
THE CHINESE IN ARIZONA 1870-1950



A Component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan

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May 1992

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A Context for Historic Preservation Planning

prepared for

**Arizona State Historic Preservation Office
and
City of Phoenix
Planning Department
Parks, Recreation and Library Department**

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Intermountain Cultural Resource Services
Research Paper No. 3**

May 1992

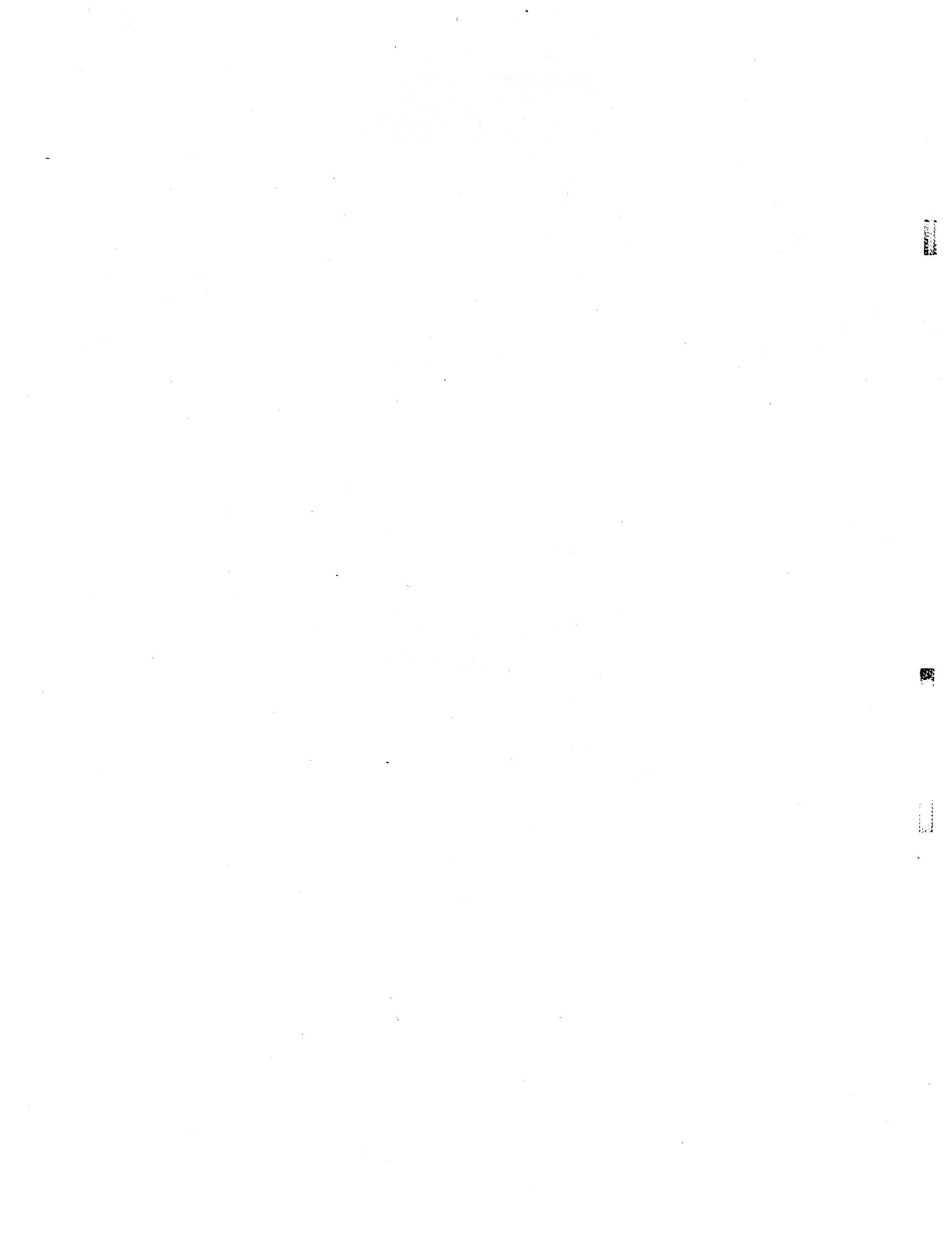


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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This historic context of the Chinese in Arizona is a product of the Phoenix Chinatown historical archaeological research done as mitigation for the construction of the new America West Phoenix Suns Arena in downtown Phoenix. The City of Phoenix played a major role in initiating the mitigation project which was not explicitly required by historic preservation legislation. The City of Phoenix, particularly the City Archaeologist Todd Bostwick, heroically coordinated the myriad of individuals, groups and organizations working together to complete the project.

In order to involve the entire preservation community and local Chinese organizations in the project, the City Archaeologist and the City Historic Preservation Officer, Deborah Abele, developed a plan to split the estimated cost of the projects into three equal portions: (1) \$15,000 in city money to be used to match a (2) \$15,000 Certified Local Government (CLG) survey and planning grant from the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, and (3) \$15,000 in private donations from the local and national Chinese community.

In many ways, a historic context can be understood as a road map for research, delineating past trips and mapping out future journeys. In assembling this context, we have been very grateful to others for sharing their "journeys" with us. In particular, we would like to thank Jim Ayres, George Teague, Don Simonis, Todd Bostwick, Lyle Stone, Mike Owens, Gay Kinkade, Alan Dart and John Herron for their knowledge of Chinese archaeological sites in Arizona. For insights into the history of Chinese in Arizona communities, we tapped the brains of Sue Abbey, Debbie Abele, Nancy Burgess, Jim Garrison, Terri Cleland, Megan Reid, Pat Stein, and Tom Vaughn. Algon Winslow volunteered information on the Chinese in the Phoenix City Cemetery. We gleaned anecdotal history of Arizona Chinese from long-time residents of the state, including Norman Crowfoot, K.K. Hennes, and Bill Menniti.

Most importantly, descendants of the nineteenth century Chinese immigrants have been extremely generous with their time, money, hospitality, and knowledge. Organizations contributing to the project include the Phoenix Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Ong Ko Met Association, the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs (Taiwan), the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (San Francisco), and the Desert Jade Women's Club. Personal thanks to Fred and Kay Ong, Madeline Ong Sakata, Gene Tang, Raymond Tang, Arnold Wo, Ann Quan, Jack Lee, Lucy Yuen, Judge Thomas Tang, Dr. Pearl Mao Tang, Edward Yue, Rosalind Ong Onodera, June Ong, Helen Ong, Herbert and Lillian Dong, Jack and Anna Lee, Victor Lee, Edmund Tang, Jack Tang, Violet Toy, Mike Wong, Betty Yee, Sing Yee, Willy Yee, Joe Yue, and William and Lilly Ong. Spending time with these friendly, intelligent, boisterous people has increased our understanding of their immigrant parents. We hope that this compilation of historical, archaeological, and personal information will help others understand the Chinese in Arizona, our neighbors for a hundred years.

This study has been partially funded with the assistance of a matching grant-in-aid from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and as administered by the Arizona State Parks Board through the State Historic Preservation Office. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior.

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INTRODUCTION

The dictionary defines "context" as "the circumstances in which a particular event occurs." Historic preservationists have come to realize that understanding the circumstances in which historic events occurred provides a firm foundation for building historic preservation programs.

The Arizona State Historic Preservation Office (an element of the Arizona State Parks Department) has embarked on a program of preparing a series of historic contexts for the major themes of prehistoric and historic human occupation of the landscape that is today Arizona. These contexts are important elements of the state historic preservation plan, a dynamic strategy for preserving our state's cultural heritage.

THE PARTS OF A HISTORIC CONTEXT

"Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation" issued by the Secretary of the Interior proclaim that "the historic context is the cornerstone" of historic preservation planning (Federal Register 48(190): 44716-44742). These guidelines identify five steps for preparing useful historic context documents:

1. clearly defining the cultural theme, time period, and geographical limits
2. assembling existing information
3. synthesizing the information
4. defining property types, and characterizing their locational patterns and current condition
5. identifying information needs

Clearly, narrative history is an important element of a historic preservation context document, but the history must be tied to specific places, buildings, structures, and objects reflecting that history. The goal of historic preservation is to conserve those

historic properties because of the information they contain about the past, or to serve as real, tangible symbols of how our modern lives are connected with earlier human societies that occupied the very same places.

BACKGROUND

We have followed the Secretary of the Interior guidelines in preparing this historic context, which deals with the history of the Chinese in Arizona from 1870 to 1950. Although the Chinese have always been a small minority in Arizona, they are an important ingredient of the "ethnic stew" that has characterized the population of not only Arizona but the entire American West.

This context was prepared in conjunction with a historical archaeology study of remnants of Phoenix's Chinatown. The political and financial support of this study by current Chinese residents of Phoenix is an indication of the strong interest of the local Asian community in preserving their heritage. The report of that study (Keane and others 1992), along with a recent publication about Tucson's Chinatown (Lister and Lister 1989a), can be consulted for more details about the largest Chinese communities in the state.

This context is presented in three parts. The first briefly summarizes the history of the Chinese in the American West, a subject of considerable historical research. The second part presents more details of what is known about the history of the Chinese in Arizona, which is far less well documented. The third part focuses on sites and buildings associated with the history of the Chinese in Arizona, and includes (1) an inventory of recorded Chinese historic properties, (2) some suggestions of where future survey efforts might discover unrecorded Chinese properties, and (3) a discussion of several preservation planning issues and strategies for proactively identifying, evaluating, and preserving remnants of the Chinese heritage of Arizona.

Throughout this historic context report, we have attempted to remain aware of potentially offensive terminology and to use updated or neutral terms for Chinese people and artifacts. As English-speaking peoples came into contact with the many other ethnic groups migrating to the American West, they often created or adopted words to describe

aspects of other cultures, and did not check with their neighbors on the "political correctness" of their nomenclature. Thus, many of the terms used by Euro-Americans for decades are offensive to groups now finding the political clout to object. For example, early settlers adopted the Spanish word, "Papago," to name a central Arizona Indian tribe. Recently, the tribe has asked that they not be referred to as "bean eaters," but rather the Tohono O'odham, a word in their own language meaning "The People."

We face the same difficulties in weeding out now-offensive terms from the historical accounts of Chinese settlement in Arizona. Traditionally, Chinese places of worship have been referred to as "Joss Houses," a pidgin English corruption of the Portuguese word for god, "deus." In recent years, the term has been labeled as offensive (Anderson 1987:33). Therefore, in this report we use "Joss House" to indicate the use of the term in a historical context (i.e., newspaper accounts or Sanborn maps), and use the neutral "temple" outside of direct historical references.

The origin of the widespread nineteenth century term, "coolie," has many explanations, each contributing a different shade of meaning. Some say that it is a derivation of the Chinese words for "hard worker" and is thus complimentary. Others maintain that it derived from the shipment of indentured Chinese laborers from Canton to the United States, the "coolie trade" or "selling pigs," and is thus an offensive term (Lai 1980:18). In this report, we have avoided the use of the term.

The word "sojourners" describes the Chinese men who left rural homes in China to work in a larger Chinese city, or another country. While working away from home, land, and family, often for decades, these men sent money home and always intended to return home, even if in a coffin. A common mistake made by Euro-Americans was to assume that all Chinese coming to America were sojourners. To make that assumption is to ignore the many Chinese immigrants who were as intent on becoming settlers in the United States as Irish or Norwegian or German immigrants. To label these immigrants "sojourners" is to imply a less-than-total commitment to their adopted country.

With these distinctions in mind, we have been careful in our use of the term. In this context, we have used "sojourner" to describe those men who came to the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and who either remained single or married women who remained in China. Although they worked in this country, often for many

years, they did not establish families here. Without written records of their thoughts, we cannot determine whether any one of these individuals thought of himself as a "settler" rather than a "sojourner." We can only document the absence of a wife and children born in this country. We use the term "immigrants" to describe those men who did establish families in this country.

CHAPTER 1: CHINESE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

Fewer than 50 Chinese lived in America prior to 1848, but over the next 30 years, more than 300,000 Chinese traveled from their troubled homeland to the American West. These emigrants were a segment of the 2.5 million Chinese who left southeast China between 1840 and 1900, and traveled to southeast Asia and the Western Hemisphere. Chinese men left wives and families in China to make their fortunes overseas. In addition to working gold placers, the Chinese found work in the labor-hungry West on railroad construction gangs, in laundries run by their countrymen, and as cooks, domestic servants, and truck farmers. By 1880, many of the sojourners had returned to China or died overseas, and just over 105,000 Chinese resided in the United States, most in western states and territories.

THE LURE OF "GOLDEN MOUNTAIN"

Most of the nineteenth century Chinese immigrants to America came from the province of Guangdong in southeastern China, near the ports of Hong Kong and Macao. Turmoil in the province had imposed hardships on rural families, and many Chinese men left their homeland to find employment in Asia, Latin America, and the United States. Some managed to pay their own way, while others, utilizing a credit ticket system, exchanged their future wages for passage to the new country.

Those who came to the American West came first to California, known in China as the "Golden Mountain." When the gold placers played out in California, Chinese miners followed gold and silver strikes inland to Oregon and Nevada in the 1850s; Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Arizona in the 1860s; Colorado in the 1870s; and even to South Dakota when gold was discovered in the Black Hills (Lai and others 1980:21).

In the newly developing American West, labor was in short supply. Railroad builders found it difficult to hire sufficient numbers of white workers for the grueling task of railroad construction, and so began recruiting Chinese, first from the American mining camps, and eventually directly from China (Lai and others 1980:23). The additional labor was welcomed at first. The 1870 Colorado legislature noted the arrival of Chinese laborers to "hasten the development and early prosperity of the Territory" (Tsai 1982:12).

Following the railroads east, Chinese dispersed throughout the west and into the southern United States. After leaving or being laid off railroad construction, the Chinese set themselves up in businesses that were needed in isolated towns but required little capital and little English: laundries, vegetable farming, and restaurants. Often they hired their countrymen to work for them.

Between 1850 and 1882, more than 300,000 Chinese entered the United States looking for work (Lai and others 1980:15). Nearly all were men, and most probably intended to return to China eventually. Traditionally in China, men traveled to other cities or other countries to work, sometimes for decades, while wives stayed on the land and maintained ownership. These "sojourners" worked long hours for low wages, hoping to save enough money to return to their wives and families in China and live a comfortable life. In their distinctive dress, with shaved foreheads and queues (a single long braid of hair), the sojourners lived apart from their western neighbors (Chu 1965:70; Lai and others 1980:40; Tsai 1986:2-10).

Although it is true Chinese sojourners kept to themselves, wore traditional clothes, and ate traditional foods, it is also true that they took on whatever jobs were available to them, wherever they were available. Chinese spread to virtually every settlement in the West. Few if any of the overseas Chinese had been launderers or merchants, railroad builders or miners, cooks or domestic servants in their native Guangdong. For sojourners, seeking an occupation with status seems to have been less important than earning enough money to return home to their families.

Sojourners often traveled to a particular city to join a successfully established member of their clan. The established merchants hired the new arrivals, and lent financial support. Thus, each town or city tended to have one or two clans that dominated the Chinese population of the town. In Phoenix, the Ong-Tang family has been dominant since the first decades of the twentieth century. However, as Chinese men were urged to marry outside their own clan, brides were brought from San Francisco and China, and from other American Chinese settlements (Fred Ong, June Ong, Lucy Yuen, Phoenix residents, personal communication, 1992).

From the first years of the Gold Rush, the Chinese met discrimination. American miners pressured the new California legislature to levy a tax on foreign miners in 1852, a tax

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

The Rendezvous Model of Western History

Historians of the American West are in the midst of a revolution. Although Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier model has dominated the historiography of the West for a century (see Turner 1986), the newest generation of historians argue that this model is badly biased because it reflects only the perspective of powerful, white Euro-American men migrating from the East.

One of the young new historians, Patricia Limerick (1990), has recently argued that the rendezvous is a better model. The rendezvous she refers to were the annual gatherings that took place in the high country of the West during the 1820s and 1830s when mountain men met merchants from Missouri to swap pelts for supplies. The trappers represented a myriad of nationalities and brought along American Indians of many cultures to the rendezvous. Limerick argues that these polyglot meetings reflect perhaps the most significant aspect of Western history--the meeting of peoples from all over the globe to create a new way of life. She would also argue that this process is far from complete, and links with the past are directly relevant to the issues and challenges we grapple with in our modern lives.

The Chinese, along with other Asians, traveled east rather than west to settle the American West, and their perspective has been given relatively little attention (but see Stan Steiner's (1979) *Fusang*). Although the Chinese were almost one-third of the population in Idaho in 1870, they were typically a much smaller minority in other parts of the West, and one that faced more discrimination than most (Paul 1963:144).

In 1879, the British author Robert Louis Stevenson, while traveling across the American continent, may have been one of the first observers to appreciate the "rendezvous" aspects of the West. He also noted how Euro-Americans seemed to hate the Chinese *a priori* without even ever looking at them or thinking of them. Stevenson himself "could not look but with wonder and respect on the Chinese," noting that "their forefathers watched the stars before mine had begun to keep pigs." He went on to observe that "gun powder and printing, which the other day we imitated, and a school of manners which we never had the delicacy so much as to desire to imitate, was theirs in a long-past antiquity" (quoted in Limerick 1990:48).

The average Chinese immigrant may have been no less prejudiced than the average Caucasian. We must always remember that it is the nature of the all cultural groups to be ethnocentric, but there is tremendous variation among all peoples that is easily masked in the application of ethnic labels. When discussing the history of ethnic groups, it is important to be constantly aware of the seductive simplicity, but inaccuracy, of stereotypes.

aimed directly at Chinese gold miners (Lai and others 1980:20). During the economic hard times of the 1870s, white workers feared Chinese competition for jobs, and the cries of "yellow peril" and "Chinese must go" echoed throughout California and, to a lesser extent, across the West (see box). Chinese laborers became the scapegoats for the widespread financial hardships of depressed wages and unemployment (Lai and others 1980:39). In Denver, the city which had welcomed Chinese laborers a decade earlier, a bloody anti-Chinese riot in 1880 echoed similar anti-Chinese agitation in other western states (Tsai 1986:13).

RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION LAWS

The anti-Chinese movement of the 1870s led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the first legislation barring a specific nationality from immigration into the United States. The act prohibited the immigration of Chinese skilled and unskilled laborers for a period of 10 years. The Chinese allowed to enter this country included teachers, missionaries, students, travelers, merchants and their families, government officials and their families and employees, and Chinese born in this country and their children (Tsai 1986:64-66). Also, Chinese residents in the United States who wished to return to China for a visit were required to register before leaving the country (Figure 1-1). After 1882, all Chinese were required to carry identification (Figure 1-2). The law was modified in 1884, and renewed in 1892 with increasing restrictions.

