical, and religious paradigms.

Merchants were the first Americans to become acquainted with the people of China. These encounters were friendly, bewildering, even mystifying, and always provocative; but not necessarily hostile nor were they fraught with racial prejudice. American merchants were trading with China as early as 1784. The relationship between Americans and Chinese became more intense due to the frequent trips made by the American merchant ship, *Empress of China*. The goods procured by American merchants in China included tea, textiles, and porcelain. Tea was the main product purchased in China. Because tea was light weight merchants bought large amounts of low-priced porcelain which they used as ballast and then sold. Many ships were also secretly dealing in opium. Because of this trade, three Chinese seamen landed in Baltimore in 1785, marking the first arrival of Chinese in the United States.¹⁵

The relationship between the United States and China evolved rapidly. The fact is that China's government did not want a closer relationship with the United States or any other outsiders, but this did not stop the exchange between merchants. By the early 1800s, commercial trade, legal and illegal in the form of opium, between America and China was steady and stable.¹⁶ At this time, the consular system was still in place and American merchants could not access Chinese officials directly. In early China-United States relations, merchants represented the American administration and occasionally

¹⁵ Charles Clarkson Stelle, *Americans and the China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Ph.D. diss, University of Chicago, 1981): 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid*: 21-23. The first American missionary, Elijah Bridgman, arrived in Canton, China in 1830. For a complete discussion of missionaries in China during this period, see Jennifer C. Snow, *A Border Made of Righteousness: Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigration, and Ideologies of Race, 1850–1924* (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2003).

sent reports to the Department of State describing their actions and events, how they conducted trade, and how they worked to care for American residents and interests in China. The United States had an isolationist policy that acknowledged their citizens abroad but did not intervene in foreign affairs on behalf of American citizens. The government did not authorize merchant-consuls in China to act as if they possessed governmental authority; American citizens who traveled and worked in China did so at their own risk.¹⁷

Between 1839 and 1842 Great Britain engaged China in the Opium Wars. After China lost the second Opium War to Great Britain in 1842 and other countries executed treaties with China, the United States government felt it had little choice but to negotiate an American treaty with the Qing government.¹⁸ The goal of the United States was to protect American interests abroad and not lose pace with the British and other European powers. President John Tyler sent Caleb Cushing, a Congressman from Massachusetts, to negotiate for trading privileges. Cushing became the Commissioner and Envoy Extraordinary and the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China in 1844. President Tyler assured China's Emperor Qiyong that the United States wanted a fair agreement between the two countries and no special ports: "Our minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side."¹⁹ Unlike Britain, the United States did not demand any of China's territory.

¹⁷ Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998).

¹⁸ The Qing Dynasty refers to the Manchu rule over China. The Qing Dynasty, known in English scholarship as the Qing or the Manchu Dynasty, lasted from 1644-1911 A.D.

¹⁹ After losing the Opium Wars, China lost control of Hong Kong, and Great Britain forced China to open ports to British commerce, particularly opium. Jonathan K. Fairbank, *China Perceived:*

The result was the 1844 Treaty of Wangxia (Treaty of Wang Hiya) between the United States of America and “The Ta Tsing Empire,”²⁰ the intent of which was to promote peaceful, amicable commerce between America and China by establishing tariffs and rules of conduct. In Article 3, the treaty states that any American-owned vessel conducting “clandestine and fraudulent trade” in China or along China’s coast “shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation to the Chinese government.”²¹ In Article 4 American Consuls agree to “carefully avoid all acts of unnecessary offense to, or collision with, the officers and people of China.” If vessel captains misreported cargo amounts in order to avoid paying tariffs to China then they incurred a fine and forfeited their cargo to the Chinese. Article 33 states that any Americans caught trading “opium, or any other contraband” could be punished by the Chinese government and that these drug dealers automatically forfeited the protection of the United States. The basic tariff schedule and port access issues were similar to the plan arranged with Great Britain. The Treaty afforded some protection to American missionaries. Article 17 allows for the selection of sites in the open port areas for churches, cemeteries and hospitals; and specifies that Chinese authorities agree to deal harshly with any desecration of American cemeteries by Chinese; Article 19 states that if Chinese mobs attack Americans in China, then the American consuls could use military force to protect its citizens. This is the

Images and Policies in Chinese-American Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974): 88-91. In his Ph.D. dissertation, Yang Cai quotes this letter from President Tyler. *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain*, and (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998). For a discussion of the Treaty of Wangxia (Wanghia), see Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990): 160-161. For a full description of consular functions after the Treaty of Wangxia, see Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls: American Consular and Commercial Relations with Eastern Asia, 1845 - 1860* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1937).

²⁰ This is the spelling used in 1844 by the authors of the treaty to indicate the Manchu dynasty now commonly referred to in English as the “Qing” or the “Manchu” empires.

²¹ The actual treaties use Roman Numerals, in contemporary texts scholars use numbers.

United States' first attempt to secure protection for American Christian missionaries in China and most favored nation status.²²

Westerners, European and American, did not cause the fall of the monarchy, although they certainly were contributors. The decline of the Qing dynasty was a result of constant internal turmoil. Most of the emigrants to the United States came from Southern China; particularly from the Gazetteers of Taishan (Sunning) and Kaiping (Holy Ping) districts; locations which had suffered from a serious drought in 1853, followed by flood and famine in 1854.

Among the domestic disturbances China faced were the Taiping Rebellion, lasting from approximately 1850 until 1864, (the dates vary from report to report), and the Bendi-Kejia (Punti-Hakka) war, 1854-1867. Both were major factors in the fall of the Qing dynasty. The Taiping Rebellion was a civil war between followers of a converted Christian who believed he was the younger brother of Jesus and the Qing monarchy. Estimates of fatalities in the Taiping Rebellion range up to twenty million. The Qing government eventually overcame the Taipings, but this and other civil wars combined with a lack of financial opportunity motivated Chinese emigrants to venture to the United States during the mid-nineteenth century.²³ These and other civil wars, along with natural disasters, and a lack of financial opportunity motivated many Chinese to emigrate to different provinces, and foreign countries including the United States.

²² *Peace, Amity, and Commerce*, July 3, 1844, signatories: United States; China, 8 Stat. 592; Treaty Series 45, popular name *Treaty of Wangxia*. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Department of State Publication 8549, Vol. 6, Released January 1971.

²³ *A Military History of China*, eds. David A. Graff and Robin Higham, (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books Group, 2002): 135-152.

It was illegal for Chinese to immigrate under Qing law.²⁴ The first large major movement of Chinese to the United States and elsewhere was for the purpose of earning money and returning home. The first groups of Chinese to arrive in mass in America arrived on the West Coast; many became miners and railway workers but others entered occupations such as agriculture, fishing, and manufacturing. They rapidly expanded into entrepreneurships and almost as rapidly labor unions tried to recruit them and then closed ranks against them. The Manchu (Qing Dynasty) encouraged promising students to study abroad and then return to China.²⁵ Yung Wing graduated from Yale University in 1854, becoming the first Chinese student to graduate from an American University. Yung Wing would later organize an expedition of 120 pre-adolescent Chinese students to come to the United States to study English and western ideas.²⁶

The traffic of coolies caught most people in the United States by surprise. Coolies were people who signed labor contracts like indentured servants; some were actually kidnapped (*shanghaied*) and others sold themselves, often to pay gambling debts.²⁷ Coolie brokers sold coolies very much like slave traders sold slaves. Early on United States vessels engaged in the coolie trade but Christian missionaries exposed the practice for what it was, a form of slavery. With the mounting pre-civil war tensions and abolitionist sentiments in the Northern and western United States it made sense that as soon as the government and citizens understood the nature of coolie labor there was a

²⁴ Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1875* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1951): 192.

²⁵ The Qing Dynasty was the Manchu rule over China, 1644-1911 A.D.

²⁶ Jonathan D. Spence, *Search for Modern China* (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1990): 197-198.

²⁷ Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America*, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980): 20-21.

massive publicity campaign against the practice.²⁸ Congress enacted the Prohibition of Coolie Trade Act in 1862, and this act forbid American vessels from transporting coolies no matter where their destination; and repeated that prohibition in the Burlingame Treaty in 1868.²⁹

In the push for westward expansion the United States ultimately sought help from China, in the form of labor. The zeal for Manifest Destiny saw changes for the Chinese as rapid as those of Americans. It was a chaotic, frantic, and muddled period in the United States, China and the world. Often scholars credit the California Gold Rush with attracting many Chinese sojourners. However, some scholars refute the Gold Rush as the determining factor of why the Chinese came to work in the United States. While economic stress is a powerful motivator, it does not always explain population shifts. The fact of American incursion into China, the work of missionaries there, the imbalance of wealth and opportunity between the two countries, and family ties all accounted for early Chinese passage.³⁰ The search for economic prosperity can be a strong pulling force, however, wage differentials between poor and wealthy countries, and even extreme poverty at home does not always explain actual emigration. China Historian Zhou writes that “Western penetration of China, emigration and immigration policies of the sending

²⁸ Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1875* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1951): 55-56.

²⁹ In the Burlingame Treaty, the U.S. and China agreed many items not limited to the following: that either nation would be open to unlimited immigration from the other; that citizens of both nations were free to travel, study and reside without restraint in the other nation; and that the United States would not interfere with internal Chinese affairs.

³⁰ Min Zhou, *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

and receiving countries, a change in mentality and tradition for the emigrating Cantonese, and kinship connections” all accounted for early Chinese emigration.³¹

Over ninety percent of the Chinese who arrived in the United States during the mid-1800s were young males who came from Guangdong province. Fifty-seven percent of these immigrants had already relocated from another district or province in China at least once before immigrating to the United States.³² Many Americans assume that the massive immigration of Chinese to the United States rail and mining camps was unique. Actually, a great deal of Chinese migration took place between regions in China during the mid-1800s, as well as to other countries in Southeast Asia, South America, and Europe. The combination of an ever-increasing population, internal unrest, and resource scarcity contributed to these migrations.

China’s population ballooned from approximately 225 million in 1750 to approximately 330 million in 1800. By the mid-1800s China’s population stood at about 430 million.³³ Migrant workers inundated the already crowded provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. These Chinese migrants were called guest people, (Kejia or Hakkas), “Hakka” a name that came to be an ethnic distinction, these Kejia (Hakkas), flooded into the border areas looking for work, and eventually migrated to other areas of East Asia. Besides the dense population, natural disasters and civil unrest, a corrupt Qing government worsened this migration. The imperial and royal families of the Qing

³¹ Ibid.

³² Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998).

³³ Estimates of China’s population vary widely, recent estimates, in millions, range from 200-250 in 1750; 300-360 in 1800; 400-435 in 1850; and 500 in 1900, according to the conference paper “China’s Population Size During the Ming and Qing: A Comment On The Mote Revision”, given at the 2002 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington DC., by Robert B. Marks, Professor of History at Whittier College, CA. There are also population tables reflecting similar growth rates in Spence, *Modern China*: 94, 96.

Dynasty owned about 15 percent of the arable land in China, the other 85 percent was in the hands of the landed upper class. Small land-owning peasants and those having no ownership of land whatsoever migrated to more promising regions in China, or immigrated to foreign countries.³⁴

During this period migration between provinces increased and peasants from areas with little arable land and from overcrowded cities moved to areas that they hoped would provide more natural resources and better arable land. Chinese peasants were very active during the late Qing, migrating to other regions in China, and those already in Guangdong and Fujian migrated to other Southeast Asian countries, the West Indies, and the United States. The monarchy increased taxes, especially in southern China where the migration was the most intense. The government taxed peasants in southern China at higher rates because, though poor, they were better off than peasants in the north. The upshot of the new taxes was that peasants in the south bore the burden of paying off China's concessions to foreign governments.³⁵ Reports of angry peasants killing tax collectors circulated throughout Southern China.³⁶ These Southern Chinese peasants comprised the majority of the Chinese emigrants to the United States.³⁷

The increases in American missionary work in China prompted William Reed as the Commissioner and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China to negotiate more protections for America's Christian messengers. In the

³⁴ Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998).

³⁵ Spence, *Modern China*: 44, 47.

³⁶ *Ibid*: 44, 47, and 253.

³⁷ Figure 2.3 Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998).

Treaty of Tientsin, between the United States of America and the Ta Tsing Empire.

Article 29 states:

The principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets peacefully teach and practice the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested.³⁸

In this treaty, the American author makes an effort to incorporate some Chinese language and concepts: *chau hui* (mutual communication); *shin chin* (a style of address between officers); and *pin ching* (a style of address between private citizens and officers).³⁹

In 1860 the Qing government objected to the increases in the opium trade. In response, the British accused China of violating the contract terms, and British and French forces attacked the Imperial Summer Palace in Peking.⁴⁰ At this time, Prince Gong was in charge of the Grand Council, a legal administrative section of the Peking-based government. In an effort to better cope with the British and other outsiders, he established schools to study foreign affairs. By 1863 the Qing government began training

³⁸ *Peace, Amity, and Commerce*, June 18, 1858, signatories: United States; China, 12 Stat. 1023; Treaty Series 46, popular name *Treaty of Tientsin*. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Department of State Publication 8549, Vol. 6, Released January 1971.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Before 1949, the Western world knew Beijing as Peking. This spelling change relates to an older pronunciation, there was a sound change as the language altered from traditional Mandarin to Pinyin (Simplified Chinese) and “k” became represented by a “j” in the west.

interpreters using a Chinese version of Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*; this book formed the foundation for China's international relationships.⁴¹

The author of the Shanghai trade agreement also incorporated Chinese words and dates; this agreement is dated 1858 and as "the eighth day of the fifth moon of the eight year of Hienfung" and was signed "in the eight year of Hienfung" by, among others, Kweiliang, Captain-general of the Plain White Banner Division of the Manchu Bannermen; Hwashana, of the Bordered Blue Banner Division of the Chinese Bannermen; and Ho Kwei-Tsing, Guardian of the Heir-Apparent.⁴² This agreement relaxes the restrictions on opium; it allowed American merchants to sell opium to China as long as they paid an import duty of "thirty taels per pecul" (a pecul being equal to one hundred and thirty three and a third pounds). The regulations stated that "Chinese only" could carry the opium into the interior, and then "only as Chinese property." The treaty prohibited American traders from transporting opium past the port of entry.⁴³

By 1864 Chinese immigration to the United States had decreased, however, the number of Protestant missionaries traveling to China had increased to approximately 1,300, and included over 30 Protestant sects.⁴⁴ The immigration from China to the United States lessened due to reports that California, in particular, was mined out.

