The Pioneer Chinese of Utah

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THE PIONEER CHINESE OF UTAH

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Asian Studies
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Don C. Conley
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This thesis, by Don C. Conley, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Asian Studies of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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INTRODUCTION

The original concern in researching this topic stems from a belated realization that Utah has Americans of Chinese ancestry whose history in this state goes back a century; three and four generations in many cases. Chinese descendants of pioneer Chinese settlers in Utah territory were approached for oral interviews. What happened was nearly always the same: little or no response. Except for a few, the Chinese chose not to speak. Their reasons were many and varied. The Chinese exclusion laws, among immigration laws administered in the United States, are perhaps the most significant, having had greater negative effect over one specific minority for the longest period of time (1882-1943). These laws, and the extenuating repercussions from them, have taken a psychological toll among Chinese everywhere in the United States. Therefore, there exists a fear of exposure, of being misused, or of being misinterpreted. American Chinese have pointed out with ample supporting evidence that since they are a misunderstood minority in this
country; perhaps the best way as it seems to some to avoid misunderstanding is to remain silent. One senses, too, that there is a pain in remembering a past which involved suffering not easily verbalized. Nevertheless, the writer is indebted to those Chinese who did provide much valuable data.

Not being able to find enough data upon which to build a thesis from the few willing Chinese informants, and realizing that the paper could provide an overwhelmingly one-sided perspective otherwise, the remaining alternative was to seek out Caucasian Americans who had some memory of Chinese personalities and Chinese communities within the state, and to extract all the information possible from census records, newspapers, and the few written accounts. The most informative written account, "The Early Chinese of Western United States," compiled by various members of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers was used extensively for its documented material and for leads into unknown areas. From the use of the above-mentioned sources the results have been gratifying. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that a capable Cantonese and/or Toisanese speaking Chinese student of history will soon be able to find success in recording the remembrances
of the oldest remaining generation of his people in Utah, before such history is lost.

One purpose for this research is to provide a foundation of historical data about Chinese pioneers in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Utah. There is yet to be accomplished a considerable amount of nineteenth century newspaper research and equally important are people of the oldest generation throughout the state (Chinese and Caucasians not interviewed for this paper), potentially valuable sources for oral history, still to be discovered and interviewed. Besides the present scope, Chinese-American history in Utah for the past fifty years is practically an untouched area for interested researchers. The data contained in this paper will hopefully stimulate further research within and surrounding the present subject.

The most obvious values of any minority history are those which exist exclusively to benefit the people now living or yet to be born of that minority group. Knowing what their ancestors accomplished in this country; acknowledging varied factors which determined their place in nineteenth century American society as well as
the effect this past experience still has on the overall status of those now living of that minority group; discovering individual personalities among the nameless and faceless masses of "Negroes," "Mexicans," "Japanese," "Chinese," etc., understanding the hardships they dealt with, their successes and failures; provides a historical foundation from which they can piece together an individual identity; realizing that whatever racial and ethnic differences signify; these differences are not scales by which human quality can be measured.
Chapter 1

THE JOURNEY FROM KWANGTUNG TO THE GREAT BASIN

MOTIVATING FACTORS FOR CHINESE EMIGRATION

The distance from the sub-tropical rice paddies of China's southernmost province to the mountainous desert in the Great Salt Lake Basin spans one-third of the earth's circumference. Along this tempestuous course of Pacific ocean waves and Sierra Nevada mountain peaks came Chinese to forge an integral but mostly forgotten link in Utah's pioneer life.

The majority of the approximately 100,000 Chinese who arrived at the port of San Francisco between 1860 and 1880 came from Kwangtung Province. In its capital Kwangchow (Canton), the first trade between China and Western nations flourished from 1760 to

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A side effect from this commercial venture was the knowledge of American current events, such as the California gold-rush that it brought, which in turn stimulated the imaginations of adventuresome Cantonese. This confrontation of two civilizations determined the future of many Chinese who found themselves toiling in factories, mines, chophouses, laundries, and building the first transcontinental railroad in North America.

At the mouth of the Pearl River, eighty miles downstream from Kwangchow, lies the Portuguese colony of Macao, home base for participants in China trade in the nineteenth century. From Macao traders from European nations and America sailed into the delta to trade their cargoes for the exports of China.

A policy of foreign exclusion was encouraged by the last dynastic rulers of China (Ch'ing Dynasty 1644-1912). China's rulers perceived that the nations of the world had few items of value to trade in return for their own riches (tea, rosewood, teak, silk, china, etc.). The enormous amount of gold bullion taken in by China during

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the early period of Sino-Western trade provided tangible evidence that such an attitude was not altogether unrealistic; but the British East India Company, through its introduction of Indian-grown opium to China, rapidly tipped the economic scales in the Western direction. Chinese control of opium importation was ineffective (Peking, the seat of the central government, was 1,150 miles from Canton).\(^3\) Chinese opposition to Western importation of opium culminated in the Opium War (1840-1842), which China lost, and which first indicated to China the military superiority of the West.

Opium trade and Western confrontation added to the already chaotic environment of the Pearl River Delta. Floods, typhoons, droughts, and general poverty was the existing state of things for Cantonese in the nineteenth century and earlier. Besides insufficient protection from natural catastrophe, further insecurity stemmed from a loose and faltering central government, an abundance of local bandits roaming the hills, ethnic disputes among the three main districts (Hakka, Punti, and Tanka), local official corruption, heavy taxes which drained a large

\(^3\)The International Atlas (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1974), pp. 80, 81.
portion of earnings, and unparalleled population density. The family was the major institution providing stability in this complicated and chaotic society.  

The fact that most Chinese came to America without families with the concept of temporarily sojourning and then returning to their homeland became an issue surrounding the Chinese exclusion laws. This mode of behavior established in Southeast Asia was to the Chinese as natural as it was reproachful to their critics.

There was Chinese participation in Thailand from earliest recordings. "... For the seven hundred years of Siam's [Thailand] history the Chinese have been bound up with the life and trade of the country." Most notably, "at the close of the seventeenth century, some three thousand Chinese were said to be living at Ayuthia, then the capital."

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In eighteenth century Burma "... large caravans of 300 and 400 oxen, and others of 2,000 ponies, carrying silk and other merchandise between China and Bhamo. ..." were reported. About 1750 a large colony [of Chinese] was mining silver at Mao-lung. ..."^7

The Chinese presence in Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) was similar. '"In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Faifo remained the commercial centre of Indochina. There were in 1768, 6,000 Chinese there who were the most important merchants."^8

In Penang, January 25, 1794, Francis Light, in an official report to his superiors in Calcutta, provided a vivid picture of the Chinese community in Malacca:

The Chinese constitute the most valuable part of our inhabitants; they are men, women, and children, about 3,000, they possess the different trades of carpenters, masons, and smiths, are traders, shopkeepers and planters, they employ small vessels and prows and send adventurers to the surrounding countries. They don't wait until they have acquired a large fortune to return to their native country, but send annually a part of their profits to their families. This is so general that a poor labourer will work with double labour to acquire two or three dollars to remit to China. ^9

In the Philippines, "... a small colony of forty Chinese was noted in Manila by a Spanish eye-

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^7 Purcell, p. 51.
^8 Ibid., p. 183.
^9 Ibid., p. 244.
This Southeast Asian experience provided a pattern emulated by Chinese coming to America in the nineteenth century. The precedent of generally leaving families behind, sending money home, returning rarely during the sojourn except when the goal was fulfilled, or old age or illness made returning imperative, but ideally returning home to China with fortune enough to provide for family educational opportunity and social advancement, was set by this Southeast Asian precedent.

The Chinese practice of emigrating without families was often misinterpreted as indicative of familial weakness when, in many cases, Chinese came to America as a sacrifice to encourage family cohesiveness. Since hardship and reality were synonymous in the Pearl River Delta, if leaving such circumstances for the opportunity of self (and familial) improvement could alleviate the suffering, why remain in predictable immobility? And so, the opportunity was welcomed by thousands of Chinese who packed a few worldly belongings in straw baskets, balanced on bamboo shoulder poles, and set off for the riches of America.

10 Ibid., p. 506.
The discovery of gold in California was initially the chief attraction. In countless villages around Canton, stories were told of a place where gold was just laying around for anybody to come along and scoop it up.\textsuperscript{11} Besides the obvious motive of quick wealth, the Chinese idealized the Confucian concept of an extended family (joint-family).\textsuperscript{12} Central to its realization was "financial security" which provided educational opportunities in the Chinese classics for male heirs. This education, in turn, brought land ownership and membership in the scholar-gentry class. The tangible result was a living quarters where many generations could be housed under one roof. This ideal was generally achieved by those already in the upper social strata,\textsuperscript{13} nevertheless, the ideal permeated all levels of society existing dream-


like in the minds of the people. So, whether idealistic or practical, there was no want of motives for going.

THE VOYAGE TO SAN FRANCISCO

More than a century has passed since large numbers of Chinese arrived at the port of San Francisco, but there is still conjecture among leading historians about the system which brought them there. It is well established that the credit ticket system was the dominant mode of fare payment; however, exactly how this system affected its participants is still a subject of debate.

By this system [the Credit Ticket System], passage was advanced to the emigrant in a Chinese port. After reaching his destination, the debtor was expected to repay this debt out of his future earnings.14

In frontier times it was generally thought that Chinese coming to America were coolies or slaves. The reason for this was:

... because of the Chinese contract labor [sent] to the British colony of Guiana in 1844 whereby laborers were imported for a specified term of service under contract and afterward [others were...
Each coolie was bound for seven or eight years at a fixed wage—about $4 per month plus clothing, provisions, etc. The ugly reports of the abuse and hardship of this system overshadowed the reality that Chinese coming to America did not come under the same system.  

English officials at Asian ports differentiated between "... one class of emigrants as coolies, the other 'those who pay their own expenses to California ...'"

In Mary Robert Coolidge's pioneer research into the history of Chinese immigration into the United States, she attempted to dispel the widely-held nineteenth century belief that Chinese coming to this country did so as indentured servants or slave-like contract laborers. Gunther Barth, the author of Bitter Strength which will be discussed along with the Coolidge Book and others in the chapter entitled "Beneath the Chinese Question" agrees that:

While the credit-ticket system was the dominant mode of traveling from Hong Kong to San Francisco, the passage was made at times under arrangements similar to the thinly veiled slave trade of the coolie system. The credit-ticket system by which the passage money was advanced to laborers in

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15 Coolidge, p. 44.
16 Ibid., p. 46.
Chinese ports and repaid out of their earnings in California, became partly a disguised slave trade, managed chiefly by Chinese crimps and compradores who lured artisans, peasants into barracoons and sold them to ticket agents. At the Chinese ports and at San Francisco they were kept in confinement, watched, and terrorized by the agents of Chinese societies who acted in the creditor's interest.17

Though Barth's information may be accurate, it is essential to remember that the Chinese were the product of an undemocratic political tradition and were not ignorant of or unfamiliar with the harsh treatment they may have received. Coolidge also points out that the behavior of the Chinese:

... made the coolie [slave] fiction seem plausible. The laborers who arrived in San Francisco had very little money, yet their passages had been prepaid; they were met at the wharves and went directly to the rooms of the Six Companies18 and

17 Barth, p. 67.

18 The Six Companies was a San Francisco based organization composed of the leaders of the most powerful and representative Cantonese district associations. Originally the number of associations was six, but it varied from time to time. "By general agreement it (the Chinese Six Companies) was empowered to speak and act for all the California Chinese in problems and affairs which affected the majority. . . ." It kept its own census of Chinese, organized schools, established medical care facilities and particularly fought, with legal counsel, anti-Chinese legislation. Thomas W. Chinn, A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), p. 65.
often to employment which seemed to await them; they appeared to make no individual bargains, but to be guided by some Chinese agent and when working in gangs often received their money from such an agent. It was naturally inferred by casual observers that the Six Companies had imported them and were holding them in control until the cost of immigration was repaid . . . .19

The Chinese represented a way of life foreign to Americans and European immigrants, therefore it was possible to assume that circumspect manner was indicative of lack of freedom, when in fact it was merely being normal according to the norms of behavior in nineteenth century Chinese society. The Chinese may have seemed enslaved because they kept closely together among themselves and apart from the dominant white society. If this exclusive behavior was the result of misgivings about members of the dominant society, in retrospect such behavior seems farsighted. They were more secure under the authority of their countrymen as is witnessed by the passage of sixty years of continual Chinese exclusion, a racist law perpetrated against the Chinese exclusively by the Anglo-Saxon heirs to the Constitution of the United States.20

19Coolidge, p. 51.
20The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed on May 6, 1882 for a period of ten years. What it actually meant was that Chinese skilled and unskilled laborers were not
It is essential to note that in the press and therefore in the minds of nineteenth century Americans and other newcomers to this country the Chinese were considered to be semi-slave-like, or coolies. In actual fact, they probably were not, but it is what people thought at the time that mattered.

THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD

Though many Chinese who settled in nineteenth century Utah were not section-hands for the Central Pacific railroad, it appears that the earliest Chinese in Utah came through Promontory as employees of that railroad.

The Central Pacific Railroad was built from Sacramento, California to Promontory, Utah, where it met the Union Pacific, completing the first transcontinental railroad.

permitted to enter the United States from any foreign port. Both state and federal courts were not permitted to grant citizenship to Chinese already in the country. The act was renewed in 1893 with additional registration requirements. In 1902 the Chinese were excluded permanently. Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Treaties, Laws, and Regulations--Governing the Admission of Chinese (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909), pp. 3-28.
Alexander Saxton, the noted historian on Chinese nineteenth century history in California, asserted that the Central Pacific bosses faced "two gigantic problems" at the outset of their effort to build a railroad:

Scarcity of capital and scarcity of labor. These they must resolve somehow or other before they could come to grips with the third and even larger problem, the Sierra Nevada. As for the first difficulty, Congress had partially solved it for them by loans of government bonds and outright grants of public land along both sides of the projected way. Here was security for borrowing needed capital. But the solution of the first difficulty tended to aggravate the second. Because the bonds and land grants were to be issued per mile of track constructed, and because no meeting point for the eastern and western lines was designated in the act of Congress, the two companies were thrown into a race for mileage, and for survival.21

Saxton also noted that attempts to recruit laborers in the initial years were highly unsuccessful:

The company would hire men in San Francisco, pay their expenses to the railhead, where promptly they vanished over the skyline in the direction of the latest diggings. After two years of effort, the railhead stood less than fifty miles from its starting point. . . .22


22Ibid., p. 62.
On the other hand, the Union Pacific:

... with easy access to materials by way of the Missouri River and ample labor supply from waves of Irish immigrants coming through the Atlantic seaports ... in the spring of 1866 was laying track at the pace of a mile a day. It was outbuilding the Central [Pacific] by something like eight to one.23

While facing this dilemma the idea of hiring Chinese was originated. E. B. Crocker, brother of Charles Crocker, the Central Pacific Superintendent, was among the first to suggest using them.24 Charles Crocker tried unsuccessfully, at first, to convince his Irish construction superintendent J. H. Strobridge that Chinese could handle the responsibility of building the railroad. Crocker insisted that the race that built the Great Wall of China could certainly be useful in building a railroad.25 "I will not boss Chinese. I will not be responsible for work done on the road by Chinese

23 Ibid.


labor,"²⁶ was Strobridge's initial reaction. Later, in desperation, largely caused by the inability to keep Americans on the job, Strobridge experimented with fifty Chinese. These fifty proved so satisfactory that Strobridge opened the door to Chinese employment. By the fall of that year there were 3,000 Chinese on the payroll; this was achieved by agents combing the counties of northern California for interested Chinese. After this source was exhausted, the company began hiring in Hong Kong through credit brokers. By this means the number rapidly increased to ten or eleven thousand and from then until the golden spike was placed at Promontory, four men of every five hired by the Central Pacific were Chinese.²⁷

Confidence in the Chinese laborer was confirmed by Leland Stanford, the Governor of California and one of the "Big Four" Central Pacific railroad bosses, when he wrote in a letter to Andrew Johnson that; "As a class they are quiet, peaceable, patient, industrious, and economical. Ready and apt to learn all the different kinds of work required in railroad building, they soon become as efficient as white laborers."²⁸

²⁶Chinn, p. 44.
²⁷Ibid., p. 44.
²⁸Kraus, pp. 42-44.
S. S. Montagne, in his annual report of 1865, said; "They are faithful and industrious and, under proper supervision, soon become skillful in the performance of their duty. Many of them are becoming very expert in drilling, blasting and other departments of rock work."\(^{29}\)

The Chinese workers were a source of amusement to their fellow workers of European descent. Whenever possible the Chinese took hot baths in the evening before retiring, a practice uncommon among the laboring class of this period.\(^{30}\)

They not only laid track with consistent precision, but they also became legendary in their blasting of tunnels and ridges with nitro-glycerin, while lowered in baskets over cliffs 1,400 feet above the American River Canyon.\(^{31}\) Besides the romantic notions that such an undertaking brings to mind, there were also the more obvious realities of danger and everyday back-breaking

\(^{29}\)Ibid., p. 44.