The Chinese found ways to circumvent the exclusion acts. Some entered the United States illegally from Mexico, or lived in Mexico and worked across the border in the United States. The San Francisco earthquake in 1906 was an unexpected boon to Chinese immigration. Because immigration law allowed foreign-born children of United States citizens to enter this country, and because the earthquake destroyed the records of most of the Chinese already in this country, many Chinese men claimed to be American-born citizens. During visits home to China, they claimed to have fathered sons eligible for immigration (Jackson 1991:120; Lai and others 1980:52.53; Fred Ong, personal communication 1992).

These "paper sons" memorized details of their "father's" house and village in order to answer the increasingly detailed questions of immigration inspectors. Immigrants with

questionable status were held up, sometimes for months, at the feared immigration detention center on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay where determined immigration inspectors quizzed them on the authenticity of their papers. Angel Island acquired a terrible reputation among the Chinese as a nightmarish experience. About 10 percent of the Chinese who spent time there were deported during the years of its operation, 1910-1940.

The Chinese Exclusion Acts were not repealed until 1943 and kept the Chinese population in the United States from expanding. With only a trickle of new immigrants and the deaths of sojourners, the Chinese population steadily decreased until it hit a low of just over 60,000 in 1920. Easing of the immigration laws and the growth of families increased the population to only about 77,000 by 1940, more than half remaining in California (Lai and others 1980:55). Although the exclusion acts were repealed in 1943, a limited annual quota of only 105 immigrants continued to limit the growth of the Chinese population in this country. Not until 1950 did the Chinese population top the 1880 level of 100,000. After the 1965 Immigration Act abolished the quota system, newcomers from Hong Kong and Taiwan boosted the Chinese population to an estimated 800,000 by 1980 (Lai and others 1980:55-56,80).

AMERICAN CHINESE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Most of the Chinese who remained in the United States settled in the West, especially in California. Reflecting the immigration of sojourners 50 years earlier, the population remained primarily male in the first decades of the twentieth century, women comprising only about 5 percent of the approximately 90,000 Chinese in America in 1900 (Jackson 1991:118). By mid-century, the number of women and families had increased; in 1940, over half the Chinese were American citizens born in this country (Lai and others 1980:56).

Chinese tended to leave rural areas for urban life in the first half of the twentieth century (Lai and others 1908:61). Established in the 1850s, San Francisco's Chinatown evolved into the vital center of Chinese life. Chinese merchants across the West traded with San Francisco companies, making Chinese goods and foodstuffs available to their communities (Barth 1964; Daniels 1988:29-66; Takaki 1989:79-131; Tsai 1986:28-89)

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

STATEMENT.

Of Registered Chinese Laborer about to depart from the United States with the intention of returning thereto, to the Empire of China made in compliance with the treaty between the United States and China, concluded and signed on the 17th day of March, A.D. 1894, ratified on the 7th day of December, 1894, and proclaimed by the President of the United States of America, December 8th, 1894 and with the regulations of the Department of Commerce and Labor, dated and approved February 5th, 1906.

Sing Kewong, whose photograph is hereto attached, desiring to leave the United States for the Empire of China, with the intention of returning to the United States of America, and claiming a certificate of his right to return under said treaty, in conformity therewith, deposits his certificate of registration #127865, issued by Henry Washman, Collector of Internal Revenue for the District of Oregon on the 3rd day of May, 1894, at Portland, Oregon, and his photograph in duplicate and a full description in writing of himself and his family, property and debts due him in the United States, the same being as follows, to-wit:




Name, Sing Kewong.
Age, 39 at the present time.
Height, 5ft. 5 1/2 inches, at the present time.
Color of eyes, brown.
Complexion, light.
Local residence, Phoenix, Arizona, English Kitchen, North First Street.
Occupation, -Cook in the restaurant known as the English Kitchen.
Distinguishing marks, mole in front of left ear.
Debts owing to him in the United States -
From Charlie Bound of P
Phoenix, Arizona - \$350.00
From Yee King of
Phoenix, Arizona, - \$385.00
From Ching Lung of
Phoenix, Arizona, - \$300.00

1906 Registration Papers: Sing Kewong

Figure 1-1

Source: Pueblo Grande Museum

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950



DESCRIPTION

Age 31
 Name Yuen Yu
 Occupation Merchant
 Residence 6 A K Marchant
 Date of arrival May 27 1910
 Chinese name
 Date of departure June 1910
 Date of return
 Signature
 Initials

CERTIFICATE OF IDENTITY

NAME Yuen Yu
 No. 101

Source: Lucy Yuen Figure 1-2
A Historic Context

The overthrow of the imperial Manchurian government in China and the establishment of a republic by Sun Yat-Sen in 1911 opened a new era for overseas Chinese. Male residents in the United States abandoned their traditional shaved foreheads and long queues (a mandated symbol of allegiance to the Manchus); women ceased binding their feet (Lai and others 1980:63). American Chinese joined the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang.

American attitudes towards immigrant Chinese also began to change. A worldwide need for labor among the Allied nations during the First World War broke down "exclusion walls erected against the Chinese:"

Today the Chinese -- for decades finding a wall in every white man's country -- are numbered by the tens of thousands in the service of the Allies. They have made good. They are a war-factor. All told, 200,000 Chinese are "carrying-on" in the war-zone, laboring behind the lines, in munition works and factories, manning ships. (Anonymous 1918:40)

By the end of the war, a San Francisco paper claimed that "Chinatown is being rapidly Americanized" with local chapters of the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. Expanding upon a thesis that "the Chinese in America are more than good laundry men and unsurpassed cooks," the author of a 1918 popular article described the change of American attitude toward Chinese immigrants:

There are in all over seventy thousand of these Chinese in the United States, honest, hard-working people. They have all the attributes that citizens of a democracy should have. As the prejudice which Americans formerly felt against their yellowskinned neighbors wears off, Americans are appreciating the absolute integrity and faithfulness of these people. Young mothers feel safe in trusting the baby to the family Chinaman; families will leave jewelry or money about, if the servants in the house are Chinese. They have the most extraordinary reputation of honesty of any race. (Winslow 1918:28)

Allied with China against Japanese aggression, the United States repealed all Chinese exclusion laws in 1943, but limited annual immigration to only 105 Chinese. About

12,000 (of a total population of only 77,000) American Chinese served in the armed forces during World War II. As in the first World War, a wartime labor shortage opened technical and professional job opportunities for Chinese Americans (Lai and others 1980:67).

Through the 1950s, the Chinese in the West were a homogeneous group consisting of wives, families, and descendants of sojourners and a small number of later immigrants from southern China. Grandchildren of sojourners graduated from college, many entering the professions rather than continuing in family businesses. The 1960s brought the biggest change to the Chinese population in over 80 years; repeal of the quota system allowed great numbers of Chinese from all over China, and Taiwan and Hong Kong to enter the United States. The 1960 census listed 237,000 Chinese in this country. By 1980, the population had quadrupled to over 800,000 (320,000 in California). While the sojourners of the nineteenth century were men from a single area of China of a similar age with similar goals, the new immigrants include both men and women professionals, merchants, laborers, and students of all ages and all dialects. Viewing today's diversity, we may lose sight of the uniqueness of the first Chinese residents of the American West.

CHAPTER 2: CHINESE IN ARIZONA, 1870-1950

The history of the Chinese in Arizona has been sketched (Fong 1980) and a chronology of notable events can be charted (Table 2-1), but a thorough history remains to be written. The many known historical details are scattered in time and locale, and the connecting fabric of historical pattern is not well understood as yet.

What is known about Chinese in Arizona reminds us that the Chinese in our state from about 1880 on only partially reflect the stereotypes established in California a generation earlier. The brothels, gambling houses, and opium dens that dominated the stereotypical Chinese sections of mining camps are only peripheral to the story of Arizona Chinese (see box). There were almost no Chinese women in the Arizona Territory and we found no evidence of Chinese prostitution. Anglo newspapers sensationalized the few opium dens and gambling houses and failed to report on other aspects of the Chinese community.

The central theme of Chinese in Arizona is of a people who worked hard in the few occupations open to them. Much of the anti-Chinese sentiment in Arizona was stirred up by the success of the Chinese. As early as 1886, Phoenix newspapers decried the monopoly of laundries and restaurants by Chinese and urged Whites to establish competing businesses (Phoenix Daily Herald, April 14, 1886). In the 1930s the competition from Chinese groceries prompted at least one Anglo grocery chain to accuse the Chinese of being unpatriotic for opening on July 4th (Brad Luckingham, Richard Nagasawa personal communication 1992). The story of Chinese in Arizona is one of long hours, hard work, and success in laundries, restaurants, produce, and groceries all over the state.

THE FIRST ARRIVALS

Chinese ceramics have been found in Arizona archaeological sites dating as far back as the late 1700s, but these represent trade porcelains brought by travelers from Mexico to the Tubac Presidio when the region was still under Spanish control (Schenck and Teague 1975, as quoted by Olsen 1978). Approximately a century lapsed, during which the area

passed through Mexican hands and eventually became part of the United States, before Chinese pioneers themselves entered Arizona.

When the first Chinese immigrant actually stepped onto the soil of Arizona is not documented, but it happened at approximately the time the Arizona Territory was split off of the New Mexico Territory in 1863. As Fong (1980) points out, the citizens of the new Arizona Territory were primarily concerned with other ethnic groups—particularly in militarily subduing some of the American Indian groups such as the Apache, and in dealing with the political prowess of the large Hispanic population.

The 1860 census recorded a William King, or perhaps William Tching, as a cook working on a steamboat on the Colorado River (Chiang 1970; Tipton 1977). He may have been Chinese but the documentation is ambiguous. A newspaper account reports that some 20 Chinese miners, probably following gold strikes eastward from California, were at work in the Vulture Mine near Wickenburg by 1868 (Fong 1980:6) (Table 2-1). Three other Chinese arrived in Prescott in 1869 after the Central Pacific Railroad had been completed, and they had been laid off. They joined one Chinese individual who had arrived earlier. The 1870 federal census listed 21 Chinese males and no females in the Arizona Territory. Mining, particularly the working of gold placers, attracted many Chinese to states such as California, Oregon, and Idaho, but never attracted large numbers to Arizona where placering was limited.

Whatever the exact numbers of Chinese immigrants were in the 1860s and early 1870s, it was only a trickle compared to the numbers that came to Arizona during the era of transcontinental railroad construction. Hundreds of Chinese arrived as part of the construction crews for the Southern Pacific Railroad, which was built across southern Arizona between 1877 and 1880. The 1880 census listed 1,630 Chinese in Arizona Territory; about 850 of these were identified as railroad laborers. At the time of the 1880 census count, the Chinese constituted four percent of the territory's population. Never again has the percentage of Chinese in Arizona been so high, and the total number of Chinese was not exceeded for seven decades when almost 2,000 Chinese were counted during the 1950 census (Figure 2-1).

Chinese laborers were also employed for building the Atlantic and Pacific across northern Arizona between 1880 and 1883 (Steiner 1979: 137), as well as smaller railroad

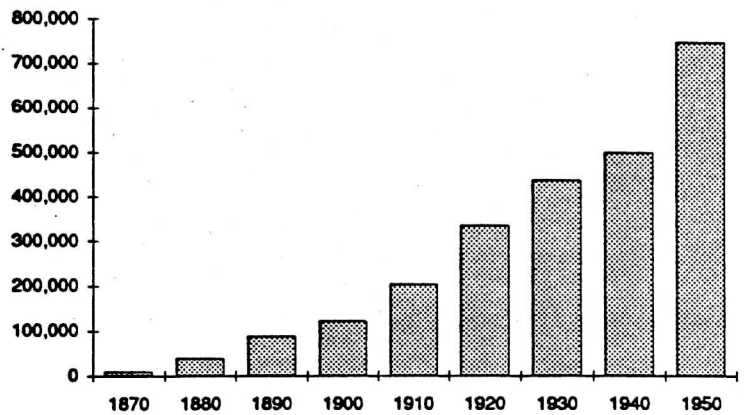
The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

TABLE 2-1
CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE IN ARIZONA

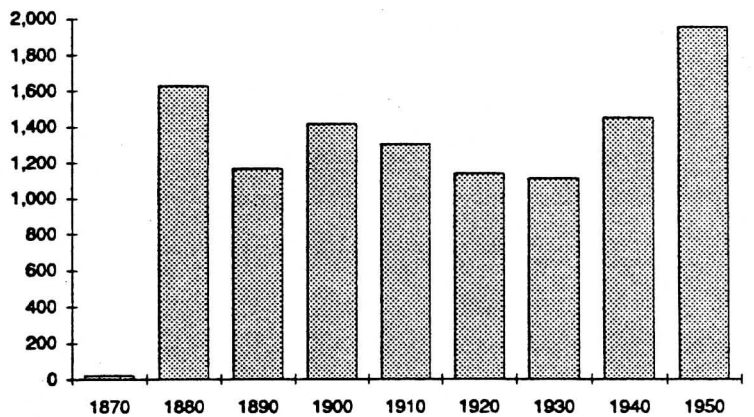
1860s	Twenty Chinese working at Vulture Mine in Wickenburg, 1868 Four Chinese in Prescott in 1869
1870s	1870 census listed 21 Chinese males and no females in Arizona Territory First Chinese woman in Prescott, 1871 First Chinese in Phoenix opened laundry, 1872 Phoenix Chinatown centered on First Street and Adams Chinese vegetable gardens south of Phoenix Chinese railroad workers arrived in Yuma from California, 1877 OK Restaurant opened in Tucson By 1879, 75 to 80 Chinese in Prescott
1880s	1880 census listed 1,630 Chinese in Arizona Territory Chinese population reached peak as percentage of total population Chinese working in Phoenix, Tucson, Tombstone, and Benson Phoenix Chinese population 99 men and 10 women Tucson Chinese population 159 Pima County census lists 850 Chinese railroad workers Chinese leasing farmland along Santa Cruz River near Tucson
1882	First Chinese Exclusion Act
1890s	Chinese operating truck garden at Territorial Prison in Yuma Chinese supply fresh produce throughout Arizona Chinese cattle ranch in Lochiel Phoenix Chinatown forced to move to second location Grocery, restaurant, bakery, and photography studio in Holbrook
1900s	Only 32 Chinese women in the 1900 census One Chinese family in Nogales in 1903 American Kitchen opens in Phoenix, 1905
1910s	Chinese served in World War I, 13 from Phoenix 10 Chinese women in Phoenix in 1910, all married, all mothers
1920s	Chinese businesses located throughout Phoenix Sun Mercantile opened new warehouse in Phoenix, 1929
1930s	Phoenix Chinese Chamber of Commerce formed
1943	All Chinese exclusion laws repealed
1950	Census lists 1951 Chinese in Arizona, the highest since 1880

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

Total Arizona Population



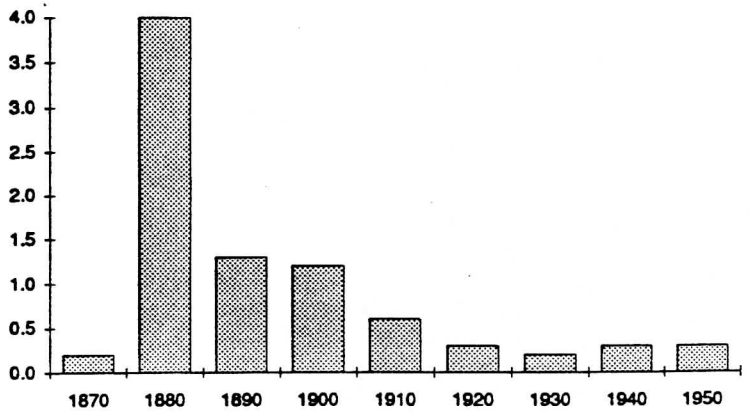
Chinese Population in Arizona



POPULATION STATISTICS

Year	Arizona	Chinese	Percent
1870	9,658	21	0.2
1880	40,440	1,630	4.0
1890	88,243	1,170	1.3
1900	122,931	1,419	1.2
1910	204,354	1,305	0.6
1920	334,162	1,137	0.3
1930	435,573	1,110	0.2
1940	499,261	1,449	0.3
1950	749,587	1,951	0.3

Percentage of Chinese



Chinese Population of Arizona

Figure 2-1

A Historic Context

lines such as the Arizona and New Mexico (Myrick 1975:278), and mine railroads such as the one between the Longfellow Mine and the smelter at Clifton (Fong 1980:15). Chinese were also employed during major upgrades of the Southern Pacific in the late 1880s and early 1890s. For example, in 1888 a thousand Chinese were said to be employed in the alignment changes made between Vail and Pantano east of Tucson (Myrick 1975:115).

During the course of constructing and maintaining these early railroads, some Chinese left the employ of the railroads and opted to stay in Arizona (Fong 1980:8). The combination of railroad workers who stayed and new arrivals during the 1880s created a population of almost 1,200 Chinese by 1890. The aggregate population remained relatively stable, fluctuating between about 1,100 and 1,500 through 1940.

DISCRIMINATION AND IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

A combination of factors, including enforcement of immigration laws, World War I, constant fighting in China, and worldwide economic depression, slowed Chinese immigration to the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century (Lister and Lister 1989a:16). From a peak in 1890, the Chinese population in the United States declined steadily for several decades and, as in Arizona, did not exceed the late nineteenth century levels until 1950, after the repeal of all exclusion laws in 1943 (Lai and others 1980:80).

The Chinese pursued a variety of occupations during this time, but their choices were restricted by the forces of discrimination. They had been recruited to ease a general labor shortage in the American West, but as the economy fluctuated and the supply and demand for labor shifted, white workers felt threatened by cheap foreign labor.

Chinese immigrants responded to anti-Chinese sentiment by taking up occupations and businesses that others avoided. After the frenzy of railroad construction work declined, the Chinese in Arizona tended to enter service industries that were not in direct competition with the Euro-American population, just as they did throughout the American West. These included working as laundrymen, cooks, merchants, domestics, and farmers.

Anti-Chinese feeling in Arizona never reached the intensity the Chinese experienced in California and several other western states, such as Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, where race riots erupted. No major anti-Chinese riots or explosions are documented in Arizona (Lai and others 1980:47), but Myrick (1975:278) does describe one incident at Tar Flat near Sonoita where Chinese laborers working on the Arizona and Mexico Railroad were harrassed until they left the job.