⁴¹ Spence, *Modern China*: 201-202. Missionary W. A. P. Martin translated *Elements of International Law* into Chinese; the translation was unfinished in 1862.

⁴² *Peace, Amity, and Commerce*, June 18, 1858, signatories: United States; China, 12 Stat. 1023; Treaty Series 46, popular name *Treaty of Tientsin*. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Department of State Publication 8549, Vol. 6, Released January 1971.

⁴³ *Regulation of Trade*, November 8, 1858, signatories: United States; China, 12 Stat. 1069; Treaty Series 47. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Department of State Publication 8549, Vol. 6, Released January 1971.

⁴⁴ Jennifer C. Snow, *A Border Made of Righteousness: Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigration, and Ideologies of Race, 1850-1924* (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2003).

Chinese in the United States warned friends and relatives that the mining enterprises in the United States were “worn out placer mines yielded diminishing returns.”⁴⁵

At the end of November 1867, the Qing government announced that Anson Burlingame, a former U.S. minister to China had been appointed by the Chinese Emperor as his Ambassador Extraordinary.

In his reports to the United States Burlingame assured Americans that China was ready to invite missionaries to “plant the shining cross on every hill and every valley”, and to engage American engineers to open mines and build railways. William Henry Seward was the Secretary of State under President Andrew Johnson. From the negotiations between Burlingame and Seward, and the Chinese government emerged an agreement, in Article 5 that both governments recognized the “inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance” and the “mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration” of people of both countries “for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.” Article 6 guaranteed Chinese citizens working in the United States that “the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations.”⁴⁶ The Manchu had expected him to protect China’s interests rather than promote American interests. However the main thrust of the treaty was immigration; this agreement encouraged Chinese to move to the United States permanently, it stated that both countries acknowledged the:

⁴⁵ Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998): 153.

⁴⁶ *Peace, Amity, and Commerce*, July 28, 1868, United States; China, 16 Stat. 739; Treaty Series 48, popular name: *Burlingame Treaty*. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Department of State Publication 8549, Vol. 6, Released January 1971.

...right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.

The Burlingame Treaty made it safer and therefore easier for Chinese and American employment agencies to enlist emigrants. After the signing of the Burlingame Treaty Chinese immigration to the United States increased; during the 1870s Chinese immigration to the United States increased dramatically.

Plenipotentiaries William Seward, then Secretary of State, and Anson Burlingame worked to increase protection for Christians in China. The agreements previously discussed specifically protected Christian missionaries in China; now the agreement also protected Christian citizens of the United States as well as Chinese converts to Christianity from religious persecution:

Citizens of the United States in China of every religious persuasion and Chinese subjects of 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.

Both parties agreed in Article 5 that it was illegal for either a citizen of the United States or a citizen of China to take a Chinese subject to another country under any but strictly voluntary circumstances.⁴⁷ In Article 7, “Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of the United States.” This was a reciprocal agreement. With regard to the railroad question, in Article VIII the United States agreed not to build any railroads in China without the express permission and at the discretion of the Emperor of China.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

After 1868 the nature of Chinese immigration changed. The Burlingame Treaty marks the first time China allowed a Chinese to legally immigrate permanently to another country. In California the strain on the economy and the agitation caused by massive and rapid Chinese immigration, combined with immigration from all over the world and the eastern United States, created an intolerant climate.

Changes in immigration patterns between China and the United States and between regions in those countries contributed to expanded intercultural exchange and awareness. The United States has always been a multicultural country, even in Puritan New England there was a mix of whites, indigenous people, and African slaves. Throughout its history, people have reexamined and redefined what it is to be an American. America has never been a homogenous group of people, and perhaps the country's multi-heritage origins as much as its anti-British imperialist attitudes shaped early policies between the United States and China. The United States and China shared a foreign policy that can be summed up in one word: isolationism. Both countries accepted the fact that merchants and missionaries would travel between the two countries and early policies and procedures show a mutual respect for the sovereignty of the other. British imperialism ended that stage in United States-China negotiations. The British instigated Opium Wars and subsequent unequal treaty system made it impossible for America to ignore the interests of American merchants in China. It became necessary for the United States to delineate official policies with China that protected interests and US residents. As time passed and the influence of merchants and missionaries swelled, American policy with China became more like British policy. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century the United States did not pursue a forceful relationship

with China. United States officials did not duplicate Britain's aggressive history of Western imperialism in China. America's diplomatic goals aimed at protecting American merchants and missionaries, and were never a policy of imperialism in China.

Throughout the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the United States pursued an equitable trade relationship with China. The goals of United States' foreign policy with China were the security of American merchants and trade and the safety of American missionaries.

CHAPTER III: ARIZONA TERRITORY, 1860-1870

The first official county in Arizona was Yavapai; it lay in the middle of a 100-mile ribbon of Ponderosa pines and Juniper Woods, and the red earth there was rich with mineral deposits. The Yavapai County towns of Prescott, Jerome, and Gila were in mountainous regions, and most of the mines were located in these areas. Prospectors struck gold near the Gila River in Arizona in 1858 and within a short time miners discovered rich copper deposits locally known as the “Black Hills.”⁴⁸ Early prospectors worked the copper mines in what would become the mining town of Jerome, and near the future Territorial capitol, Prescott. Jerome was thirty miles from Prescott, and Spanish explorers had mined the area in the 1700s. American miners revived the rich mines there during the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ Known as the “Billion Dollar Copper Camp” Jerome perched on the side of a steep slope overlooking a terrain of red rocks, and Juniper trees. At least 1,000 miners were in the Gila City camp in 1861 when Western journalist J. Ross Browne described it in a pamphlet.⁵⁰

Enterprising men hurried to the spot with barrels of whiskey and billiard tables. Jewish merchants came with ready-made clothing and fancy wares; traders crowded in with wagons-loads of pork and beans; and gamblers came with cards and monte-tables. There was everything in Gila

⁴⁸ Randall E. Rohe, "Chinese River Mining in the West," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, 46 (Autumn 1996): 20-21.

⁴⁹ Bulletin 178 Arizona Bureau of Mines, Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁵⁰ Some scholars consider J. Ross Browne unreliable due to his tendency to embellish his accounts. This is actually typical of journalists in the Old West. In the case of his description of Jerome, this account jibes with other information about the area during this period.

City within a few months but a church and a jail.⁵¹

Browne observed the presence of Jewish merchants, but did not mention any Chinese being at the camp in 1861.

During that same year Joseph Reddeford Walker, known as Captain Joe Walker, was in Keyesville, Kern County, California, and he decided to lead an expedition to Arizona. His goal was to discover gold in the region between the borders of the Hassayampa River and Little Colorado River. Gold had enticed many prospectors, including Walker, to California; from California, those prospectors traveled across the Sierra Nevadas to Colorado, to the Rocky Mountains, and then to Arizona. Walker had been a trapper in those Arizona mountains during the 1840s. He decided to return and discover whether those streams and banks held gold as well as fur. Walker avoided the San Francisco Peaks because of potential trouble from the Indians, and went by way of the Little Colorado to New Mexico, prospecting along the way with no success.⁵²

In New Mexico, Colonel Kit Carson recruited Walker's expedition to help fight hostile Indians. As an armed force they traveled to the newly established Fort West, located at the headwaters of the Gila River. They explored the San Francisco River country and finally in the spring of 1863 they continued their expedition to central Arizona, by way of Tucson, the Pima Villages, Maricopa Wells, and across the desert to the Hassayampa River.⁵³

⁵¹ J. Ross Browne. *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, 1864*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, Re-edition, introduction by Donald M. Powell, 1974), 76.

⁵² Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts 1863-1865, WPA version, Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁵³ Ibid.

The Walker expedition finally reached its destination, that region of Arizona north of the Gila River that was wilderness, in April 1863. Tiny mining camps already dotted the banks of the Colorado River, but the population located within the boundaries of the Gadsden Purchase, south of Gila, was probably under 4,000, and almost entirely Mexican. As Walker had hoped his preliminary prospecting discovered gold in the Hassayampa.⁵⁴

During Walker's trip, Congress passed a bill creating the Territory of Arizona, separate from New Mexico. At the same time, Walker's pioneers established a permanent mining camp five miles south of the territorial capitol, Prescott. On May 10, 1863, the Pioneer Mining District, the first in central Arizona, held its first meeting. After establishing their district, the men of the Walker party traveled to Maricopa Wells and Pima Villages for supplies. They bought mostly "Home-made flour and frijoles" but more importantly, they left letters with the Pimas, with instructions that the letters be given to passing soldiers or to passengers in wagon trains. The letters contained directions to the location of the strike and described "promising prospects."⁵⁵ The

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The following account is included in the journal of the Walker Party: "The first result of these communications was the dispatch by Gen. John H. Carleton commanding the Department of New Mexico, of Surveyor General Clark of New Mexico, with a military escort, to look over the field and report upon its value, with a view to affording military protection to the people who would "Flock into the country," and it is presumed to investigate a suspicion that the Walker party entertained sympathetic feelings for the Southern cause. On the return trip of the Walker Party from the Pima villages the peoples party from California, discoverers of the famous Rich Hill Diggings was met. This party was guided by Pauline Weaver. Following reestablishment at the Hassayampa Headquarters members of the party, in quest of better diggings, crossed the mountains eastward from the headwaters of the Hassayampa and in the bed of a stream running north Sam Miller took \$4.80 worth of gold from a pan of gravel. Incidentally, Miller had an encounter with a Lynx which he finally subdued by means of a six-shooter, and the stream was named Lynx Creek. Another story runs to the effect that several links of ox chain were found, and that the name should be spelled "Links". To lend color to this theory it is noted that in many instances the stream is referred to, in the records, as "Link Creek"." Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts 1863-1865, WPA version, Sharlot Hall Museum Archives

miners were obviously eager to establish some kind of community there in the wilds.

Soon men, a few women, and the army trekked to the location. The army was there to protect the region from the any possible Southern sympathies harbored of the Walker party. The rest were there to make their fortune, like miners everywhere, and the usual mining, fighting, and gunplay ensued. The Walker Party moved to nearby Lynx Creek, where they staked a profitable claim. They also began mining the quartz ledges in the area because gold sometimes appeared in quartz formations.⁵⁶ On November 24, 1863, they established the Walker Quartz Mining District, within the boundaries of the Pioneer District. This official group and its officers controlled the mining laws of Lynx Creek, the Pioneer District, and vicinity. They had brought the constitution from their mining district in Kern County California with them, and they approved it without alteration, as the constitution governing the mining district in Arizona.⁵⁷ Part of that constitution addressed the volatile topic of Chinese miners in California:

Resolved That Chinaman be excluded from working in any portion of this district.//
Meeting of the 12th July 1863 Link Creek\...⁵⁸

Six months later at another meeting of the District the board of officers passed the following resolution:

Resolved Repealed Jan 10th 1864 That Asiatic & Senoraniens be excluded from working in this district.
T.J. Johnson
Pres.
J.V. Wheelhouse

⁵⁶ For an example of how profitable quartz ledge mining was in nineteenth-century California see Dept. of the Interior. U. S. Geological Survey. Professional Paper 194. *The Gold Quartz Veins of Grass Valley, California*. 1940.

⁵⁷ Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts 1863-1865, WPA version, Sharlot Hall Museum Archives.

⁵⁸ Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts 1863-1865, WPA version, Sharlot Hall Museum Archives.

Sec.”⁵⁹

This temporary exclusion of Chinese from mining in the Arizona Territory was of small consequence given that there was only one Chinese recorded in the special census of 1860; his name was William Tching, he was twenty-six years old, and his occupation is listed as “steamboat cook.”⁶⁰ As of January 1864 Chinese miners had open access to northern and central Arizona.

Yavapai County was one of the four original Arizona counties formed in September of 1864. The County was named after the Yavapai Indian tribe, and translates as “people of the sun.”⁶¹ Yavapai County was originally 65,000 square miles and was home to the territorial government; in 1864, General Carleton established the capital of Arizona Territory in Prescott, rather than Tucson, the oldest community in the territory. Carleton did not entirely trust the residents of Tucson because they had been so recently under the rule of the Confederate army. He demanded loyalty oaths, taxes and declared martial law until the President could be consulted and change the capital if he so chose. President Lincoln did not object, and so Prescott remained the capital until in 1867 the new government switched it to Tucson. The government switched it back to Prescott in 1877. Prescott remained the capital until 1889 when again switched, this time to Phoenix.⁶²

Copper mining in Yavapai County Territorial Arizona afforded Chinese workers an opportunity to not only obtain immediate work, but also to achieve a measure of

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Census-Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, Arizona City, Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁶¹ “Yavapai” is most frequently translated as “people of the sun,” it is also translated as “from the sky,” and “crooked mouth people” and occasionally “hill people.”