\(^{30}\)Ibid., p. 45.

labor. "It is scarcely surprising that there was no
great clamor among Western workingmen for the privilege
of replacing Chinese on the Central Pacific."\textsuperscript{32}

The winters of 1866 and 1867 were memorable for
their severity in the Sierra. Twenty years later J. H.
Strobridge said in a report to the Pacific Railway Com-
mission that "the snow slides carried away our camps and
we lost a good many men in those slides; many of them we
did not find until the next season when the snow
melted."\textsuperscript{33} It is difficult to estimate just how many
Chinese lives were sacrificed in the construction of the
Central Pacific roadbed, since records of vital statis-
tics are unavailable. But, a major credit broker employed
by the Central Pacific, Cornelius Koopmanschap, with head-
quarters in San Francisco, boasted that his company "had
brought 30,000 Chinese into California." This may pro-
vide a vague idea of the number of Chinese who died in
snowslides and other mishaps in view of necessary

\textsuperscript{32}Saxton, \textit{The Indispensable Enemy}, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 65 (Pacific Railway Commission, V,
pp. 2580, 2581; VI, p. 3150), Saxton's primary source.
replacements to keep the Chinese force between 10,000 and 11,000.\textsuperscript{34}

The Chinese working conditions, hours, and salary, at one point, became the platform for a strike by 2,000 Chinese laborers. The strike ended in a week for lack of support by other workers.\textsuperscript{35}

After conquering the Sierra, the work was more or less down hill all the way to Promontory. The work teams moved vigorously across the State of Nevada into Utah where the Union and Central Pacific met. There was Chinese participation at the wedding of the rails, and in preparation for driving the golden spike, "... a slicked up team of the Union Pacific's best Irish track-layers had already swung the west rail across the gap in the track and spiked it down, except on the missing tie. Now a gang of Chinese, in clean blue jackets, moved out to put the final, east rail in place. . . ."\textsuperscript{36}

At the conclusion of the ceremony of May 10, 1869, at which all the men "of consequence" were present:

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 65.

\textsuperscript{35}Chinn, pp. 45, 46.

\textsuperscript{36}Griswold, p. 326.
Stanford had the gold and silver spikes gently prised out of the laurel tie, and the tie itself removed to his car. The Central Pacific's Chinese produced a redwood tie to take the place of the laurel one. To the crowd's raucous amusement, Stanford and Durant then took a few wild swings at the iron spikes that would pin the rails to it. They both missed every time. The Chinese had to finish the job. When they were through, they [the Chinese] tramped off to Strobridge's car, where they were his honored guests at lunch and were cheered as they entered.37

In all the talk that took place at Promontory on that occasion, no mention was made of the Chinese contribution; but the Chinese were not altogether forgotten. At a Sacramento celebration, Charles Crocker "in his brief, proud speech" was the only one on that day who recognized the role of the Chinese:

In the midst of our rejoicing I wish to call to mind that the early completion of this railroad we have built has been in great measure due to that poor, destitute class of laborers called the Chinese -- to the fidelity and industry they have shown ....38

On the centennial of that historical event, May 10, 1969, in a speech given at Promontory by Secretary

37 Ibid., pp. 328, 329.

of Transportation Volpe, the gargantuan task, the sweat, life-blood, and genius of the Chinese railroad man was left unmentioned.  

Chapter 2

SOME UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY UTAH

UTAH IN THE LATE 1860s

Promontory was the gateway for Chinese entry into Utah territory. Before the meeting of the Union and Central Pacific in Utah, this territory, settled by Mormons in 1847, had been more or less a protected haven for the Mormon religion and lifestyle; a place of refuge to which the American Mormons had been driven from Illinois. "The arrival of the railroad in 1869 marked a turning point in Utah history. The railroad was the door that admitted a stream of Gentiles into the territory. These non-Mormons could not and would not digest Mormonism."¹

Seclusion in the mountains had enabled the Utahns to entrench themselves and become strong. This alleged strength had its weaknesses, too. Industrially and commercially the pioneers had fallen

behind the rest of the world. The arrival of the rails in May, 1869, forced the people to adjust to new economic patterns. Cheap imports destroyed old pioneer industries. Wheat from the East undersold local crops. The mining industries began to expand under pressure of metal shortages. Full employment caused a new wave of miner immigrants. These newcomers aggravated the political situation. These strange members of a "foreign" religion just could not adjust to conditions which they alleged was a union of Church and State in the territory.²

It was into this combination of circumstances that the Chinese entered.

There was a sympathy for the Chinese and their hardships expressed in an article taken from the Juvenile Instructor of 1875 (a Mormon periodical) through an interesting comparison of Mormons and Chinese:

The Chinese were subjugated by the Tartars, and had laws imposed upon them which they did not relish, but the Chinese still believed their own customs, language and laws to be the best . . . . They made no public demonstration, however, of their opinion, but quietly moved along, doing as they considered best, and teaching their children to follow their example. . . .

The Latter-day Saints have their peculiarities which, by the way, differ from those of the Chinese; and they are hated and ridiculed for those [peculiarities], but this is no reason why they should abandon them. They should be as invincible on those points which they know to be correct as the Chinese ever were.

When the Saints learn this lesson and practice it in their lives with the same fidelity that the

²Ibid., p. 5.
While the Congress of the United States was debating a bill which eventually led to Chinese exclusion (1880-1882), at the same time there was another bill of major importance on the Congressional agenda: The Mormon Polygamy Bill. In a sense, the Chinese and the Mormons shared persecution from the majority populace of the country--the Chinese for just being--the Mormons for being polygamists. It would be misleading to imply that this common suffering drew these two groups together, and made Utah, especially among Mormons, a haven of protection and bliss for the Chinese. Because outside of sympathetic newspaper editorials and magazine articles, nothing indicates that the Chinese were treated differently in Utah. It is possible that the Gentile sector of the populace was more preoccupied with the "Mormon Question," than with the "Chinese Question," which may

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3Juvenile Instructor [Salt Lake City], 1875.
have reduced the amount of attention and/or persecution the Chinese normally would have incurred at the same period in other Western states and territories. But, from newspaper accounts which will be reviewed later in the thesis, it appears there was ample inclination to despise both groups at the same time. Eventually, Mormons too participated in exclusionist editorializing.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MORMON COOPERATIVE WORK ETHIC AND THE RAILROADS

During the years that the Mormons had been secluded in Utah, they had become cooperative in the performance of labor owing partly to necessity, with outside help being non-existent, and also because of encouragement by the religious doctrines administered through Church leadership. This cooperative work ethic did not cease with the influx of gentiles and their individualistic capitalism. In fact, beginning with the roadbed between Salt Lake City and Ogden, the Mormons through organized cooperation constructed many of Utah's interstate railways. Merrill D. Beal, the author of a book which traces the history of the construction of the intermountain states railroads indicates:
The Union Pacific officials offered to build the line [between Salt Lake City and Ogden] but President [Brigham] Young said the Mormons would do it themselves. In the circumstances, the railroad officials doubted that such a thing would be done because the construction of a railway by a church was without precedent. On March 8, 1869, the Utah Central Railroad Company was organized, and ground was broken on May 17. By January 10, 1870, the last spike was driven at Salt Lake City.

Everyone in the area cooperated in railroad building because the people had been well conditioned for this improvement in transportation. For twenty-two years they had freighted "State's goods" from Independence, Missouri, thirteen hundred miles away.4

Beal described the type of cooperation which encouraged "Mormon" domination of railroad construction in Utah:

In a general way, the roadbed construction was advanced on the basis of twenty-mile sections. The people dwelling in the communities along the line turned out and made their successive contributions. In so doing an element of rivalry was introduced. During the fall of 1871, the villages along the base of the Wasatch resembled the runners in a race. Their names were Honeyville, Deweyville, Colliston, and Mendon.

Road construction between Mendon and Logan slowed down in the summer of 1872 while the Cache Valley farmers tended their crops. However, by the winter of 1873, the road grading between Mendon and Logan was completed and ready for operation.5

5Ibid., p. 16.
The above is one example of how the cooperative work ethic among Mormons operated. It is significant to remember that this "railroad building" example was indicative of an exclusive Mormon cooperative spirit in many fields of labor where large labor forces were required. Such cooperation among the majority served as a deterrent to minority laborers like the Chinese. This was one obstacle which kept the Chinese population in nineteenth century Utah lower than in surrounding territories, where work projects and interstate railroad building were open to Asian labor. Nevertheless, the Chinese in Utah did participate to a great extent, especially in the first decade after their arrival in Utah (1869-1880), in railroad building and upkeep. They were hired on late in the construction of the Echo and Park City line, a non-Mormon project, and were kept on by the Central Pacific for upkeep of the original track in Box Elder County. There were also a few Chinese railroad workers in Morgan County in the 1880s.

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Chapter 3

THE RAILROAD SECTIONS IN BOX ELDER COUNTY

In 1870 most of the Chinese men in Utah were employed as section men on the railroad. As the decades moved toward the end of the nineteenth century, the percentage decreased, but railroad work remained an important occupation for Chinese in Utah throughout the nineteenth century.

In 1870 the largest Chinese population in Utah lived in Box Elder County, within and about the Corinne-Promontory area, following the railroad west to the Nevada border. At this time there were 347 Chinese living there out of a total for the territory of 369.¹

¹The author recanvassed the 1870 and 1880 U.S. Census for Utah for the specific purpose of obtaining more personal information such as names, ages, education level, occupation and marital status. Because the 1890 census was destroyed by fire in 1921 (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Form B 628, 10-30-67, p. 1), all 1890 Census data is derived from tables in an unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled: "The Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region," by Rose Hum Lee. The author's figures are somewhat lower than those contained in these tables, because names were repeated by the census taker. An example of this repetition is a
The 1870 census provided a surface impression of the Chinese section gangs in Box Elder County. After the original track was completed in 1869, section houses were constructed at intervals of about twelve or fourteen miles along the completed track. Some of these sections became towns, where freight was loaded or trains were repaired; others were never more than a single section house. In old boxcars, which generally served as bunk houses, lived section gangs consisting of two Caucasian foremen and between eleven and thirty section men. They were responsible for keeping the stretch of track between their section house and the next in good repair.

Kelton, Utah served as a central gathering place for many of the Chinese section gangs when they came to pick up

case where a list of five names with age, sex, occupation, and birthplace handwritten on one page are repeated in exact sequence on another page, dismissing any possibility of coincidence. Lee's figures show 403 Chinese living in Box Elder County in 1870; the author counted only 337. The numerical differences for other counties is slight or none at all. Though these findings increase concern for legendary "inaccuracy" in early census figures, the census supplies invaluable information, being among the few primary sources available concerning the Chinese in the nineteenth century. A full Chinese name almost always consists of three characters, yet census rolls often list only one or two romanized characters of the person's name. Often a nickname, or an English given name, is listed in place of the actual Chinese name.
their mail. Kelton proper had twenty-five Chinese in 1870; besides section hands there were one cook, two laundry keepers and a woman housekeeper. Kelton also served as the Post Office and social center for the following sections, each having a name or number. The Tecoma section was cared for by eleven section men in 1870 and their average age was thirty years; five of them could read and write, presumably in Chinese. William and David Riley served as foremen for Little Mountain Section where they supervised twenty-one Chinese men; the oldest of these twenty-one was sixty and the youngest fourteen. William S. Greene and William O’Niel, born in Pennsylvania and Canada respectively, were the Section Foremen at Latie Station and their gang totalled thirteen Chinese men. Matlin section also had thirteen section men and Monument section had eleven men. Sections 135 and 136 were worked by fifteen men altogether, and the census roll for Boome Section lists seventeen men; whereas the total Chinese population at Lucin Station was thirteen males.

The Blue Creek Section, which was also a town, had a total Chinese population of thirty-four, all
employed by the railroad; and Rizel Section consisted of twenty-one Chinese section hands, ten of whom could read and write.

At Terrace Station, in the town of Terrace, lived twenty Chinese. Besides railroad workers, Ling Lee and Lo Tong operated a laundry. Ah Ong and Ah Im cooked in the mess house and Ah Fee, the only woman, worked there as a waitress.²

All of the larger section gangs had one Chinese man who did the cooking for the rest, and spent his days at the section house preparing meals.

Simple census statistics such as names, ages, occupations, and education level, in the dearth of documented history written about the Chinese in nineteenth century Utah, contribute a personal perspective to an otherwise nameless and faceless history, and help to clarify certain misconceptions: For example, many of the Chinese, even the above-mentioned section men on the Central Pacific Railroad, were able to read and write. Yet in many newspaper accounts and history books the words Chinese and coolie were used interchangeably. The

²U.S. National Archives, 1870 Census for Utah.
word coolie is of Anglo-Indian origin and was probably introduced to China by Englishmen. The original Bengal-ese or Tamil word kuli meant burden-bearer. The Chinese meaning of the word means to sell muscle.³ Besides these book definitions, a coolie during the nineteenth century was thought of in terms of mass labor: a Chinese mass of laborers who had only muscle to sell but no intellect.