Although outright violence seem to have been the exception, discriminatory attitudes were common in Arizona from the beginning. Early on, xenophobia was demonstrated in 1865 when the Second Territorial Assembly enacted a law forbidding blacks, mulattoes, Indians, and Mongolians from marrying whites (Hardaway 1986). When some of the earliest Chinese newcomers appeared in Prescott after the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1869, the local Arizona Daily Miner decried the addition of "MORE CHINAMEN--Three more Chinamen arrived here during the week, and have gone to work. There are now four of them which is quite enough" (quoted by Fong 1980:6). In 1879, the same paper declared that "Prescott has about 75 or 80 Chinamen, which is 75 or 80 too many. Now is a good time to get rid of them" (Lister and Lister 1989b).

Similar opinions were expressed in many other Arizona towns. For example, in 1890 the Arizona Republican argued that the "wily Mongolians should be kept in as small an area as possible" (Luckingham 1989:60). However, a petition in 1893 to restrict the Chinese settlement in Tucson was rejected by the City Council as counter to the Territory's constitution (Lister and Lister 1989a:4). Discrimination clearly persisted well into the twentieth century as indicated by recent recountings of not being able to buy houses in certain neighborhoods and having to sit in the balconies of movie theaters even after "Hispanics were allowed in the main section" (Stanton 1991).

To be sure, Chinese pioneers were victims of violence and the hard life of the American West, but these were of a type typical of the times. Thousands of young men died of accidents or disease while building various railroads (Steiner 1979:137-138). Although the remains of about 1,200 Chinese laborers were recovered along the transcontinental railroads in the West and shipped back to China, many may still undoubtedly lie in unmarked graves along the railroads of Arizona. Fong (1980:7) relates the story of 10 Chinese miners who were swindled into purchasing rights to a salted placer mine west of Tubac in the 1870s. After abandoning their efforts, they were attacked and all of them

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

Opium in Perspective

Popular conceptions of historic Chinatowns often include images of dark, smoky opium dens crowded with bunks of debilitated addicts. Historical archaeologists have, in fact, found that opium paraphernalia is common on Chinese sites (for example, Ayres and Gregory 1988; Etter 1980; Evans 1980), but a little background is necessary for perspective on the role of opium in Chinese culture.

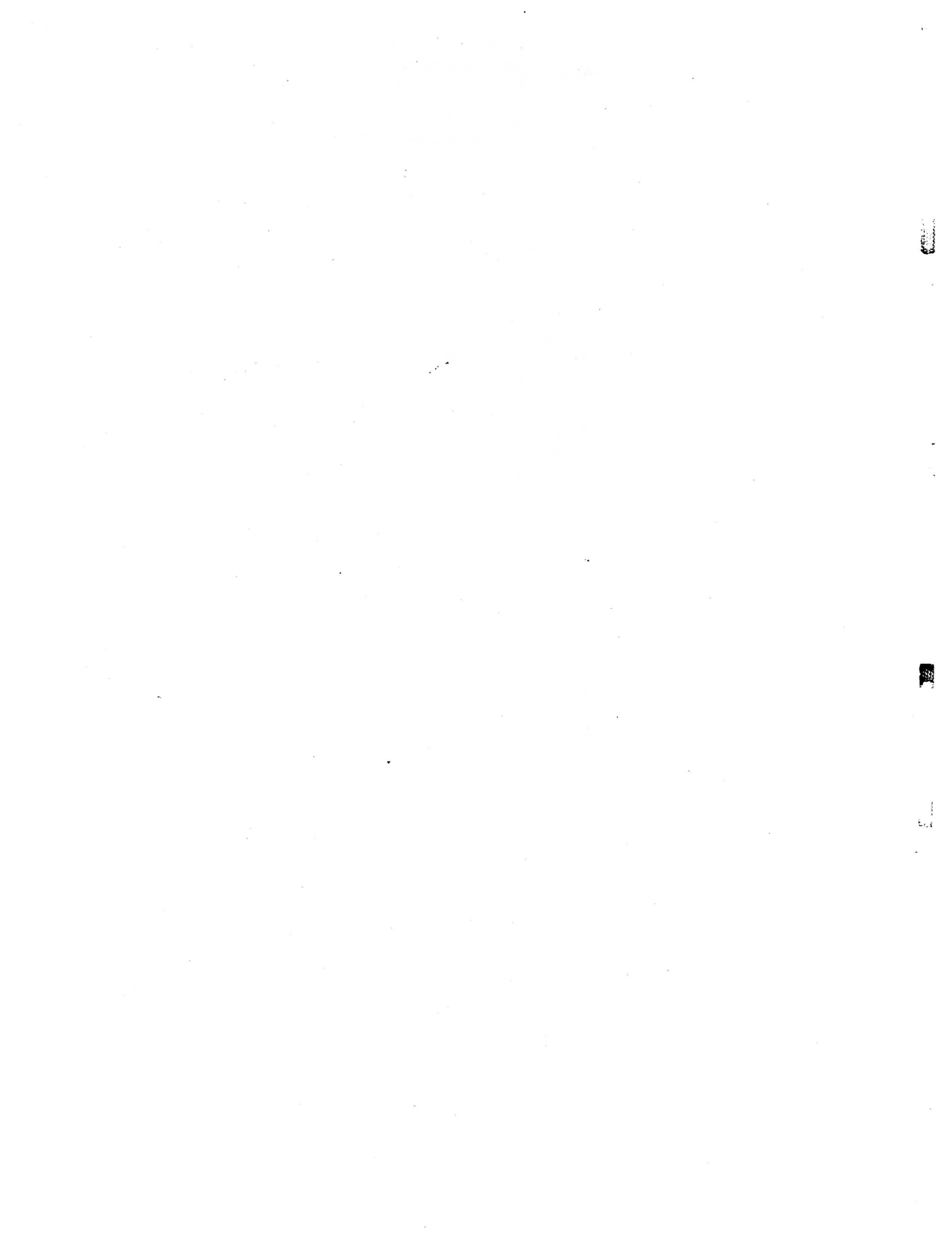
Opium poppies probably originated in the Near East, and are not known to be grown in China prior to the AD 600s. These Chinese poppies yielded a mild opiate that essentially had the effect of wine. A millenium later, it was English traders who created widespread addiction problems by importing to China the much more virulent form of opium grown in India (Steiner 1979:52-65). The motivation of the English traders was to balance England's trade deficit created by the growing English "addiction" to Chinese tea, which was introduced to the British Isles in the last half of the 1600s.

Chinese emperors issued edicts banning the import of the "foreign mud" or "flowing poison" of opium at least six times between 1729 and 1821, to no avail. English opium runners increased their annual trade to 40,000 chests by 1838. When agents of the Chinese emperor confiscated and burned some 20,000 chests of opium in 1839, the British responded by invading China in an engagement known as the First Opium War (1839-1842). A Second Opium War followed further disagreements (1856-1860) (Lai and others 1980:14-15). The trade rose to 70,000 chests yearly after the wars. One of the men who became wealthiest from the opium trade was knighted by Queen Victoria in recognition of his efforts to balance the trade deficit, and another prominent trader was elected to Parliament (Steiner 1979:55).

Chinese probably thought of opium smoking as a normal part of their life, similar to alcohol in the lives of Euro-Americans. The fact that one of the traditional duties of a daughter-in-law was to prepare an opium pipe for her father-in-law reinforces this interpretation (Desert Jade Women's Club nd). The 30-second smokes undoubtedly eased anxieties, and helped to reinforce or maintain traditional social relationships in an otherwise hostile environment (Ayres and Gregory 1988). Clearly, some opium smokers may very well have abused the drug and become addicts, just as some drinkers become alcoholics. In the male society of construction camps, abuse may have not been uncommon, just as heavy drinking is a pattern typical among crews of construction roustabouts in the West today.

Only 20 percent of the opium imported to the U.S. during the late 1800s was smoked. Most was used as an ingredient in laudanum, a common element of patent medicines so popular among Euro-Americans (Wylie and Higgins 1987:365).

It was not until 1909 that federal law began to impose restrictions on importing opium for nonmedical uses, and there was little enforcement until after 1915 when the Harrison Narcotics Act was passed (Wylie and Higgins 1987:321). Once it became illegal, the opium trade fell more and more within the control of secret societies or tongs, just as running illegal liquor became a big business for organized crime during prohibition.



were killed by Apaches. Other incidents are reported at the Johnny Ward Ranch near Patagonia, which involved a Chinese store keeper "disappearing" and his store being ransacked in an apparent search for treasure. A few years later another Chinese, farming and making adobe bricks in the same area, was killed by undocumented assailants (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962).

SPREADING ACROSS THE ARIZONA TERRITORY

Despite the challenges, Chinese pioneers seem to have dispersed widely throughout much of Arizona. Although their numbers were always small, there were some Chinese in most of the towns of the territory, and in many rural locations as well. Motivations, mechanisms, and patterns of their dispersal are not well understood, but the following paragraphs summarize some of the snippets of documentation about Chinese in the smaller towns of Arizona and rural areas of the state.

From these snippets, it is clear that it was a rare Arizona settlement that did not have a Chinese launderer, cook, or produce farmer, or all three, in the late nineteenth century. The energetic sojourners set up laundries, restaurants, and groceries in mining camps, construction camps, farming communities, Indian reservations, and towns, anywhere there were customers for their services. In telling the story of Chinese in Arizona, the question is not "Where were they?" but "Where weren't they?"

A Laundry and a Cook in Every Town

Almost every settlement in Arizona in the late nineteenth century could point to the Chinese cook or launderer in town. Chinese grocers and produce farmer were also commonplace.

As the Southern Pacific Railroad was built from California eastward, the first group of Chinese entered Arizona at Yuma as railroad workers. By November 1877, the Arizona Sentinel reported the arrival of nearly 600 Chinese into Yuma. Charles Sam ran a restaurant and laundry. Sam Kee purchased firewood from Indian suppliers to heat wash water for his laundry.

A Chinese family is reported to have arrived in Nogales in 1903. The mother of the family, Lai Ngan, ran a small grocery while her husband, Lee Kwong, sold lottery tickets. Hi Wo, who first married a Mexican woman and after her death married her sister, operated a grocery store in Benson (Hardaway 1986:381; Hatch 1980:43; Arnold Wo, personal communication 1992); all of his children were given Spanish first names. Ah Chung (also known as Loui Kang) was a miner and merchant, who established a store at Patagonia with partner Woo Ben at the turn of the century (Hatch 1980:36).

After a long career as a merchant in Tucson (1895-1927), Don Chun Wo bought a store in Casa Grande and moved his family there in 1927 (Laura Stone, personal communication, 1992). Don Sing Gee operated a grocery on the Pima Indian Reservation near Casa Grande (Fong 1980:11-12). He also purchased a grocery in Casa Grande in 1896 which is still run by family members (Laura Stone, personal communication, 1992). Lee Wee-Kuan operated a grocery among the Yaqui outside Tucson (Fong 1980:12).

There were also a few Chinese in Florence by the late 1880s operating a bakery and restaurant (Sobin 1977:19-20). An 1882 map and list of occupants on the Florence town-site located a Chinaman, Sam Kee, on Blocks 78 (Sobin 1977:68). Curiously, an undated photograph of Sam Kee's laundry has been identified as being in Yuma (Fong 1980:16). Also, the 1923 Phoenix City Directory lists "Kee Sam" as a Chinese merchant at 901 South 9th Avenue. The possible connections among these three bits of information are intriguing, but unknown.

A Chinese family is reported to have lived in Coolidge around the turn of the century (Jack Lee, Phoenix resident, personal communication, 1992). A photograph depicting kitchen helpers in Clifton around 1900 includes several Chinese (Hatch 1980:45). Yee Sam is listed as a laundryman in Ray in the 1914-1915 Arizona Business Directory.

In 1882, Calabasas, an abandoned town north of Nogales, is reported to have had two Chinese gambling dens, an opium den, and five stores, one of which was operated by a Chinese merchant (Myrick 1975:280). The Morenci Hotel was reportedly operated by a Chinese family in the 1920s (Norman Crowfoot, personal communication, 1992). In about 1910, the small mining town of Kelvin had one Chinese cook and a launderer who "sprinkled the shirts with water held in his mouth" (K.K. Hennes, Casa Grande resident, personal communication 1992).

In Holbrook, Louie Ghey built the first brick building in the 1890s. His advertisements in the Holbrook Argus indicate he owned a grocery, restaurant, bakery, and photographic studio. In 1896, he was commissioned to photograph the important businessmen, residences, and reservoirs in Holbrook and nearby towns (Fong 1980:17).

Local traditions maintain there were Chinese in Williams around the turn of the century, and that they were the only people operating restaurants. The first Chinese may have arrived with the building of the railroad through Williams in 1882. All Chinese apparently were gone prior to 1920 (Terri Cleland, Kaibab National Forest, personal communication, 1991).

Jack Lum arrived in Kingman in 1924 and operated the Boston Restaurant. Bill Yee operated another restaurant called the Modern Cafe. At this time most restaurants in Kingman were run by Chinese, serving "straight American food" (Lewis 1981:176). There were about 30 to 40 Chinese men residing in Kingman at the time. In addition to the restaurants, there were a couple of laundries, but most of the Chinese worked as cooks for nearby mines.

Jack's father, Lum Sing You, apparently first worked in the Kingman area as a railroad laborer. He later returned to operate a boarding house at the mining town of Mineral Park. Jack's sons, Wong and Charlie, were born in China, after Jack, who had been born in Modesto, California, returned to China for an extended stay. Wong and Charlie returned to Kingman with their father. Wong eventually took over a restaurant his father operated, the White House, and Charlie became one of the more prominent businessmen of Kingman, owning a restaurant, a night club, a fast food place, an apartment complex, and a laundry. His daughter and son-in-law continued in the restaurant business after Charlie retired.

The English Kitchen, which is still in operation in Jerome, was reportedly started by a Chinese cook (Les Biffle, Phoenix resident, personal communication 1992).

In contrast, some Arizona towns actively discouraged Chinese from settling in their communities. For example, a rule passed by the first Justice of the Peace in Bisbee prevented Chinese from spending the night in town until at least the early 1930s (Canty and Greeley: 1991:57; Norman Crowfoot, Tucson resident, personal communication,

1992). Although Chinese farmers were allowed to enter the town to sell produce, no Chinese restaurants or laundries were established (Tom Vaughn, Bisbee Mining Museum, personal communication, 1992). When Tom Wing tried to establish a restaurant in Winkleman in 1910, he was invited to move on, and he did, establishing a business in Kelvin (Myrick 1981:586).

The bitterest racism aimed at Chinese erupted in Arizona's mining towns, perhaps because of the success of the Chinese in re-working claims that had been thought of as "played-out." Chinese miners successfully worked placer claims on Big Bug and Lynx creeks, south of Prescott. Sam Lee purchased the Ramos Farm on Lynx Creek in the 1870s; he and a partner, Ah Fork, also operated a stagecoach station and saloon. The two partners disagreed in a knife fight in 1877, and Ah Fork fatally stabbed Sam Lee (Canty and Greeley 1991:57).

Chinese merchants did not limit their market to Anglos or town residents. Many operated stores in or adjacent to Indian reservations and made the effort to learn the language of their neighbors. In A Pima Remembers, by George Webb, Webb states that

I recall a time, not long ago, we were in a Chinese store in a certain town near the Reservation. We were looking for some kind of dessert. The Chinese clerk came up to us and asked us what we were looking for. We told him. He picked up a strawberry preserve and to our surprise he said in plain Pima: "Go 'ep sitoli wenags 'ida," (this is pretty good, it has syrup in it.) We asked him where he learned to speak Pima so well?

He said: "Right here in this town. I grew up here and learned to speak the language by playing and talking with Pimas and Pagagos ever since I was a boy."

I know of other Chinese who speak our language almost better than some Pimas do these days (Webb 1959:74-75).

Mining and Construction Camps

The Chinese are also documented as working in many of the remote mining camps around Arizona. By 1870, several Chinese were mining placers on Lynx Creek near Prescott, and later operated in the Big Bug District on the northeast slopes of the Bradshaw Mountains. In other parts of the American West, Chinese often worked on hydraulic mines, but this technique was not commonly used in arid Arizona. The one hydraulic mining site in Arizona that has been archaeologically studied was along Humbug Creek south of the Bradshaw Mountains. Although local tradition referred to the dam that diverted water into the hydraulic system as the China Dam, it was apparently built and operated by Euro-Americans, primarily with English capital (Ayres and others 1992).

Probably most of the Chinese in Arizona mining camps worked in ancillary services rather than as miners per se. This included not only cooks, laundrymen, and merchants, but also charcoal burners and wood carriers. In the mines at Clifton, Chinese men worked as charcoal burners and wood carriers, with some employed in the mine shafts (Fong 1980:15). Reportedly Chinese also worked as charcoal burners at Butte City, which was a booming mining town along the Gila River from about 1882 to 1886 (Myrick 1981:635).

The Jim Mannon family ran a cafe in south Clifton, and Hop Yick, a "venerable kindly old gentleman," operated a grocery store just south of Reardons Hotel. Following the sojourner pattern, Hop Yick's body was shipped to China for burial (Shortridge 1990:25).

Although "Mongolians" were forbidden to work on the construction of Roosevelt Dam undertaken by the new U.S. Reclamation Service between 1903 and 1911, some Chinese worked in the Roosevelt area in supporting services. Newspaper accounts mention Ah Sam, who worked as a cook on Government Hill, home to Reclamation Service supervisors and engineers. The 1910 census of Newtown (the name given to the construction town of Roosevelt when it was forced to relocate to higher ground as the water rose behind the rising dam) lists a single Chinese resident, who may have been Tom Ying, listed in the 1911-12 Arizona Business Directory as operating a laundry in Roosevelt (Ayres and others 1991).

Ranches and Farms

The Chinese also ranched and farmed in various parts of Arizona. For example, brand registers reveal Chinese cattle ranchers in southern Arizona, including Lim Kee in 1891 and You Cang of Lochiel in 1898. Cang's son, Ernest, became one of the best cowboys in southern Arizona (Fong 1980:17).

An important occupation of Chinese all over Arizona was the growing and selling of produce. They sold vegetables in Bisbee, Tombstone, Tempe, Phoenix, Tucson, Morenci, Yuma, and Prescott.

A Chinese man had a successful farm three miles north of Tombstone from the 1880s. Located in a swale between two hills, he used well water and rainfall to grow vegetables. The site on Middlemarch Road is now the location of a residential subdivision (Hollis Cook, personal communication, 1992).