⁶² Rufus Kay Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (Phoenix, AZ: Hobson & Hobson) 1950:148, 174, 190.

upward mobility.⁶³ The reason for this opportunity was the positive management policies of William Andrews Clark, owner of the United Verde mine in Jerome. The United Verde Mine was a long term and stable corporation. Other opportunities for Chinese miners included staking their own claims and, later, the development of the Oriental Mining Corporation.⁶⁴ Deep-shaft copper mining presented many additional job opportunities such as washerman, cook, and shopkeeper; employment was also available in the booming business districts of Jerome and Prescott. In the county records it appears that almost everyone owned a mine somewhere in the area or at least had an interest in one. Chinese workers could expect job advancement as well as the opportunity to own homes, ranches, and farms. The booming Old West communities presented Chinese with advancement in their occupations as well as opportunities to express themselves politically, culturally, and socially.⁶⁵

Yavapai County was a multi-cultural place in the 1860s. Besides the Chinese, various Native American tribes and Sonoran born residents, there were immigrants from Canada, England, France, Germany, and Ireland. There were also people from Russia,

⁶³ In California, the Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850 required "foreign miners" including Native Americans, Chinese, and Mexicans born in the United States or abroad, to pay twenty dollars a month for a mining permit. The state repealed the tax in 1851; and set a new foreign miners tax in 1852 at three dollars a month. During this period, many Chinese workers left the mines and moved to the cities to where they earned their living providing laundry and cooking services, and sometimes operating small shops. In Arizona, they faced no such restrictions on their mining activities.

⁶⁴ File 3198, Book 8, Page 133, also Docket 2, Page 159, Docket 7, Page 510, Records Center, Yavapai County Records, Miller Valley, Prescott Arizona.

⁶⁵ Nancy Lee Prichard, *Paradise found? Opportunity for Mexican, Irish, Italian and Chinese born individuals in Jerome Copper Mining District, 1890-1910* Ph.D., University of Colorado at Boulder, 1992. "Through one hundred percent sampling of federal manuscript census data, and other local records, the development of specific ethnic communities from the years 1890 through 1910 was made possible. Not only did the research shed light on the impact of immigrant individuals on the development of the western frontier, it provoked questions concerning the role of investment capitalism and non-discriminatory managerial policies in the successful development of a large-scale copper mine."

Poland, Chile, Nova Scotia, Italy, Switzerland, and elsewhere. United States-born residents came from a cross section of America: New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kentucky, Maine, New Hampshire, Delaware, and even Rhode Island, and other states.⁶⁶ Perhaps due to the multiplicity of the residents' origins, the people of nineteenth century Prescott, Jerome, and surrounds maintained a progressive attitude toward the Chinese sojourners and other immigrants in their midst.

Miners staked claims before the area could open the recorder's office. The first official deed recorded conveyed all the right, title and interest of J. Pennington in lot 10 block 43 on Granite Street to G.D. Geneno, and was dated August 8, 1864. That same month and year Chas. Dorman gave the first mortgage to Geo. Coulter for a one-third interest in the Hassayampa Mine. One of the first recognized stakes was in the Quartz Mine district, the "Bride of Arizona," located Oct 26, 1863 by A.O. Noyes, George Lount, et al. The next year, on January 2, 1864, R.C. McCormick, et al located and recorded the Chase Lode in the Hassayampa district.⁶⁷

Soon would-be millionaires staked thousands and then tens of thousands of claims in the mountains of Northern Arizona. Miners from all over the United States found their way to the mines there. The border between the Arizona and Mexico was fluid; miners passed back and forth across the borderlands, and as one now anonymous writer put it "a person can count within a score those that have secured to their owners the shadowiest realization of the dreams of wealth that nerved men to face the greatest hardships and dangers in their search for an expeditious way to wealth."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Name sorted 1864 special census for Yavapai County based on WPA version prepared in 1938. Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁶⁷ "Counties of Arizona" 1864, Folder, Sharlot Hall Archives.

⁶⁸ *Old Records* "Counties of Arizona" 1864, Folder, Sharlot Hall Archives.

Besides miners and pioneers, the new territory became home to a slew of lawyers. One lawyer who was already practicing in 1860 was J.P. Hargrave, Esquire.⁶⁹ His name appears in case after case as defense attorney, attorney for plaintiff, and eventually as a principal, and like almost everyone else, his name appears in the mining records where he also staked claims.

The issue of statehood was already under discussion in 1863 after the Federal government separated the territory into Arizona and New Mexico. An Act of Congress created the Territory of Arizona on February 24, 1863. Arizona politicians for the most part were adamant that they did not want to rejoin with the Territory of New Mexico for purposes of becoming a state. One reason cited in a pamphlet that circulated through the territory was the “racial dissimilarity of habit and language, and the altogether different types of civilization which prevailed among the inhabitants of the two localities.”⁷⁰

Speaking for the Territory of Arizona, occasional miner-journalist-and political activist, N. O. Murphy stated that:

Arizona is well qualified for self-government but though entitled to statehood she is not seeking it, and only asks to be let alone at this time, and not be forced into a miserable merger, where her splendid identity will be lost, and where she will be outvoted and dominated in every official way by a population not in sympathy with her institutions nor her people.⁷¹

The resistance to joint statehood on the part of Arizona was a direct result of the large, poor, agrarian, Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico. No such

⁶⁹ National Archives, Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel) Record group 21, Records of the US District Courts, Arizona Territorial Court 3rd Judicial District Minutes 1864-1912, Volume 1 Box 1.

⁷⁰ “Some Reasons Why Arizona Prefers To Remain A Territory Rather Than Be Admitted As A State Joined To New Mexico” author N.O. Murphy who sometimes acted as substitute editor for the territorial newspaper in Prescott, Pamphlet, Western American Collection, reel 384, no 3800.

⁷¹ Ibid.

prejudice existed against Chinese. Many in Arizona viewed the Chinese as hard-working laborers who would not be a drain on government resources, and who would not become political due to their temporary status in the United States.

Employment agencies contracted thousands of Chinese laborers to migrate to the United States during the nineteenth century to perform the difficult work of building the railroads. The first Chinese to arrive worked on the California Central Railroad in 1865. Initially the Central Pacific Railroad bowed to labor union pressure and refused to hire any Chinese workers. The Central Pacific eventually changed its policy, and Chinese laborers built the segment of rail that runs over the Sierra Nevada mountain range. These Chinese laborers were often in charge of detonating explosives and dropped into small spaces to dig tunnels. Railroad employees lived in rugged camps in freezing temperatures, and many workers died in explosions, from illnesses, and sometimes in avalanches. California labor union pressure was the reason that the Central Pacific Railroad was slow to hire Chinese workers, and quick to fire them when the railway was finished.⁷²

When railroad officials drove the golden spike into a railroad tie in 1869, commemorating the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the Chinese labor force became summarily unemployed. Within months of the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the West Coast, especially California, suffered a severe economic slump. A flood of European immigrant labor arrived, almost over night, from the East Coast, courtesy of the newly completed railroad. Huge quantities of cheap manufactured goods traveled the rails along with these European immigrants; people and products deluged the

⁷² Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Frontier* (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1997): 59, 80-81, 97-98, 104.

California marketplace. Chinese workers as a whole became extremely controversial in California. Some drifted from the rail camps into mining camps in the Rocky Mountains, where they worked as servants and cooks and eventually acquired the tools to begin mining on their own.⁷³ Other Chinese followed word of job opportunities in mining camps and relocated to the mountains of Northern Arizona.

Some Chinese almost made it to Northern Arizona in 1868, but turned back out of fear of the Apache Indian tribes in the area. The Prescott newspaper reported on the misadventures of one relocation project:

FOR WICKENBURG. - Mr. J.R. Frink, who came down from San Francisco on the last steamer left here on Thursday last, for Wickenburg [Arizona]. He takes with him a quantity of machinery for the Vulture mine. The twenty odd Chainmen he engaged in San Francisco, and brought down on the steamer, for employment in the mines, are minus. On their way from Wilmington to Los Angeles, they became suddenly alarmed as to their probable fate in Apache land, and skedaddled for parts unknown, leaving behind them a number of hats, pillows, and various other articles all of Chinese manufacture, as little mementos to our friend Frank. So says the San Bernardino Guardian of June 6th. Sorry the Johns did not come. There is plenty of work to be done here which they could do as well, if not better than the Sonorians.⁷⁴

“John” was a nickname for Chinese men and "Sonorians" refers to Mexicans.⁷⁵

Almost one year later, the *Arizona Weekly Miner* noted the presence of the area’s first

“Chinaman”:

We have heretofore neglected to inform our readers that a veritable young celestial arrived at Fort Whipple, a short time ago. Should he live long enough to become a man, Yavapai County will contain one Chinaman.⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid: 59, 97-98, 104.

⁷⁴ *Arizona Miner*, June 20, 1868.

⁷⁵ “John” was a slang term for a Chinese man, probably because of the habit Chinese had (and still have) of adopting common American names.

⁷⁶ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, May 1869.

Referring to one mining camp east of Prescott, the *Arizona Weekly Miner* reported January 15, 1870 that as success came to the Chinese miners, they sent word to friends and relatives, who soon quit their current employment and made their way to the area. In the style typical of newsman J. H. Marion, a renowned bigot and drunkard, a report about a Chinese-owned strike reveals how valuable labor was in the Territory:

John thinks he has struck a big thing there, [at a mining site near town] and is bound to go. Two, three, and four cents to the pan were found by one of them, recently. The finder sent word to his fellow countrymen in Prescott, who, upon learning the glad tidings, held a meeting, discussed the 'subject', and resolved to start immediately, if not sooner. They waited upon their employers and each one said: "Me no likee cookee; no likee washee, any more. Me go Big Bug light away, where one Chainman tellee me he find glet deal coarse gold. Sabe John. You pay me; me go." They were paid, and went, on their own way rejoicing; leaving their employers in the lurch. Now, John, as you have gone out into the woods, we tell you beware of the Apache.⁷⁷

Besides being a good example of the infamous and obnoxious style that characterizes Marion's writing, this article yields a great deal of information.⁷⁸ It brings up the ever-present threat of the Apache. The article just preceding this one in the newspaper describes a recent visit to Prescott of some Moquis Indians who ostensibly came to sell peaches, but whom Marion claims were really in Prescott spying for the Apaches. It points out that businesses in Prescott were in a bind after their Chinese staff left to become miners. Apparently, replacement labor was not readily available in Yavapai. This demonstrates how valuable the Chinese were to small businesses in Northern Arizona; it also shows how eager the Chinese were to become self-employed.

⁷⁷ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, January 15, 1870.

⁷⁸ William Henry Lyon, *Those Old Yellow Dog Days: Frontier Journalism in Arizona, 1859-1912*, (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1994): 93.

The Territory of Arizona had developed its early laws simply by adopting California's constitution and making amendments over time. Arizona's Howell Code of 1865 included a prohibition against non-white testimony in court: it stated that "no black or mulatto, or Indian, Mongolian, or Asiatic, shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of or against any white person."⁷⁹ After the Civil War the United States passed the Stewart Bill aimed at protecting blacks in the South; it voided the Howell Code and other discriminatory laws. The Stewart Bill was part of the Civil Rights Act of 1870 and gave all men, (with the very remarkable exception of Indian men), equal status under the law. It also made it illegal to tax specific groups of immigrants based on their country of origin. The Civil Rights Act of 1870 nullified state and territorial laws that discriminated against the Chinese and other non-whites, and reinstated their right to testify against whites in court.

The few months that the Pioneer District prohibited Chinese miners was always a moot point because during the prohibition there were probably only a few Chinese total scattered across the Arizona Territory. Therefore, all of this action at the federal level, and even the American Civil War, had little direct impact on the Chinese in Arizona during this decade. When they did arrive, their goal was to make as much money as possible, as fast as possible, and return to China. Mining in Yavapai County was a popular way to become self-employed for everyone, including Chinese immigrants. Prospectors who relied on placer mining required little equipment. At its most basic; a man needed only a shovel and a pan.

⁷⁹ Andrea Pugsley, "As I Kill This Chicken So May I Be Punished If I Tell An Untruth: Chinese Opposition to Legal Discrimination in Arizona Territory," *Journal of Arizona History*, (Summer 2003): 173, writes that the Howell Code was Arizona's original set of laws and stated this prohibition against non-whites testifying against whites.

In Prescott, Chinese residents concentrated their homes and businesses along Granite Street. The Chinese were diligent in their search for work; they quickly became entrepreneurs, opening restaurants and laundries. Most of the Chinese immigrants to Yavapai County who arrived after 1869 were probably ex-rail workers or disappointed miners from California or the Rocky Mountains.

Many Chinese did not learn English or become “Americanized” like other immigrants, and sometimes they were not motivated to interact with others outside of business relationships. Their goal was to remain in the United States long enough to save money and then return home. The Chinese clung tenaciously to their traditions even when faced with the challenges of an environment and a culture widely different from their homeland. In Arizona, they maintained the customary dress of the Southern Chinese peasant. The temperature in Yavapai ranges from daytime highs over one hundred degrees Fahrenheit to lows in the thirties. The blistering heat, rainstorms, and snow combined with a rugged terrain were completely unlike the subtropical setting of Southern China. In deference to the climate the Chinese compromised their attire just enough to acquire a blended wardrobe of western gear and Chinese clothing.⁸⁰ They also kept the long pigtail that distinguished them as being loyal to the Manchu Regime. This Qing queue was a requirement in China of the Manchu controlled government, and maintaining the queue was one indication that these Han Chinese peasants intended to return home. Cutting off ones queue was proof of rebellion against the state, and the

⁸⁰ National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel), and Sharlot Hall Museum Archives provide many photographs of Chinese in the West wearing a combination of western clothing and Chinese clothing.

longstanding penalty in China was death.⁸¹

The Chinese chef and the Chinese laundryman are stereotypes for a reason. After mining proved an unreliable source of income, at best, Chinese laborers shifted their attention to careers in cooking and cleaning. Like mining, preparing food and washing clothes required little skill, little investment, and a limited amount of English. Many Chinese went into the business of food service and advertisements using the terms “chop house” and “noodle joint,” referring to early Chinese restaurants, began appearing in newspapers during the mid-1870s. Several Chinese-owned laundries soon opened. Each laundry was a collection of Chinese men, often related, who lived and worked together within the small Chinatown communities of towns like Prescott and Jerome, across the country.⁸²

By 1870 Chinese in this Northern Arizona mining county were primed for the large migratory shifts that would occur during the next decades. The county had no restrictions against them, or other immigrants, regarding business ownership, employment, or mining. They could own land and other property. Opium was legal and unregulated, as was gambling and prostitution. Soon there would be religious services and restaurants. Stores would open selling everything from brandy, wine, liquor, and cigars to oysters. The Chinese, along with Mexicans, various Native Americans including Yavapai, Moquis, and Mojave, whites, blacks, and Europeans would combine their cultures and contribute to the frontier mix. From these pioneers was born the Wild

⁸¹ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990): 38-39, 256.