Because many Chinese men in 1870 Utah territory were employees of the Central Pacific Railroad, as such they were referred to as coolies and the nature of their work as section hands reinforced this definition. The desperate circumstances back home in the Pearl River Delta which encouraged Chinese acceptance of railroad employment was usually an unknown or a forgotten consideration. Like any man of natural intelligence and ambition, the Chinese, too, probably preferred less dangerous and more lucrative employment, but the work they performed when they first immigrated to the United States was more indicative of their place in Anglo-American society than of their natural or acquired abilities in their own society. The opportunity for

³Coolidge, p. 43.
employment outweighed most other considerations. If not, why would thousands of Chinese have risked and in many cases lost their lives building a railroad from Sacramento to Promontory? This employment, for some, eventually led to other occupations more desirable and lucrative; for still others it was indicative of the type of work and wages they would receive for however many years they remained in America. Whether a section hand, laundryman, truck gardener or restauranteer, the Chinese intuitively stayed away from labor attractive to Americans. Yet they were accused of usurping employment rightfully meant for citizens. For enterprising Chinese, this undesirable employment led to greater fortune.

A few individual Chinese who began their working lives in nineteenth century Utah will have their successes related below in exemplary case studies of this minority group.

Besides the census figures, one of the earliest recorded observations of the Chinese in Utah was made by a group of excursionists from Cincinnati, experimenting with the new-found luxury of railroad travel. Here is their report written September 7, 1869:
"Eighth Letter" Promontory

It was there that the excursionists saw the Chinamen. Sam Hing and Ah Lee have little huts adorned with signs, vouching for "good washing and ironing done here." A gang of Chinese laborers, in loose blue muslin garments and peaked parasol hats of straw, were grading a new switch at the station. Their slow, measured way of plying their shovels, explosive cackle of conversation, and frugal midday meal, and manner of eating amused those who watched them.4

AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES OF CHINESE SECTION MEN IN BOX ELDER COUNTY

In the late 1880s and early nineties, when W. A. "Pappy" Clay was just a boy, he was allowed entrance into a world unknown to most excepting the Chinese who possessed it. Wallace A. Clay was born March 11, 1884, three hundred feet from that historic spot where "the golden spike" joined the Union and Central Pacific railroads. His father, Cassius Marcellus Clay, was the telegraph operator and Central Pacific Agent at Blue Creek from 1884 to 1893, where Wallace Clay's childhood was surrounded by the objects and people of the railroad in its day of glory. The precocious observations of that

4Cincinnati Excursion to California (Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette Railroad, 1870), pp. 38, 39.
child were still present in the man of ninety years whom the author interviewed December 2, 1974:

My name being Wallace Clay, was changed by those Orientals to 'Wah Lee, Melicum Boy,' and I more or less lived with them from 1889 to 1892, and only slept with my parents and had breakfast at home mostly at Blue Creek Water Tank Station during one-half of each twenty-four hours. 5

Because he was an inquisitive child with a genuine affection for the Chinese, Wallace Clay was allowed to see and experience first-hand what has been written about rarely, and what was mostly conjecture and mystery to many Caucasian Americans of this era:

... The opium den I will now describe (I have been in others) was under an old tie and dirt shack used as a bunk house. I was guided down a ladder covered by a trap door in the floor of the bunk house since I had some American candy for a dear friend who was down there. The den was dimly lit and had a dirt floor and the air fairly reeked with the sickening sweet smell of opium smoke. There were the usual tiered bunks around three sides of the underground den. Nearly every bunk held a Chinaman who was "doping up" his opium pipe or else he had gone to sweet slumber and the pleasant dreams of the opium addict ....

5 Interview with Wallace E. Clay, Hot Springs, Utah, December 2, 1974. Mr. Clay was ninety years old at the time of the interview. At this point in his life he was recollecting experiences of a childhood already seventy-five to eighty years in the past. Nevertheless, the information he has given is remarkable for the finely detailed descriptions of Chinese life and practices in nineteenth century Western America which in all probability could not have been fabricated. When questioned, Mr. Clay could not always provide answers and he made no attempt to do so. For these reasons the author has placed merit on the Clay interview and information extracted from his personal papers.
Sometimes that sweet dream would change to a bad dream as the narcotic effect waned and my Chinaman friend would be waking up from a nightmare as was shown by the troubled expression on his face.

A "Chinese opium pipe" looks a lot like an "Indian peace pipe," and having a very long stem so the opium juice will not reach the smoker's mouth and which puts the "opium bowl" away out at arm's length and the heat from the burning "opium pill" will not burn the smoker's tongue. When the waking Chinaman became fully awake he found himself in the pangs of "opium hunger" so he quickly fished out another opium pill from his wallet and put it in his pipe and lit it with a Chinese match (which with ninety-nine others glued together at their bases made a square bunch only two inches long by 3/4 inch across and when lit smelled strongly of sulphur) and as the opium pill began to burn and bubble the agonized expression on his face changed to a contented smile.

But, most of all, Wallace Clay wrote and conversed about a more positive side of life, of hard work, sharing knowledge and customs, and particularly of remembered friendship:

When not "raising taps and tapping ties" those good Chinamen, among whom were "my very best friends" were many who probably got homesick for their wives and children in China, so they took me in as a sort of pet and they gave me much Chinese candy and firecrackers and Chinese money and they asked many questions about American life and I asked them many questions about life in China.

I will now describe how my "Chinese friends" lived at old Blue Creek Station in 1891. The antiquated box-car they lived in had been remodeled into a "work-car" in one end of which a series of small bunk beds had been built as a vertical column of three bunks one above the other on both sides of

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6Clay personal papers, p. 4.
the car-end from floor to ceiling so that around eighteen Chinamen could sleep in the bedroom end of the car, while the other end of the car served as a kitchen and dining room wherein there was a cast iron cook stove with its stove pipe going up through the roof of the car and with all kinds of pots and pans and skillets hanging around on the walls, plus cubby holes for tea cups and big and little blue china bowls and chop sticks and wooden table and benches--about like we now find in forest service camp grounds--occupying the middle of the car.

Those Chinamen never engaged in outdoor sports when not working like American workers might have done, maybe partly because they were too tired after a twelve-hour shift on the railroad roadbed and partly because they were often writing long letters back home to China wherein they used little paint brushes to make their Chinese hieroglyphics or picture writing . . . .

However, they often did take the time to prepare themselves a nice evening hot bath in a big steaming wooden tub of water.

The only musical instrument I ever heard them play was a Chinese mandolin which only had one string and the striking of a big gong to announce that a meal was ready.

The cooks built their own type of outdoor ovens in the dirt banks along side the sidetrack, and their stake pot spits along side their bunk cars, where they did most of their cooking when the weather permitted. Each cook would have the use of a very big iron kettle hung over an open fire and into it they would dump a couple of measures of Chinese unhulled brown rice, Chinese noodles, bamboo sprouts and dried seaweed, different Chinese seasonings and American chickens cut up into small pieces . . . . When the cook stirred up the fire and the concoction began to swell until finally the kettle would be nearly full of steaming, nearly dry brown rice with the cut-up chickens all through it.

Each Chinaman would take his big blue bowl and ladle it full of the mixture and deftly entwine his chopsticks between his fingers and string the mixture into his mouth in one continuous operation, while in the meantime he would be drinking his cup
of tea and still more tea. I was the curious, watch­ing kid so the cook would ladle up a little blue bowlful for me (Little Wah Lee) and hand me a pair of chopsticks and with them I would try to eat like the rest of my buddies, but I never could get the "knack" so I would end up eating with my fingers which would make the Chinese laugh and I would get no tea.⁷

In answer to the author's question, "Were there any women among the Chinese?" Mr. Clay replied:

There was later on at a place called Tecoma, Nevada [Tecoma was possibly in Utah before, as the 1870 census mentions a Tecoma], that's just over the line, and there were Chinese there working on the section, and then there was some Chinese who bought some land and they went into raising cattle there and they had a kind of a Chinese settlement besides the Chinese that were working on the section gang . . . . China Jim was the head of it, and he had a store there, and down underneath was this opium den and this brothel. They did send over to China and bought a couple of Chinese women . . . and operated a kind of red-light district for the Chinese there . . . . They [the prostitutes] had little, the little feet. Their feet were about as big as when they were kids, ya see, and so there was a Chinese concubine there by the name of "China Maggie." We were just children, myself and a younger brother and sister, we got quite well acquainted with China Maggie and she told us a lot about life in China . . . . and she used to get bunches of fire-crackers and give us these different kinds of Chinese candy that they shipped over from China . . . .

"Could she speak English quite well?"

Ya, she got well enough so that we understood each other. She was a very kind lady, and sometimes

⁷Ibid., pp. 1-4.
she had a separate little house that she lived in, and it was fixed up real nice, there was a lot of "hot vines" all over this little house . . . . and she lived in there and we'd go to visit China Maggie in this little house and sometimes there would be one of these Chinamen that would want intercourse with "China Maggie," and they'd come up to this little house, and they'd see us in there and they'd say, "Uh!, uh! you white kids go home, go home, you white kids go home!" And after that Chinaman would drive us home, ya know, then he'd take China Maggie down into this place out of her little house, and down into this place under where old "China Jim" had a store . . . .

"Now, China Jim had a store. Did he just carry Chinese goods, mostly like rice and canned goods?"

Yes, and a lot of American goods too, you know, he carried overalls and jumpers and different things --gloves and like that--like an American would . . . . He carried flour and sugar and American groceries of different kinds, but more particularly, every once in a while he'd get in a shipment from San Francisco of Chinese goods, maybe . . . . a whole car load in at a time and stock up his store. There was . . . maybe forty Chinese that was working on China Jim's ranch. He had a big ranch out at a place called "the Big Meadows," and then they would interchange, and once in a while they'd come in and work on the section for a while, and one of the Chinamen that had been working on the section would go out on the ranch to take his place . . . .

"Could you describe the kind of uniform they wore?"

It was loose, it was oh kinda like blue denim, . . . a loose jacket and loose pantaloons underneath, and they carried everything. They had a long pole with a notch on each end, this pole was about, oh about twelve feet long I guess.

"Was it made of bamboo?"
No, it was made of wood and it had a yoke that went around on their shoulder, kinda around their neck and that was padded and then out at each end of this pole they had a notch in the poles and they would hang the two weights, that they wanted to carry, one on each end, so they just balanced each other. And then they'd get under that and lift that up and that's the way they carried, oh, they carried dirt that way, and they carried their provisions, and they just did a lot of carrying that way with that kind of a yoke proposition, kinda like a yoke that they put on oxen, ya know, in the early days, but it was lots lighter, and every Chinaman had one of them I guess . . . . A Chinaman, he had long hair and he braided it up into what was called a queue, and wound it around his head under this Chinese hat. The hats that they wore on the section were imported from China, and they were made out of woven bamboo . . . kind of like we make straw hats, but they were a big round hat, and this queue would be up in the crown of the hat . . . .

"Do you have any memory of the Chinese community in Corinne?"

Only that the section boss was named Pat Harlan, he was an Irishman and the settlement in Corinne was practically duplicated all up and down the road, it was the same as in "Blue Creek," and then just a little bit (2½ miles) further west than Blue Creek at the bottom of this hill was a section house called "Kolmar," and they had Chinese there and an Irish section boss; there was a pattern all up and down the road there.

"Did they have businesses?"

No, they just worked on the railroad alone. . . . For years and years a guarded pay car with armed guards on would come up the line once a month and every Chinaman would go into this paycar and present their card, and each Chinaman got thirty silver
dollars for that month's work . . . and the section boss got seventy silver dollars for being the section boss.\(^8\)

Of course, on the frontier, Americans like "Pappy" Clay, who lived among Chinese or close by, received all kinds of interesting information which could be categorized more correctly under "folklore" than history. Because the Chinese customs of grooming and dress were different, an explanation had to be found to explain that difference no matter how far fetched. An explanation of why Chinese men wore a braided queue follows:

... it was their religion that a Chinaman that had a queue, when he died, why the gods would reach down and get a hold of his queue and pull him up into heaven, by the queue, and if one Chinaman would get mad at another and cut all his hair off, so he didn't have a queue, then that poor Chinaman could never get to heaven, because when god would reach down he couldn't get a hold of his queue, and so that Chinaman then would be condemned to hell for the rest of his [eternal] life. So when they got mad at one another sometimes they would secretly cut the other Chinaman's queue off, and that was the worst thing they could possibly do to the other Chinaman.\(^9\)

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\(^8\) Clay interview.

\(^9\) Ibid. The more historical, but less interesting account of the braided queue worn by male Chinese in this era dates back to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. The alien founders of the Ch'ing, the Manchus, as a symbol of Chinese subjugation, demanded all male Chinese to wear a queue (pigtail) and dress in Manchurian clothing (Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China (Berkeley: The
"Can you recall what the attitudes of the white people were toward the Chinese workers in those times? Were there labor problems and this sort of thing?"

No, the Chinese had that field [railroad section labor] all to themselves . . . . But, a Chinaman--it wasn't considered murder to kill a Chinaman, ya know, it was just like killing a jack rabbit, or something that way, so there was a number of Chinamen that were killed by white people because they had a grudge against them for some reason or other.

"And, nothing was ever done?"

"No, nothing was ever done."

"They [the killers] were never brought to the law?"

"No, they were never brought to justice or trial, or anything that way."10

It is possible because of the frontier conditions prevalent in this particular part of Box Elder County during the latter decades in the nineteenth century that such injustice went unaccounted for, or at least that the Chinese were not afforded the same protection under the University of California Press, 1969, p. 270). As generations passed, the queue's significance changed and became to the individual more a source of personal pride and alikeness with his peers. To have the queue cut off in a brawl was a symbolic destruction of pride and self esteem--this explains the enormity of such an insult.

10 Clay interview.
law administered to white citizens. There is other evidence to indicate that assaults on Chinese did not go unnoticed by Utah law.\textsuperscript{11}

The Chinese maintained a sub-legal system of their own, administered by the leadership of their secret societies or tongs\textsuperscript{12} in which most Chinese had membership in this period. These societies were definitely a part of the railroad Chinese community and "Little Wah Lee Melicum Boy" was very much aware of them:

\begin{quote}
... the Chinese were great for secret societies That summer there was two tongs represented there [the summer of 1892 or 1893], and every once in a while there'd be a killing between the rival Chinese tongs. So about two-thirds of the Chinese that would be friends to me, ya know, and then there would be some that didn't like to see me around, and they'd
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11}See pages 71 and 72 of this paper.

\textsuperscript{12}Chinese tongs or associations were organized in San Francisco. There were different kinds of tongs organized such as family associations (having the same surname). "Family Associations at one time exercised great influence and control ... unruly and belligerent members were held to a steady course and the weak were protected and assisted to a degree unknown by other minority groups." Another type of tong was a district association (having as a common birthplace a certain district of Kwangtung), and another type was the "warring tong," or "gangster type" tong and were formed for such purposes as gambling, prostitution, opium sales and labor racketeering. All Utah tongs were branches of San Francisco tongs, and it appears that the tongs to which the section men belonged, as described by Pappy Clay, may have been of the more infamous type. (Chinn, pp. 66-67.)
bump me with their knee to try to get me to go and leave, and like that, but I was with that tong that was most representative . . . .