Chinese farmers leased land in the 1880s along the Santa Cruz River at the base of Sentinel Peak west of Tucson (Fong 1980:12; Sonnichsen 1982:111-112). They reportedly cultivated over 100 acres, raising produce. Water requirements of the Chinese truck gardens were greater than surrounding fields, and the owners of the fields the Chinese leased became embroiled in a water dispute (Sonnichsen 1982:111-112). It is not likely that any of these farmers' residences remain today as they were often "small huts built of adobes and ornamented by tin-cans, barley sacks and bushes" (unknown newspaper article quoted by Lister and Lister 1989:8). The Chinese sold their produce house-to-house every morning in Tucson from "strong but shabby wagon[s]" (Clara Ferrin 1897, as quoted by Fong 1980:15). Described as "industrious and persevering," they kept accounts by "marking down on the casement of the door the amount bought each day" (Clara Ferrin 1897, as quoted by Sonnichsen 1982:112). By 1910, half of the 30 gardeners or farmers in the census had moved to the east side of the Santa Cruz River, south of town along the road to Yuma (Lister and Lister 1989:59).

It is also reported that Chinese truck farmers "adjacent to Tempe" shipped a ton of Irish potatoes to Phoenix in the spring of 1899. The potatoes were reported to be "large and uniform in shape, and surpass those in the Phoenix markets" (Arizona Republican 30 May 1899).

Chinese gardens were located to the north and west of downtown Prescott in an area known historically as "Miller Valley," but which today is the site of the high school. Chinese farmers replaced their traditional water buffaloes with horses to plow the fields and raise fruits, peanuts, celery, beets, potatoes, and other vegetables for sale in town (Sue Abbey, Sharlot Hall Museum, personal communication, 1992; Lai and others 1980:29).

Chinaman's Canyon at the north end of Bonito Street in Flagstaff was reportedly named for gardens tended by a Chinese farmer. The area was buried by a landfill by the mid 1950s (Granger 1983:144).

A Chinese prisoner in the territorial prison at Yuma is reported to have raised vegetables (Fong 1908:7), and a historic map depicts Chinese gardens in the vicinity of the prison (Bruder and others 1990; Crow and Brinkerhoff 1972).

Chinese in Tempe

The wide variety of known Chinese businesses illustrates the breadth of their input in Arizona history. What remains to be done is to connect these snippets into a cohesive story. The following extended look at what is known about Chinese in Tempe demonstrates the stories that can be told when isolated snippets are connected by further research into city directories, census records, Sanborn maps, and oral history interviews.

There have been Chinese in Tempe probably continually from the 1880s but the population was probably never large enough or concentrated enough to warrant the label Chinatown. However, there were clearly several Chinese businesses that were traditionally passed from one Chinese to another. Sometimes, the transfer was from father to son, indicating long-term residencies of some Chinese families.

Restaurants run by Chinese tended to be located along Mill Avenue, laundries were located at the edges of the central business district (about one block wide), and groceries were often located in "East Tempe" (Keane 1989). Newspapers and business directories list Sung Lung (1895), Hop Lee (1895-1902), Lee Wu Hop (1905 to at least 1911), Chung Sing (about 1898-1899), Sing Kee (1914-1921), Wo Hing (1923), Ye Him Ong (1930-1932),

and Arthur Ong (1931-1947) as merchants in "East Tempe" at various times between 1895 and 1947. "East Tempe" was located between the Anglo businesses on Mill Avenue and the Mexican settlement at what is now College Street north of University. Sing Lee was the first Chinese merchant listed in the business directory to open a grocery outside of East Tempe. From 1920 to 1928, he operated a grocery next to La Casa Vieja, just off Mill Avenue.

The Chinese laundries located at the east and west edges of town were a source of some annoyance to local residents. An 1896 Tempe News story describes the "cesspools of Chinese wash houses. The stench that arises from these places is something awful" (Keane 1989). The 1900 census listed three laundrymen, Wo Quong, Sing Lee, and Sam Lee. A laundry located one block west of Mill on Fifth Street was operated by Chinese from at least 1911 (Wa Tom) to 1921 (Wing Chung) (Keane 1989).

Two early Tempe restauranteurs were Wong Yoke in 1898 and Toum Soung (1899); no addresses are specified for their establishments. Sam Chung (1898), Tom Ping (also listed as Ping Tom, 1909-1917), Sam Ching (1923), and Joe Holland operated restaurants on Mill Avenue.

Known fragments of Joe Holland's life neatly illustrate the history of Chinese in Arizona. Born in California in 1860 or 1861, he was working as a launderer in Phoenix by the time he was 19 (1880). In his fifties and sixties, he was operating a restaurant in Tempe along Mill Avenue (1913-1925) (Keane 1989). Profits from the restaurant business sent Holland's son to the University of Arizona where he obtained a degree in electrical engineering in the early 1920s. Tragically, he was accidentally electrocuted a few years later while working for the Salt River Valley Water User's Association (K.K. Hennes, Casa Grande resident, personal communication 1992). Joe Holland and his family must have been well-known in Tempe. Despite the business directory listings of several Chinese businessmen through the years, one Tempe pioneer remembered "only one Chinese family in Tempe when I was a boy, the Hollands" (Keane 1989).

No reference to Chinese household servants in Tempe has been found. At least two Chinese girls attended the Tempe Normal School, Ethel Wong in 1905-1906 and Maud Tong in 1913 (Keane 1989).

ARIZONA'S CHINATOWNS

For a variety of reasons, many Chinese aggregated in the largest urban places in Arizona, forming communities that can be characterized as Chinatowns. In some ways, these Chinatowns were no doubt ghettos that limited the opportunities of the Chinese residents. In other ways, they were refuges from antagonism and discrimination. Living in Chinatown offered some protection and companionship for what was almost exclusively a society of bachelors and men who had left their wives and families in China. Many of the early Chinatown residents thought of themselves as sojourners, rather than immigrants, working to make enough money to eventually return to China. Living in Chinatowns provided a means to resist the dominant culture and retain their own.

Although the Chinese sojourners were willing to adapt to some American ways when it suited them--a few words of English for example--they maintained many of their cultural traditions. Chinese customs and observances bemused the general population. Their traditional dress, food, music, spiritual beliefs, and celebrations of Chinese holidays *differentiated* them from others.

The Chinese joined together to promote mutual business and social pursuits. Voluntary organizations allowed them to support each other and build a community in the midst of an alien world. Clans or family associations; benevolent societies, comprised of those who had originated in the same village or region in southeastern China and spoke the same dialect; and tongs or secret societies allowed the Chinese to retain their ethnic identity and perpetuate their traditions and rituals. Institutions for interaction included joss houses or temples, Chinese stores, and opium dens. Restaurants, groceries, laundries, and other business buildings often doubled as residences in Chinatown. At home, Chinese language, food, music, and games could be appreciated, and topics of conversation ranged from the good old days in China to the difficulties of adjusting to life in the American West.

There were Chinatowns in probably at least half a dozen Arizona cities. The following discussions summarize the history of the known Chinatowns in Tombstone, Prescott, Tucson, and Phoenix. Others in Globe, Yuma, and perhaps Flagstaff and other places have never been studied.

Tombstone

The Chinese area in Tombstone covered two full city blocks during the first silver mining boom, 1879-1887. "Hop Town" covered the area from Allen Street to Toughnut, and from First to Third streets. The Chinese provided services to the miners of Tombstone, working as launderers, gardeners and housekeepers. "China Mary" was the unofficial official procuror of Chinese labor for the Anglo community. After the end of the silver mining boom, most of the Chinese left town for other mining booms in Gleeson and Pearce. Only about six single men remained in Tombstone. Fewer Chinese came to town during the second silver boom, 1901-1909.

As in other Arizona towns, Chinese businesses were not limited to the Chinese residential section of town. Chinese wash houses were located all through the central business district of Tombstone. The Can Can Restaurant was located outside of Hop Town at the northwest corner of Allen and Fourth streets. Tradition has it that the restaurant was not named after the popular nineteenth century dance, but because all of the food served there came out of cans (Hollis Cook, personal communication, 1992).

Owner of the Can Can Restaurant, Quong Kee came to Tombstone with the first silver boom, and stayed there until his death in the 1930s. A respected member of the community, he never established a family in this country but was buried in the Tombstone cemetery.

Tombstone was one of the stops on the "underground railroad" for Chinese immigrants entering this country illegally from Mexico. A paper confiscated from Chinese immigrant Gee Toy in 1913 by Tombstone lawman Jeff Milton described the route in Chinese characters. The translation reads as follows:

"Starting from Cananea to Naco, go to the Jew Hing Store and inquire of a man named Wong Ah Yot, and give him a little money as fees for guiding you out to the road. On the left hand side of the road there is a railroad. Follow this until you come to two houses. You must pass by the back of those houses. Continue on the railroad until you come to a cattle ranch. It is surrounded by a fence, and it is necessary to jump over this fence. Follow the railroad until you come to a railroad station house. Near the

station is located a water tank. Continue on the railroad you will come to a place having ten or more houses. You must walk down to the ditch and cross over until you come to a station house located near the railroad. That is the Fairbank Station."

"Walk on the left side you will find the Town of Fairbank. It has a Chinese laundry having some Chinese writings in front, named Wo Hing conducted by Yee Jung Hung. You can go to his place and he may direct you where to take a train to Tombstone. In Tombstone there is a laundry conducted by Woo and Yee Sack. You can go to their place and stay for a little while. There is a train going to Pearce and there change cars for Willcox. While you are traveling, should you meet any Chinese people who ask you if you have a certificate of residence, you must answer in the affirmative. You must be very careful while traveling."

Prescott

Although the historic Chinese community in Prescott has yet to be researched thoroughly, the outlines of its history are known. Despite local opposition, a growing Chinatown was established in Prescott in the 1870s. The first Chinese men had arrived in the late 1860s, and the first Chinese woman arrived in 1871, probably to join her husband who had immigrated earlier. By the end of the 1870s, about 80 Chinese people resided in Prescott and worked as domestics and miners, and owned several businesses including restaurants, groceries, and laundries (Ruffner 1981:42).

Most of the Chinese population settled in an area that extended from the alley behind Whiskey Row west to Granite Creek, and north and south along McCormick and Granite streets. On a map prepared in 1864 by a surveyor named Groom, Quon Clong Gin is indicated as the owner of a lot bordered by Granite Creek and Granite Street. The Chinese reportedly occupied half a dozen frame buildings in this area of Granite Street in the 1870s. Businesses were located on the street side of the buildings, with housing to the rear. Privies were back of the houses, along the creek. A joss house was located on the second lot north of Goodwin on Granite Street. The first building north of Goodwin was the Dong Wah Co., a grocery store. Also located on Granite Street was George Ah

Fat's Chinese laundry, which he advertised in the Arizona Daily Miner in the 1870s (Fong 1980:6). A photograph of the corner of Granite and Gurley streets shows not only the large, two-story brick Maier's Corner Saloon built in 1891, but also a modest frame structure housing Whong Lee's laundry (Burgess and others 1991; Hatch 1980:40, 44; Ruffner 1981:70, 90).

In 1880, T.W. Otis founded a mission school to teach the Chinese English (Fong 1980:26-27). The "American Kitchen" in downtown Prescott employed Chinese cooks (Sue Abbey, Sharlot Hall Museum, personal communication, 1992). Governor Fremont employed a Chinese cook from California (Nancy Burgess, Prescott consultant, personal communication, 1991). In 1889, the Chinese men in Prescott included launderers, cooks, a house servant, and gardeners.

Chinese New Year celebrations in Prescott spilled out onto Granite Street. Music played with gongs, cymbals, drums, and flute filled the air along with the noise of firecrackers. The joss house, a center of Chinatown communal activity, sported Chinese lanterns hanging from the second story porch as its only distinguishing external characteristic (Burgess and others 1991; Ruffner 1981:100). Chinese rituals perplexed residents of Prescott, and a Chinese mortuary ceremony, for example, inspired a Prescott reporter in 1879 to write an article entitled "Feeding the Dead."

R. J. Rutherford, the pioneer expressman, this morning performed the pious duty of taking two of the followers of Confucius, with a lot of roast pig, peaches, grapes and a bottle of brandy to Lynx Creek to feed a dead countryman, who has lain beneath the cold gravel of the lonely canyon, where he was murdered, a whole year, without a morsel of food or a drop of anything to cheer him on his journey to that flowery kingdom where all good Chinamen at last bring up. Rutherford says that they left plenty of food and that which was good, on the grave, and as the two live celestials returned to town with him, there is no probability of their returning to bring away what their defunct friend may leave after satisfying his appetite. (Arizona Weekly Miner, September 5, 1879)

Much of Prescott was destroyed during a fire in July 1900, including the Chinese area. One of the few buildings saved from the fire was the two-story wood frame joss house.

After the fire, the rebuilt Palace Hotel and Bar included a Chinese restaurant (Ruffner 1981:100).

Although local oral traditions maintain that Sun Yat-Sen sought refuge in Prescott for a time prior to his successful revolution in 1911, there is as yet no corroborating evidence for the story, which may be an overseas Chinese equivalent of "George Washington slept here" (Sue Abbey, Sharlot Hall Museum, personal communication, 1992).

For undocumented reasons, the Chinese seem to have left Prescott in the years 1910-1915 (Nancy Burgess, Prescott consultant, personal communication, 1991).

Tucson

Tucson's "Chinatown" was amorphous and mobile. In 1883, Chinese residences and merchants located around the intersection of Main and Ott streets, in the northwestern quadrant of downtown. By 1919, the Chinese population had moved south between Meyer and Main streets, south of Broadway. However, the Chinese never confined themselves solely to these two loci; over the years, individuals located their businesses throughout the northwest and southwest quadrants of downtown Tucson. Also, these areas were never exclusively Chinese; the neighborhoods always included Hispanics (Lister and Lister 1989a:3-17).

Tucson's Chinese population became involved in a variety of economic and cultural activities. The 1880 census lists 160 Chinese as residing in Tucson. Of these, almost two-thirds (98) were laundrymen, and another 26 were cooks. By 1900 the population increased to 222, and grew to 257 individuals by 1910. The vocations of the Chinese changed quite drastically over this time period. By 1910 almost 30 percent (63) were identified as merchants. Laundrymen, cooks, and farmers each accounted for approximately another 10 to 15 percent. Other occupations pursued by a dozen or fewer individuals during these decades include restaurant manager, vegetable cleaner, waiter, dishwasher, peddler, railroad worker, laborer, servant, butcher, barber, hotel keeper, interpreter, clerk, doctor, druggist, and "capitalist" (Lister and Lister 1989a:5).

The increase in merchants should be viewed skeptically because immigration restrictions created pressure for individuals to identify themselves as merchants rather than skilled or unskilled laborers. However, the pattern of establishing small businesses was common throughout the American West.

Examples of such entrepreneurs in Tucson include three men who shared the Wong family name. They left the railroad crews in the late 1870s to open the O.K. Restaurant on the southeast corner of Church Plaza and Mesilla Street (Fong 1980:8). Chan Tin-Wo, a railroad cook, joined the Wongs in Tucson, operating a general merchandise store on North Main. Successful in merchandizing to Chinese, Hispanic, and Euro-American customers, he became Tucson's first naturalized citizen (Fong 1980:9; Lister and Lister 1989a:6).

A historical photograph shows Charley Lee's Groceries. The store is draped in bunting, and is festooned with advertising in both Spanish and English (Hatch 1980:38). The 1883 Sanborn map shows a few general stores operated by Chinese in the Barrio Libre (Fong 1980:30).

Another type of enterprise is represented by the Moore Cottages on the northeastern edge of downtown. The Lim Goons purchased the property, and persuaded Lai Ngan (who had resided in Nogales for a while) to move to Tucson to manage the property after her husband Lee Kwong had died in 1918 (Fong 1980:22).

Although the number of Chinese in the United States was declining during this time, the Tucson population of Chinese remained relatively stable in total number. However, the proportion of single men declined and the numbers of American-born females and children increased. Apparently a very limited number of Chinese men married women of Mexican and French descent. The trend toward a higher percentage of families was common in other Chinatowns, as well.

Phoenix

Chinese have been a part of Phoenix since the days of Sonoran adobe buildings and Jack Swilling. Launderers, grocers, and merchants lived and worked down the street from

John Y. T. Smith's flour mill, and the Valley Bank was only a block south of the first concentration of Chinese residents.

The 1870 census listed only 21 Chinese men in the Arizona Territory; in 1872, two Chinese were reported to have opened a laundry in Phoenix (Arizona Weekly Miner, July 13, 1872). Construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad through southern Arizona brought more than 1,000 Chinese to the state by the 1880 census. In that census, 109 Chinese resided in Phoenix, and many of them may have abandoned railroad work to live in Phoenix. Although seemingly a small number, the just over 100 Chinese residents made up more than 4 percent of the 10-year old settlement, a visible portion of the population. The local newspaper editorialized in 1880 that it would like to see "fewer Chinamen in Phoenix" (Phoenix Herald, September 15, 1880).

Most of the Chinese in Phoenix in the late nineteenth century were men, either single or living away from their wives in China. Most came to this country as very young men in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, prior to the restrictive immigration laws, passing through California before coming to Phoenix. Most joined their countrymen in typical Chinese occupations of the time: laundries, restaurants, groceries, and produce farms.

Chinese men often lived at their business; others gravitated to centralized tenements and boarding houses. The first Phoenix Chinese residences concentrated at the northwest and southwest corners of First Street and Adams, and were labeled simply "Chinese Quarters" (1893 Sanborn map). In addition to the Chinese stores and tenements located in the vicinity, an opium den occupied the rear of a Chinese laundry.

By 1890, the Chinese population in Phoenix had increased to 200, but the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882 and 1892 reduced Chinese immigration into the United States and into Phoenix. By 1910, the population had declined to only 110.

Although Phoenix residents took their clothes to the Chinese laundries, bought food from Chinese produce farmers and grocers, and ate American restaurant meals cooked by Chinese, the local newspaper presented negative and prejudicial opinions of the Chinese. Newspaper editors complained about the monopoly of restaurant and laundry businesses by the Chinese, and encouraged white citizens to start their own laundries. The Chinese quarters on First and Adams were described as "unsightly," "unhealthy," and

a "public nuisance" (Phoenix Daily Herald, August 11, 1895). When the new street railroad line was to be installed with its terminus at First Street and Adams, civic leaders moved to force the Chinese out of the neighborhood by purchasing the property and demolishing the buildings.

The Chinese residential settlement moved three blocks south, to the southeast corner of First Street and Madison in the mid 1890s. Prior to the move, the single Chinese business on the block was a Chinese laundry (1893 Sanborn map). Motives for the selection of this block for the relocated Chinese settlement have been lost after the passage of a century. The single clue that we have is the empty appearance of the corner of First Street and Madison in 1893, and the construction of a large C-shaped building by 1901. Perhaps the motives of the Phoenix Chinese for relocation at this site included the essentially empty land on which to build their own building. The C-shaped building at the center of what came to be called "China Alley" (1915 Sanborn map) or "Chinatown" (1910 census), housed a variety of facilities over the years, including Chinese restaurants, stores, a joss house, the Chinese Masons, the Kuomintang, and several residences. It remained standing into the late 1960s when it was torn down to make way for a new fire station.