⁸² Paul C. P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* (New York: New York University Press, 1987): 154-63.

West.

CHAPTER IV: THE CHINESE FRONTIER, 1870-1880

In Prescott, Chinese residents concentrated their homes and businesses along Granite Street. The Chinese were diligent in their search for work; they quickly became entrepreneurs, and were great savers. For example, one Chinese businessman named Sam Lee purchased a farm in Yavapai County. Sam Lee would also own a restaurant, and still later try to blow up his Chinese competition, and eventually one of his Chinese business rivals murdered him.⁸³ Other Chinese opened restaurants, laundries, stores, and became farmers. Many Chinese immigrants who arrived in Yavapai County during this period were probably ex-rail workers. Many railroads finished their lines during 1870s, and no longer needed the large Chinese labor crews. It is possible that Chinese miners in the Rocky Mountains drifted into Arizona looking for better locations and other occupations. During this time, Chinese immigration to the United States peaked. The increasing numbers and varied employments of Chinese in Arizona caused comment, but not concern, in the local newspapers.⁸⁴

The dusty and dirty frontiersmen welcomed these early Chinese washermen.

Advertisements and signs such as "Wong Lee Laundry Washing and Ironing," proudly

⁸³ Sam Lee was a high profile character. He shows up in locations such as Sharlot Hall Archives, and the Record Group 21, Records of the United States District Court, 1864-1912, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel). In the Listers' article "Chinese Sojourners..." the authors state that Sam Lee paid \$300 gold for his farm, they reference the Naturalization Records of Yavapai County. These records have no information about real estate purchases; these records only contain information about who became a naturalized citizen. There is no information about Sam Lee in these records.

⁸⁴ *Arizona Journal Miner, Enterprise, Jerome Chronicle*, all comment on this topic during the 1870s.

announced the services provided by Chinese-owned businesses.⁸⁵ For example, one advertisement in the *Arizona Weekly Miner* announced the grand opening of a new laundry, owned by a well-known Chinese resident, George Ah Fat:

New Laundry
Granite Street, Prescott, Arizona
George Ahfat & Co.
Wash every class fabric at their
New Laundry.
Ladies' clothing flotted by floating machine in a manner
to suit the most fastidious.
Shirts bosoms, etc. polished and made to show well.
Terms reasonable.
Public patronage solicited.
Prescott, September 2, 1871.⁸⁶

This announcement, and others like it, demonstrates that Chinese were welcome to own and advertise their businesses in Prescott.

Many Chinese men in Prescott lived conveniently near the downtown brothels. For men who wanted female companionship and/or sex this was an expeditious location, especially given the fact that the first Chinese woman did not arrive in the area until March 1871. Greeted by a late spring snowstorm, she was the only Chinese woman motivated enough to make the cold and snowy trip. In typical fashion, known bigot J. H. Marion tried to throw an additional chill into the women's reception, announcing:

THE FIRST CHINAWOMAN.—Wickenburg stage arrived at about half past six, Thursday evening, with several passengers, and seven sacks of mail. Among the passengers was a Chinese female,—the first that has ever visited this town, and section of country, and we hope, the last.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Photo: Wong Lee advertised his laundry located next to the Maier Saloon, and charged \$2 a dozen for shirts, Sharlot Hall Museum.

⁸⁶ *Arizona Weekly Miner* (Prescott), September 2, 1871.

⁸⁷ The report continues that “-Snow is quite deep on the higher points of the Bradshaw and Hassayampa mountains.” *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, March 11, 1871, J.H. Marion & Co. Eds.

Marion was unsuccessful in subduing the excitement of the town at the arrival of this first Chinese woman. The local photographer set up a photo shoot almost immediately, and the Sharlot Archives still possesses one of the original prints. Young Chinese men and boys who emigrated from China generally did so without wives and families. Given the high percentage of youths in the migration, it is doubtful that many of these males were married, although some undoubtedly were. The all-male environs of Chinatown and the dearth of available females in the territory encouraged prostitutes to locate there. The census of 1870 counted 123 males in Yavapai County and 10 females total; not good odds for a man looking for a wife or female companionship.⁸⁸ Many men in Yavapai County during this period must have suffered from female-deprivation, and Prescott and surrounds eventually became home to many prostitutes.

Conforming to the cowboy stereotype, the competition between Chinese men for female companionship sometimes became violent. Men have been fighting over women since time immemorial and Chinese frontiersmen were no exception. One such lover's triangle turned violent. The story goes that in Los Angeles California, Ah-Own married a woman named So-Sing Hoy. After one of the violent pro-Nativist, anti-Chinese Los Angeles riots, the couple decided to move to Wickenburg Arizona, where the wife became increasingly unhappy. She eventually ran off with Sam Horne, a Chinese man from Prescott. Ah-Own followed the errant couple and tried to get his wife back. The woman denied she was married to Ah-Own, who went to the local constable for help. Both sides hired lawyers and the judge ordered that So-Sing must return to Ah-Own, her

⁸⁸ Based on the decennial Federal census, 1870, for the Territory of Arizona-Con. YAVAPAI COUNTY, ARIZONA TERRITORY, BIG BUG, WOOLSEY VALLEY, LOWER LYNX CREEK (POST OFFICE, PRESCOTT) dated August 3, 1870, Sharlot Hall Archives.

legal husband. As could be expected, the reunion did not go well; a fracas ensued and ended with the sheriff breaking up the fight. Finally, a local judge ordered that So-Sing could remain with her lover, Sam, who was unfortunately serving a short jail term for assaulting the sheriff in the heat of the drama. The report ends with the fickle young woman agreeing to marry Sam Horne, without benefit of divorce from Ah-Own:

Yielding, very reluctantly, to this distasteful decree, the female accompanied Ah-Own and the party to headquarters at their wash-house, where, not liking the smell of the soap-suds, she screamed for her dear Horne who, with his party, was about to freeze [sic] on to her, when Sheriff Thomas came up, escorted the female and the male Chinaman to the recorder's office where Judge Wells tested the woman's love and finding that it all flowed in the direction of Same Horne horn spoon, [sic] permitted her to go with Sam, who, at this writing, is in jail, serving a term of imprisonment for assaulting the sheriff. We had almost forgotten to state that Judge Olla came nigh marrying the woman to another Chinaman; also that upon being asked if she would take Horne for her lawful husband, she replied, in mingled Chinese and Californian, 'You Bet-tee.'"⁸⁹

The situation is representative of life in the region on many levels. Women were in short supply and fighting over women was common. Violence was often the first, or at the least the second, method of settling arguments. Many frontierswomen, not only the Chinese woman of this story, moved fairly fluidly from husband to (hopefully better) husband without benefit of divorce. Arizonans were aware of the violence in California's Chinese communities, and at least in some cases this violence was a motivating factor in Chinese migration into the territory. What is also interesting is how Chinese participated fully in the community. The wronged husband did not hesitate to seek help from the sheriff or the legal system. J. H. Marion was at the height of his acerbic story telling powers in this piece. Ironically, in his newspaper on the same page there is an

⁸⁹ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, February 15, 1873.

advertisement for the “Oriental Restaurant, Bakery, and Saloon” located next door to his newspaper office.⁹⁰ Also on that same page:

SPECIAL NOTICES. AZTLAN LODGE No. 177, F. & M.-Regular Meetings of this Legion on the last Saturday of each month, at 7:00 o’clock P.M. Sojourning brethren are fraternally invited to attend. G.W. CURTIS, W.M. J.P. HARGRAVE, Secretary-⁹¹

The man listed in this announcement as secretary of this Masonic lodge, J. P. Hargrave, was a local attorney frequently hired by Chinese to represent them in court. The Masons were an intercultural collection of men, including whites and Chinese. This announcement welcomes “Sojourning brethren” and Americans often referred to Chinese as sojourners.

The Prescott newspaper ran announcements for churches, eateries, and all bits of news about mining. Mexicans, whites, blacks, Indians, Chinese, and others all turned up in the news as they contributed to the frontier mix. One holiday season, publisher T.J. Butler of the *Arizona Miner* announced that; “Our colored friend, Tim Hawkins, has rented the restaurant on Montezuma Street, near Tinkers’ new depot.”⁹² Small local stores sold everything for the holidays from imported liquors and wines, to fancy cigars and even seafood. Druggists advertised a myriad of potent medications including cod liver oil; there were beds and rooms for rent and parties to attend.

The main topic of concern in the Prescott newspaper was not the growing number of Chinese, it was the Apache. The Apache reportedly stole mules and horses from Mexican herders, and the people in town could see their signal fires on the nearby

⁹⁰ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, February 15, 1873.

⁹¹ Beside this announcement appears the symbol of a Master Mason: the Square and Compass symbol is the universal symbol of a Master Mason of Freemasonry. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, February 15, 1873.

⁹² *Arizona Miner*, November 1872.

mountaintops.⁹³ Apaches killed a group of ten Chinese miners in the Arizona Territory during the 1870s, and there was speculation that some Indians considered Chinese a foreign and hostile Indian tribe.⁹⁴

When confronted with controversy, adversity, and boredom Chinese men on the frontier were as prone to violence as any other group in the Old West. Chinese favored knives, maybe because they were not as expensive as guns or because they make fights more personal. In any case, reports of Chinese brawls were as common as brawls between all the other men living in the area. A night watchman named William Jennings appears frequently in newspaper reports and legal records as the man in charge of controlling these brawlers. One night he intervened in a particularly violent fracas between several Chinese residents. Reports indicate that this fight was about money, politics, and fashion. Three Chinese men attacked another Chinese man who had cut off his queue. The Chinese queue was a hairstyle mandated by the Manchu Dynasty in order to distinguish men of Han and Manchu ethnicity. The report indicates that the victim had purposely cut off his queue. This could mean several things: that he was trying to pass himself as a Taiping, and therefore of a different status than his fellow Han; or he was not planning to return to China, (the Manchu punishment for a man without a pigtail was death); or for personal reasons simply favored a western style haircut.

The fight may not have been about the queue at all. There was also some cash involved which night watchmen Jennings, who broke up the fight, took into custody until its ownership could be determined. Jennings saved the victim by taking him to the local

⁹³ *The Arizona Miner*, November 23, 1872 (misdated November 16, 1872) Publisher T.J. Butler.

⁹⁴ "The Chinese in Arizona 1870-1950: A component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan" (May 1992, prepared for the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, Arizona Parks Board, unpublished research report): 16.

doctor, Kendall, who claimed that the man's wounds were so severe that he certainly would have died had not Jennings intervened. After their arrest, the attackers made bail quickly and the episode joins one of many in the annals of frontier fights. Local citizens were more concerned with what became of the cash than they were with the violence.⁹⁵

Arrests were made by Jennings, but we believe that all the flesh-chopping scoundrels are now at large. In connection with this affair, there is considerable talk among citizens, regarding Jennings' action, to get possession of certain cash belonging to one or more of the Chinese-said action same say, being very similar to that in vogue among burglars and highwaymen of this hereafter.⁹⁶

The job of night watchman in the rollicking mining towns of the Old West appears was a busy one.

Another example of the nightlife in Prescott took place when a Chinese man killed a soldier. The sad affair of soldier Peter Neff began at eleven o'clock one Monday night when he and other soldiers tried to break into a Chinese residence. Night watchman Jennings was patrolling the plaza nearby when he heard shots, running toward the sound he encountered a group of Chinese men who directed him to a house along the alley.⁹⁷ There he found several soldiers were smashing the windows of a Chinese residence. Night watchmen Jennings ordered them to stop and when they refused, he began pistol-whipping them. After the men ran away Jennings found an injured soldier, later identified as Peter Neff, who he and others carried into the house. They cleaned his head wound and

⁹⁵ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, Jan 20, 1872, J. H. Marion, Ed., "Explanatory. Nightwatchman Jennings wished us to state that in taking money from Chinese depositories, on the night of the fracas, he but acted according to the urgent request of the Chinaman whom the others had tried to kill and who by the way, is now on the point of death" *Weekly Arizona Miner*, Jan 27, 1872.

⁹⁶ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, Jan 20, 1872.

⁹⁷ The newspaper report called this "a Chinese house of illfame [sic]." The designation "illfame" could mean this was an opium den, brothel, or gambling house; but it could also simply be a Chinese home or business. Later in the same report, he refers to it as a "house." Given the editor's colorful language and prejudice against Chinese, it is difficult to determine what he means by ill fame. *The Miner*, hand-dated March 8 1873, Newspaper File, Sharlot Hall Archives.

then took him by wagon to the hospital at Fort Whipple, about four miles away, where he died.⁹⁸

The authorities arrested the shooter, who turned out to be a cook at Fort Whipple where Neff was stationed, so it seems likely the two must have known each other. Prominent attorney J. P. Hargrave represented the accused, and the judge let him out on \$1500.00 bail. This was a large amount of money for a cook to produce so two local men, J.E.G. Mitchell and Guilford Hathaway acted as sureties for him. The judge found the cook not guilty of the murder and released him.⁹⁹ Night watchmen Jennings apparently decided being a miner was preferable to a job that required thwacking rowdy, drunken soldiers over the head with a gun and jumping into the midst of knife wielding Chinese. A few years later, a comment appears in the news that “Prof. and ex-night watchman Jennings is in from his mining camp on the Hassayampa.”¹⁰⁰

Arizonans were very aware that their situation was not like that of California. They were aware of the violence there, and the legal actions California was taking in regard to Chinese immigration, but those events were far removed from the daily struggle to make a success of living in the mountains in the sparsely populated territory.¹⁰¹ Local newspaper editorials commented on the tension between Chinese and the white-dominated labor unions in California. Some Arizonans sympathized with the whites in

⁹⁸ *The Miner*, hand dated March 8 1873, Newspaper File, and *Weekly Arizona Miner*, March 22, 1873, Sharlot Hall Archives also Yavapai County Court Records.