... the writer [Wallace Clay] seen a dead Chinaman at Bonneville section in 1894 which the section boss there, Jim Tombs, said was the result of a dispute between two "Chinese Tong" Societies. Although those Chinamen sometimes fought among themselves, on account of belonging to rival "tongs," to the point where one Chinaman would stab another Chinaman to death . . . . while with American grownups and children they were always the most trustworthy and kind and they were never known to injure either during the period I knew them so well. 14

Little Wah Lee observed the Chinese at work:

In the summer of 1891 at old Blue Creek Station, and I was just seven years old, the Central Pacific Company was graveling the roadbed from Corinne to Promontory (from Balfour to Kolmar of the total distance) and they had about one hundred Chinese coolies that was spreading this gravel and tapping the ties and raising the track bed a little and like that, ya see as these gravel trains was coming in and spreading this gravel, then the Chinese would put the track a little higher on this gravel . . . .

I got to know many of them by their first names, one or two of which now comes to mind as Wong Foo and Chinaboy Ken Tse. All these Chinamen were "coolies" who had been shipped to America to work hard for the "Central Pacific" as railroad section hands for just a few years out of their lives and they had crossed the Pacific ocean with the fond hope of saving up a few hundred American dollars which they could later exchange for a great deal more of

13 Clay interview.
14 Clay personal papers, pp. 1, 2.
Chinese money so that after a certain few years in America they would return to China as "Money Lords" instead of living out their lives as just plain coolies. 15

15 Ibid., pp. 1-2, and interview. Wallace A. "Pappy" Clay's experiences are presented here in his own words as he spoke them in an interview with the author, and also taken from his personal unpublished papers. He expressed that no other experience in his life had meant so much and that because of his "intimate" acquaintance with the Chinese during the "Golden Spike Era," his own life, as a source of this knowledge and experience, had fulfilled a special purpose.
Chapter 4

MAJOR REGIONS OF CHINESE SETTLEMENT

THE CHINESE IN EARLY CORINNE

Corinne awoke from its sleep as a little farm town when the "golden spike" was driven. It grew from the population of incoming gentiles. The early leaders of Corinne believed that their city would be the likely choice as the railroad center, which later became Ogden. This gentile city was known as "the Burg of the Bear," and unlike Salt Lake City, Utah's oldest metropolis and the center of the Mormon religion, Corinne had "... row upon row of saloons, perhaps as many as fifty, and a corresponding number of houses of ill-fame."\(^1\)

Corinne in its heyday had a Chinese community totaling sixty-eight in 1870. The artifacts of an old Chinese laundry are among the memorabilia housed in the

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railroad museum there. An editorial taken from the Utah Reporter provided a vivid impression of the international atmosphere of this once booming railroad town:

The Five Races
Corinne is just now a fine place for the study of ethnology. We have in and around the city some five hundred Indians, two or three hundred Chinese, and quite a number of citizens of African descent. Our streets are gay with red blankets, paint and feathers, with Mongolian blue and purple, and with all the varieties of costume affected by hunters, miners, merchants, ranchmen and freighters of the "superior race" . . . .

Corinne became the dispersal point for Chinese moving through Utah from Nevada or California to the mines and labor opportunities of other areas. "From it ran the shortest and most convenient freighting routes to the mines and markets of Montana and Idaho." "Move on--About a thousand Chinamen, more or less, left the city during the week for the Montana gold fields."

The reference to three hundred Chinese would have meant those Chinese who passed through Corinne as a dispersal point en route to other areas.


"Move On," The Utah Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 72, April 16, 1870, p. 3, col. 3.
The discovery of gold in Montana made Corinne, because of the railroad, the natural dispersal point for Montana Commerce. 6 Besides Montana's gold fields, the Chinese were also headed for Wyoming's coal mines:

One hundred Chinamen passed through town on the down freight for Evanston, Wyoming territory to take the place of the strikers at the Rocky Mountain Coal Mines. Trouble may be anticipated. 7

The editor was somewhat prophetic, considering that fourteen years later at Rock Springs, Wyoming, twenty-seven coal miners would be massacred. This was probably not the trouble he perceived.

The Chinese were also hired by the Union Pacific, as the following bit of news indicates:

Two hundred and fifty Chinese laborers passed by here Thursday afternoon going to work on the Union Pacific Railroad. Thus the sons of the sun are moving east again, and will doubtless move on until a belt of pigtails encircles the world. John had better look out for the redskins when he gets on the Platte. 8

In their dispersal from Corinne, the Chinese did not always reach their destinations. Besides the spite

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6Robertson and Harris, p. 40.


8The Utah Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 69, May 28, 1870, p. 3.
of men, the Chinese, like everyone, also had to cope with
the natural hazards to life in those times:

A singular catastrophe--The regular coach which
left here on the eleventh inst. for Montana started
with ten Chinamen as passengers, booked for Morier's
Station, at the junction of the Helena and Virginia
road. The weather after starting turned very cold,
and although the Chinamen were well-provided with
blankets, they were unused to the severity of the
season, and seven of them perished on the trip. . . .

The newspapers also kept track of the notoriety
involving the local Chinese community:

Fined--Some John [John was an English nickname
applied to all male Chinese in the nineteenth
century], instigated by a careless use of horseflesh
and not having the fear of the City Marshall before
his eyes, was yesterday called upon to pay a fine of
twenty-five dollars for galloping his Bucephalus over
our sidewalks to the jeopardy of human bones.
Served him right. 10

Of the total Chinese population in 1870 Corinne,
fifty-five were men and thirteen were women. Occupations
listed for these sixty-eight varied: One man, Sam Wing,
age thirty-seven, kept a laundry and another, Ah Pang,
twenty-five, was a clerk in a local store. One man
called simply Shoo, twenty-six, and another, Ah Tom,

9"A Singular Catastrophe," The Utah Reporter,
Vol. 1, No. 59 (March 17, 1870), p. 3, col. 1.

10"Fined," The Utah Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 76
(April 26, 1870), p. 3, col. 2.
thirty-two, cooked in a hotel. Ah Shoo, twenty-five, was a miner, and the following kept laundries: Ah See, twenty-eight, Ah Fee, forty, and Sam Lee, thirty-five. Eight other men worked in laundries. The majority, thirty-five men, were railroad section hands. Some, including seven of the women, were listed as having no occupations. Six women were recorded as "housekeeper," which is possible, but most likely in a house of ill repute.11 Very few Chinese women, during the early period of immigration, came to this country. Those who did were often prostitutes, but it is not impossible that some of this number were wives. On this particular census roll, marital status was not listed.

The following newspaper article confirms that many of the Chinese women in Corinne at this period were prostitutes:

The Court--Seven of the frail, moon-eyed damsels from Fourth Street, were taken before Judge Elliott, yesterday, on complaint of several citizens for maintaining a nuisance, and were muleted in $100 each. For some cause a Chinaman was also fined $40. In default, all reposed quietly in the city prison

11U.S. National Archives, 1870 Census for Utah.
last night. The attorney for defendants has appealed the case. A good day's work for the city.¹²

A day later the same paper reports the condition of the above-mentioned Chinese in the Corinne jail:

Not Settled—We learn that an effort has been made to settle the Chinese difficulty in this place. Justice Elliott offered to reduce the fine, in each instance, to $12.50 but those interested—the boss Chinaman—refused the proffer, and the women are in the calaboose.¹³

There is no further information as to how the case was finally resolved.

In the month of February the Chinese celebrated the Lunar New Year according to their ancient calendar developed from the cycles of the moon. The following editorial bears witness to the celebration by Corinne's Chinese population:

John Chinaman's New Year

Very few of our citizens but were awakened from their virtuous slumbers this morning by the bom!! bom!! in an apparently endless series of explosions. Those of our successful merchants who closed their safes the night before upon a goodly number of G.B.'s, the proceeds of a prosperous day's trade, inwardly


uttered "cuss words" as they again tried to seduce the stubborn God Morpheus. Men of families, especially those with colicy babies, and who after a weary tramp of many hours with the pride and heir of the family, with an extended stomach, uttered no thanks that Providence had vouchsafed John another New Year. . . . 14

Corinne was the setting for the first "Mongolian"
(Chinese) wedding in Utah:

. . . On the evening of Saturday the twenty-third, by Justice Sewell, Mr. John Tip to Miss Ma Choy both of the Flowery Kingdom, but now residents of Corinne. The affair took place at the restaurant of Mrs. Clemmens and the happy bridegroom indulged in quite a handsome "set out" of cake, wine and other delicacies. Several ladies and gentlemen of the Anglo-Saxon "Persuasion" were present by invitation and the novel affair was by them pronounced a very pleasant occasion. We understand that the history of the lovers has been a romantic one, and that John secured his fair one by a regular American runaway. The surroundings were well worthy of the first Mongolian wedding in Utah.15

In 1904 the Union Pacific railroad completed the Lucin cutoff west from Ogden across the Great Salt Lake;16 this was the end of the Corinne citizens' dream of seeing


their city become a great center of commerce. Long since, Chinese numbers had been rapidly decreasing in Corinne and in small towns and sections along the old Central Pacific route.

THE TERRACE AND KELTON CHINESE

Terrace, like Kelton, another historic Utah ghost town, boasted a Chinese community. Terrace, located about one hundred miles west of Promontory, is but a few charred and weathered remains since a fire drove out its few remaining inhabitants seventy-five years ago. The 1880 census recorded fifty-four Chinese, including one woman. The men were mostly railroad employees, but some performed in other occupations: One man named Hop Lee "kept a store," another, Wah Hing, ran a laundry. Ching Moon was a grocer, and the woman Gui Choi, was a prostitute. Wong Tz Chong performed the handiwork of a tailor, while Ah Lee raised vegetables. Apparently there were two Chinese laundries in Terrace, because Wa Hop was also a laundry proprietor. 17

17 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
In recent times, Frank Tinker tells of souvenir seekers in Terrace discovering evidence of the lives of those listed on the above census rolls:

"... In Terrace are such oddments as opium bottles, rough Chinese pottery, coins with square holes in their centers, gambling stones ..." 18

Mr. Tinker has also recorded the familiar experiences of a few old-timers, once Terrace residents, George Grose and the Hersheys, in whose recollections one identifies the generally male dominated Chinese sub-society with its accompanying loneliness and rare intervening moments of happiness, so typical of Chinese life in mining and railroad towns throughout the old west.

Once a year, on their New Years Day, the Chinese made long strips of white coconut candy which the youngsters of the village came to beg. There were no wives here and no children. When the men died they were taken to a cemetery west of town which defies location today. Later some of the remains were shipped back to China ... 19

There were fifty-six Chinese names on the Kelton census for 1880. All but a few of these were section men. One, Sing Foy, the only woman was a twenty-two-year-old

18 *Salt Lake Tribune*, article by Frank Tinker, January 26, 1964.

19 Ibid.
prostitute. Seven were cooks, one was a waiter in the hotel, four worked in a laundry, and one is listed as a tramp. 20

THE CHINESE IN THE RAILROAD CENTER OF OGDEN

Ogden, as a railroad center for Utah, witnessed the development of a Chinatown, with census figures rising from thirty-two Chinese in 1880 to 106 by 1890. 21 The Chinese, natives of the heavily populated Pearl River Delta, seemed to be attracted to metropolitan areas. The railroad as an employer was not the principal reason why Chinese came to Ogden in this period but rather the side effects produced by the railroad and the corresponding growth of the population. Of the Chinese men listed on Weber County's 1880 census only two were definite railroad employees. Nine were listed as laborers, which probably meant railroad work. Eight of the men were gardeners (truck gardening). 22 "Pappy" Clay, who was

20 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.


22 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
familiar with Ogden's Chinese population too, described the type of gardening the Chinese were involved in:

Some of them [the Chinese] went into truck gardening, and they would raise all kinds of radishes and lettuce, and Chinese lettuce, and everything like that and then peddle it out.23

Ambrose and Minerva P. Rose Shaw were Ogden pioneers of 1848, settling in the area of Mound Fort. Years later, their land was farmed by Chinese gardeners. Ambrose helped them with the weeding and recalled that two of the Chinese laborers were known only by one name, Leo and Joe. . . . These two men raised . . . garden crops such as onions, peas, beets, carrots, squash, radishes, potatoes and celery, working twelve to fourteen hours each day.

An hour before dinner one of them would leave the field to cook the meal which usually consisted of rice eaten from small bowls with chopsticks. They built wooden walkways about eighteen inches high which were used while the ground was being irrigated. Wooden boxes containing vegetables were placed in the main irrigation ditch to keep fresh until sold. Only one horse and wagon was used in the field at a time, and it was a common

23Clay interview.
sight to see a big umbrella over the wagon to provide shade. Bamboo poles over shoulders with baskets on both ends were used to carry their produce from the garden.

According to Vera Murdock, "Many rows of low wooden structures were built along Twenty-fifth Street from the Broom Hotel to the railroad station, four city blocks west of Washington Boulevard, and many of these establishments were operated by the Chinese." 24

The 1880 census for Ogden indicates that seven Chinese were involved in laundry work, two were listed as proprietors of stores, and one was a miner. 25

Among laundries operated by Chinese in Ogden were Ching Wah, 2438 Grant Avenue; Hang Yei, 222 Grant Avenue; Sam Wah, 271 - 25th Street; Sue Wah, 123 - 25th Street; and Wong Lee at 229 - 25th Street. 26

Three of the larger restaurants built along Twenty-fifth Street were the Senate, Vienna and Bon Ton. A full course dinner would be served for twenty-five cents. The proprietors lived at their places of business


25U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.

26Carter, p. 475.
which were open twenty-four hours a day (probably in order to take advantage of the railroad business around the clock). 27

**Pioneer Chinese Merchant:**
Wong Leung-ka

Wong Leung-ka was an early Chinese merchant in Ogden. He arrived in Ogden around 1880, but did not come with the influx of railroad workers. However, like many other Chinese in nineteenth century America, he came without wife or family.

What is known about Wong Leung-ka was revealed in an interview with his son Wong Siu-pang of Salt Lake City. Siu-pang never actually knew his father, but learned of his father's history in this country through an older brother.

Wong Leung-ka was an Ogden resident for forty-six years. During those years he returned to his family, whom he had left behind in China, only twice. Each visit was less than one year, because he traveled with a business visa which did not allow him to remain away longer.

27Ibid., p. 478.
"Sing Lung Store" was the name of his merchandise store in Ogden. The store carried groceries, canned goods, and Chinese imported items. Above the store, in the upper level of the building, were sleeping rooms. When times were hard and men were unemployed, those unemployed Chinese in the area would come to the store for board and room. When and if employment was found, they would pay back what they could.

In 1927, while waiting to embark from San Francisco to China for a third and last time, he died suddenly at the age of sixty-nine. His dream of returning to see his youngest son and reunion with his family was unfulfilled.  

The basic pattern of the sojourn of Wong Leung-ka was repeated thousands of times by other pioneer Chinese in the Western United States.

"... Because some Chinese had such difficulties living in America, so he hoped his own children would not come here to live . . . ."  