By 1910, only 110 Chinese remained in Phoenix, many of them elderly men who had first arrived in this country before the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The era of the nineteenth century sojourner was ending. With the overthrow by Sun Yat-Sen of the Manchu Empire in 1911, the Chinese abandoned their shaved foreheads and queues that had been worn as a symbol of loyalty to the Manchus, and quickly adopted Western dress. Court decisions began to ease the restrictions on immigration, and the Phoenix Chinese population began to increase slowly. Both new immigrants and Phoenix-born children contributed to the increase. By 1930, the population had nearly doubled, reaching 250, and by 1940, 430 Chinese resided in Phoenix.

One of the keys to the success of Chinese-operated businesses can be found in the family and clan ties among the Chinese. Newly arrived Chinese men, often less than 20 years old, washed dishes or stocked shelves in businesses operated by family members. When they were ready to begin their own businesses, the young men received financing through the clan and did not have to rely on loans from Phoenix banks.

The dominant family of the historic Phoenix Chinese population recognized Tangs, Ongs, Dengs, Dongs, Yens, and Yuens as kin, and extended to them the support of the family. Although all these surnames derive from varying regional or dialectical pronunciations of the same Chinese character, family ties are difficult to pin to bloodlines because of the vagaries of restrictive immigration laws. The Chinese exclusion laws allowed sons born in China to U.S. citizens to enter the United States. After the destruction of immigration records in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, many Chinese residing in this country claimed citizenship for themselves and for sons born in China. That is, many claimed to have sons born in China, and sold immigration documents to young men in China. These "paper sons" (sons on paper only) may or may not have been members of the same clan, but took the clan name when they came to the United States (Fred Ong, personal communication 1992).

Beyond Chinatowns

Although historic documents labeled the area at First Street and Adams in Phoenix as the "Chinese Quarters" (1893 Sanborn map), and the later settlement at First Street and Madison, "China Alley," (1915 Sanborn map), the story of the Phoenix Chinatown represents only a part of the story of Chinese in Phoenix. From the 1880s, Chinese have located their laundries, groceries, and restaurants close to their customers all across the valley. The story of the Chinese in Phoenix is one of widespread entrepreneurial effort and family connections. A similar pattern has been noted for Tucson.

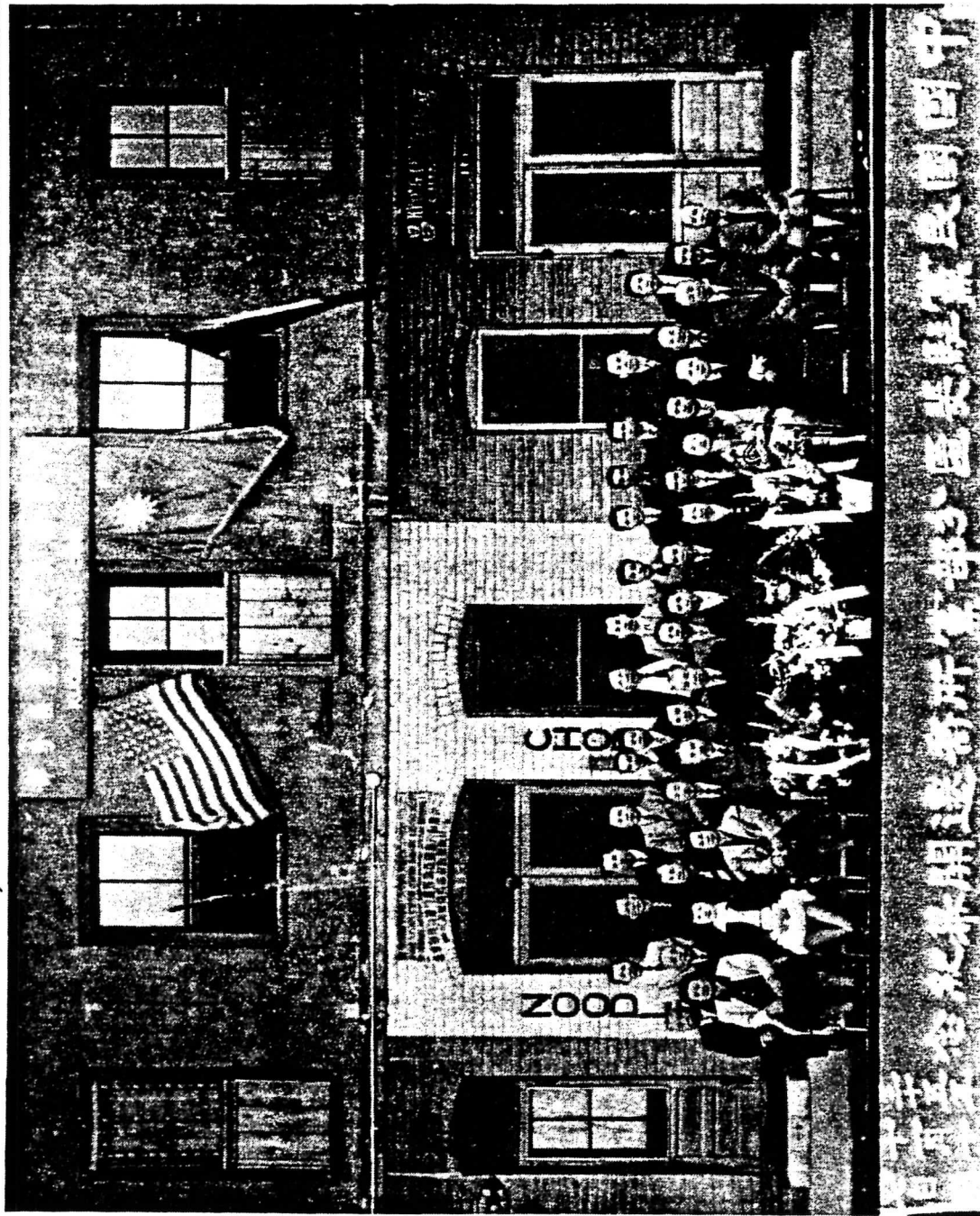
Chinatown housed only the elderly, single Chinese men; Chinese families lived throughout the larger community, and visited Chinatown for organization meetings, after-school sessions of the Chinese school, and to eat and shop at Chinese establishments. This blending of Chinese into the larger population represents the significant Chinese adaptations during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. The Chinatowns in many ways had represented the old sojourner mentality. When the last remnants of the Tucson Chinatown were dismantled in the 1960s, there were only a few old traditional bachelor men living there in poverty—symbols of an old, abandoned way of life.

Those Chinese who made a commitment to become permanent immigrants rather than sojourners lived and worked throughout the larger communities, primarily as entrepre-

neurial grocers and restaurateurs. This era of Chinese history in Arizona is very poorly documented, but clearly these Chinese-Americans gave up many of the outward trappings of the old Chinese ethnicity to accommodate a new way of life. Behind this outward change much of their ethnic heritage seems to have stayed intact, particularly as their primary day-to-day relations were still among their extended families and clans. A few, such as Wing F. Ong, who in 1946 became the first Chinese-American to be elected to a state legislature, were full-fledged participants in the dominant culture of Arizona (Nagasawa 1986).

The generation of Chinese who came of age in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s worked hard, led frugal lives, and persevered against continuing discrimination. A 1946 photograph of the members of the Phoenix Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist Party, illustrates the complete Americanization of this generation (Figure 2-2). They seem to have been particularly driven by the desire to give their children a better life—a core ideal of the larger American culture. Many of their children did have opportunities to pursue higher education, and a large proportion have entered a variety of professional careers (Malone and Etulain 1989:150). The apparent trade-off has been an abandonment of even more of their Chinese heritage, but it is difficult to determine whether it represents any more drastic change than their parents' abandonment of the sojourners' lives in Chinatown.

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950



The Phoenix Kuomintang, 1946

Source: Lucy Yuen

Figure 2-2

CHAPTER 3: A FOUNDATION FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLANNING

This chapter focuses on the tangible remnants that reflect the history of the Chinese in Arizona. It is intended to provide a basis for proactive planning for the preservation of those districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that have significant associations with the history of Chinese settlement and occupation in Arizona.

In the jargon of preservation planning, historic "property types" must first be defined, then the patterning of their spatial distribution is considered, and the condition of inventoried examples of property types should be characterized. This information then provides a basis for identifying information needs. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss Chinese historic property types and formulate recommendations for preservation strategies.

PROPERTY TYPES

To develop an initial sense of the types of sites and structures that represent the history of the Chinese in Arizona, we began by compiling an inventory of recorded Chinese sites. We did this largely through review of relevant publications and consultations with knowledgeable individuals. A public meeting was also held at the Pueblo Grande Museum in Phoenix in November 1991, and a request for information was distributed through the Arizona Archaeological Council Newsletter. (Note that it was impossible within the parameters of this project to systematically search all archaeological files compiled in the state, which exceed some 50,000 sites.)

The resulting inventory includes only two dozen properties (Table 3-1). Although this inventory may not be entirely complete, it clearly indicates that, to date, only a small number of historic properties with Chinese associations have been identified in the state. Nevertheless, this inventory, in conjunction with consideration of the history of settlement and occupation summarized in the previous chapter, provided a basis for developing a classification of historic Chinese property types. The resulting classification scheme reflects not only the known site types, but also other types of properties that might be identified through further inventory efforts.

The property types identified as warranting preservation planning considerations include:

- Chinatowns
- residences
- commercial properties (including restaurants, groceries, laundries, and warehouses)
- community buildings (including joss houses (temples) churches, schools, and association buildings)
- work camps (including railroad construction, dam construction, and mining camps)
- ranches, farms and gardens
- cemeteries

It should be noted that these property types are not necessarily exclusive. For example, Chinatowns are districts that could include several of the more specifically defined types. It should be recognized that the list also may not be exhaustive. Although we have attempted to make the list complete, there is certainly potential for future inventories to identify additional property types. In the following sections, we discuss each of the property types.

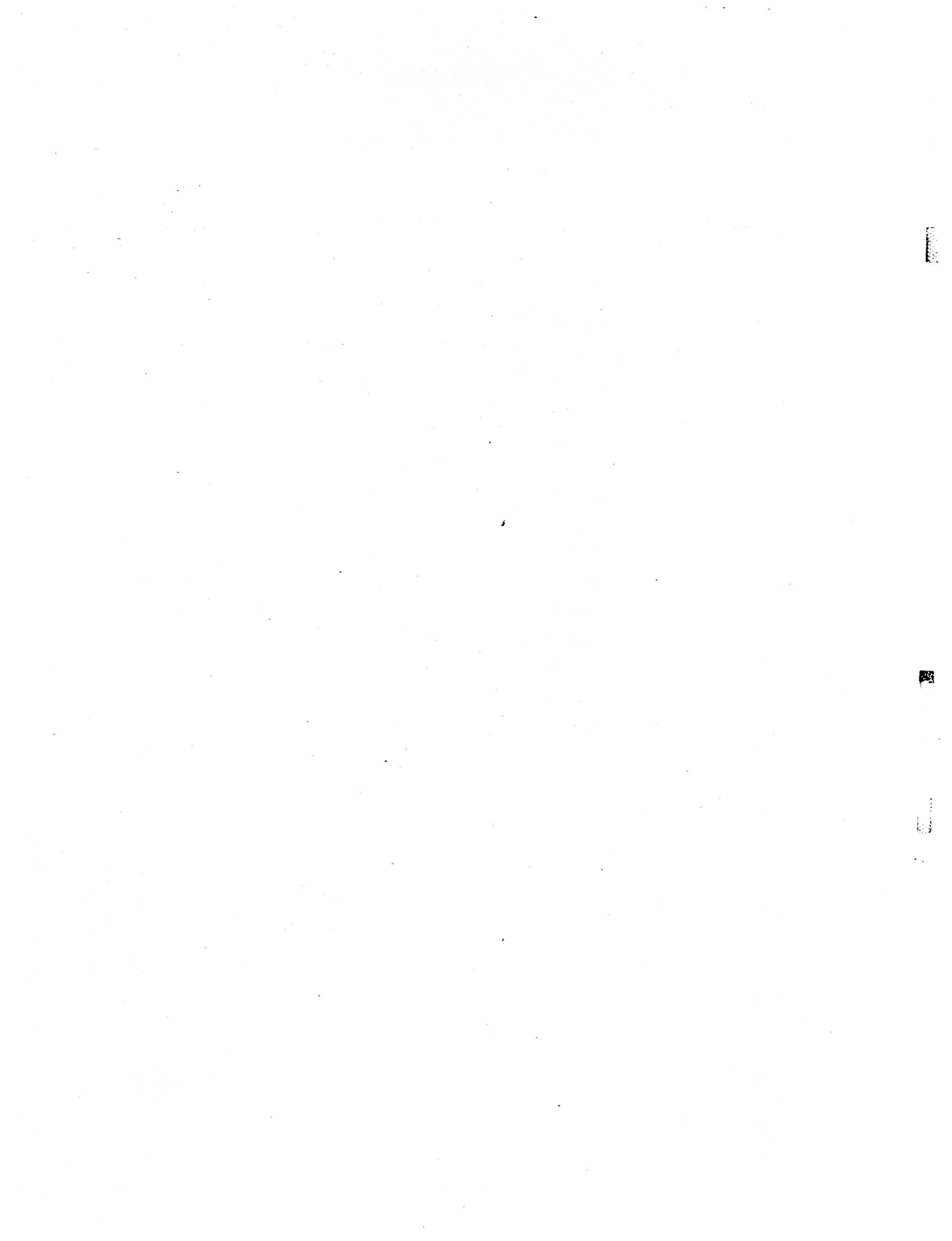
Chinatowns

It has been said that Chinatowns are "as American as chow mein" (New York Post quoted in Steiner 1979). Although most Americans think of chow mein as a hallmark of Chinese cuisine, it was, in fact, a dish developed in America. It is only tangentially derived from traditional Chinese cuisine and is unlikely to be recognized if served in China. (There is no entry for chow mein in the index of K.C. Chang's (1977) Food in Chinese Culture.) Similarly, San Francisco's Chinatown is commonly thought of by many Americans as the quintessential Chinese community, but it is not similar to either typical towns in China

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

TABLE 3-1
HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS

Site Name	Type	Status	Date	Reference
Chinatowns				
1 Tucson Chinatown	archaeological	studied; buildings destroyed; some archaeological resources extant	1870s-1960s	Ayres and Gregory 1988; Lister and Lister 1989; Olsen 1978
2 Phoenix Chinatown	archaeological	study in progress; destroyed	1890s-1930s	Keane and others 1992
3 Globe Chinatown	archaeological	recorded	1890's-1920's	Weisiger 1986
Commercial Properties				
4 Jim Ong grocery (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1920's	Janus Associates 1984
5 Yaun Ah Glim(or Glin) groceries (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1919-	Janus Associates 1984
6 Harry Tang grocery (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1933-	Janus Associates 1984
7 Leong Quong & Co. general merchandise (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1917	Janus Associates 1984
8 Cargill restaurant (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1924	Janus Associates 1984
9 Blanton/Acuff market (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1925-1932	Janus Associates 1984
10 Durand grocery (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	ca 1916-1937	Janus Associates 1984
11 Higuera grocery (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	ca 1915-1920	Janus Associates 1984
12 Sun Mercantile warehouse (Phoenix)	historic building	NRHP listed	1929	Janus Associates 1984
13 Wo Quong laundry (Tempe)	archaeological	studied; destroyed	ca 1893-1906	Stone and Ayres 1985



The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

TABLE 3-1
HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS

Site Name	Type	Status	Date	Reference
Work Camps				
14 Mobile railroad camp	archaeological	partially studied; partially intact	1879? 1890s	Stone and Fedick 1988
15 Gila Bend railroad camp	archaeological	recorded; intact	1870s?	Simonis 1981
16 Old Rosemont mining camp	archaeological	studied	1894-1905	Ayres 1984
17 Reward Mine	archaeological	studied; destroyed?	1885-1915	Teague 1980
18 Butte City Charcoal Ovens	historic building/ archaeological	recorded	1882-1886	Myrick, Debowski; and others 1976
19 Roosevelt Dam construction camps	archaeological	studied; partially destroyed	1903-1911	Ayres and others 1991
Ranches, Farms, and Gardens				
20 San Bernardino Ranch	archaeological	studied	ca 1905-1915	Stone and Ayres 1982
21 Johnny Ward Ranch	archaeological	partially excavated; partially destroyed	ca 1885-1903	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962
22 Fairbank farms (three)	archaeological	recorded; partially destroyed	ca 1890-1950	Herron, personal communication, 1992
23 Bonita Creek farm and orchard	archaeological	recorded	ca 1880-1900	Kinkade, personal communication 1992
Cemetery				
24 Phoenix City Cemetery	archaeological	recorded	ca 1902-1905	cemetery records

or most of the historic Chinese communities throughout much of the American West. It is a gaudy creation for tourists.

Nevertheless, Chinese residents in many of the urban places of the American West did cluster into ethnic communities, and these constitute the property type we label as "Chinatowns." (It has been suggested that the term "Chinatown" be reserved for the embellished tourist attractions of the twentieth century, and real Chinese communities in the American West be referred to as Chinese towns [Steiner 1979]. We appreciate the logic in this suggestion but have retained what has become a common label.) Chinatowns included not only Chinese businesses but also residences and community buildings such as joss houses (temples), schools, or meeting rooms. The spatial boundaries of these communities were usually not sharply delimited from other neighborhoods, nor did all Chinese residents of a particular town or city necessarily reside within the local Chinatown. In contrast to San Francisco's Chinatown, most Chinatowns in the West were built in the style of the local vernacular architecture, and lacked outward symbols of ethnicity, except perhaps for some Chinese characters on signs.

Recorded Examples

Three Chinatowns have been documented as historic properties in Arizona -- those in Tucson, Phoenix, and Globe. All were recognized largely as archaeological sites, although there were a few extant buildings in the Tucson and Phoenix Chinatowns when they were first recorded. Both the Tucson and Phoenix Chinatowns have been destroyed by urban redevelopment projects.