⁹⁹ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, March 22, 1873. Yavapai County Court Records.

¹⁰⁰ *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, Oct 24, 1879, Chas W. Beach Ed.

¹⁰¹ California legislatures did pass discriminatory legislation that specifically targeted the Chinese long before Arizona passed any similar laws, and long before the Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882. By 1854, the California Supreme Court ruled in *People v. Hall* that a state statute barring the testimony of blacks, mulattoes, and Indians against white defendants applied to the Chinese. The court’s logic was that the Chinese were obviously descended from the same race as the Indians, and therefore subject to the same legal restrictions as other non-whites.

California. However, they noted that Arizona was not like California; Arizona did not have too many people and too many laborers. Moreover, Arizona residents of the 1870s, even racist reporters, admitted that they foresaw no such violent conflicts occurring in Arizona anytime soon.

The white laborers and their friends are now red hot upon the subject of cheap labor as represented by the thousands of Chinese in that State...Here, in Arizona, discussion of the question of cheap labor is hardly in order. True, we have some few Chinese, but they have a strong desire to get all they can for their labor and spend it. We, nevertheless, sympathize with our California brethren, and think their State would be better off if there were no heathen Chinese to bother.¹⁰²

The reporter identified one of the big problems in California accurately as cheap labor, and noted that Arizona actually had a shortage of labor. Furthermore, the reporter indicated in his article that the Yavapai Chinese spent their money locally.

Life in the Territory was not all drinking, gambling, and gunplay. Some people took time out from their work to enjoy the fabulous scenery of Northern Arizona. One stunning trip from Prescott takes explorers up a beautiful mining road to the Hualapai Mountains. With an elevation over 6000 feet, it was cool in the summer and a perfect place for a picnic and a tour of the Buel Lumber Mill. Making their way up the steep, rocky shelf road with switchbacks and steep climbs must have been an exhilarating experience. The Buel Mill supplied most of the lumber used in Yavapai County during this period. One such party of men and women enjoyed the hospitality of the Mill owners and local miners, and even attended a mountain wedding.

...A trip to the mountains, now and then, is appreciated by the best of men. Try it yourself, Mr. Editor, if you can get a number of ladies to accompany you. On Sunday eve, there was a "wedding in high life" here in Cerbat. A

¹⁰² *Arizona Weekly Miner* (Prescott), March 22, 1873.

Mr. George (colored) was united in the holy bans of wedlock with Miss Fan Cum Sha (a Celestial beauty)...¹⁰³

It is interesting that with such a shortage of women on the frontier, and Chinese woman especially, that this one married a black man. However, people marry for various reasons and love is often unpredictable.

By the late 1870s, the people of Prescott noticed the large immigration shift from Southern China to the West Coast of the United States, and the movement some of that population into Arizona. Finally, the Southern Pacific Railroad completed tracks to the west bank of the Colorado River at Yuma Arizona, and presumably released its Chinese crews who scattered around the Southwest.¹⁰⁴ Chinese miners, sometimes alone and sometimes in groups, successfully worked claims between Prescott and Jerome. Almost all of the stagecoaches that arrived in Prescott carried Chinese passengers and one report alleged that a hired wagon brought a large group of Chinese passengers from the Colorado River into town one day.¹⁰⁵

Along with the Chinese came their traditional foods. At their restaurants and food stands they served meat, potatoes, and coffee, but along side the American fare and in their homes, they served rice, noodles, soy sauce, and tea. Chinese merchants regularly advertised Asian foods and crockery for sale. They hosted parties and celebrated traditional Chinese holidays, going to great expense to get festive and traditional foods. For example, laundry-owner George Ah Fat threw a (Chinese) New Year party, importing special treats for the occasion at an enormous cost.

¹⁰³ *LETTER FROM CERBAT*.-CERBAT, A.T., June 29, 1875, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹⁰⁴ It took one year to get permission to build the bridge across Indian Territory and the Colorado River. During the delay, it is probable those employees were not paid and that some Southern Pacific Railroad workers journeyed to Northern Arizona.

¹⁰⁵ *Arizona Journal-Miner*, February 9, 1877; *Enterprise*, October 10, 1877; *Arizona Weekly Miner*, October 26, 1877.

George Ah Fat gave a new year's dinner today, at which, he informed us yesterday, he intended among other delicacies to serve tea that costs \$10 per pound.¹⁰⁶

The report of the Chinese New Years celebration reflects that not only did the Chinese continue their traditions in their new home, but also that their holidays and foodways were an object of friendly interest to the residents of Prescott in general. In Yavapai County, the Chinese were free to celebrate their traditional holidays, speak their native language, prospect, gamble, drink, and smoke opium side-by-side with the rest of the public. Local newspapers duly reported on the activities of residents including the Chinese. Articles described Chinese social events and celebrations, business successes and failures, sorrows and joys along with those of everyone else. However, as the Chinese population of the Territory increased, and with the dramatic anti-Chinese sentiments coming out of California, some people in Arizona began to perceive Chinese laborers as an economic threat to the fiscal health of Yavapai County. In 1878, the *Arizona Weekly Miner* published a quantitative analysis of the situation that demonstrated how the Chinese were draining large amounts of money from the local economy.

All of these Chinese are steadily employed in various vocations, and their wages each can safely be put down per diem at \$1, or about \$2,000 per month. Thus it will be seen that even out here in a very remote corner of the globe the Celestials manage to get away with something like \$24,000 per annum, the major part of which the few Chinese who live among us can ship away from the Territory \$100,000, never more to be seen in this part of the world.¹⁰⁷

The reporter's exaggerations and miscalculations are obvious to modern readers, but probably were not to the local citizenry, most of whom were ill positioned to critique the report. The census of 1880 places the number of Chinese in Prescott at fifty; if each of

¹⁰⁶ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, February 16, 1877.

¹⁰⁷ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, November 29, 1878.

those men earned \$1 per day (which is doubtful); the total Chinese population would have been earning a combined income of \$350 a week, (if they all worked seven days a week). The leap from that, to \$2000 a month, to \$24,000 a year, to \$100,000 in an unspecified period must have seemed stupendous to local residents. Unfortunately, it is probably safe to assume that the faulty math of this journalist was better than that of his audience. The journalist continued his diatribe by exhorting whites to take on menial jobs and start businesses of their own.

No honest white men or women who have to labor for a living ought to be above doing honest, honorable labor. Why, then, not start one or two steam laundries here, white laboring men and women, and earn the money that now goes into heathen hands.¹⁰⁸

The reporter finally summarized his findings and speculated that there might be more than one hundred Chinese lurking around Prescott hoarding and exporting American money. The Chinese did not like to pay taxes and fees, more than most it seems, and frequently newspapers commented on this fact.

The most consummate gamblers to be found anywhere are among the Chinese of Prescott. Several Chinese games are running every night in this town, and we have not heard of their paying a gambling license.¹⁰⁹

The Yavapai County records bear witness to this accusation of operating without a license. Few Chinese owners of gambling houses or saloons applied for licenses until after the turn of the century.¹¹⁰ In the register of licenses many apparently Anglo and European names appear as soon as the legislation passed. In any case, despite new taxes and licensing fees, Chinese continued to advertise and operate their gaming and drinking

¹⁰⁸ *Enterprise*, December 4, 1878.

¹⁰⁹ *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, July 25, 1879, Chas. W. Beach Ed.

¹¹⁰ License Register Liquor and Gambling, Records Center, Yavapai County Records, Miller Valley, Prescott Arizona.

establishments.

Local newspapers ridiculed and criticized Chinese, as well as blacks, Mexicans, Irish, Italians, Phoenicians (from Phoenix), East Coast businessmen, lawyers, Mormons, temperance league members, Native Americans, and prostitutes. Notwithstanding the criticism, representatives from all of those groups and others continued to arrive in Northern Arizona to see if this was a place where they could make a new life.

CHAPTER V: CULTURES MIX, 1880-1900

Opium and Church

For recreation, Chinese enjoyed the same amusements as other frontiersmen: drinking, gambling, prostitutes, and opium smoking. The United States legally sanctioned opium, and its use arrived in the west with the Chinese.¹¹¹ In the next decade opium would become a point of contention between Chinese users and the Territorial legal system. Prescott had its share of opium dens; they were barely furnished rooms located behind Chinese owned stores. The opium dens of Prescott were a profitable business. Concerns about opium increased as the Chinese population increased. While many Anglos joined Chinese in a friendly smoke of opium much as people enjoyed a drink, others ascribed depravity, sloth, and immorality to opium users.¹¹² By the late 1870s, newspapers in the Arizona Territory began to comment. One warned readers that:

Among the many evils and vices which the influx of Mongolian immigration has brought to the shores of the Pacific one of the worst is, without doubt, the detestable habit of opium-smoking, which is slowly and steadily growing upon our youths of both sexes.¹¹³

¹¹¹ The United States legalized the opium trade with China in 1858. *Peace, Amity, and Commerce*, June 18, 1858, signatories: United States; China, 12 Stat. 1023; Treaty Series 46, popular name *Treaty of Tientsin*. *Regulation of Trade*, November 8, 1858, signatories: United States; China, 12 Stat. 1069; Treaty Series 47.

¹¹² It was common for Anglos and Chinese to smoke opium according to Keith McMahan, *The Fall of the God of Money: Opium Smoking in Nineteenth-Century China*, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2002):27.

¹¹³ *Enterprise*, August 13, 1877.

Opium was a serious business and became a serious problem. One Prescott newspaperman apparently went on a surveillance mission and offered the public this report about the local opium dens:

Many of our citizens would be astonished to see the number of men and women who visit these Granite Street hovels, at all hours of the day and night, and if they want to satisfy themselves of the correctness of our assertions let them take a stand for a few hours at the corner of Granite and Goodwin streets. They will see hurrying in, stealthily, quite a number of habitees of both sexes, from some of our leading citizens down to the lowest harlot who plies her vocation on that street, and if they can manage to be passed in they will be able to feast their eyes with the disgusting sight of this powerful narcotic.¹¹⁴

This reporter points out that whites, even leading citizens, as well as Chinese were using opium. This was probably less of a problem than the mixing of the sexes in the opium dens. Prescott had already made it illegal for women to drink alcohol in public. Opium use was legal, but judging by the reporter's attitude at least some considered its use immoral. The newspapers of the era comment frequently on Prescott's Chinese opium dens, and the Chinese and non-Chinese alike who frequented them.

The Chinese dens of Prescott carry on quite an extensive business in the way of opium smoking. There are several persons, who pay for the privilege of inhaling the intoxicating fumes from the opium pipes in the celestial dens of Prescott.¹¹⁵

Newspaper reports combined with the large number of opium artifacts found in the archeological excavation of Chinatown in Prescott, suggests that per capita Prescott had a

¹¹⁴ *Enterprise*, August 13, 1877.

¹¹⁵ *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, Oct 24, 1879, Chas. W. Beach Ed.

higher than average percentage of opium users.¹¹⁶ Until the 1870s opium was used by households as a tranquilizer, analgesic, to treat fatigue, depression, the ague and malaria. It was found in a wide range of patent medications including laudanum, and its use in general was on the decline worldwide by the late nineteenth century.¹¹⁷

Many non-Chinese assumed that most or all Chinese were opium addicts. In fact, opium users were a minority among Chinese.¹¹⁸ Because Chinese used long pipes to smoke tobacco, regular smokers were often mistaken for opium users.¹¹⁹ Newspapers in the 1870s and 1880s contributed to the notion that every opium user was an addict, and every Chinese used opium. The characterization of Chinese as carousing, gambling, and smoking opium would gain popularity as the Chinese population increased. Moreover, the frontier really was a rough place in these decades. An excavation of Prescott's Chinatown reveals massive quantities of alcohol containers along with opium paraphernalia. It also reveals that gambling of all kinds was a major pastime.¹²⁰

Not everyone on the frontier was raising hell; some were looking toward heaven for inspiration. During and after the Civil War, Christians who had devoted themselves to the abolitionist cause turned their attention to China and the Chinese with vigor. Christians promoted early immigration from China and later assisted Chinese who wanted to remain in the United States and become naturalized citizens. Modern scholars

¹¹⁶ Michael S. Foster, John M. Lindly, and Ronald F. Ryden. *Celestials and Soiled Doves: The Archaeology and History of Lots 4-9, Block 13 of Historic Prescott's Original Townsite*. The Prescott City Center Project, 2004.

¹¹⁷ Keith McMahon, *The Fall of the God of Money: Opium Smoking in Nineteenth-Century China*, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2002):39-40.

¹¹⁸ Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Frontier* (Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1997): 80-81.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Michael S. Foster, John M. Lindly, and Ronald F. Ryden. *Celestials and Soiled Doves: The Archaeology and History of Lots 4-9, Block 13 of Historic Prescott's Original Townsite*. The Prescott City Center Project, 2004.

often dismiss Christians and their work with Chinese in the United States as racist ethnocentrism. These frontier churchgoers were often good friends with their Chinese neighbors, and discounting them as proselytizers causes modern scholars to miss important factors that help illuminate life in the west for Chinese. Some Christians were capable of paternalism and racism, but many were committed to living by the ethics of their faith and being good neighbors. Christians were activists against Chinese exclusion.¹²¹

Theodore W. Otis was one of the charter members of the First Congregational Church of Prescott. He became an important person in that city: he served as postmaster, owned a grocery store, and, of course, had some mining claims. His wife was a member of many charitable organizations in the town. When Otis became a deacon, he started a Chinese school at the church. His Chinese students called him ‘uncle,’ and even after they returned to China, some kept in contact with him. Chinese men and boys attended weekly classes organized by Deacon Otis. They studied the Bible and the Gospel Hymn Book to learn English, reading, spelling, and music. At the end of each class, the minister gave a short worship service.¹²²

Jan Con Sang, known as Charlie Wann, immigrated to the United States when he was 14 years old. According to his letters he had a bad gambling habit that caused him trouble in California, so he moved to Prescott Arizona to reinvent himself. He became

¹²¹ “During the debate over Chinese immigration, missionaries responded to scientific racism with simple antagonism. Either they completely ignored its claims, resorting to *ad hominem* attacks on its proponents, or they denied the epistemological authority of race science. Certainly they were capable of racial paternalism and even prejudice: most struggled hard none the less to live and work in ways reflecting their commitment to racial egalitarianism. Missionaries were historically highly visible in the fight against exclusion.” Jennifer C. Snow, *A Border Made of Righteousness: Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigration, and Ideologies of Race, 1850–1924* (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2003).