This was the advice given to his sons. But like their father, they made their

28Interview with Wong Siu-pang, Salt Lake City, November 27, 1974.

29Ibid.
homes in this country. Not long after the youngest son (Siu-pang) immigrated with his wife, three sons, and daughter from Hong Kong in 1964, the two sons of Wong Leung-ka journeyed to Ogden and stood on the site of "Sing Lung Store." The store was no longer there, and everything around it had changed. As a few more years passed the old proprietor's grandchildren were educated at the University of Utah and other institutions of higher learning throughout the country. Among these grandchildren, two are promising young artists, one an engineer and one an inventor; all children of Wong Siu-pang.

THE SALT LAKE CITY CHINESE

Since 1890, the largest Chinese population in Utah has consistently been in Salt Lake City. As the urban center for Utah, with the largest population in the territory, Salt Lake City provided employment opportunities for Chinese which were unavailable in less populated areas of the state. It would be misleading to indicate that Chinese as city dwellers were drawn to city environments, when in fact, even with the tremendous population density in Kwangtung, many of the Chinese had migrated
from villages outside the major metropolitan city of Kwangchow. The more obvious reason for their gathering to cities was due to practical realities. By 1880 the Chinese question, a subject of enormous preoccupation for newspaper editors, the Knights of Labor, and politicians, had already had its effect on the Chinese generally. The Taoist inclination to keep a low profile and the pressures society had brought to bear forced Chinese into occupational categories and into havens of greater protection such as the Chinatowns in cities. Salt Lake City Chinatown became such a place.

There was enough affluence in Salt Lake City in 1880 for certain households to hire servants. Seven Chinese employed were labeled "servant." The Chinese laundry business was apparently prosperous with forty-three men involved in washing and ironing.³⁰

³⁰ U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.

In the Directory of Salt Lake City of 1874-86, enough Chinese laundries were listed to indicate that all forty-three were probably in public as opposed to private domestic-service employment.
Lee Quong, 118 West First South (Census)
Lee Sang, 74 East Second South (Census)
Soe Lee, 175 West First South
Yee Hop, 214 South First East
Hing Sam, 165 South Temple
Hong Hop, 71 East Third South
Hop Sam, 33 Commercial (Census)
Lee Quong, 26 Commercial (Census)
Lung Wau, 63 East Third South (Census)
Sing Sam, 72 East Second South
Sun Chong, 11 East Third South
Sun Lee, 217 South First East
Waugh Sam, 267 South First East
Hing Sing, 26 Commercial
Hop Hong, 267 South Main\(^3\)

Twelve men whose names were listed on the census rolls for 1880 were cooks. Of these, one cooked in a hotel and another for miners. The remainder were likely

\(^3\)Carter, pp. 446-447. Of this list, those with (Census) in parenthesis can be located on the census rolls because the business carries the name of its owner. However, it was not always the case that the business was named for the proprietor; other characters might be chosen for sound, meaning and luck. Therefore, the ownership of the other laundries cannot be positively identified because characters other than the owner's name were used as the business name.
restaurant cooks, although perhaps some cooked for private households.32

Five men were merchants whose names and ages follow: Wo Jon Leong, twenty-three; Quong Yuen Long, twenty-five; King Liu, twenty-five; Quang Wau Sing, thirty-three; and Lee Hop, thirty-six. The Directory of Salt Lake City of 1874-86 shows that Quong Yum Lung and Company (the romanization of Chinese words varied) was located between First and Second South on First East. Quong Wah Sing's business was in Olive Alley, between First and Second South on First East Street. Hop Hong sold merchandise at 267 South Main (note: two laundries at the same address); this particular business was not named for any of those on the census, and may have belonged to Lee Hop, who probably owned and operated the laundry of the same name at the same address.

These merchants sold Chinese goods including silks, brocades, hats, fans, chinaware, etc., as well as groceries and teas. They did not sell goods on credit; they preferred to sell cheaper to save the trouble of keeping books. Often the sign "Sold for Cash" would be seen in several places inside and outside the store.33

32 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
33 Carter, p. 445.
Another interesting occupation which involved ten of the Chinese in Salt Lake City in the late 1870s and early eighties was "cigar maker." Chinese were employed in this occupation in other places, San Francisco in particular. Their employment in this occupation became a critical issue with labor unions, who opposed the hiring of Chinese because they were willing to work for less. The matter became one more point against the Chinese. People were encouraged not to buy cigars rolled by "Mongolian hands." The following advertisement in the Silver Reef Miner reveals how this attitude became a selling point in advertising: "Quirk brothers have just received an invoice of choice cigars, not rolled by Mongolian hands."  

Salt Lake City also had three Chinese truck gardeners on the 1880 census: one man clerked in a merchandise store (for a Chinese employer), another worked for a family in some capacity not given, one kept house and six are listed as laborers (probably for one of the national railroad companies). Of the three female gardeners, one was a clerk in a store, one worked for a family, and one was a laborer.

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34 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
35 The Silver Reef Miner, June 10, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.
Chinese on Salt Lake City's 1880 census, one "wash[ed] clothes," two just stayed "at home."  

"Plum Alley" ran north and south dividing the city block between Main and State Streets; the cross streets being First and Second South. Within and around "Plum Alley" the Chinese developed a microcommunity in the very center of downtown Salt Lake City where they lived and worked. It is obvious that between 1870 and 1930 this single street underwent constant change, but a scarcity of informants willing to talk about "old history" of the Chinese, made it necessary to see "Plum Alley" through the childhood recollections of a man who remembered it from the 1920s.  

Henry Ju, as a child in the 1920s, recalls accompanying his father Joy Ju to "Plum Alley" on different special occasions:  

36 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.  

37 Many of the Chinese approached were reticent or altogether unwilling to be interviewed about their history. The section on the Chinese Question will help clarify some of the reasons why the Chinese wished not to become involved with their history in this region.  

38 Henry Ju, the oldest son of Joy Ju a prominent pioneer Chinese in Salt Lake City, was interviewed principally to gain information about his family. Because he
They used to have those little shops where you could go and buy Chinese groceries that they sent from Frisco to here... then you'd look in the back and see a bunch a guys settin around tables gamblin; and how some of em used to sit there and smoke their water pipes. They had Chinese clothing they sold to the older people... they had laundries there too.

On New Years Day [Chinese Lunar New Year] they had a big New Years celebration sponsored by the Tong in Plum Alley and they'd invite the Police Chief and Mayor and all the dignitaries and they'd set around there and eat all the goodies and some of them old guys [the old Chinese men] would come over and give us the red envelopes with money in them [A Chinese tradition: the older married people give money to the young single people, mostly children, in red decorated envelopes, the contents known as "lucky money"]; thats all us kids looked forward to ya know. That was quite a haul, when you'd get up there you might get twenty bucks--they used to give silver dollars... 39

The Salt Lake newspaper carried a variety of articles about the Chinese, some of which provided glimpses into the sordid side of life:

Stabbed in the Arm

Last evening a Chinaman rushed into the police station, and after exhibiting an ugly knife cut in his left forearm, stated that he had been stabbed by a fellow countryman, on Commercial Street. The police were dispatched in quest of the offender, but

provided additional important information about "Plum Alley," his recollections appear in this chapter and also in the sub-chapter entitled, "The Ju Family: Three Generations in Salt Lake County."

39 Interview with Henry Ju, December 3, 1974, Magna, Utah.
did not find him. Nothing more is known about the affair which will not amount to much anyhow.\textsuperscript{40}

A few weeks later, more light was shed on the incident:

Sang Lee, the Chinaman who did the cutting in the affray of the other evening, was taken up last night, and this morning was fined $5 and costs. The light penalty was due to there being no evidence scarcely, excepting enough to fasten the bare commission of the act. It was proven however, that Sang received some provocation for his deed, having been struck in the face with a slipper by his heathen opponent, before he drew his knife in revenge.\textsuperscript{41}

In the 1880 census Quon (Quong) Yun Lung is one of the merchants listed, and Sang Lee (Lee Sang) was the proprietor of a laundry. The following article indicates that these two men were good friends, even in times of trouble:

Quon Yun Lung, who was fined $25 yesterday, simply for interfering with the officers who were in search of Sang Lee, thinks he will go out of the police resisting business and take to cutting Chinamen for a living. It is so much more remunerative.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40}"Stabbed in the Arm," \textit{The Deseret Evening News}, Vol. 13, No. 45, January 15, 1880, p. 3, col. 3.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., No. 57, January 29, 1880, p. 3, col. 4.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid.
Various articles indicate that Chinese persons and their property were targets for mischievous youth:

Police Court--This morning two boys were fined $10 each for committing an assault on a Chinaman, which event happened on the State Road, yesterday afternoon, about 3:00 o'clock. ^3

This target practice turned to tragedy for a Chinese man and his young assailant:

The trial of the boy, Charles Arnup, on a charge of murder in the second degree began before Chief Justice Zane and a jury in the Third District Court this morning. It is alleged that the defendant caused the death of a Chinaman named Wong Kong Kim by throwing a stone at him in this city on July 3rd of the present year.

The deceased was about sixty years of age and earned a living by going around with a wagon peddling vegetables. On the third of July last, he was making his usual daily rounds and when on Third South Street near the corner of Ninth East, the defendant and some companions began to tease him. Such is the allegation of the prosecution. It is also claimed that they then followed the Chinaman and began to flip stones at him as he drove east. He got out of the wagon and Arnup picked up a large rock and hurled it at the deceased. It struck him a heavy blow on the left side of the head near the ear knocking him down and causing the blood to flow. He got up, washed the blood from the wound and was able to drive downtown, where he saw a doctor and the injury was attended to. The Chinaman died, however, on the sixth of July, the third day after the occurrence, and the defendant was arrested. ^44

The result of Arnup's trial follows:

^3"Police Court," ibid., No. 125, April 19, 1880, p. 3, col. 4.

^44Deseret News, October 2, 1893.
This was the day set for the passing of sentence upon Charles Arnup, the eighteen year old youth who was convicted by a jury in Judge Zane's court last week on a charge of voluntary manslaughter, the killing of a Chinaman . . . . Judge Zane pointed out that he had been convicted of a crime, the punishment for which the law fixed at not less than one and more than ten years. On account of his age and what the court knew of his previous good character, he was not disposed to visit him with a severe punishment; it was necessary, however, to protect society from crime by making a proper example of the offender . . . . the defendant would be confined in the penitentiary for a term of two years.45

Salt Lake City, like other towns and cities with large Chinese populations, had its share of opium dens, and occasionally the police would interfere with the prosperity of these "businesses":

Opium House Raided--The police raided an opium den near Commercial Street, last night, about 10 o'clock, and arrested five persons found therein. Besides the keeper Charles Wang, were three men who gave their names as Charles Ferguson, R. J. Lingwood, and Ed Williams, and a young woman named Katie Black. The case began at noon today and is still in progress. The Chinaman Wang was found guilty of keeping an opium house, and fined $99. Ferguson pled guilty of using opium and was fined $10. Lingwood and Williams claim to have been in the house on legitimate business—a land transaction between them and a Chinaman there. Their case was going on at last accounts. The woman has not yet had a trial.46

45 Ibid., October 9, 1893.

An illuminating observation was made in the "Editorial Notes" of the Deseret News concerning the "heathen" practice of Christian principles. Such complimentary information concerning Chinese was rarely found in nineteenth century publications:

The American Irish declare that "The Chinese Must Go." The former are "Christians," the latter "heathens." Yet the disciples of Confucius are showing more Christianity toward the sons of Erin [Irish] than the Irish exhibited toward the "Celestials." News comes that the Chinese in Hong Kong have subscribed liberally towards the Irish Distress Fund. Is this not going further even than turning the other cheek?  

The Ju Family: Three Generations in Salt Lake County

"I guess he was about eleven years old when he arrived in Seattle and there he was just a little flunkie kitchen boy . . .," thus Henry Ju began the story about his father Joy in this country:

The reason he came to Utah was not with the railroad group--he came with Colonel Young with the Army . . . at Fort Douglas . . . and that's where dad was his bus boy, housekeeper and cook [valet]. Then when he got of age, he saved all his money--he'd never go anywhere or do anything, and when he saved his money I guess he went into South Main and rented a store and started to [have shipped] ship these Chinese goods from the coast or China . . .

and his store name was "Wo Sang"... He was born in Canton [Toi Shan]. When they used to have "Plum Alley"... he used to interpret for those guys that was in trouble with the law. He'd go to court and he'd interpret what the attorneys or lawyers quizzed... He'd ask em in Chinese, then they'd answer him, and he'd say it in English.48

Wo Sang stocked oriental merchandise such as chinaware, silk from China, bamboo products and vases.49 The business provided capital enough for Joy to make some investments in the stock market, a large portion of which was lost in the stock market crash. During the depression that followed, as business slackened, Wo Sang had its doors closed for the last time.50

Joy Ju who came to America in 1876 was the first link in a Chinese family history (in Utah) which now spans three generations. His second wife Ah Sin, whom he returned to China to meet, and brought back to Utah with him, gave birth to nine sons and a daughter. Ah Sin joined the Mormon Church. The thirty-six year age difference between herself and Joy made it imperative that she lead the family during the declining years of Joy's

48 Ju interview.
49 Carter, p. 447.
50 Ju interview.
life. After the store closed, money saved was invested in land for the purpose of truck farming, a business in which this big growing family participated together. The value of the land increased in time until it became worth a small fortune.

Prior to his death in 1954, like so many Chinese men of his generation, Joy Ju wished to have his remains sent back to the ancestral tomb in the family village in China:

Just before he died he said, "You bury me in the Chinese plot in the cemetery." Every ten years they dig up the bodies and send them back to China. In fact he wrote a letter and put it in a bottle. When he died, he said, "you lay that along side of me--when they open up the casket it will tell them what to do."

The "Mormonization" and "Americanization" of Ah Sin and her children drastically altered the final wishes of the family patriarch. "When mother was still alive, she did his Church work and when she died (in 1966) she said, 'When I die move dad over and place him next to me.'" They are buried side by side in a Magna, Utah

Eternal marriage sealings are performed by worthy Mormon members in Holy Temples; in this particular case another man stood proxy for the deceased Joy, and Ah Sin represented herself. Such a sealing represents an eternal bond between husband and wife, in the present life and the life hereafter.
cemetery. Ah Sin and the children felt that because the greater part of his life and all of his fortune had been associated with America; therefore, Joy should be buried here, too.52

**Ruth King Chang: The Second Generation**

In the early 1890s Chung King (Charles) and his wife Ruth May moved with their only daughter Lily from San Francisco to Salt Lake where they established a merchandise store named R. M. King Company at 66 South Main Street. After several moves they finally settled between Second and Third South and carried on their business (which included repairing broken dolls) under the name of King's Doll Hospital. Mr. King emigrated from Canton, China in 1880 at the age of fourteen, and his wife was born in California. After moving to Salt Lake City they had four more children: Walter, Ruth, Ernest and Ray. All of the children attended public schools. Ruth became a medical doctor and Walter a newspaper man. In a telephone interview, Ruth told somewhat about the high points of her life:

52Ju Interview.
Ruth met her future husband Samuel H. Chang, a native of Swatow, while they were both college students; she at Rush Medical School and he at Haverford College in Pennsylvania. They were eventually married in Fuchow, China in 1926, where Ruth had journeyed to practice medicine and Samuel had returned to become a newspaper editor.