The **Globe Chinatown** was minimally documented in conjunction with a National Register survey of historic structures, but was not included in the subsequent National Register nomination because it was not represented by any standing buildings. The Globe Chinatown appears to have been built on a terraced slope adjacent to Pinal Creek, and encompassed a maximum of only about 10 properties. Sanborn maps and city directories indicate it flourished from at least 1896 to about 1929 (Weisiger 1986). No archaeological excavation has been pursued within this Chinatown, but exposures along Pinal Creek reveal the presence of archaeological deposits.

The Tucson Chinatown was the largest in the state. Early Chinese residents in Tucson settled just outside the central business district. Most clustered in the vicinity of Pearl and Ott streets, although 11 Chinese farmers lived at Fort Lowell east of Tucson (Lister and Lister 1989:3). By 1912, the Tucson Chinatown at Pearl and Ott streets was deserted, apparently because of the dilapidation of the buildings in the area. The Chinese who remained in Tucson moved south of Congress Street, on Meyer and Main Streets.

In 1968 the Tucson Urban Renewal Project was initiated and provided an opportunity to undertake archaeological investigations. In addition, one family vacated the Suey Yuen compound, and a few elderly Chinese men were relocated from the Ying On compound at the onset of the project, leaving behind a unique ethnological collection of artifacts (Lister and Lister 1989a). Although much of the area formerly occupied by Chinese in Tucson has been redeveloped, ongoing archaeological studies on the Ronstadt block (by the Desert Research Institute) and at the Tucson Presidio site (by Statistical Research) have uncovered a few Chinese artifacts (Jim Ayres, Tucson consultant, personal communication, 1991).

The Phoenix Chinatown was "rediscovered" at First Street and Madison as a result of the recent construction of the America West sports arena. This was actually the second location for Chinatown in Phoenix. Just as in Tucson, a major portion of the Chinese population relocated during the historic era. In Phoenix, the move from the original location at First Street and Adams was apparently forced by Euro-American businessmen working to eliminate what they considered an eyesore at the terminus of the new street car line installed in the mid 1890s.

An analysis of Block 21 of the original Phoenix town site, which was part of the first Chinatown, indicates most but not all Chinese relocated in the mid 1890s. The Chinese owned and operated American Kitchen restaurant remained in Block 21 until 1945. The study did conclude that subsequent construction on Block 21 had probably destroyed most, if not all, remnants of the historic Chinese occupation on the block (Doyle and others 1984).

Although there seems to be little potential for discovery of archaeological remnants of the first Phoenix Chinatown, a recent study of the second Chinatown resulted in the

discovery of numerous subsurface features, such as latrines, wells, and trash pits, extending below the near-surface deposits churned by subsequent occupations (Keane and others 1992). Many of these yielded Chinese artifacts, but historical research indicated that the buildings most strongly associated with the Chinese were torn down in the late 1960s when a new fire station was constructed. The archaeological remnants of this core area were also destroyed at that time.

But just as in Tucson, the Phoenix Chinatown was not an enclave with precisely defined boundaries. Many Chinese operated businesses and lived throughout the city, and except for one corner at First Street and Madison, the Phoenix Chinatown itself included businessmen and residents of Japanese, Filipino, Hispanic, Arabian, and Euro-American descent (Keane and others in preparation).

Potential Chinatowns

Although no other Chinatowns have been recorded in the state, historical documents indicate there were Chinese residents in many other towns and cities, and remnants of these occupations may still be discovered. Those identified as having the best potential for some evidence of historic Chinatowns include Prescott, Yuma, Tombstone, and Flagstaff. There is some possibility that standing buildings could survive in some of these Chinatowns, but it seems likely that most would be reduced to archaeological deposits.

Today, no standing structures in Prescott are known to be associated with the Chinese settlement. The small houses on north Granite Creek today date to 1915-1920 and postdate the Prescott Chinese settlement in that location. However, a parking lot on south Granite Street may have preserved subsurface archaeological evidence of the Chinese community (Nancy Burgess, Prescott consultant, personal communication, 1991).

Chinese came to Yuma with the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad eastward across southern Arizona in 1877. By November the Arizona Sentinel reported the arrival of nearly 600 Chinese into Arizona. Charlie Sam ran a restaurant and store while other Chinese operated laundries and groceries in the late nineteenth century.

Chinese continued to live in Yuma during the first half of the twentieth century, but most seem to have left town by World War II. The small Chinese population remaining in Yuma is "elderly and closed-mouth" (Megan Reid, Arizona Historical Society, personal communication, 1992). There are no known extant buildings or archaeological sites associated with the Chinese residents of Yuma, and the Chinese story is one of the biggest gaps in the local history.

A nineteenth century map of Tombstone on display in the old Cochise County Courthouse labels two city blocks of town as "Chinese." Although the map lists individual residents and shop owners for other portions of town, in the Chinese area no such subdivisions are indicated. None of the buildings in Hop Town remain (Hollis Cook, personal communication, 1992).

Although there apparently was a Chinese community in Flagstaff, very little is known about it. Because Chinese laborers worked on the original construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad through the town, it seems likely that Chinese probably arrived in the early 1880s when the railroad was built. One of the prominent Chinese families in Flagstaff, the Wong family, reportedly built a large residence with a glass cupola on the south side of town (Pat Stein, State Historic Preservation Office, personal communication, 1991). The presence of a Chinatown in Flagstaff seems plausible but remains to be verified.

Residences

Chinese houses would seem to be a logical property type, but none have been recorded as historical properties to date. In fact, historic houses occupied by Chinese may be relatively rare because many resided at their places of businesses (as did many non-Chinese as well). Many communities also had ordinances or deed restrictions that prevented Chinese from living in certain residential neighborhoods.

One identified Chinese residence is China May's home in Tombstone, in the middle of "Hop Town" on Allen Street just past Third Street, just outside the historic district. However, this identification rests on oral tradition only; no documentation exists (Hollis Cook, personal communication, 1992).

Most historic Chinese habitations can be appropriately classified with one of the other property types, such as Chinatowns, commercial properties, or work camps. Also, Chinese houses are unlikely to have any distinctive archaeological characteristics, but there does seem to be some potential for identifying individual residences that may be historically significant and yet not fit well with other categories. For example, Judge Thomas Tang, whose mother was reputedly the first Chinese born in the Arizona Territory, lived next door to Governor Hunt's family on East McDowell near 18th Street (Nancy Burgess, Prescott consultant, personal communication, 1991). If the structure were still extant, it might warrant inventory and evaluation because of its association with such a prominent member of the Phoenix Chinese community. It is also possible that individual Chinese residences could be discovered archaeologically in a variety of urban or rural settings, and have potential for yielding important information, but not be specifically related to one of the other defined property types.

In sum, this is largely a hypothetical property type at this time, but it recognizes the potential for identifying individual Chinese residences that may be historically significant for a variety of reasons.

Commercial Properties

It is known that historically the Chinese in Arizona, and much of the rest of the American West, tended to specialize in a limited number of occupations, including operation of restaurants, groceries, and laundries. In addition, a few Chinese operated boarding houses for their countrymen. Although gambling houses, gaming and lottery shops, and opium dens existed in some Arizona towns, no evidence of brothels or prostitution has been noted in the state. The commercial property type is defined to encompass the various types of businesses traditionally pursued by the Chinese.

Recorded Examples

Several of the inventoried Chinese sites in Arizona are examples of such commercial properties, most having been recorded by the historic Phoenix Commercial Properties Survey (Janus Associates 1984). These include the **Jim Ong Grocery** in Phoenix, which

was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982. Seven other historic buildings were included in the Phoenix Commercial District National Register nomination. These include Chinese-owned properties such as the **Yaun Ah Gim (or Gin) Groceries, Harry Tang Grocery, Leong Quong & Co. General Merchandise, and the Cargill Restaurant.** Other historic businesses leased at one time by Chinese include the **Blanton/Acuff Market, Durand Grocery, and Higuera Grocery.**

The **Sun Mercantile Warehouse** is a brick building built in 1929 for Tang Shing, a pioneer Chinese merchant, who came to Phoenix from Canton in 1910 or 1911 to set up a grocery business. His first grocery store was located at 624 South 7th Avenue. His warehouse, located on the eastern margin of the Phoenix Chinatown, is the only known warehouse in Arizona built and owned by a Chinese businessman. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1985 and designated a City of Phoenix Historic Property in 1987. It is situated on the eastern edge of the second Phoenix Chinatown, and adaptive reuse planning is underway to preserve the structure in conjunction with development of the American West sports arena. Another warehouse just north of Sun Mercantile, on the southwest corner of Jefferson and 3rd Street, was known historically as Sharp Produce. At the time the property was acquired for the America West sports arena, it was owned and operated by an Asian businessman, Mr. Sam Hom, as the Phoenix Produce Company (Dames & Moore 1989). It was subsequently demolished.

Virtually none of these historic buildings have any architectural embellishment indicative of Chinese ethnicity. The one exception is the **Jim Ong Market**, a brick building built in a strip commercial style with subtle oriental embellishment of its parapet.

What was very likely the **Wo Quong Laundry** has also been documented archaeologically in Tempe. It was also plotted on Sanborn-Perris fire insurance maps between 1893 and 1901 on Block 53 of the Tempe town site. Historical photographs show a gable-roofed adobe building at this location as early as about 1888 and as late as about 1905. The 1905-1906 Tempe city directory lists a Wo Quong Laundry operating near this location. A trash-filled pit and a latrine were archaeologically documented at the site. Chinese artifacts that were recovered include ceramics, a brass button, a medicine bottle, jade bracelet, and opium bowl and opium can fragments. A total of 122 such Chinese artifacts were collected (Stone and Ayres 1985:91-103). The site was destroyed during construction of the Tempe Mission Palms Hotel.

Slightly more than 40 Chinese artifacts (out of an assemblage of more than 19,000) were collected across the street from the laundry from a trash pit in Block 59. They include Chinese ceramics, a coin, a medicine bottle, and opium can fragments. Although the quantity of artifacts is low, they suggest that at least one Chinese person worked or resided there. The trash could not be archaeologically associated with a particular residence or business, but it is noted that in 1890, Wing Lee was the proprietor of the Arlington Restaurant, which stood on that block (Stone and Ayres 1985:312).

Potential Commercial Properties

The best potential for identifying other Chinese commercial properties is in those communities identified as being candidates for having historic Chinatowns. However, there were at least a few Chinese residents in many of the other towns in the state, as described in Chapter 2.

One particularly good possibility for a significant Chinese commercial property is the **Wing F. Ong grocery and law office** in Phoenix. Wing F. Ong was a very prominent member of the Phoenix Chinese community and was the first Asian elected to a state legislature in the United States (Nagasawa 1986). Although the Wing F. Ong building survives at 1244-1246 E. Jefferson, it has been modified substantially and would require evaluation to determine whether it retains sufficient integrity to warrant preservation efforts.

Another long-time Chinese grocery is the **Yuen Lung Market** at 808 E. Washington. Mr. Yuen came to Phoenix in 1910 and was a respected member of the Chinese community. He operated groceries for many years and this location is still run by family members (Lucy Yuen, personal communication 1991). The age of the building is unknown, as is the tenure of the Yuen Lung grocery at this location. Further research and evaluation is necessary.

Quong Kee's Can Can Restaurant, in Tombstone is still standing, at the northwest corner of Fourth Street and Allen. Association of the building with a long-time, prominent Chinese resident of Tombstone is well-documented.

Community Buildings

Although the number of Chinese residents in Arizona never exceeded 2,000 at the time of any of the decennial censuses during the historic era, they did form tight knit social communities in many locations. Community structures, such as joss houses (temples), schools, and various association meeting rooms were developed. These organizations included family associations, "companies" based on district of origin, merchant and labor guilds, political and civil rights organizations, fraternal organizations, religious organizations, and secret societies. These associations offered mutual support, charitable services, and were mechanisms for social control and resolution of disputes (Lai and others 1980:42-44). Many of the buildings used by community organizations were undoubtedly located in Chinatowns.

For example, historic documents indicate the second Phoenix Chinatown had a school, a joss house, Chinese Masons, and a Kuomintang lodge (Chinese Nationalist Party). The Ying On Merchants and Labor Benevolent Association still held monthly meetings in a Chinese-owned building at the time the area was selected for a new sports arena (Dames & Moore 1989:3-13). No archaeological remains could be specifically related to either the school, joss house, or Kuomintang building, and the Ying On Association building has now been demolished.

The Tucson Chinatown also had a joss house (Fong 1980:22), and there was a Chinese Mission School on Ott Street in the 1890s (Fong 1980:25-26). A historical photograph probably dating from the 1940s depicts a Tucson Kuomintang group portrait that included approximately 70 adults in front of a building (Fong 1980:28). It is not known whether this building is still extant. At the time of the initiation of the Tucson urban renewal project in 1968, buildings were still being used by the Ying On Association, the Kuomintang, and the Chee Kung Tong (Chinese Masons) (Lister and Lister 1989:30). All of these buildings have been demolished.

Chinese children attended school along with their Anglo and Hispanic neighbors. A separate Chinese school in Phoenix was organized by Chinese parents to teach the Chinese language and culture to their children after school and on Saturdays. In Prescott, a mission school run by Judge Otis taught English to Chinese immigrants.

Potential Community Buildings

Historical documents indicate various types of community structures once existed in other Arizona Chinatowns. For example, photographs depict joss houses in Prescott (Hatch 1980:44; Ruffner 1981:90) and others are reported in Nogales and Clifton (Fong 1980:22). Although no Chinese community buildings have been inventoried to date, there is some potential for recognizing such buildings in historic Chinatowns—probably as archaeological remains rather than extant structures. As the Chinese became more acculturated, many converted to Euro-American religions and it is possible that there could be historic churches with Chinese affiliations. For example, the 1951-1953 Arizona Business Directory lists a First Chinese Baptist Mission at 122 East Culver Street. The fact that community organizations continue to be an important element of Chinese society within the state up to the present (Stanton 1991) also implies that if such buildings are not currently historic (that is, at least 50 years old), they may be so in the not too distant future.

One potential candidate was minimally investigated in conjunction with preparation of this context. It is a building on the northeast corner of First Street and Buchanan (415 South 1st Street) in Phoenix. The current owner now uses the building as a futon factory, but when he bought the building in 1973 he was told by "Chinese old-timers" that it was originally built as a jail, then served as offices for the U.S. Reclamation Service, and was subsequently remodeled into a "Chinese clubhouse" (Bill Menniti, personal communication, 1992). However, there is no corroboration of any of these functions on Phoenix Sanborn maps.

The interior terrazzo floor bears a sunburst design at the threshold of the front door. A design over the front door contains a "V" pattern that is repeated in the carving on the black marble fireplace. There is also a distinctive treatment over the inside front door and the interior door into the fireplace room. This motif could be interpreted as "Chinese" but all of these design elements might simply be art deco styles. Also visible in the design of the terrazzo floor are the footprints of the walls that divided the building into smaller rooms (which could perhaps have been offices for the Reclamation Service, or perhaps card rooms in the "Chinese club").

During conversion of the building into a futon factory, Mr. Menniti dug through the terrazo floor encountering a foot of dirt with "some bottles, old Coke bottles, Mason jars, and those sorts of things." Beneath the dirt, he found a layer of reinforced concrete too thick to dig through. He believes this to be the roof of the underground jail that the old Chinese told him they remembered crawling around in as children. This is reminiscent of what has become an almost universal urban myth about underground tunnels and opium dens in every Chinese community. It will take more thorough research to demonstrate that this building may once have served as a Chinese community structure.

Work Camps

Most of the earliest Chinese immigrants were male laborers who came to work at various jobs in the American West. Although most of them may have thought of themselves as temporary sojourners who intended to save money and eventually return to China, many of them resided and worked in many types of labor camps for substantial periods of time. Inventoried work sites reflecting Chinese occupation include railroad construction camps, mining camps, and dam construction camps. Possible sites include ditches and flumes associated with placer mining in addition to the three types of campsites.

Recorded Examples

Two archaeological sites identified as railroad construction or maintenance camps with evidence of Chinese occupation have been recorded along the route of the Southern Pacific. One is near Mobile. It has been partially excavated and the rest of the site remains intact. The other is further west near Gila Bend. No excavations have been undertaken at this site.

At the **Mobile Railroad Construction Camp**, numerous Chinese ceramics, an opium tin, and evidence of traditional Chinese diet (particularly skeletal elements of turtle) indicate the presence of Chinese. The camp seems to date from the mid 1890s, rather than the original 1879 construction. Although the employment of Chinese laborers is well documented for the original railroad construction, the Mobile railroad camp

provided the first evidence of Chinese involvement in maintenance work along this segment of the Southern Pacific (Stone and Fedick 1988, 1990).

Artifacts indicative of women and children were recovered indicating that families resided at the site. It seems unlikely that Chinese families would have lived at the site in the 1890s, indicating there may have been non-Chinese workers who brought their families. No actual evidence of structures were found, although architectural debris suggests some type of simple temporary frame structures may have been erected on the site.

The Gila Bend Railroad Construction Camp contained Chinese ceramics (rice bowls and brown glazed ware that typically contained imported Chinese foods). Six depressions at the site are interpreted as possible semi-subterranean residential dugouts. The artifacts seem to date to about 1875-1885, which matches well with the 1877-1878 years of construction of the original line through this area (Simonis 1981).

Archaeological evidence of the presence of Chinese has also been documented at two mining sites—Old Rosemont and Reward. The numbers of Chinese artifacts were, as at the Roosevelt Dam construction camps, quite small.

Old Rosemont Mining Camp was a small mining town located in the northeastern Santa Rita Mountains, south and east of Tucson approximately 30 miles. Although claims in the area were filed as early as 1879, the Rosemont Smelting and Mining Company was not incorporated until 1894, and a smelter was built in the fall of that year. Mining ended in 1905, but a caretaker remained in the hotel at the site until perhaps as late as 1927.

Archaeological investigations of a trash pit associated with the hotel and the hotel foundation itself yielded a few Chinese artifacts including a pill bottle, fragments of two opium pipe bowls, a fragment of a dark brown glazed, wide-mouthed, shouldered food jar, and a fragment of a celadon bowl (pale jade green). One similar fragment was found elsewhere on the site. Although the number of artifacts are small, they very likely indicate at least one Chinese individual lived at the site, perhaps working as a cook in the hotel. No Chinese artifacts were found at New Rosemont, the nearby mining town occupied from about 1915-1921 (Ayres 1984).

The Reward Mine is a complex of small copper mines in the foothills of the Vekol Mountains 25 miles southwest of Casa Grande. They were mined between 1880 and 1885, and again in 1902 to 1908. Fragments of a celadon-like plate and a shallow bowl as well as what appear to be three rice bowls decorated with an underglaze blue and suspected to be Chinese origin were recovered from the site. A couple of cheap Japanese porcelain saucers were also recovered (Teague 1980). It is not clear whether this limited collection actually indicates that an Asian miner or miners were present at the site.