¹²² Churches Folder; Folder 185; Box 19, Sharlot Hall Archives.

one of Otis' students. Jon Con Sang eventually returned to China, but he continued his correspondence with his church friends in Prescott into his old age. Sang told of how his command of English and his Christianity had helped him become a great success in China; and that he was known in Hong Kong as "Jan Con Sang, the Powerful." He also told his American friends that he had amassed a fortune in excess of \$5,000,000 and owned a palace.¹²³

There are records that demonstrate that Deacon Otis helped many Chinese during their stay in Prescott. A photograph of Otis with his Chinese students shows Joe Ah Jew among the pupils, identifiable by his certificate of residency. Joe Ah Jew was a cook and eventually owned his own restaurant in Prescott; he became a naturalized citizen at some point, possibly after the passage of the Exclusionary Rule. June Moy was another young Chinese migrant helped by the Otis'.¹²⁴ June arrived in Prescott with her father and brother. A judge appointed Deacon Otis and his wife, Pamela Libby Otis, a member of the Prescott Literary Library Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) guardian of the Chinese girl, June Moy, in 1899. According to a clipping in the Sharlot Hall archives:

In his order appointing Mrs. Otis as guardian of the Chinese girl, a condition was inserted that the father and brother of said June Moy may

¹²³ Vertical File "Churches" 1-50, #1, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹²⁴ The Listers accuse the Chinese in Prescott of sexual deviance, claiming that a newspaper report about a fight between two Chinese men over a Chinese woman was evidence of polyandry. They spice up their article by implying that Chinatown in Prescott evolved into a hotbed of Chinese prostitution, replete with sing-song girls, sex slaves, and even child prostitution. They offer no evidence to support these claims other than the above-mentioned quarrel and the presence of a child in Prescott that they refer to as June Wong. Florence C. and Robert H. Lister, "Chinese Sojourners in Territorial Prescott," *Journal of the Southwest*, vol. 31 (Spring 1989): 31-35.

visit the said June Moy at such time as the said Pamela L. Otis, guardian may deem best suitable.¹²⁵

It is likely this arrangement was an idea agreed upon by the child's father and the Otis' so that the girl could live in a more suitable environment than the almost all-male Chinatown.

Discriminating against, mistreating, or exploiting Chinese was un-Christian in the minds of Christians such as the ones who number among the membership of the Congregational Church in Prescott. Christians were conscious of the fact that bigotry and racism within their ranks diminished their message. Christians did not see themselves as being ethnocentric when they tried to convert Buddhists and others to Christianity. They did not see the Americanization and assimilation of Chinese and others as a bad thing. Christians sought to remedy the ills that plagued humanity by converting everyone in the world to Christianity. Ultimately, Christians failed to stop the tide of anti-Chinese politics, but they tried. It is a one-dimensional analysis that labels Christians as racists and only examines the harm their Americanization projects wrought. Compassion and

¹²⁵ Folder 185, Box 19, Sharlot Hall Archives. The Listers claim that June Wong was a child prostitute, and the "victim of the tragic traffic in child slavery, [who] ran away from her Prescott Chinese master." Given that the girl's father and brother received visitation rights while the girl was the Otis' ward, it seems highly unlikely either her father or brother were pimps. This Christian couple and the local judge would hardly condone visits between a child and men who were procurers of prostitutes. Child prostitution was not unknown in China; it is also not unique to China; however, its existence was as repugnant to the average Chinese person as it was to Americans. Chinese society and culture are based on close family ties and values that are in direct conflict with the forced exploitation of children for sexual purposes. The Listers further claim that June became an unpaid servant for T.W. and Pamela Otis. They offer no citations to support this claim. It is unclear why the Listers refer to the girl as June Wong when the archival records report about June Moy. In the unlikely event that there were two Chinese girls in the town, one named Wong and the other named Moy, it would only serve to point out that the Otises were benefactors in more than one case.

comradeship, as well as religion, inspired frontier Christians to befriend and support the Chinese in their community.¹²⁶

Federal Exclusion and Community Inclusion

By 1880 anti-Chinese lobbyists in California had pushed the Federal government to regulate Chinese immigration to the United States. The result was an agreement with China that modified existing prior treaties regarding immigration. The new policy stated that whenever, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, Chinese laborers attempting to immigrate or already in the United States endangered the “good order” of the country then the United States had the right to “regulate, limit, or suspend” but not absolutely prohibit such immigration. This regulation applied to Chinese laborers only, not to other classes, such as teachers. Article 3 stipulated that the government would punish any person who mistreated a Chinese in the United States. This treaty was an effort to afford legal protection to Chinese workers in the United States, as well as regulate future immigration. The officials who signed and sealed this treaty did so in both English and Chinese.¹²⁷

After passage of these immigration restrictions, the newspapers in Yavapai County display a more anti-Chinese attitude. Often, the articles made comparisons between Chinese coolies and African slaves, and cited the same “cheapening” of the

¹²⁶ Jennifer C. Snow, *A Border Made of Righteousness: Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigration, and Ideologies of Race, 1850–1924* (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 2003).

¹²⁷ *Immigration*, November 17, 1880, United States; China, 22 Stat. 826; Treaty Series 49. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Vol. 6, Department of State Publication 8549, Released January 1971; Signed in 1880 by James B. Angell (Michigan), John F. Swift (California), and William Henry Trescot (South Carolina) acted as plenipotentiaries of the United States. ; In 1876, Yung Ty, the president of Hop Wo Company, testified before the Committee of the Senate of California, that most of the immigrant Chinese working in California had been small landowning peasants or landless wage laborers in China. Yang Cai, *From the Central Kingdom to Gold Mountain*, (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois-Champaign, 1998).

labor force by the presence of both.¹²⁸ With the memory of the Civil War still vivid, these were legitimate fears and complaints, however misinformed. The coolie trade was never legal in the United States. However, the coolie dominated the images of Chinese presented in the press. The idea of coolie gangs working on the railroad raised fears about slavery in the American West. In reality, only a few coolies ever made it to America.¹²⁹ The open spaces and democratic attitudes of the West made the region inhospitable to slavery. Most Chinese immigrants to the United States were free men; the few coolies who did arrive in California escaped inland as soon as possible and many headed to the frontier.¹³⁰

Local complaints echoed the grievances of those who lobbied to pass restrictions on Chinese immigration. The main arguments were that the Chinese worked cheap and did not support the American economy. They imported cheap goods from China and sold those goods to Chinese and Americans alike. Other Americans complained that the Chinese were parsimonious, and communal to the point of being ethnically exclusive; they sent money back to China, and they avoided paying taxes. The problem of opium continued into this decade. In 1880 China and the United States signed a mutual agreement making it illegal to transport opium into either country. The agreement prohibited Chinese subjects from importing opium into the United States and forbade United States citizens from bringing opium into China, transporting opium on their ships in China's waters, and from buying and selling opium in Chinese ports.¹³¹

¹²⁸ *Prescott Weekly Courier* (Prescott), March 11, 18, and April 8, 1882.

¹²⁹ Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Frontier* (Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1997): 23.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*: 103-104.

¹³¹ *Commercial Relations and Judicial Procedure*, November 17, 1880, United States; China, 22 Stat. 828; Treaty Series 50.

In 1880 Yavapai County's population was 5,013: including 140 Chinese and 54 Indians; Prescott's population was 2,078; Arizona Territory had a total population of 40,440.¹³² Many of the 140 Chinese were high profile businessmen who owned prosperous laundries and restaurants. Announcements like these two appeared regularly in local newspapers:

Wong Lee, all same Melicano man, runs the wash house near the foot bridge at the crossing of Granite Creek. Call and see his laundry and procure one of his cards, printed in American after the style of the 19th century.

Ah Wah, late cook at the Cabinet, has rented the dining rooms attached to P.M. Fishers Saloon, where by good cooking and attention to business he hopes to merit the share of the public patronage.¹³³

These advertisements animate the census data and demonstrate how commonplace the traditional Chinese occupations of cleaning and cooking were in Yavapai.

Moral reform hit the frontier in a big way; Prescott made many fun activities illegal by passing one long ordinance in 1883. Among the prohibitions was smoking or selling opium within the city limits; also selling pornography, appearing naked in public, using a sling shot, discharging bombs, firearms or firecrackers in the city limits without a permit, speeding your horse or mule, using profane language in public, picking a fight in public; allowing hogs, sheep, cattle, goats, horses or burros to roam free in the city, dumping garbage in the street, throwing hot ashes by wooden structures, or storing over

¹³² These figures confirmed by Nancy Burgess, Historic Preservation Specialist, City of Prescott, as being officially reported in the United States Census for Arizona, Yavapai County, 1880.

¹³³ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, April 2, 1880.

100 pounds of magazine powder. The commission of any of these acts was a misdemeanor that got the offender a \$300 fine.¹³⁴

During the same period concern about public decency and good morals inspired a revision of the city's older ordinances. The revised statutes additionally prohibited bigamy, incest, bestiality, grave robbing, dance-houses, underage drinking (under 16), swearing in front of a woman or child, public nudity (including nude modeling), publishing or selling pornography, singing lewd songs in public, disorderly brothels, selling abortion inducing medications, and opium smoking.¹³⁵ The Arizona Territory began restricting gambling as well, licenses became required and it became illegal for "any female to drink wine beer soda water ale cider whiskey brandy or any other spirits or vinous liquors in any saloon, club house, club room, gambling room or gambling house, in the City of Prescott."¹³⁶ This statute also contained extensive new restrictions on regulating water usage and irrigation.

The perceived need for moral reform on the frontier began to shape legislation all through the western United States. In Yavapai County, the Prescott city council turned its attention to gambling, another popular western pastime. Chinese casino owners apparently refused to pay Prescott's new gambling tax. Authorities arrested several Chinese businessmen for running a gambling house without a license.¹³⁷ The government did not aim the new licensing requirements at Chinese. In this case, the Chinese ran into trouble with the territorial authorities was because they refused to pay

¹³⁴ City Ordinance No. 2, Approved May 15th 1883, Sharlot Hall Archives, Microfilm Roll 52.2.1 City of Prescott, City Attorney 1883-1885.

¹³⁵ Revised Statutes of AZ, Title IX, Prostitution Vertical File, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹³⁶ Ordinance No. 48, Sharlot Hall Archives, Microfilm Roll 52.2.1 City of Prescott, City Attorney 1883-1885.

¹³⁷ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, April 2, 1880.

business related taxes and licensing fees.

In Yavapai County Chinese habitually challenged the new laws and licensing requirements, and the courts habitually found them guilty. With regularity, the Chinese hired attorneys to appeal guilty verdicts. The higher courts regularly dismissed or continued cases until the Territory lost interest in further prosecution.¹³⁸ The Territorial Superior Court was lenient and routinely dismissed lower court judgments against the Chinese that involved the violation of laundry, gambling, or opium ordinances.¹³⁹

Whereas Chinese routinely hired attorneys to defend themselves against charges of tax evasion, they erratically hired attorneys to defend themselves against deportation. Some Chinese defendants in deportation cases refused counsel completely even when it was offered to them at the justice court level.¹⁴⁰ It is possible that these men decided to forego representation because they were ready to go home, and not contesting deportation meant they did not have to pay the passage themselves.

The Chinese did not face the same restrictions, taxes or violence in Yavapai County that they did elsewhere in the United States, particularly California. Throughout the Territorial period the Chinese owned real estate, businesses and lived relatively free of inter-racial violence. California's record on the Chinese reads like one long, terrible saga of violence and racial hatred. California passed laws in 1860 and 1870, which forbade Chinese children from attending public schools. Los Angeles riots left many Chinese men and even one white man dead; whites looted Chinese homes and businesses

¹³⁸ Record Group 21, Records of the United States District Court, 1864-1912, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

¹³⁹ Andrea Pugsley, "'As I Kill This Chicken So May I Be Punished If I Tell An Untruth:?' Chinese Opposition to Legal Discrimination in Arizona Territory," *Journal of Arizona History*, (Summer 2003): 182.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*: 183. A study of 124 court cases between 1879 and 1909.

while other whites tried to defend their Chinese neighbors. At various time during the 1870s and 1880s California prohibited Chinese from owning real estate, obtaining business licenses, and attending white-only schools. With news like this coming out of California, the idea of migrating away from Arizona to California would seem an unlikely consideration for any Chinese person.¹⁴¹

The Arizona Territorial court was certainly more liberal than any court in California at this time. A news article discussed the recent promotion of one Chinese resident, Joe Ah Jew, who was a naturalized citizen.

Joe Ah Jew, a naturalized Chinese-American, who is well known through northern Arizona as a caterer, has charge of the culinary department of the Reception Restaurant. Joe has been in Arizona 14 years.¹⁴²

Joe Ah Jew's Certificate of Residency shows his citizenship as Chinese, therefore, at some point a local judge obviously granted citizenship to this Chinese born man.¹⁴³

In Yavapai anti-Chinese feelings did not manifest themselves in bodily attacks, but there were outbursts of racism directed at the Chinese. Contrary to the popular notion that white Americans and WASPs were the major players in the anti-Chinese movements, immigrants figure prominently in the anti-Chinese leagues. Dennis Kearney, who was the bane of existence to Chinese communities in California, was a Catholic immigrant from Ireland, and he was not a United States citizen at the time he lobbied against

¹⁴¹ It should be noted many of these nativistic and labor union inspired actions also applied to Indians and blacks; also, that in many of the riots and attacks whites came to the aid of Chinese. William Tung. *The Chinese in America, 1820-1973: A Chronology and Fact Book*. (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1974): 10-22.