During the Japanese occupation of China, Mr. Chang was the owner of a newspaper that "the Japanese didn't like," and was assassinated in the "Invasion of Shanghai" in 1940.

Dr. Chang (Ruth) and her only child Vivian returned to Salt Lake City where Ruth still lives.\(^{53}\)

The above short and incomplete family histories are but two among many other Chinese family histories which have begun and continue in Utah to the third and fourth generations. They have roots in the frontier, but their branches reach into the present.

**The Bing Kung Tong**

Jimmy Wong, a Salt Lake Restaurant owner, told some of the history of the Bing Kung Tong, the Salt

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\(^{53}\)Carter, pp. 448-449 (verified by phone conversation July 20, 1975, with Dr. Ruth King Chang).
Lake chapter of a Chinese Benevolent Society with headquarters in San Francisco. He said that there are chapters in Los Angeles, Denver, Sacramento, Oakland, Fresno, Portland, Seattle, and other major cities with large Chinese populations throughout the West. Alfred Mong, a retired Salt Lake restauranteur, indicated that there were no historical records for the Tong. The first quarters for the Tong was located in "Plum Alley" and was there before the turn of the century.

A newspaper article in an 1880 issue of The Deseret Evening News entitled, "Chinese Riot," described a situation which definitely depicted a gathering of Tong members:

Quite a riot occurred among the Chinese yesterday at their quarter in Mott Street. Over one hundred of them got into a fight at their club room while celebrating a Chinese holiday, and knives and pistols were drawn. The police appearing, the Chinese attacked them also, but none were seriously hurt.

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54 Interview with Jimmy Wong, December 3, 1974, Salt Lake City, Utah.

55 Alfred Mong Questionnaire, December 1, 1974, Salt Lake City, Utah.

William J. Christiansen's research into the objectives and functioning of the old tong concluded:

... As in other larger western cities, the Salt Lake City Bing Kung Tong's main function was economic. It provided jobs and job counseling, transportation, translating services, lawyers, and letter writing services. Meetings were held often and economic matters were discussed. Another function was the provision of social activities such as gambling. 57

Holidays provided occasion for greater merging between the Chinese community and the majority populace. A New Year's parade during the 1890s in Salt Lake City is recalled by Ivy C. Towler. This dragon-dance was undoubtedly organized through the efforts of the Bing Kung Tong leadership:

A prominent feature of nearly all New Year parades was a huge Chinese dragon two hundred feet long which progressed along the street like a gigantic centipede. The dragon itself, which swayed from side to side, had a head six feet tall spitting fire from its vicious red mouth. The back of the creature of red, yellow and green painted canvas was suspended on arched staves, supported by poles from within, placed at regular intervals, giving its body a muscular appearance. The curtained sides hung down within two feet of the ground showing the legs and sandaled feet of many Chinese marching in regular rhythm. 58

57 William J. Christiansen, "Chinese Ethnicity and Network Relationships in Salt Lake City" (Spring, 1972), University of Utah, paper for Dr. Tom Collins, p. 8.

58 Carter, p. 456.
Two mining camps developed on opposite sides of the Wasatch range. On the western slope, in Little Cottonwood Canyon, twenty-eight miles from Salt Lake City grew Alta. Park City was established on the eastern slope, thirty-two miles from Salt Lake City. Alta's most famous silver mine was the Emma, which produced thirty-seven million dollars.  

Like Park City, discussed below, Alta was born in the 1860s. The Cottonwood Observer, Alta's newspaper, noted Chinese presence in the city in 1873:

For so small a place and so young a city, we have never seen so many China houses of evil resort. The eternal twang of the China banjo or fiddle, the sing song monosyllables, and interpretless jargon of the gamblers of these "heathen chinee" are an intolerable nuisance. We can boast a China trade here as in all cities of importance, where these vile creatures "do congregate." A great service would be rendered the community if the nuisance were abated, and these creatures punished for plying their filthy occupations. Never does a China wash-house appear in any vicinity, but soon is seen the female slaves huddled with their tan-faced companions.

Ruth Winder Robertson, an authority on Alta history, concluded that:

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59 Robertson and Harris, p. 66.

The white miners decried the vices of the Celestials and wished to be shucked of them. But when all is said and done, the Anglo-American had the same vices as the Chinese, only the disguise was better.61

By 1880 the total Chinese population in Alta was sixteen. Two of these were women, with occupations of "keeping house." The census taker indicated that both were wives, which, if accurate, implies that Chinese prostitution had been abated in Alta, according to the above editor's hopes in 1872. Twelve of the fourteen men cooked for the miners and the other two ran wash-houses. The oldest Chinese resident of Alta, at this time, was forty-eight and the youngest was twenty. The mean age was 32.5.62

PARK CITY'S PIONEER CHINATOWN

The first ore strike in Park City was made in 1872 by Herman Budden. He and Rector Steen, with other partners, sold their mine, the Ontario, to George Hearst, the newspaper magnate, in August, 1872, for $27,000.

61 Ruth Winder Robertson, This Is Alta (Alta, Utah: Alta Historical Society, 1972), p. 67.

62 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
... For many years, the Ontario was called the greatest silver mine in the world. Up to 1934 it had produced more than fifty million dollars worth of silver and lead...63

Park City, like other Utah mining towns, was a non-Mormon city. As such, its settlers came from all over the country and from various religious backgrounds.

Religious differences constituted quite a thing in Park City, the largest Church in town was the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary Assumption. The more numerous Protestants were divided among... the Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Episcopalians and warred merrily among themselves; but all presented a united front against the common enemy, the Mormons.64

At first, Mormon leadership discouraged mining. The Mormon leaders declared:

We cannot eat gold and silver; neither do we desire to bring into our peaceful settlement the rough elements commonly found among inhabitants of mining camps, to vitiate the morale of our youth, overwhelm us by numbers and drive us again from our hard-earned homes.65

Two years previous to the first ore discovery in Park City, there were already thirty-one Chinese laborers living in Echo precinct. The census does not specify the

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63Robertson and Harris, pp. 76, 77.

64Ibid., p. 82.

kind of labor they were involved in, but it might have been independent prospecting or placer mining.

Within Park City proper developed one of the major "Chinatowns" of Utah. In 1880 the census listed seventy-one Chinese names. By 1890 that figure had nearly doubled to 131. The early railroads into Park City were constructed in part by Chinese labor:

All the men working on the Echo and Park City Railroad have been discharged and Chinese labor substituted in their place. The former class were being paid $1.75 per day; the latter require only $1.10. Some day when we are looking through a very powerful microscope we would like to examine the soul of a corporation like the Echo and Park City Railroad Company.66

This project, in addition to the male-dominated mining situation in early Park City, which attracted Chinese to labor in service occupations, was among the factors which encouraged the development of the Park City Chinatown. In the early days (1870-1890), before Utah state laws prohibited mining by non-citizens,67 mining was likely the most obvious motivating force


surrounding the development of the Park City Chinatown. According to two old-time Park City residents Fraser Buck and Sarah J. Parkin, of the early twentieth century, the Chinese worked in the mines only as cooks and in other service capacities.\(^6^8\)

The miners generally, did not care to work at cooking and waiting on tables, but the Chinese seemed to fill these positions very well. The Ontario Mining Company was the first in this area to give it a trial and found the Chinese excellent cooks and capable workmen. To encourage the Chinese to stay, the Ontario Mining Company chose a site on the east side of Silver Creek which was located at the rear of the buildings on the east side of Main Street, where they constructed a dozen or more small shacks. In this area resided the Chinese who worked part time at the mines, cleaned places of business or performed other odd jobs. Those steadily employed usually were furnished rooms near the mines. Others farmed small patches of ground north of town and raised vegetables which they sold, carrying the produce from door to door in large baskets.\(^6^9\)

It has often been noted that Chinese gather together in a section of a city to form a "Chinatown" because of the strength of their customs and the exclusive nature of their character. From closer observation it is apparent that Chinatowns, like other ethnic

\(^6^8\) Interviews with Fraser Buck, November 29, 1974, Park City, Utah; and with Sarah J. Parkin, June 4, 1975, San Francisco, California.

\(^6^9\) Buck interview.
neighborhoods, also owe their existence to social pressure exerted by the majority. From reading old newspaper articles in the Park Record, between the lines, one can imagine how the Chinese came to live in one particular part of the city, separate and apart from the general community:

Yesterday another fire was discovered in the Chinese washhouse between Kiesel and Rogers and Miss Maggie Bowman's millinery store. It seems that the fire had been burning for some time but owing to the closeness of the logs had not burned quite through. It was a close call for the surrounding buildings, and should be a warning to people to look out for fires starting in such places. Let us have the heathens moved to the other side of the creek, where, if they are so careless about fires, no one but themselves may suffer for it. We cannot see how it is that these two or three stench holes are allowed to remain in our midst after all the rest were removed.\(^7^0\)

A fire involved a fear-charged situation. In frontier times people were particularly afraid of fires, as protection was limited and ineffective, and the buildings were generally wood structures. "Fires" like any other emotional issue could also be exploited as "scapegoat" motives for the accomplishment of other purposes:

\(^7^0\)The Park Mining Record, Vol. 2, No. 26, July 30, 1881, p. 4, col. 2.
The Chinaman owning the old rockery that caught fire last week purchased some brick and intended building a chimney but was prevented by Mr. Ferry who says the place must be vacated. This is joyful news and the sooner the Chinaman is made to vacate the better for all property holders on Main Street.  

Fraser Buck told about the Chinatown in "Park City" many years after its original establishment. As a boy in Park City between 1900 and 1905, he remembered the Chinatown this way:

The Chinese moved into an area back of Main Street, about a block above the Post Office; they had about fourteen or so houses there. They were very nice, they didn't cause the people in town a lot of trouble. There are still two or three houses standing left from the old Chinatown sector. There was a Chinaman came here called "Old Grover" (nicknamed for Grover Cleveland) and he passed away just a few years back, but he was an old, old-timer. He was quite progressive—he acquired a house or two and rented until he built himself quite a thing. He had a son, "Joe Grover" come from China who lived with him and he inherited the houses that he had. Sometimes we used to say that he had eighty houses, but I don't think that's possible. There were a few women—and there was China Mary—she lived down here on Main Street and was well received by the town. The mines all had Chinese, one or two, and when they got going, they had up to five Chinese, most of them. They took care of the cleaning and all that kind of work, and the cooking . . . .

71 Ibid.

72 Buck interview.
A once famous landmark in old Park City was the "China Bridge." This bridge which stretched across Chinatown, was built from Rossie Hill, the residential section of Park City. "They built the 'China Bridge'--people in Rossie Hill--they didn't like to come down through Chinatown."73

This bridge, famous for its romantic significance, was a real physical barrier between the Chinese community and the white community in Park City. The psychological effects of such a structure on the inhabitants beneath is incalculable. The Chinese were restricted in other ways too: "Chinese laundries and restaurants were scattered in different parts of the town. Washhouses were not allowed on Main Street."74

In 1898 Park City was destroyed by fire:

The whole town caught fire. Dynamite and heroic action saved the fringes but never was so much damage wrought, never such a hot and exciting day in this mountain-hemmed mining town.

In the general confusion of the fire everyone forgot the Chinese, whose small colony was one of the first sections of the town to be destroyed. Everyone, that is, except Rev. Thomas Galligan, rector of St. Mary's. Father Galligan found some twenty of the Chinese huddled in a cabin below town.

73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
They were without food, and the clothing they wore was about all their possessions they were able to save. Father Galligan immediately sent them quantities of rice and what other Chinese food he could gather to supply their immediate wants. "They were forever grateful," he later recalled, "for they believed the Americans would exclude the Orientals in the relief and rehabilitation of the town."\textsuperscript{75}

The 1880 Census for Park City supplied the following data: Of the sixty-seven Chinese men, thirteen were cooks and eight were servant cooks, probably employed with the mines; fifteen were washmen, and one was the proprietor of a laundry. Eight of the men were employed in railroad work and eleven were unemployed laborers. The census did not indicate laborers in what capacity, but probably in railroad work. Five men were listed as having no occupation, one as a cook in a restaurant and four as "waiter[s] on table [s]." One man, Charles Ong Lung, age twenty-five, owned the restaurant. Of the four women, three were washwomen and one a cook.\textsuperscript{76} An advertisement in the \textit{Park Record} tells of the restaurant:

Charley Ong Lung has lately opened up a first class restaurant, opposite the Marsac Mill, where can be had choice meals at all hours. Oysters in

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Salt Lake Tribune}, July 4, 1948.

\textsuperscript{76}\textit{U.S. National Archives}, 1880 Census for Utah.
every style. Meal tickets--twenty-one meals for $7.  

Mr. Buck's impressions were that most of Park City accepted the Chinese: "They did mix with the people, and I do believe that most of the town did not resent them."  

However, in 1880, thirteen years before Mr. Buck's birth, for at least one Park City resident, this was not exactly the case:

Yesterday a smart aleck thought to exhibit his smartness in front of Greenewald's by attacking an inoffensive Chinaman, who was passing along the street molesting no one. He grasped the Celestial and threw him down and pulled his queue rather too severely for John's liking. The Chinaman hastened to his feet and gathered up an armful of rocks and started for the S.A., who threw his hand back to his hip pocket under the pretense of drawing a pistol. This movement had not the effect of checking the Chinaman, who pressed him so closely and hurled stones so rapidly that the S.A. was forced to take to his heels for safety.  

77 The Park Mining Record, Vol. 1, No. 18, June 5, 1880, p. 2, col. 3.  
78 Buck interview.  
79 The Park Mining Record, Vol. 1, No. 27, August 7, 1880, p. 4, col. 2.
Silver Reef is located twenty miles north of St. George, in Washington County, in the southernmost section of Utah. "It is a chopped up, irregular basin surrounded by sandstone reefs of brilliant coloring from white to vermilion . . . ." In this unusual formation, where mineralogists thought such a find impossible, a great silver discovery was made.

Unlike other Utah mining camps, it was settled by Mormons and Gentiles. "It was the one camp where those thoroughly incompatible interests . . . got along harmoniously. They worked together, danced together, and sang together."81

Besides Mormons and Gentiles, Silver Reef and Leeds also had a Chinese population of fifty-one in 1880. Among them were servants, laundrymen, one who "chisels in stone," cooks, merchants, C-merchants, a barber, and laborers. The ten females in the population were listed as keeping house; as it turns out, the house they were keeping was one of a "public" nature.82

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80 Robertson and Harris, p. 136.
81 Ibid., p. 135.
82 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
From the "Life of George Edmond Miles," who as a boy grew up and worked in Silver Reef, at a store which, among other services, provided transportation for the dead, was presented the following information told to his daughter-in-law Eva L. Miles, shortly before his death:

Chinatown was east of Ormand's livery (also east of the John Rice Building). We had a Chinese character there, Sam Wing, who was a Chinese mandarin, a governor or ruler of Chinatown. He was a good, educated man who seemed to be well liked and a man that seemed to be able to handle his people quite well.