The Butte City Charcoal Kilns are the only standing remnants of a town that was located on the north side of the Gila River about halfway between Florence and Kearny. The town has been abandoned for more than a century. The kilns, which were built in 1882, are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Myrick (1981:635) reports that two Chinese were employed to operate the kilns, which produced charcoal that was used in a 20-ton water jacket smelting furnace built at Butte City. The probable site of Butte City has been recorded as archaeological site AZ U:16:102 (ASM) but no archaeological evidence of Chinese occupants has been recognized (Debowski and others 1976:128-129).

Five archaeological sites within the Roosevelt Dam Construction Camp community in the Tonto Basin have also yielded evidence of limited Chinese occupation. The 1903-1911 construction era was one of intense anti-Chinese sentiment and the law authorizing construction of the dam specifically stipulated "Mongolian laborers" were not to be used. However, the 1910 census documented four Chinese and four Japanese residents in the construction camps. They seem to have been working as cooks or as domestic servants. Newspaper accounts indicate other Chinese operated truck farms along Tonto Creek near the dam site.

The locations of the truck farms are probably beneath Lake Roosevelt, but some limited archaeological evidence of Chinese residents was recovered at Government Hill, where the government supervisors and engineers lived. Remnants of a ceramic liquor bottle and a ceramic food jar were recovered. A newspaper account indicates one Chinese man, Ah Soo, was employed as a cook. Fragments of a liquor bottle, food jar, and a ceramic cup were found at the Cement Mill Camp, a historically undocumented laborer camp, apparently occupied after 1908 when the reservoir began to fill behind the rising dam. Another ceramic food jar was found in the Newtown Trash site. Newtown was the contemporary name for the construction town of Roosevelt after it too was forced to

relocate uphill. Interestingly, fragments of single liquor bottles were also found on two Apache laborer camps. The Apaches may have salvaged these bottles for reuse (Ayres and others 1991).

Potential Work Camps

The gangs of railroad laborers building the Southern Pacific Railroad from west to east across southern Arizona in 1879 included approximately 200 white laborers and 1,100 Chinese. The majority of Chinese worked to grade the road bed, but a few worked as cooks on the construction supply train. Working in gangs of 100, they were able to lay a mile of track a day across the flat terrain. Supply trains followed the workers and provided food and housing for the construction supervisors. Laborers slept in temporary camps (Stone and Fedick 1990:11-16). There could have been scores of these temporary camps during the original construction, and maintenance activities could have created many more. The handful that have been discovered are probably only a small fraction of the archaeological railroad camps that remain to be found. The extent of the use of Chinese labor on other railroads in the state remains to be researched, but clearly there could be Chinese railroad camps along many of them.

Perhaps the first Chinese immigrants in the Arizona Territory were a group of about 20 miners reported to be working in the Vulture Mine near Wickenburg (Arizona Daily Miner June 13, 1868). Fong (1980:6) noted that Chinese were re-working old Spanish claims at the Vulture Mine using placer techniques in 1868. Elsewhere in the American West, the Chinese were known to be efficient placer miners, who were able to profitably rework tailings left as exhausted by Euro-Americans miners. Other than at the Vulture Mine, Chinese are reported to have mined along Lynx Creek east of Prescott and further east in the Big Bug District.

The Chinese were more commonly identified as working in support services for mining camps. For example, the camp cook at Big Bug was Chinese (Hatch 1980:40). Chinese also reportedly worked as camp cooks at various mines in the Kingman area (Lewis 1981). There is also an unsubstantiated report of Chinese artifacts, including a Chinese coin, having been found at an abandoned mining area near Congress.

One example of a mining camp with potential Chinese associations is the Silverbell Mine, which operated northwest of Tucson from 1903 to about 1930. Census data indicate that both Chinese and Japanese were present in the camp. The ongoing limited archaeological exploration of the camp has not revealed any evidence of the Asian residents, but much of the historic camp has been buried in tailings from later operations (Jim Ayres, Tucson consultant, personal communication, 1991).

In sum, it seems likely that there were a few Chinese in most of the major mining camps within Arizona, as well as many of the smaller ones. Although Chinese may have been present consistently, but in small numbers, in these mining camps, they probably worked in ancillary support services, such as restaurants, laundries, and truck farms, rather than as miners.

Ranches, Farms, and Gardens

Chinese also worked on ranches, farms, and gardens in many parts of Arizona. On ranches they probably worked as cooks or domestic help, while most of the historically documented farms and gardens seem to have been more independent entrepreneurial operations, although it is unlikely that the Chinese farmers often owned the land they farmed. This property type encompasses farm and garden buildings, as well as servants' quarters.

Recorded Examples

The **San Bernardino Ranch** owned by John Slaughter after 1884 was a part of an 1822 Mexican land grant that originally stretched over 73,240 acres in Mexico and what was to become part of the United States after the 1853 Gadsden Purchase. Slaughter bought 65,000 acres of the land grant to raise cattle to feed miners in the silver boom town of Tombstone. According to pioneer Ben Williams, the outbuildings of Slaughter's ranch included quarters for a Chinese cook (Stewart 1974). Archaeological survey and limited testing at the site noted fragments of several Chinese artifacts in the vicinity of a building foundation that could have been a residence for the ranch cook. The artifacts include celadon (pale jade green) ceramic rice bowls, ceramic liquor bottles, ceramic

ginger or soy sauce jars, and a milk glass gaming piece. Associated artifacts imply that these deposits date from about 1905 to 1915. These archaeological remains are part of the Slaughter Ranch National Historic Landmark, most of which is owned and being managed for preservation by the Johnson Historical Museum of the Southwest (Stone and Ayres 1982).

Limited evidence of nineteenth century Chinese occupation on another Arizona Territorial ranch was discovered in 1959 and 1960 during excavations at the **Johnny Ward Ranch** just south of Patagonia. Two sherds of porcelain, one with a Chinese maker's mark, reflect the documented presence of Chinese store keepers, adobe brick makers, and farmers from about the mid 1880s to about 1903 (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:92; Olsen 1978).

Three Chinese farming sites have recently been identified by John Herron, Bureau of Land Management archaeologist for the San Pedro National Conservation Area. We refer to these as the **Fairbank Chinese Farms** because they are located along both side of the San Pedro River near the small town of Fairbank, about 10 miles west of Tombstone.

An 1890s map of the area indicates a "Likes Ranch" (AZ EE:8:27 [BLM]) on the east bank of the San Pedro, an Anglicized reference to "Li Kee's Ranch," which existed on the east bank of the river until it was flooded out in 1920. Some portions of adobe walls of a house remain, and it is still possible to trace the routes of irrigation canals bringing water from the San Pedro to the fields. After the 1920 flood, Li Kee, or a Hop Yick Yuen moved the farm to the west bank of the river and they or other Chinese families farmed the second site into the 1950s. Today, although there are no buildings standing on the site, there are Chinese ceramics visible on the surface. Both of these farm sites have been vandalized (John Herron, Bureau of Land Management, San Pedro Conservation Area, personal communication, 1992).

A third site (AZ EE:8:28 [BLM]), which does not appear on any maps of the area, has been recorded. Its location suggests this site is also a farming site. No buildings are extant, but the undisturbed surface scatter of artifacts includes sherds of Chinese rice bowls and ceramic liquor bottles, as well as Anglo, Mexican and Piman ceramics (John Herron, personal communication, 1992).

The Bonita Creek Farm is another archaeological site recently recorded along Bonita Creek northeast of Safford. It appears to have been a farm and orchard operated by Chinese who probably raised fruits and vegetables for the mining community at nearby Morenci (Gay Kinkade, Bureau of Land Management, Safford District, personal communication, 1992).

Potential Chinese Ranches, Farms, and Gardens

Much of the significant work of Chinese in the nineteenth century centered on growing and marketing produce. Intriguing snippets of historical documentation indicate that the Chinese worked on ranches and farms in various other locations in Arizona. Chinese residences in the agricultural areas tended to be as ephemeral as their portable vegetable wagons (Fong 1980), and whether any remnants of these farms are left intact remains to be determined.

There are reports of Chinese produce farmers having lived on the San Pedro River at Hereford, approximately 25 miles south of Fairbank (John Herron, personal communication, 1992) and along Eagle Creek near Clifton (Gay Kinkade, personal communication, 1992). Further research is required to substantiate these reports. Other documented Chinese farming areas were near Sentinel Peak and Fort Lowell in the Tucson area, south of Phoenix adjacent to Tempe, Miller Valley north of Prescott, outside of Bisbee and near the territorial prison in Yuma.

Cemeteries

The mentality of many early Chinese coming to America was that of the sojourner. They never intended to stay. They intended to return to China with their newly earned wealth to live out their lives free from want in their homeland. If they did die before they returned, the custom was to have their remains shipped back to China for permanent burial. Against this background, the possibility of Chinese cemeteries may seem remote. But as is often the case, the ideal is not always what is achieved.

Recorded Examples

No exclusively Chinese cemeteries have been identified in Arizona, but the historic **Phoenix City Cemetery** now known as the **Pioneer & Military Memorial Park** at 1400 West Madison has six identified Chinese buried in the Circle Section. They include Yuan Tim (died 24 Oct 1902), Wing Quan (died 5 Oct 1903), Hop Quong (died 8 Mar 1904), Leo Pon (died 11 Sep 1904), Yuen Tec (died Mar 1905), and Xian Yuan Deng (Tang), whose date of death is unknown, but his tombstone indicates he was born in Da Lou County of Kai Ping City, Guangdong Province (Records, Pioneer's Cemetery Association).

Virtually nothing is known about these individuals. There is an undated historical photograph of a Quong Hop taken in front of his store in Salt River Valley (Hatch 1980:37). This is very likely the Hop Quong buried in the Phoenix City Cemetery.

Potential Cemeteries

Little research has been conducted that can provide a basis for determining whether there are likely to be other historic Chinese cemeteries in the state. One of the few bits of available information is an unsubstantiated report that there may be Chinese cemeteries at Signal and White Hills, two historic mining towns in the Kingman area (Don Simonis, Bureau of Land Management, Kingman Resource Area, personal communication, 1992). There are potentially also many unmarked Chinese graves adjacent to the trans-continental railroads across the state. In Phoenix, one Chinese informant recollected an ancestor buried in the Greenwood Cemetery (Raymond Tang, personal communication, 1992).

DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTIES

A plotting of the inventoried historic properties with Chinese associations reveals that they are concentrated in the southern part of the state (Figure 3-1). The only standing buildings in the inventory are in Phoenix, except for the Butte City Charcoal Kilns, which have relatively meagerly documented associations with Chinese.

This distribution of properties may reflect both a migration of Chinese eastward from Yuma, following the railroad construction, and northward from Mexico, following illegal entry into this country. However, the distribution probably reflects no more than the vagaries of previous inventory efforts. Localities that may contain potentially undiscovered sites, buildings, and structures with Chinese associations are scattered throughout much of the state (Table 3-2). Potential Chinese properties certainly could be identified in the northern part of the state in places such as Kingman, Flagstaff, Prescott, and Holbrook, and in many other communities in the southern part of the state as well.

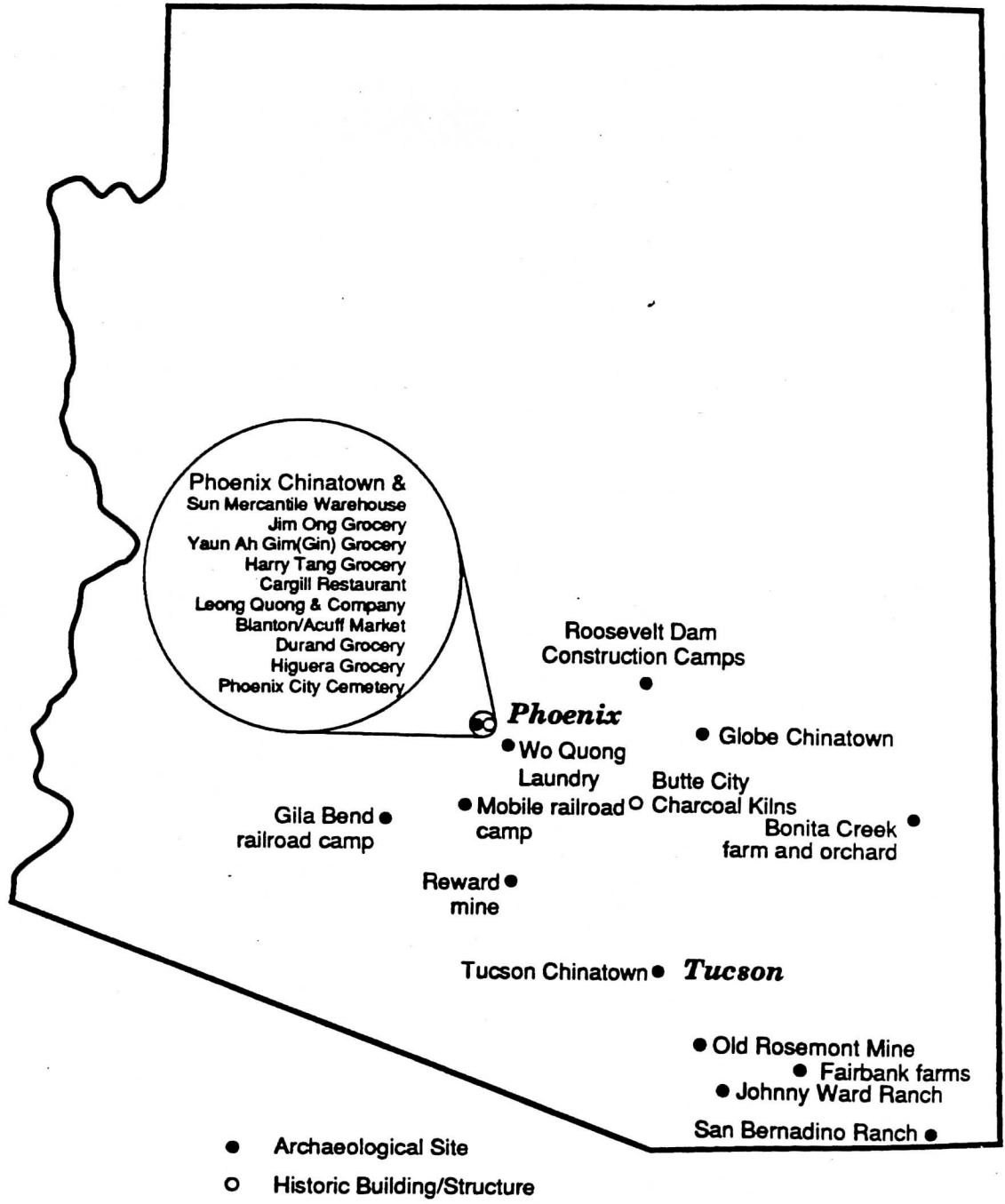
The summary of Chinese settlement in the state presented in Chapter 2 also indicates that relatively few Chinese were actual miners, but a few Chinese worked in support services or farmed near many of the many mining districts. Thus there would seem to be some potential for identifying Chinese associated historic properties throughout the many areas of Arizona with historic mining activity.

PRESERVATION ISSUES AND STRATEGIES

The historic preservation planning process begins by identifying resources, evaluating their significance, assigning preservation priorities, and finally developing strategies for preserving those resources identified as most significant. Evaluations of significance are commonly based on criteria for listing properties on the National Register of Historic Places (see box), but state and local governments have options for establishing other criteria. For example, the National Register criteria generally preclude listing of cemeteries unless they derive significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events. State or local governments might nevertheless decide that a cemetery warrants preservation measures.

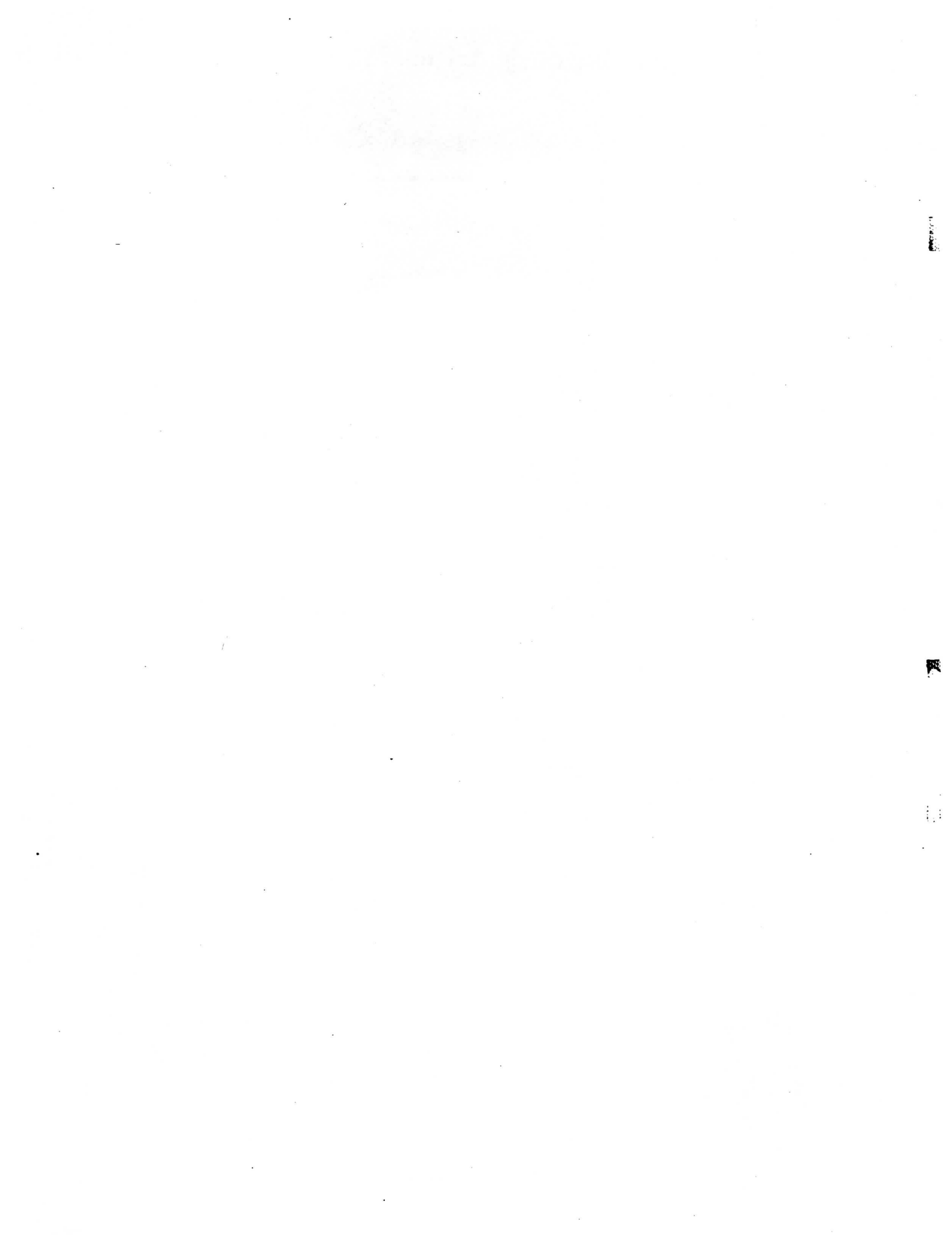
Because the preparation of this context represents the first focused effort for consideration of Chinese historic properties, the issues we have identified and discuss below indicate direction for additional efforts to inventory historical properties associated with the Chinese.