¹⁴² *Enterprise*, April 20, 1886.

¹⁴³ Certificate of Residency shows Joe Ah Jew was born in China. Record Group 21, Records of the United States District Court, 1864-1912, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

Chinese labor in California. Olaf Tveitmoe, the vocal leader of the Asiatic Exclusion League in San Francisco was an Scandinavian immigrant from Norway. In Prescott Arizona, Stephen B. Marcou, a French immigrant started a crusade against the local Chinese. Marcou came to Prescott and opened a nursery, then targeted Chinese workers and businesses in a series of letters-to-the-editor. Marcou urged whites to boycott Chinese-owned businesses and any place that hired Chinese as employees. Marcou tried to organize a local anti-Chinese League.¹⁴⁴

That a majority of the citizens of Yavapai do not want to encourage the immigration into the county of the Chinese who are being expelled from the Pacific coast is a fact so obvious that no arguments are needed to demonstrate it. But the best way to get rid of the heathens is the problem that should engage our attention. The first thing to be done is to organize an anti-Chinese League.¹⁴⁵

Marcou also ran advertisements for his store, The Prescott Garden, touting vegetables and plants “raised by white labor.”¹⁴⁶ Business proceeds, he claimed, would “not be withdrawn from circulation by being sent to China.”¹⁴⁷ Marcou was not the only immigrant to voice opposition to the Chinese. An editorial-style advertisement that ran in a local newspaper appears to be from a German-speaking man. This info-advertisement for a laundry run by D. M. Clark encouraged white people to send their clothes to his white-owned laundry. Clark asked readers if the local “chinks” supported schools. His answer, “Nit!” Clark asked if the Chinese spent any money locally. His answer, “Nein!”

In 1894 the United States banned most Chinese laborers from immigrating.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ *Arizona Journal Miner*, March 21, 1886.

¹⁴⁵ *Arizona Journal Miner*, March 26, 1886.

¹⁴⁶ *Arizona Journal Miner*, March 21, 1886.

¹⁴⁷ *Arizona Journal Miner*, March 26, 1886.

¹⁴⁸ The exact wording of the treaty contains the following language: “whereas, the Government of China, in view of antagonism and much deprecated and serious disorders to which the presence

The notable exceptions to these regulations were Chinese who: (1) had a wife, child or parent in the United States; (2) owned property worth over one thousand dollars in the United States; (3) owed debts over one thousand dollars in the United States. This treaty prohibited any new Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States for the next ten years. The immigration ban did not apply to teachers, officials, students, or merchants.¹⁴⁹ Re-entry required a Certificate of Residence, an identification that included a photograph and details about the person. Various federal agencies were in charge of enforcing immigration restrictions. In California, and subsequently Territorial Arizona, the San Francisco Customs Service enforced the laws because of the maritime character of immigration.

San Francisco Customs officers detained two of Yavapai's long-time Chinese residents on their return in 1899. A petition to assist the detained Chinese men was in process according to the newspaper. The detainees were:

[Two Chinese men] both well-known Chinese residents of Prescott, are in trouble in San Francisco. They have been on a visit to the flowery kingdom, and on their return trip were refused permission to land at San Francisco...A petition for permission for them to land will be forwarded to San Francisco.¹⁵⁰

Local authorities deported several Chinese from Yavapai County, while others had white and Chinese alike vouching for their identities, and posting the required five hundred dollar bonds.

of Chinese labors has given rise in certain parts of the United States, desires to prohibit the emigration of such laborers from China to the United States." *Immigration*, March 17, 1894, United States; China, 28 Stat. 1210; Treaty Series 51. Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of States was the plenipotentiary who added certain exceptions to the immigration regulations of the treaty.¹⁴⁹ *Immigration*, March 17, 1894, signatories: United States; China, 28 Stat. 1210; Treaty Series 51. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States 1776-1949*, Vol. 6, Department of State Publication 8549, Released January 1971.

¹⁵⁰ *Arizona Republican*, June 23, 1899.

Several Prescott citizens worked for years fighting the deportation of an apparently popular Chinese resident whom San Francisco customs officials detained upon reentry. Yee Thoi Goung tried to reenter the United States after a trip to China. He had a Certificate of Residence from New Mexico with his photo attached.¹⁵¹ It is likely that Customs officials detained Goung because the name on his certificate did not match the name used on the ship manifest; the New Mexico Certificate of Residence was in the name of Yee Suey. The photo is clearly the same man known as Yee Thoi Goung in Arizona.¹⁵² The local court provided Goung with an Arizona certificate of residency when he returned from one of his trips to China. In addition, they gave him a letter of reference, signed by Prescott's Mayor and former postmaster, two bank managers, the city clerk, and a merchant.¹⁵³ The amount of documentation sparked the suspicions of a Customs official who traveled from San Francisco to Prescott to investigate. He found that Goung was not a storeowner as stated in his documents; rather he owned an opium den. Goung was not a merchant, he was a professional gambler. The Customs agent could not locate two of the witnesses who had signed Goung's letter of character and discovered that another was not a bank manager as stated. The official interviewed the other witnesses and determined that they were lying about Goung and his business in Prescott. Goung appealed his case to the Territorial Superior Court.¹⁵⁴ The case dragged

¹⁵¹ United States of America, Certificate of Residence No. 10286, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel) Pacific Region.

¹⁵² The New Mexico Certificate of Residence from 1894 is in the name of Yee Suey, and the man in question was known as Yee Thoi Goung in Arizona by 1899, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

¹⁵³ Record Group 21, Records of the United States District Court, 1864-1912, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

¹⁵⁴ *Appeal United States of America vs. Yee Thoi Goung*, 1907, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

on for over seven years, when the United States finally deported Goung.¹⁵⁵ Goung was only one of several Chinese deported, voluntarily or otherwise, from the Territory.

Others were successful in reentering the United States and returned to Arizona. There are many documented and legitimate cases of white citizens trying to assist Chinese residents in cases of reentry.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Order of Deportation, District 4 Judicial Territory of Arizona, United States District Court, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

¹⁵⁶ Record Group 21, Records of the United States District Court, 1864-1912, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel).

CHAPTER VI: YEAR OF THE RAT

The Fire

“Go back on Granite Street and warn the Chinese to get out of there!” The Prescott fire of July 1900 devastated the town and after the disaster, there was a general out migration from the county, including Chinese. It was the most destructive fire in the history of the Arizona territory. The surviving records concerning the fire all report the same circumstances.¹⁵⁷ Witnesses heard the cries of rescue workers throughout the downtown business district:

“Get the people out of all the buildings, and especially the Hotel Burke!”
“Organize rescue teams to start moving merchandise out of buildings that are in the path of the fire!” Fear began to grow that the whole town could burn to the ground. “Get these people out of the Square so we can put things here!” “Keep ringing the bell to bring in any help we can get!”
“Go back on Granite Street and warn the Chinese to get out of there!”
“Make sure nobody’s left in any of the buildings!” “Get everybody who’s not helping with the rescue effort as far back as possible.”¹⁵⁸

Water is always an issue in Arizona, a state whose name after all means “arid zone.” In mid summer the temperatures in Yavapai county climb into the 100s; July of 1900 was no exception.

Local governments in Yavapai passed numerous laws to stop the waste of water, they regulated everything from the price of a bath to the amount of water used in that bath and how many times bath water could be reused. One blistering July day Prescott

¹⁵⁷ Folder: Fires, 1900, Sharlot Hall Archives; Note: January 31, 1900 - February 18, 1901, was the Chinese Year of the Rat.

¹⁵⁸ Prescott Fire! Sharlot Hall Archives, Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott.

Mayor Brecht put a notice in the local newspaper forbidding his constituents from using any city owned water for irrigation. The notice threatened residents that the mayor would cut off the water if they continued to violate this order. Residents continued to use water for flowers and trees and for businesses such as laundries, all of which depleted the reservoirs; they were completely dry by July. Many Chinese were located along the east and west side of Granite Creek, and the water system was on Aubrey Street, which also ran along the banks of Granite Creek. In mid July, while Prescott was overhauling its pumping plant, a small fire broke out in Bourcards Store on Scopel Street.¹⁵⁹

There is a saying that fire is one of the three seasons in the West, those being drought, fire, and flood, so people acted quickly that night. An adequate amount of water could have extinguished the fire right away, but there was no water in the water mains. The Volunteer Fire Department reacted immediately, but what they discovered was that there was no water with which to fight the fire. The wells at the corners of the Plaza for fire purposes were in disuse, so no one could obtain a sufficient amount of water from any source. A southerly wind fanned the fire but the flames did not cross Granite Creek and the row of Chinese houses on the east bank of the creek escaped the destruction. However, the fire destroyed everything to the north of Chinatown from the creek to the east side of Cortez Street including the blocks north of the Plaza. All the printing offices were destroyed and not a printing press was left in the town. *The Courier* lost all of its files, including those of the *Arizona Miner* from 1864 to the late 1870s.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹⁶⁰ "THE PRESCOTT FIRE The Prescott Courier of July 14th, 1900, contained a notice signed by F. G. Brecht, Mayor pro-tem, prohibiting any water consumers from using city water for irrigation under penalty of having the water cut off." Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott, Sharlot Hall Archives.

Rescue workers evacuated the buildings and the Hotel Burke. Residents organized rescue teams that started moving merchandise out of the buildings near the fire. There was a very real fear that all of Prescott and surrounds could burn. Organizers ordered spectators and gawkers out of the plaza, so that merchandise rescued from the flames could be stacked. The bells sounded to alert people to come and help. Rescuers rushed to Granite Street and warned the Chinese that they were in danger and must evacuate. Residents worked all night moving display cases, liquor, roulette wheels, pianos, and the entire bar from the Palace Saloon into the square. There they joined buggies, wagons, and jumpy horses. People in the vicinity of Prescott heard about the fire and headed toward the town. Jerome residents hitched up their wagons or saddled their horses and traveled over the ridge to Prescott. The Phoenix railroad ticket offices did a bustling business selling passage on the train to the burning city.¹⁶¹

After the fire was extinguished the citizens of Prescott were philosophical about the disaster. There was no hysteria and no reports of looting.

PRESCOTT, ARIZONA July, 18th, 1900. Dear Bro' Hank:-I have not had time yet to figure up how much we lost...The three lumber yards are all safe, & Otis, Gardner, Dougherty, & C.W.Moore-south of Sherman-House- are the only grocery stores left, & no saloons, We can look all over the plaza from our office now & but for the standing wall of the B.B.Co.'s store could see all clear. But now the plaza looks more like Cape Nome, or Klondyke, that any other place I ever saw a picture of, It seems the board of supervisors have allowed the ????? parties who were burned out to put up temporary shacks around the Court House Square...Stores, butcher shops and saloons, by the score & all mixed in & now I don't think there is a 1X12- board in the town.¹⁶²

Residents immediately erected dozens of tents and pine shacks. By July 15th there were four saloons doing business on the plaza with the stock of liquor they had saved

¹⁶¹ Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹⁶² Letter, Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott, Sharlot Hall Archives.

from the blaze. Soon there would be almost a carnival atmosphere, with a dozen makeshift saloons, complete with music and gambling. The territorial governor, Charles H. Akers, telegraphed J. C. Martin, the editor of the *Journal-Miner* newspaper offering assistance; but Martin replied that Prescott's citizens were self-sufficient.

The loss affected almost all of the downtown businesses and Chinatown. The total insurance claims ballooned as time passed from a few thousand to \$350,000.00 and within a week, claims ran to one million dollars. Among the initial claims were the Lee brothers who claimed a loss of \$6000.00. The Cabinet Saloon, where many Chinese worked, claimed a loss of \$10,000.00; the Palace Saloon \$10,000.00.

Many Chinese launderers lost all in the fire. In a letter to his brother one man reported that his wife and children had to take over the task of clothes washing; in the past the family's habit had been to send its wash to the local Chinese laundries:

Kate & the boys did out a small washing this morning, as the Chinaman who does ours was burned & lots of others & I could not get one to do it so I rigged up the washing machine & they went at it.¹⁶³

The laundry may have been burned or it may have been one of the many buildings well-intentioned fire fighters exploded in an effort to stop the flames. The fire had been burning out of control for several hours when some residents decided that the best way to stop it from reaching nearby residences was to dynamite downtown buildings. In one account of the fire, a writer claimed that the dynamiting only served to make matters worse:

Dynamite was used to blow up many buildings, in an effort to check the progress of the fire, but served no other purpose than to spread the conflagration and make fiercer the blaze.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Clipping appears to be from Jerome, Sharlot Hall Archives, Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott.

Eventually the burning consumed five blocks and Prescott residents claimed it to be the worst in Arizona history. The fact that many business owners did not have insurance did not stop them from filing claims.

Total insurance does not exceed \$350,000. The heaviest losses are as follows

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Lee Brothers..... | 6,000 |
| Cabinet saloon..... | 10,000 |
| Palace saloon..... | 10,000 ¹⁶⁵ |

Not unexpectedly, Chinese business owners appear to have had little insurance.