The Chinese did the laundry for the community and maintained opium basements where they smoked. About thirty-five Chinamen, (no wives) but women who were prostitutes were kept there.

Sam Wing came to the store one day, got his mail, and then came around into the front, then finally came back to sit around in the store. I talked with him a minute. I said to him, "Sam, how long would it take a young man in China to learn to read?" He had been reading his paper [This newspaper was probably sent by mail from San Francisco where many Chinese newspapers were published in the 1880s,] and I watched him reading from right to left, and up and down the columns, right to left. "Oh," he said, "I think about ten years." Those scratches, hen scratching I called it! I thought to myself, "it should take longer than that." But anyway, he could read them and others could read them. They did alright. 83

Sam Wing was thirty-six years old in 1880 and is listed on the census as a laundryman. 84 An advertisement

83 Letter and typewritten personal paper of Eva L. Miles written June 1, 1975, St. George, Utah.

84 U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
which appeared in many issues of the Silver Reef Miner was the following:

SAM WING
First Wash-house
Bonanza
(lower Main Street)
Washing, ironing and
fluting. Work done promptly
and in best of style. 85

It is possible that this Sam Wing was the same Sam Wing (Doc Chinaman), who later had a laundry in Mercur along with his Chinese medical practice, and/or the Sam Wing who ran a laundry in 1870 Corinne.

Silver Reef's Chinese community provided a variety of services for the townspeople: "Call around to Hop Lee's establishment and be convinced that there is no better repairer of chairs in the Reef." 86

Next to Hop Lee's furniture repairing business another fellow countryman opened a bakery:

Charley Legget, the well-known Oriental caterer, has established a bakery in upper Chinatown, next to Hop Lee's store, where can be found at all times a supply of bread and table pastry. The more poetical name of the dealer in baked dough is Ah Fung. 87

85 The Silver Reef Miner, May 24, 1879, p. 4.
86 Ibid., December 2, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.
87 Ibid., June 3, 1882, p. 3, col. 1 (brieflets).
The Silver Reef Miner indicated that:

An enterprising Celestial has opened a barber shop in the lower part of town, Alle same Melican man. Where, O, where is Kearney! Let us rally on Bonanza Flat and have a new Constitution for Silver Reef.

Much to the disdain of the townspeople, the Chinese also engaged in "raising hogs."

A Chinese pig-pen, situated about a hundred yards east of First West Street, should be looked after by our officers. The sweets with which the gentle zephyrs are laden when coming from that direction are not totally wasted on the desert air, but being inhaled by residents of the vicinity cause many emphatic and uncomplimentary remarks to be made concerning John and his brother hogs. The nuisance should be abated.

Whether guilty or not, the Chinese in Silver Reef were the scapegoats for "starting fires." Like the Park Mining Record, the editor of The Silver Reef Miner kept his constituency aware of his and their suspicions: "The Chinamen were conspicuous at the fire by their absence."

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88 Kee Sing, age fifty, on the 1880 census.
89 Saxton, Enemy, p. 117. Kearney was one of the leading Californians who promoted the policy of Chinese exclusion and a cofounder of the Workingmen's Party.
90 The Silver Reef Miner, May 17, 1879, p. 3, col. 1.
91 Ibid., August 21, 1880, p. 3, col. 1.
And the editor had more to say on the subject:

There is a dangerous stovepipe in the vicinity of Ormand's livery stable, run by a Chinaman to which the attention of the committee [Fire Committee] is invited.\(^3\)

In every part of Utah where Chinatowns developed, Americans were fascinated with Chinese burial customs, from the funeral ceremony to the later exhumation from which the bones were scraped and shipped to the homeland for burial in the ancestral tomb. The old man George Miles recollected fragmented memories from his boyhood experiences:

When a Chinese man or woman died they were buried in a grave yard east and a little south of Bonanza Flat, right in the corner of where the mountains came together, but there was a canyon between the two. The Chinese had a little grave yard with no fence around it.

When they would take a person to the grave yard, they would carry them on a litter and one or two Chinamen would go ahead of them, carrying a lot of small pieces of paper about two inches square [spirit money or hell money]. They would throw these in every direction, in front and to the sides.

Someone said, "Why do you do that? Why do you throw all that paper?" "Why?," they were told "if the devil would get to the graveyard as soon as we do, he'd take the body. But he's got to gather up all these pieces of paper first and he can't do it because we can get there and bury whom we've got to bury before he gets there!" Well that was their idea.

\(^3\)Ibid., June 7, 1879, p. 3, col. 1.
Then they had another idea. They thought that if the man or woman who was buried was going to heaven, they'd need to have time to eat or drink while they went. So they'd have a lot of nice aromatic roast pork and other delicacies to take down for this person to eat and a bottle of liquor. Well, they'd put it on the grave and go away. When evening came, the Indians would come and eat the pork and drink the liquor. Some drank too much.94

Wherever the Chinese lived in Utah, they celebrated their lunar New Year. The Silver Reef Miner tells of one such event:

The Chinese New Year was appropriately celebrated here this week. Firecrackers, Celestial music, lots of fun and forgiving of past grievances were the orders of the day.95

94 Eva L. Miles paper.

95 The Silver Reef Miner, February 10, 1883, p. 3, col. 1.
Chapter 5

MINOR REGIONS OF CHINESE SETTLEMENT

Either because of small numbers or a dearth of available information, it is essential to classify the Chinese who lived and worked in places other than those already recorded as minor settlements. Some of the following data are being recorded outside of census records for the first time, and it is particularly necessary to do so in order to provide a total picture of Chinese people and the places where they lived and what they accomplished in nineteenth century Utah.

A CHINESE DOCTOR IN MERCUR: SAM WING

Mercur was located in Manning Canyon of the Oquirrh Mountain range in Tooele County. It enjoyed three periods of prosperity and decline: the Lewiston period (1870-1883), the Mercur period, when Mercur proper flourished (1890-1917), and the least prosperous period in 1930 when S. F. Snyder and sons took over the
Consolidated Mercur Properties. It was during the second period (1890-1917), when the Chinese numbers increased from ten in 1880 to fifty-seven by 1900, that Doc Chinaman lived in Mercur.  

Of the early Chinamen of Tooele County, none is more remembered than Sam Wing, known as "Doc Chinaman" to his fellow townspeople in Mercur. Besides practicing Chinese herbal medicine, he was the proprietor of a laundry, taken care of by four other Chinamen in his employ.

In the early years of her marriage (1904-1905), Evalee McBride Fackrell was the next door neighbor of the doctor and his wife Molly. Mrs. Fackrell expressed great faith in him as a physician:

When the doctors out there [Mercur] had a case that they didn't know how to cure, and got so bad—they sent for him and that man pulled many a case through that the doctors would have lost. Everybody thought if they just had the "Doc" to take care of them, they'd be alright.

On one occasion, when Evalee's baby was crying during the early morning hours, the Doc, recognizing symptoms of cholic, came into the Fackrell home and

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1Robertson and Harris, p. 110.
2Rose Hum Lee, see table, p. 77.
rubbed a "Chinese peppermint oil" around the baby's mouth and navel. The baby ceased crying so immediately, his mother thought sure the Doc had drugged him. The Doc assured the mother that baby would be all right, and his words proved true.

Mrs. Fackrell described Molly's home:

Just a beautiful little home, just a little home . . . with two rooms, and the men that run the laundry lived back further--I never went into their apartment at all. They had their laundry in the back part of the home.

Molly often came to visit Mrs. Fackrell, and particularly to admire her baby boy. She adored the baby, and would hold him on her knee and bounce him saying, "A pretty baby, a nica baby." "She [Molly] had children, and they couldn't bring them over here, and she was lonesome . . . ."

Molly pined for her children until the Doc insisted she return to China. The reason the children were not allowed to come to the United States at this time was probably due to Chinese exclusion laws. The time about which Mrs. Fackrell speaks is 1904-1905, and the first exclusion laws were passed in 1882.

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3 Interview with Evalee McBride Fackrell, December 5, 1974, Holladay, Utah.

4 In 1902 Chinese exclusion was extended for an indefinite period.
In later years she remembers seeing Doc Chinaman at the New York Cafe in downtown Salt Lake City. After leaving Mercur he established a Chinese herbal medicine store near the Salt Lake City Railroad Terminal. She does not know if he ever returned to China.  

WONG SING: PIONEER CHINESE MERCHANT AT FORT DUCHESENE

In the minds of the people of the Uintah Basin, during the late 1800s and the early part of this century, few personalities stand out with such prominence as Wong Sing. He had humble beginnings as a laundryman at Fort Duchesne in 1889, but during the 1920s he owned and operated a merchandise store which boasted an inventory of between $60,000 and $70,000. Phoebe Litster remembers that when she was a girl in Vernal:

Wong Sing and two other Chinese set up a washing and cleaning shop. I was about ten or twelve (1891–1893) ... and then I got married and we were transferred to Fort Duchesne, he had that store there all the time ... Everybody traded with him, and always before the depression, he put a sack of candy in people's groceries before they went home. When my boy Robert was born, he came to see the baby and

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5 Fackrell interview.

6 Carter, pp. 464-469.
put a dollar in the baby's hand. He was thoughtful, he was good; he was good to all the people.\footnote{Interview with Phoebe Litster, December 5, 1974, Salt Lake City, Utah.}

Besides general merchandise, Sing's store handled furniture, ready-to-wear, a meat market was available with the groceries, and the store acted as central agent for machinery companies and other firms.\footnote{Carter, pp. 464-469.}

Phoebe Litster's son-in-law, Oliver Bradley Cloward, joined Wong Sing as an order boy for the store in 1921. Mr. Cloward was impressed by his benefactor:

He was a stocky built man (about 5'6", 5'7"), he wasn't a flashy man, he was just a common, everyday man. He just wore kinda pants, and he usually had a yellow shirt on . . . The remarkable thing about him was he had very much patience—that didn't seem to matter to him as long as you was honest or what he seen in ya . . . He'd try to train you in his way, and he did. He taught me to figure, and he taught me to write better, and how to treat people and how to meet em . . . He had an old pair of overshoes sittin around that'd been on the shelves ya know, for a long while—and some poor family come in there—they got those overshoes free; or if anybody had a fire in the neighborhood, Wong Sing was there, and usually contributed the most to help those people out . . . People respected him; they came from Vernal to trade with him, they came from La Pointe—all over the Basin—I've known cattlemen to come from around Vernal there and spend $200 at once with him. I never heard of him being dishonest with any man in all of my life.
I was kinda backward—and he brought that out of me—he really made something out of me. He really taught me. He never taught me anything bad. He'd always say, "Let's do it this way," and if I ever made a mistake—I don't know of him ever bawlin' me out.

He trusted people so, I guess he lost lots of money by trusting, but he just seemed like he couldn't see a family in need.9

He reportedly spoke the Ute language fluently and displayed a knowledgeable interest and respect for Indian culture. His annual calendars were always decorated with an Indian motif.10

... The Indians would trust him—I never seen anything like it the way they trusted him. He [Wong Sing] could speak it [the Ute language] fluently. He could tell you from memory the different things that'd happened [Uintah Basin Indian history]. When I worked there, there was still some of the old chiefs, that'd come there, and he'd tell me about them. He know'd, I believe, every Indian on that reservation, their character, and what they'd do, better than any man I think that'd ever lived out there.11

When Wong Sing was killed in a 1934 auto accident, the Salt Lake Tribune had this to say:

... Wong was more than a successful man; he was an institution, and his neighbors and friends in Duchesne and Uintah counties, Indians and whites alike, are mourning his death. Sixty Ute braves

9 Interview with Oliver Bradley Cloward, December 6, 1974, Orem, Utah.
10 Carter, pp. 464-469.
11 Cloward interview.
assembled at the office of the agency superintendent at Fort Duchesne Tuesday in a tribal council, and the virtues of Wong Sing were extolled and his passing mourned. 12

OTHER TOOELE COUNTY CHINESE

The mining operations in Rush Lake, Stockton precinct in the 1880s attracted a small group of Chinese to perform the services necessary in a society with few women. There were seven Chinese on Rush Lake's 1880 census record. Yar Git, Roy Ah, Toy Ah, and Jo Quang cooked for the miners living in the boarding house, and Lee Sing and Sing Sam washed the miners' laundry. Lee Sing had a wife named Emmy who kept house. This was one of those rare situations where a Chinese man and wife were found together in a nineteenth century Western settlement.

The miners in the Jacob City precinct apparently required little assistance. The two Chinese on the census, Charley You and Sam You were both "cook[s] for miners."

12Salt Lake Tribune, March 25, 1934.
MORGAN COUNTY

In three precincts of Morgan County, Croydon, Round Valley, and Peterson, there was a total of seventeen Chinese men on the 1880 census. All of these men were employed on the railroad section except one who cooked for the others. The mean age for these seventeen men was twenty years.

WASATCH COUNTY

In Heber precinct and Midway precinct for 1880, there lived only three Chinese men. They all cooked for the miners. In Midway precinct James (Jui) Lee, twenty-five, cooked for the Utah Mine, and Jauier (Jur) Lee, twenty-four, cooked for the Bonanza Mine. Latroy, twenty-six, was the cook for the miners in Heber.

BEAVER COUNTY

The mining operations in Beaver County were extensive enough to require the services of twenty-five Chinese laundering clothing and cooking meals. Beaver City precinct had a Chinese restaurant owner, Sam King, forty-four, who employed two cooks, Sam Lung, thirty-five,
and Seun Lee, thirty. Lincoln, Minersville precinct, had one Chinese resident, Charry Lee, thirty-eight, a cook. Frisco, Grampion precinct, lists thirteen Chinese men. Five were cooks and eight were washmen. Frisco's Star precinct miners employed five Chinese cooks and three washmen.

It is easy to perceive why twenty-one Chinese men were busily engaged in Frisco in the 1880s. Two famous American entrepreneurs, Jay Gould and Jay Cooke, were influential in promoting the extension of the Utah Southern Railroad from Milford to Frisco. Beaver City, which had been the city center for this region, gave way to Milford when it became Frisco's shipping point. It was Jay Cooke who purchased Frisco's "Silver Horn" mine for five million dollars. In ten years the Silver Horn produced fifty-four million dollars in silver. The Chinese probably traveled there by railroad, either of their own volition or as hired help for the miners.

Robertson and Harris, pp. 114-116.
In the Detroit Mining District, Deseret precinct, a man by the name of Cha Lee Hing, twenty-one, was employed as a cook in the miners' boarding house.