The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950



Historic Properties with Chinese Associations

Figure 3-1



The Chinese in Arizona, 1870 to 1950

**TABLE 3-2
POTENTIAL HISTORIC CHINESE PROPERTIES***

Chinatowns

Prescott
Yuma
Tombstone
Flagstaff

Potential Comercial Properties

Phoenix (Wing Ong grocery and law office, and numerous others)
Tempe
Kingman
Florence
Calabasas
Holbrook
Williams
Jerome

Kelvin
Benson
Ray
Casa Grande
Patagonia
Nogales

Work Camps (railroad, mining, dam construction, charcoal burning)

Lynx Creek
Big Bug
Silverbell
Congress
Wickenburg
Clifton
Lochiel
White Hills
Signal

railroads: Southern Pacific; Atlantic & Pacific; Arizona & Mexico

Ranches, Farms, and Gardens

Hereford area (along San Pedro River)
Tucson area (Fort Lowell, Sentinel Peak)
Prescott area (Miller Valley)
Yuma area (near territorial prison)
Clifton area (along Eagle Creek)

Cemeteries

Signal
White Hills
unmarked graves along railroad

*see discussions in Chapter 2

The National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places is our nation's official list of properties worthy of preservation. Generally, in order to be eligible for the National Register, a property must be at least 50 years old, must possess integrity, and must be significant. The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects:

- a. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- b. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- c. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- d. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register.

Issue 1

Conventional sources may bias and limit the historical understanding of the Chinese in Arizona. All English sources evidence difficulties with the Chinese language. The first difficulty is with the various Chinese accents and dialects which ascribe different pronunciations to the same Chinese character. English spellings of the same Chinese character can be so dissimilar as to be unrecognizable. For instance, the area of China from which most of the nineteenth century sojourners came is spelled variously as "Kwangtung," "Guangdong," and "Canton." Similarly, all of the members of the dominant family or clan in Phoenix share the same family name; the single Chinese character has been spelled "Tang," "Ong," "Deng," "Dong," "Yen," and "Yuen" (Fred Ong, personal communication, 1992). Thus, it is difficult for an outsider to the Chinese culture and language to trace family relationships from English written records.

Second, traditional Chinese names are written in three characters, family name first, generational name second, and individual name third, a reverse order from the Anglo tradition. Thus, Chinese names may be listed in different order at different times, "Sing Yee" becoming "Yee Sing." Some Chinese families in Arizona retained their Chinese surname by reversing the order of names, and often gave their children distinctly Anglo first names; immigrant Tang Shing's son is Judge Thomas Tang. The confusion led other families to adopt what had been a Chinese "first name" as the family surname; descendants of the Benson grocer, Hi Wo, use "Wo" as a surname rather than the Chinese family name, "Hi" (Arnold Wo, personal communication, 1992). Again, the confusion in transcription of names adds to the difficulty a non-Chinese reader faces in tracing family connections over generations.

Chinese-built or Chinese-owned buildings appear to have been the exception in Arizona. Chinese merchants often leased building space, produce farmers leased their fields or squatted on them, and Chinese residents rented apartments or tenements. Thus, ownership records, which are commonly relied on as important historical documentation in historic properties research, will be of limited utility in tracing Chinese activities.

Another traditional source of information is city business directories. However, Chinese merchants, grocers, and restaurant operators often adopted Anglicized names for their businesses that catered to an American clientele. Arizona examples include the

American Kitchen, the English Kitchen, the Modern Cafe, the New Daily Market, the Purity Market, Shady Park Groceries, United Grocery, and the Linden Grocery. None of these establishments would have been recognized as Chinese from their names alone. Thus, listings of operators will be more useful than lists of businesses.

A third traditional source of historical information is the local newspaper. However, Arizona papers reflected the widespread prejudice against Chinese, and reported chiefly on what were perceived as the weird and foreign doings of the Chinese. Stories described bizarre Chinese New Year celebrations, queer funeral processions, and sinister opium dens, minimizing emphasis on school accomplishments, social gatherings, or community activities of the Chinese. Thus, local English newspapers are a limited source of information on the life of the Chinese communities in Arizona.

Much information can be found in historical archives; however, little collection of specifically Chinese photographs, manuscripts, and letters has been done in Arizona. This lack may be an oversight on the part of archivists, a failure to collect papers written in Chinese. It is also possible that it represents a paucity of paper records written by Chinese settlers; most were merchants or laborers, not scholars.

Strategy: Unconventional sources of information will have to be identified in addition to conventional sources. Historical research into the lives of the Chinese in Arizona must go beyond the usual sources of county records, business directories, Sanborn maps, newspapers, census records, and archives, all written in English for Anglos. A more complete understanding of the Chinese in Arizona will require a researcher with some knowledge of the Chinese language and culture.

Within Arizona, oral history interviews with the 70- to 80-year old children of immigrants will not only provide useful family history, but also help to interpret the Chinese language and culture for the researcher. In addition, informants may be able to verify family trees and connect names of their relatives to the names of businesses found in directories. Also, families will be a good source of photographs, diaries, day books, letters, and similar records not found in repositories.

The Arizona Chinese maintained strong ties with both San Francisco and Canton; Chinese men living in Arizona often returned to San Francisco or China to marry. Archives in

California may contain better collections of Chinese material, some of which may pertain to Chinese families in Arizona. Also, there may be archives in Canton with relevant information. We know that sojourners sent money home to China; perhaps Cantonese families saved letters from their relatives in Arizona.

Chinese-language newspapers may be a fruitful source of information. Although two of our informants made reference to Chinese newspapers in Arizona in the 1920s and 1930s, we did not find reference to such a paper being published in Phoenix; perhaps a Chinese newspaper was mailed to Arizona subscribers from San Francisco.

Immigration Service records may contain relevant information. A Chinese Service immigration inspector in Tucson in the late 1910s described "records books," kept to help identify Tucson Chinese residents and distinguish them from the new, mostly illegal, arrivals (Perkins 1985). If extant, such books would be valuable references.

In at least Tucson and Prescott, mission schools taught the Chinese immigrants English. Church records should be perused for reports from these schools.

Issue 2

The history of Arizona's Chinatowns are poorly understood. Although the Chinatowns in the two largest urban centers in the state have been studied, those in other cities and towns have not. Documentary evidence suggests that there were Chinese communities in many places throughout the state.

Strategy: The State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) could encourage or contribute funding to focused study of Chinese historic properties in other towns and cities across the state. This study should include review of available Sanborn maps, city directories, and other records that can be used to document the presence of Chinese in specific places. Because Chinese often leased, rather than owned, properties, ownership records would be less useful than maps and directories. A component of the study should involve field reconnaissances that would provide a basis for determining whether any historic buildings or archaeological remnants might be left intact.

The Certified Local Government historic preservation programs around the state could be a mechanism for investigating other Chinatowns, but ideally the study would involve an overall perspective of trends and patterns across the state.

Issue 3

Chinese occupation outside the Phoenix and Tucson Chinatowns is not well documented. Many Chinese residents of Phoenix and Tucson opted to operate businesses and live beyond the Chinatowns in those cities. The history of these activities is not well known.

Strategy: A thematic study of Chinese groceries, restaurants, or other vocations or association buildings would be a useful vehicle for documenting the history of Chinese that would reflect the shift from the sojourner to the immigrant mentality. Such a study could document the evolution from the popular images of the very exotic oriental coolie laborers to the Asians that form a vibrant part of our population today. Such a study should also be place-oriented so that the potential for a thematic National Register nomination could be evaluated.

The SHPO could encourage and possibly fund such a study through the Certified Local Government program.

Issue 4

No properties reflecting the lives of significant Chinese individuals have been listed on the National Register. Because the Chinese have always been a relatively small minority aspect of the state's population, little research has focused on the contributions made by Chinese to Arizona's history.

Strategy: We recommend that a series of mini-biographies of Chinese residents be compiled. This would require a combination of documentary evidence and oral history. Such a project could also be used to document the relations between the relatively small number of families that seem to have been involved in Chinese immigration to the state. Such a project could also be place oriented so that properties associated with

prominent individuals could be identified. An aspect of this study could involve supplementing property ownership records. Because Chinese were forbidden to own property, the records often indicate a non-Chinese as an owner of record, when, in fact, Chinese individuals paid for these properties.

One biography has been written for Wing F. Ong, a prominent Chinese businessman and lawyer, who was the first person of Chinese descent to be elected to a state legislature. His grocery store and next door law office remain standing, and should be recorded and evaluated for possible listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

The SHPO could encourage and perhaps provide some funding for a biographically oriented study of Chinese residents, and for evaluation of the Wing F. Ong market and law office.

Issue 5

Many archaeologists are not familiar with the distinctive artifacts that can be used to identify a Chinese archaeological site. Relatively little archeological research has been conducted at Chinese sites in Arizona and relatively few publications have been issued that can be used as a guide or handbook to identify Chinese artifacts.

During the last three decades, numerous Chinese sites dating from the last half of the 1800s and early 1900s have been archaeologically investigated in many parts of the American West [and in other "overseas" locations such as New Zealand as well (Ritchie 1986)]. A variety of sites have been studied including fishing camps (Schulz 1984); railroad construction and maintenance camps (Briggs 1974; Chace and Evans 1969; Evans 1980; Stone and Fedick 1990); placer mining camps in California (Maniery and Tordoff 1988), Oregon (Lelande 1981, 1982). and Idaho (Stapp and Longenecker 1984); a community of Chinese laborers who worked at the Harmony Borax works at Death Valley (Teague and Shenk 1977); and a woodcutting and charcoal burning camp (Elston and others 1981, 1982). It would require more effort than we can devote within the context of this project to compile a comprehensive list of the many other sites with some Chinese association that have been recorded by surveys but not intensively studied.

Western Chinatowns which have been studied archaeologically include Tucson (Lister and Lister 1989a), Idaho City, Idaho (Jones and Others 1979), Boise, Idaho (Jones 1980), Lovelock, Nevada (Hatton and Others 1979), Shoshone Wells (Hardesty 1988), and El Paso, Texas (Staski 1985, 1990, 1992). California Chinatowns that have been studied archaeologically include Ventura (Greenwood 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980), Sacramento (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982), Woodland (Felton and others 1984), Weaverville (Brott 1982), and Riverside (Great Basin Foundation 1987).

Artifact assemblages from late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Chinese sites share certain distinctive characteristics. The assemblages often include many sherds of Chinese ceramics, including brown glazed jars and bottles (that once held soy sauce, ginger, preserved vegetables, or liquor), and rice bowls, cups, and spoons, primarily of four major types: (1) celadon (pale jade green, or winter green); (2) double happiness (swirl or Shuang Hsi); (3) bamboo (three friends, three circles and dragonfly, three circles and butterfly, swatowware, or blue flower ware); (4) four seasons (flour flowers, enamelled flower ware, or rose verte). It is useful to be able to distinguish Japanese ceramics from those of Chinese manufacture because the Japanese were mass marketing their ceramics in competition with the British. Japanese ceramics were quite cheap and were widely adopted. Thus Japanese ceramics are much less of an indication of actual occupation of a site by Asians than are Chinese ceramics.

A second category of artifacts often found in association with Chinese sites is opium paraphernalia, including ceramic pipe bowls, lamps and chimneys, and brass opium tins. Chinese coins with square holes, and black and white glass gaming pieces are also common (Jim Ayres, Tucson consultant, personal communication 1991; George Teague, National Park Service, Tucson, personal communication, 1991).

Many of the earliest archaeological studies of Chinatowns focused simply on documenting how to archaeologically recognize Chinese deposits. Beyond this initial research interest, the theme common to many of the subsequent Chinatown projects is an interest in acculturation and assimilation. Strategies for exploring Chinese acculturation with archaeological data are still developing. Distinctively Chinese artifacts are almost always only a small portion of artifact assemblages even from the features most securely identified as being of Chinese origin. Also, it is now widely recognized that supply systems can greatly affect the percentage of Chinese artifacts in any given site.

Chinese residents were often intermingled spatially and temporally with non-Chinese. It has also been recognized that there has been an unwarranted tendency to consider the Chinese community itself as homogenous. In Staski's 1990 discussion of the El Paso Chinatown site, he recognized that ethnic groups such as the Chinese could not be assumed to be monolithic in their patterns of assimilation. Substantial variability within a community reflected the degree to which individuals chose to maintain or dismantle ethnic boundaries.

Strategy: It would be useful to develop a type collection of Chinese artifacts using examples of artifacts recovered from sites in Arizona. It would be useful to supplement the artifact collection with a centralized set of relevant reports. Because the Phoenix Chinatown artifacts will be curated at the Pueblo Grande Museum and the Phoenix City Archaeologist has initiated development of a Chinese library, it would seem efficient to promote a type collection at that facility. The SHPO could encourage or possibly help fund such an effort.

Issue 6

The history of the Chinese in Arizona is not widely known. In contrast to considerable research and publication of the history of Chinese in other parts of the American West, particularly California, relatively little has been published about the history of the Chinese in Arizona. Most important historical publications are Fong (1980), Tipton (1977), Nagasawa (1986), and Lister and Lister (1989a). A book is currently being prepared that deals with three ethnic groups in Phoenix, discussing the Chinese along with Mexicans and Blacks (Luckingham in preparation). A traveling exhibit of historic Chinese photographs is available through the Arizona Humanities Council. The City of Prescott has published a walking town brochure of the Granite Creek area.

The new America West sports arena also will include an exhibit related to the former Chinatown that once stood on the site, and it is estimated that as many as a million people will attend events in the facility annually. The exhibit is being prepared by the staff of the Pueblo Grande Museum which is also preparing a traveling exhibit that will be available to Arizona schools and libraries. Also, there is a current exhibit at Pueblo

Grande Museum of artifacts from the Phoenix Chinatown. These efforts will help to publicize the history of the Chinese in Phoenix, but more could be done.

Strategy: The SHPO could encourage or partially fund the preparation of brochures highlighting Chinese associated historic properties (walking or driving tours) that might be distributed in conjunction with events such as the celebration of Chinese New Year in places such as Phoenix. Ultimately the SHPO might encourage or facilitate a popular history of the Chinese in Arizona.

CONCLUSION

Almost a century and a half has elapsed since the Chinese began to pioneer the American West — from the West. They were an important element in the mixture of peoples that came to the region from many parts of the globe. The first Chinese came to Arizona a decade or two after the arrival of the first Chinese in the coastal states, and the numbers of Chinese immigrants into Arizona were always small compared to those in California. Nevertheless, the history of the Chinese is an important aspect of Arizona history, but as this document points out, this history remains to be fully understood.

For too many Arizonans and Westerners, mention of the historic Chinese creates only images of coolies, underground tunnels, and opium dens. That is a totally inadequate perspective on these important pioneers who still seem so foreign, perhaps because they came to the "frontier" or the "rendezvous" from the opposite direction of most pioneers. The invisibility of the Chinese is obvious. It is telling that a recent anthology of 142 pieces selected as the best of "classic writing from the American West" does not include a single entry dealing with the Chinese pioneers (Hillerman 1991). We noted only a solitary anecdote about Chinese gardeners in Silver City, New Mexico in the 1880s. The Chinese story of struggle, enduring hardship, and building of a new way of life in a strange land is comparable to the experiences of those who emigrated from other countries, and the story of the Chinese pioneers should be more widely publicized, understood, and appreciated.

Ethnic patterns in America are changing again. Arizona, the West, and the entire United States is in the midst of a new era of Asian immigration. Whereas the vast majority of historic Chinese came from a restricted area of south China, the new Chinese originate from a variety of places, are culturally much more diverse, and are being joined by immigrants from many other Asian countries as well. These immigrants have just begun to write what will undoubtedly be a new and different chapter in the history of Arizona's ethnic heritage.

The "America as melting pot" analogy has been a powerful symbol of the character of our country. Robert Laxalt (1991), who grew up in a Nevada mining town as the son of an immigrant Serbian laborer, observed that

the irony of it was that our mothers and fathers were truer Americans than we, because they had forsaken home and family, and gone into the unknown of a new land with only courage and the hands that God gave them, and had given us in our turn the right to be born American. And in a little while even our sons would forget, and the old-country people would be only a dimming memory, and names would mean nothing, and the melting would be done.

Those sentiments could be said about almost every immigrant group in the United States. However, the renewed era of immigration, this time primarily from Asia rather than Europe, the rapid growth of Hispanic populations, and the civil rights movement aimed at eliminating discrimination, particularly against African-Americans, all suggest that the "melting" is less complete than many may have assumed.

Rethinking of the melting pot analogy is ongoing. There are those who argue that the blending of foreigners into a homogeneous "broth or bisque" is essential for keeping the United States unified. They deplore the movement toward multiculturalism and a pluralistic society, and they see ethnic pride as a threat to national unity. Such arguments can be evaluated as realistic appraisals of the divisiveness that ethnocentrism, an inherent tendency of all cultures, can generate. But this position can also be ridiculed as a struggle to maintain the current status and power structure enjoyed by the dominant majority groups.

Those arguments are well beyond the scope of this historic context, but we are not so naive as to assume that the promotion of preservation of the heritage of the Chinese in Arizona will be a widely shared goal. There may be those who believe that such ethnic pride might be divisive. To those, we would answer that the diversity of an "ethnic stew," thick enough to enjoy a variety of distinct flavors, might have several advantages. We believe it is possible for all the groups that have contributed to the American West to maintain a sense of their "roots," and still practice tolerance of those who are different.

We will take pride in this historic context if it stimulates efforts to identify and preserve elements of the Chinese heritage in Arizona as a symbol of our diverse cultural origins,

not only for the benefit of those descended from the Chinese pioneers, but for anyone who calls Arizona home.

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