Some set about rebuilding, but the fire acted as a catalyst for the out-migration of many of Prescott's Chinese. During the period immediately following the fire the Chinese population of Yavapai County dropped by almost half.¹⁶⁶

The Tong

Opium was a highly profitable commodity; many Civil War veterans were addicted to its use and in later decades patent medicines and elixirs containing opiates became commonplace. Legal battles between the Chinese and the United States legal system over opium continued into the twentieth century. Battles over the control of Opium were often discussed in San Francisco newspapers and the idea that there might be Tong activity, in the form of the legendary Tong Wars worked its way to the territory. Throughout the 1890s Yavapai County authorities arrested Chinese and whites alike for opium use. A group of Yavapai Chinese men filed a lawsuit in 1893 that challenged the opium laws as unconstitutional.¹⁶⁷ In one case the Prescott court convicted and fined

¹⁶⁵ Folder: Fires, 1900, Prescott, Sharlot Hall Archives.

¹⁶⁶ *Statistical Atlas of the United States 1900-1910*.

¹⁶⁷ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, February 17, 1893. Also, see Arthur Waley, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958).

some Chinese defendants of visiting an opium den.¹⁶⁸ They appealed their guilty verdict to the Yavapai superior court. In the case of *Territory v. Chung Hung et al* the appeal was filed on the grounds that the "clause of the [Prescott] city ordinance ... under which complaint and affidavit were drawn, and under which said defendant was prosecuted, tried and convicted in the court below is null and void, under the constitution and laws of the United States, and the Bill of Rights and laws of this Territory."¹⁶⁹

In 1893 lifestyles and employment opportunities altered and eroded dramatically as a series of events affected the Chinese community. First, Arizona Territory declared gambling illegal. Next opium was further restricted along with prostitution. And finally, the Customs Office set up a location in Yavapai County at a small rail station called Seligman, its purpose being to hunt down Chinese who were unlawfully in the United States. All of the adversity experienced by local Chinese residents fueled gossip about possible Tong Wars in Yavapai County. It is probably no coincidence that during this period local churches began a vigorous campaign to teach English to the Chinese. With Customs officers suddenly in the Territory, the remaining Chinese would have been motivated to learn English and more likely to Americanize themselves. Newspaper reports about brawls between Chinese frontiersmen often inferred that the Tong would be coming to town soon, either to punish disrespectful Chinese or to discipline the ones who used the new Customs Office as a means of deporting their fellow Chinamen, a practice that was common between business competitors.

¹⁶⁸ *Territory v. Chung Hung et al.*, Case No. 194, National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel), Record Group 21.

¹⁶⁹ National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel), Record Group 21.

The newspaper reporters of San Francisco deserve the credit for forever confusing the public on the issue of Chinese tongs. Whether deliberately or because they themselves were baffled, they published reports of violent Chinese gang activity and they claimed that the gangs involved were the Sam Yups and the See Yups. Virtually every episode of gang violence in San Francisco's Chinatown resulted in a newspaper story that reported a battle between the Sam Yups and the See Yups, when in fact neither of these groups was involved in the violent altercations popularly known as the Tong Wars. It was probably simply a convenient way for newspaper reporters to break down the complicated foreign names and issues in Chinatown and put it in a framework the American public could understand.¹⁷⁰

The original Chinese Six Companies, a group of organizations that became associated with the violent "tongs" included the Sam Yup and See Yup associations. Sam Yup's membership was tailors, merchants, and herbalists; and See Yup's was laundry owners and restaurant owners. The Chinese Six Companies was a group of six organizations from Hong Kong. Originally, these six companies engaged in many different businesses, including the coolie trade. While morally abhorrent, there was nothing illegal in this activity. The United States chapters of these organizations helped Chinese immigrants get established. The president of one association, the "Hop Wo" association, stated that the six companies were "Chinese Benevolent Associations" and their object was to assist Chinese while they were in the United States, or to help Chinese who wanted to return home.¹⁷¹ The companies acted as employment agencies and helped with many things, including death benefits and legal defenses. The joss houses were the

¹⁷⁰ Richard H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco* (New York: Coward-McCann Inc, 1962.): 76-83.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

headquarters of these fraternal lodges.

As far back as 1868, a Christian missionary, Reverend A.W. Loomies, published articles trying to explain that the “Six Companies” were not gangs. He compared the lodges to the Order of the Hibernians and to the Scandinavian Association. He explained that many Chinese chose to join these lodges because they did not speak English, they were far from their families, and they needed moral support.¹⁷²

The Chee Kong Tong, a violent gang, was responsible for the activities blamed on the Six Companies. The original aim of Chee Kong was to oust the Manchu government. The Chee Kong refused to fly China’s flag or observe any Chinese holidays. These Chinese gangs boasted the hired killers known as “Highbinders”, “Bravos”, or “Hatchet men.” They were paid assassins who followed orders and killed Chinese in San Francisco’s Chinatown.¹⁷³ The confusion about the Chee Kong being part of the Masons dates back to a mistaken analogy by a Dutch writer who wrote a book in 1863 comparing the Triad society (a violent Chinese gang) with the European Freemasons.¹⁷⁴

| Table: 1 ¹⁷⁵ | |
|--|--|
| Tongs | |
| Fraternal Lodge | Violent Gang |
| Six Companies: Sam Yup See Yup Ning Yuen Yeung Wo Hop Wo Hip Kat | Chee Kong Triad Society San Ho Hui Dagger Society Hung League Yee Hung Oey Hip Yee Kwong Duck |
| Later groups and branches | Later off-shoots of the Chee Kong |

¹⁷² Ibid: 79; 77.

¹⁷³ Richard H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco* (New York: Coward-McCann Inc, 1962): 92, 94, 172, 179.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid: 175.

¹⁷⁵ This table compiled from mentions of known criminal tongs in Richard H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco* (1962) and Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (1960).

| | |
|---|---|
| Later associations Yeung Wo Ning Yeung Yan Wo Kong Chow | Suey Sing Suey On Hop Sing Hip Sing Bo On Bo Leong Bing Kong Bo Sin Seer Gee Sin Seer Sai Sin Seer |
|---|---|

The Hip Sing Tong was the only recorded violent, criminal tong that expanded outside of San Francisco’s Chinatown and beyond California.¹⁷⁶ Chinese and English are not always intertranslatable. With dozens of small Chinese gangs in San Francisco, it is not surprising that reporters gave up and took the easy route.¹⁷⁷

Arizona newspapers picked up on the titillating idea that Tong Wars might come to Prescott. In 1909 a Chinese Mason made a tour of the Chinatowns in the area. Lem You, from San Francisco whom the local press called the “grand master of the Chinese Free Masons of America,” arrived in Prescott with his secretary, Jo Get Chin, and gave a public interview that included Chinese and whites in the audience. When asked about the potential for Tong Wars in Prescott he replied that it was not a possibility.

In one edition of the *Arizona Journal-Miner*, the editor wrote that:

In answer to a question he said that the hatchet had been buried in San Francisco and that there were no tong wars any more in California. He and Secretary Jo Get Chin are the guests of the local Chinese craft, which includes in its membership 80 percent of the local Chinese colony.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Richard H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco* (New York: Coward-McCann Inc, 1962): 186.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid: 178

¹⁷⁸ The Listers claim that “In Prescott the joss house, or meeting hall, likely was maintained by the Chee Kung Tong, which claimed a membership of eighty percent of the local Chinese colony” and they footnote this article in the *Arizona Journal Miner*, April 14, 1909. Joss houses were the headquarters of fraternal lodges and Chinese used the joss house as a Buddhist temple. This news

The visit to Arizona included a tour of the Masonic lodge in Tucson; after that, the men headed to El Paso, New Orleans, Washington D.C., New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. There is chronic confusion in American scholarship about the difference between a fraternal group, pronounced ‘tong’, and the criminal gang, also pronounced ‘tong’. The latter tong is the subject of movies and fiction. No violent tong ever found its way to Yavapai County. The Tong Wars that plagued Southern China and eventually California never occurred in Arizona.¹⁷⁹

Conclusion

Anxiety increased for the Chinese during the early 1900s as their population fell from 229 to 135 in Yavapai County.¹⁸⁰ The Chinese who remained fought each other over limited income opportunities, their conflicts being both legal and violent. The newspapers reported rumors about Tong Wars coming to Northern Arizona but none ever materialized.¹⁸¹ The Chinese continued to pester each other by attacking each other’s businesses and trying to have the competition deported. In 1909 the Territory prosecuted one Chinese man for burning down another Chinese man’s restaurant. Again, the local newspaper intimated that Tong activity might have been involved. The newspapers continued to report events such as Chinese parties and business grand openings, but by

article hardly constitutes evidence that vicious tong wars raged in Prescott, or that any violent secret society existed in this territory.

¹⁷⁹ Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (1960) cautions scholars not to confuse the homophones “tong” a secret organization in the United States, with “tong” a word meaning “hall” or “association,” referring to multi-aid societies. These words are represented by different Chinese *hànzì* and have different meanings even though they sound the same to English speakers.

¹⁸⁰ *Statistical Atlas of the United States 1900 and 1910*.

¹⁸¹ For example, *Arizona Journal-Miner*, 1880s.

1910 the Chinese population in Yavapai had dropped to about three percent.¹⁸² The remaining Chinese worked in restaurants, laundries and a few Chinese shops scattered across the Territory; others were miners, ranchers, and farmers.

This period contains many examples of violence as is demonstrated in the case of a restaurant owner who offered a reward for whoever tried to dynamite his restaurant. The sheriff quickly arrested the bomber, who turned out to be a Mexican man. Resentment between Mexicans and Chinese was predictable because Mexican immigrants probably competed with Chinese laborers for menial jobs, and possibly worked for Chinese employers. While there are other reports of violence against Chinese by Mexicans, there are almost no records of violence against Chinese by Anglos. There are several accounts of violence against Anglos by Chinese, generally concerning the collection of debts. Another Chinese committed the most common physical attack on a Chinese person. This intra-racial violence was the most frequently reported violent crime that concerned the Chinese community in Yavapai

During the nineteenth century anti-Chinese opinion shaped discriminatory legislation throughout the United States. When the Chinese received unfair treatment in local courts, they took their cases to superior court. When they failed to achieve equal justice in higher courts, they learned to hire better attorneys. As the Chinese population of Yavapai County decreased so did their court cases. The Chinese were never passive when the law threatened their freedoms and livelihoods. They consistently refused to accept the role of victim. Incidences of anti-Chinese legislation were fewer in Yavapai County than in other states and territories, particularly California. Anti-Chinese attitudes manifested themselves as regulations requiring business licenses and the prohibition on

¹⁸² *Statistical Atlas of the United States 1910.*

opium. Defiance of these laws sent many Chinese to court.

Economic disaster struck the Yavapai Chinese in 1900 when the Prescott fire destroyed an entire district. Most of central Prescott, including much of Chinatown, was completely lost in the blaze. There were many accounts of the fire, which included descriptions of how people formed a human chain with buckets of water and tried to stop the flames. Later there were reports of people who “lost all” and reports of insurance claims not paid. Many Chinese and other business owners never rebuilt.¹⁸³ This calamity occurred at a significant time in the movement of the Chinese labor force in the West. There was a general migration of Chinese out of the Rocky Mountain mining areas and into urban areas like Los Angeles and San Francisco. The reason for the migration was that metropolitan Chinatowns offered Chinese people support in the form of job opportunities and financial assistance.¹⁸⁴ The Chinese migration out of Yavapai County after 1900 was possibly a slower reaction to the depression of 1890 as well as the Prescott fire.

Racial discrimination was a simple, painful reality for Chinese in the United States during the nineteenth century. Bigotry worsened in conjunction with the economy, and a financial downturn in the economy meant an upsurge of prejudice. Although their depiction as opium-crazed, money-grubbers undoubtedly sold newspapers, anti-Chinese sentiments were not the reason Chinese left Yavapai County. Past scholars characterized the experience of Chinese in Arizona during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as if the majority culture considered Chinese pariahs, as if the respectable citizens of Prescott

¹⁸³ *Arizona Republic* (Prescott), June 23, 1900.

¹⁸⁴ Between 1890 and 1910, there was a general migration of Chinese out of the Rocky Mountain mining areas and into urban areas like Los Angeles and San Francisco. Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Frontier* (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1997).

and surrounds shunned their Chinese neighbors. However, in diaries, church records, and newspapers there is ample evidence that this was not the case. Long after the passage of the Exclusionary Acts, many non-Chinese families often went to Chinatown for family dinners on Sunday nights. Many well-known white men in the area belonged to the same Masons lodge as their Chinese neighbors. Furthermore, the Prescott city band performed at the funeral of at least one prominent Chinese resident.¹⁸⁵ Chinese continued to work as laborers in the mines and in local businesses, as well as becoming self-employed.

Yavapai County never experienced the madness, hatred, and violence of California, and yet the Chinese migrated from Arizona back to the West Coast. Arizona's Chinese left in response to dwindling economic opportunities. They left the people of the sun to work and live with their fellow Celestials, in places like San Francisco and Los Angeles.

¹⁸⁵ Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, Days Past, Article printed March 06, 2005, *'Outcasts' focuses on two communities of 1870s Prescott*, by Ann Hibner Koblitz. Koblitz is an eminently qualified Arizona historian who examined the papers left by the celebrated territorial Arizona physician, Florence Yount.

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Abstract

This thesis is a history of Chinese immigration into Arizona Territory, specifically Yavapai County from 1860-1911. During this period Chinese immigration to the region peaked and then quickly declined for various reasons. This thesis rejects the usual notion that racism was responsible for the dramatic out-migration of Chinese from Arizona after 1900. The welcome influx of Chinese immigrants to the county transformed the regional culture. The focus of this thesis is not on the traditional discussion of racial inequalities and racism as the arbiter of social class. In the capital of Yavapai County, Prescott's Chinatown was a hub of activity for Chinese and non-Chinese alike. There was a constant cultural exchange between ethnic groups. This inter-ethnic sharing occurred between non-Chinese residents and Chinese residents in spite of attempted interference from the Federal government. The non-Chinese residents of Yavapai County, through their continual encouragement and support of the Chinese residents, flouted the prevailing conventions of anti-Chinese racism. Chinese residents owned land and businesses, fought, gambled, sued and were sued, and fully participated in the cultural, social, and legal activities of the region before and after the Exclusionary Acts of the 1880s.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: _____

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