Of the Chinese men listed on Utah's 1880 census, 128 indicated they were married and 248 indicated they were single. Because the census takers were not equally fastidious, 113 were recorded without indication of marital status. Of the twenty-one women, seven were recorded as single, thirteen as married, and one indicated no marital status.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14}U.S. National Archives, 1880 Census for Utah.
Chapter 6

EVIDENCE OF CHINESE RELIGION

THE CHINESE BURIAL CUSTOMS

There is no evidence that the Chinese ever built a temple for the worship of their gods in Utah. The Chinese, being polytheistic, believed in elements of Buddhism, Taoism and Ancestor Reverence and performed their religious rituals in Utah as elsewhere in the Western United States. In Alta, which had a small Chinese community at the high-point of its mining boom, the local newspaper, the Cottonwood Observer, made reference to such a daily ritual in which can be found elements of all of the above-mentioned religions:

. . . Their superstition is exhibited every evening at the doors on the lighting of the lamps, by exhibitions of gestures, low mumbling and burnt sacrifices. . . . 1

In Park City, Fraser Buck reminisced:

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1Cottonwood Observer, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 9, 1873, p. 2.
We can still see the thin blue smoke spiraling from punks, and joss sticks in front of the laundry doors, close together along one side of Chinatown's one street, and whiff the pungent aroma of the incense mingling with the odors of strange-looking food laid out in the sun in front of the shops.

This very clear description by Mr. Buck could have been a special sacrifice for the "kitchen god," the provider of food. A similar sacrifice is made during the first day of the full moon or on the anniversary of the death of a loved one.

The principal sources of information evidencing Chinese religion in Utah were found in the many newspaper descriptions of Chinese funerals, cemeteries and exhumations in Salt Lake City, Park City, Silver Reef, Kelton, Terrace, Ogden, and Pappy Clay's description of a funeral in Tecoma, Nevada.

The Deseret News of August 17, 1886 contained an article about the funeral of Charley Foo, a prominent Chinese of Ogden. This was a grand funeral, lacking the simplicity of other descriptions. But for the purpose of religious interest the additional details provide more analyzable material. Charley Foo was a man of

\[ \text{Carter, p. 470.} \]
considerable means. The grandeur of a Chinese funeral was equal to the state of the deceased's finances. The high points of that funeral follow:

... At the hour appointed the Celestials had assembled in force to do honor to the memory of their departed friend ... The casket containing the remains was placed on pedestals ... immediately to the rear was a table of considerable dimensions loaded with a variety of rich viands, among which were a good sized pig, and another grunter, a suckling which had been dressed, cooked and served up whole for the occasion. ... Still further in the rear was another table covered with fruits, liquors and other paraphernalia for the feast of the spirit of the deceased Mongolian.

A Chinese funeral was a revelation of Chinese religious practices, involving elements of Buddhism, Taoism and Ancestor Reverence. In China, such a funeral would have required the participation of Buddhist and Taoist monks, but because of the situation, members of the Chinese community acted as replacements, doing all that was possible to bring in the traditional rituals to the best of their knowledge and understanding of them:

On either side of this last mentioned table, a Celestial was stationed to conduct the ceremonies. A mat was placed on the ground upon which the Mongolians, in couples knelt, bowed low three times, then took from the small table a cup filled with whiskey, scattered a portion on the ground, then took a rush straw, ignited it, bowed three times again, passed the straw to a Chinaman on the left, arose to their feet, retired and gave their place to other couples who went through the ceremony ... During
the operations, wax candles were burning on the table and the Chinese metallic band, consisting of a gong and two cymbals discoursed "celestial" music which was composed of one tune of about six notes and no variations. The Ogden Brass Band had been engaged for the occasion, and executed a number of popular dirges. . . .

The music, the bowing of individuals and the lighting of the rush straw were all means used to divert the evil spirits away from the spirit of the deceased. Wine on the ground symbolized a wine gift for the deceased.

At 2:45 p.m. the casket was placed in the elegant new hearse of Mr. James Gale and the long cortege . . . took up its march to the Ogden Cemetery. The procession was preceded by two prominent Chinese on white horses, then came the hearse followed by mourners and friends in carriages and several hundreds of "white trash" on foot. The latter lined each side of the road to the graveyard. On reaching the burial place the flags, banners, bedding, clothes and other effects of the deceased were gathered in piles and after the body had been lowered into the grave the above-named effects were ignited and formed a grand funeral pyre. The pigs, etc. were also consumed by the fiery element; candies and other sweets, dispensed to the crowd, also numerous small packages containing a dime coin of the United States, and every John returned to his abode. 3

All of the rituals performed at a Chinese funeral were to aid the spirit of the deceased to escape hell and successfully journey to heaven. The sacrificial burning of clothing and food was for the deceased particularly.

3Deseret News, August 17, 1886.
Burning the garments and food was a spiritual process whereby such items became available to the spirit in the spirit world; in essence they became raiment and food for the spirit in the form of provisions for the heavenward journey and afterwards. The individual conducting the ceremonies might have been a possessor of the Taoist or Buddhist priesthood, but was most likely an influential leader among the Ogden Chinese community. White was the Chinese color for death, which may explain the use of white horses to lead the procession.

Though not mentioned in this newspaper report, it was and remains the practice in Chinese funerals to use "Hell money" to bribe evil spirits and discourage them from deterring the spirit of the deceased from his heavenward journey (perhaps lighting the "rush straw" was the replacement in this case). The funeral described by George E. Miles in Silver Reef mentioned that "one or two Chinamen would go ahead of them, carrying a lot of small pieces of paper about two inches square, they would throw these in every direction, in front and to the sides."\(^4\)

\(^4\)Eva Miles paper.
In Park City, Fraser Buck spoke of remains of Chinese being sent back to China. In Terrace, Frank Tinker noted that "... When the men died they were taken to a cemetery west of town which defies location today. Later some of the remains were shipped back to China." Henry Ju noted that it was his father Joy's last wish to have his remains exhumed after the passage of five or ten years and sent to China to be buried in the ancestral tomb. It is essential to realize that this practice was religious, and was not motivated from a belief in the inferiority of an American grave. Having one's bones placed in the ancestral tomb was the final rite necessary to provide security and order in the after-life. It was insurance that present and future generations would perform the necessary rites on holidays and the anniversary of a death; that a person would not lose the tie which binds the living family members with those who have passed into the spirit world.

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5 Fraser Buck interview.
6 Salt Lake Tribune, article by Frank Tinker, January 26, 1964.
7 Henry Ju interview.
Oliver Bradley Cloward mentioned that Wong Sing was not attracted to Christianity; that he believed he would be a horse in a future life.\(^8\) Such a belief indicates that Wong Sing was Buddhist and believed in the Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation, whereby in different lives an individual may appear in an equal number of different physical forms.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE UTAH CHINESE

In nineteenth century Utah the Christian denominations did not have many Chinese converts. Whether or not the Chinese were actively proselytized by any except the Congregational Church is unknown. An 1897 newspaper article described "a Chinese Christmas entertainment" which took place at the Congregational Church of Salt Lake City:

... in a hall ornamented with divers kind of Oriental creations until it presented a very pretty and picturesque scene. The entire program was carried out by the Chinese Sunday School scholars themselves.\(^9\)

From *Journal History*, in an excerpt from an editorial reprinted from the *New York Tribune*, the

\(^8\)Cloward interview.

\(^9\)Deseret News, December 20, 1897.
editor imagined a Chinese impression of American Christianity:

Most of us [Americans] profess to be Christians, after some sort, and expect the conversion of China to Christianity. But every Chinese who spends a few years in America, and then returns to his native land, as nearly all who survive do, become inevitably an obstacle to the conversion of his countrymen. He says to them, "Never believe what these missionaries tell you about Christians and Christianity. I have tried them thoroughly, and know by sad experience that they are ruffians, robbers and cruel tyrants, abusing the weak and helpless stranger as no true disciple of Confucius ever did or will do. Beware of them!"

Surely, as the end of the nineteenth century approached (in 1882 the Chinese were excluded from immigrating to the United States for ten years, and in 1892 the Geary Bill added a further ten years to the original), many Chinese must have perceived American Christianity in just such a way. Both the attitudes of the majority Americans toward Chinese and the observations by the Chinese of Christians despising them must have influenced what did and did not happen so far as "Christianizing" them was concerned both in the United States and in China.

On August 2, 1852, the Latter-day Saints called missionaries to serve in China. Elders Hosea Stout,

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10Journal History, Church Historical Archives, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, July 21, 1869, p. 4.
James Lewis and Chapman Duncan departed from San Francisco on March 8, 1853 and landed in Hong Kong, April 27, 1853. They met with little success, remained only a short time, and returned to America. It is not known that a single convert was made.\textsuperscript{11}

There was no evidence that any Chinese locally were proselytized by Mormons in the nineteenth century. It was a strange dichotomy that Mormon leaders sent missionaries all the way to Hong Kong in 1853 if they then later ignored the Chinese population which gathered on their doorstep; Plum Alley was only a few blocks from Mormon Temple Square.

\textsuperscript{11}Carter, p. 437.
Chapter 7

THE CHINESE QUESTION

LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AND CHINESE EXCLUSION

The local Utah newspapers, like other Western American newspapers, followed the Chinese Bill and expressed opinions about Chinese exclusion from 1870 to 1882.

The Deseret News (a newspaper owned and operated through the auspices of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) prior to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Bill was comparatively low key and objective in its reporting on the subject. The paper followed the bill and matter-of-factly reported what was happening in Washington regarding it. Because the Mormons were awaiting the outcome of the Polygamy Bill at approximately the same time, this may account for such objectivity. "The anti-polygamy of Mormons circulator of Secretary Evarts, the Chinese bill and the requested Irish bill are
Such comparisons were often drawn between the two bills. "Page of California asserted that polygamy was the twin barbarism of Chinese immigration." Though the editorials were often neutral, they did not always make a stand in favor or against: "The question of Chinese immigration is a knotty one." The following editorial written in 1870 was sternly opposed to limiting the immigration of Asians:

It is the boast of every true American that within the domain of the United States, people of all nationalities may find an asylum if they wish to do so. There is no more restriction with regard to Asiatics than Europeans. The last amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the vote of the people, abolished all distinctions on account of race, or color; yet with strange inconsistency, the Chinaman is everywhere looked upon with scorn and dislike, and efforts are being made to prevent him from enjoying the rights of citizenship, and even to put a stop to Chinese immigration. This latter, it is impossible to do under existing treaty regulations with China; but were this not so, an invidious exception excluding Chinese only from landing upon and dwelling on American soil would be an act so

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1 The Deseret Evening News, Vol. 15, No. 130, April 24, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.

2 Ibid., Vol. 15, No. 97, March 16, 1882, p. 1, col. 3.

3 Ibid., Vol. 15, No. 79, February 23, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.
un-American that were it attempted its success would be questionable.  

The Deseret News editorial contained in the section below on Expulsion, which was written after the passage of the exclusion bill, was inconsistent with prior reporting. As the Chinese appeared to be a "real" threat in Utah, the editor expressed prejudicial attitudes—the same which had been voiced in other local papers all along.

The Ogden Junction editorials were fascinating for their unabashed confusion. The editor was not certain about his own feelings. Observe that one paragraph may be almost objective, as the editor searches for reality, whereas another paragraph, in the same editorial, resumes the general attitudes of the time.

How to Do and How Not to Do

It would be against that common feeling instinctively entertained by every man for his fellow country men in preference to other races or people if we should exhibit a sympathy for the Chinese as against our own race and people. We do not in any sense believe in the influx into any portion of this country of any race whose habits, manners and customs and unyielding allegiance to their native land renders them unassimilating with our institutions, and such we believe to be the Chinese character, and therefore regard not only their encouragement as

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4Deseret News, 1870 (Carter, p. 460).
prejudicial, but consider a restriction of their immigration in every way desirable so long as it is done in a way that will leave no taint of dishonor upon us as a people; let it be done by a procedure that will exhibit our high regard for national honor and international courtesy.  

In the following article the editor for a moment became objective and searched the Chinese question from another perspective. What he said could have been the words of Stuart Creighton Miller ninety years later.  

It is certain, however, that much of the evil attributed to the Chinese has no other foundation than the political capital which the agitation of the question provides for politicians and a certain undefinable but deep-seated prejudice which commenced several years ago, and has steadily increased.  

But the next paragraph revealed that the editor was aware of and influenced by "racist" theories prevalent in this period and often applied to the Chinese. He was also familiar with "the argument" of labor leaders who favored exclusion:  

Again civilized people are not inclined to relish to a great degree the society of barbarians;  

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5 "How to Do and How Not to Do," The Ogden Junction, Vol. 10, No. 17, p. 2, col. 2.  

6 Miller's thesis is discussed in the section entitled "Beneath the Chinese Question."  

and where there is no neighborly feeling existing between old residents, there is found to be enmity. The Chinese cannot associate with the Caucasians for several reasons; their habits are too widely at variance, and the Celestials can't afford it. A Chinaman will live in a city like San Francisco where the most exaggerated form of high life prevails, and save money on wages that would not pay the daily cigar bills of a large number of the male population. And then, as if to aggravate this offense, the savings are not invested in the community, nor do they go directly, or indirectly towards benefiting the locality or State from which the money is derived; the Chinese policy in this regard, therefore, assumes the character of a drain. On the other hand, again, they do work which the refined Caucasian would not stoop to; they are, in fact, the sewers of society, and their labors are performed for such prices as render them available to all kinds of people. They are not generally slovenly or unclean; they are educated almost without exception; they keep to themselves and pay cash for all they get.

The editor, somewhat overwhelmed by his own confusion, more sympathetically concluded:

But when every argument in favor of the Chinese is exhausted, the case of to-day is not covered; for times are hard, work in places is difficult if not impossible to get, and the wages of white men, as a consequence, have dwindled to such an extent that there is at least but a trifling difference between the prices paid for work performed by the white man and that done by the copper-colored incubus. The first care of the nation should be the welfare of its subjects, and when we are brought into competition for days' labor, something must be done. There are unquestionably more workmen than there is work to be performed; and to divide what little there is with the inferior and alien race, is not a good nor a just policy.

8Ibid.
The Park Mining Record editorials expressed a candid and unashamed prejudice.

Because eastern politicians tended to oppose Chinese exclusion sponsored by California politicians, the Park City editor compared the two regions in an attempt to display eastern ignorance of the Question.

The Chinese Bill

Perhaps no other legislation could be of more vital importance to the people of the Pacific States and Territories than the bill now pending in the National Congress, namely the Restriction Bill. Naturally enough it meets with opposition, and as would be expected from "down East ______" representatives who have but a faint idea of its beneficial results on the Pacific Coast, should the restrictive bill pass. In the East while laborers are abundant and cheap; in the West comparatively scarce and commanding from $2 to $4 per day. In the East, food and raiment are cheap and living much less expensive than in the Rocky Mountain regions and on the western coast, and a constant steady stream of Chinese emigrants has little or no effect upon the mechanic or laborer in the East. Anyone can become a common laborer and command common wages, but skillful workmen are always in demand in all countries and under all circumstances. Consequently there is but little need of fear on their part of an overdose of skilled cheap laborers from the Chinese kingdom.

The reason given for excluding Chinese was often expressed in dollars and cents. The Chinese became an indispensible target for the ills of the economy and unemployment.

Mr. Hoar, the champion of Chinese interests, must have forgotten how the white mechanics of the large boot and shoe manufacturing establishments were
thrown out of employment a few years ago in New England, and their places supplied by the cheap, ignorant Chinese coolies, who had been imported for the purpose by the shipload. It seems to us that this alone would be sufficient evidence for the Senator to change his views on the Chinese question, that is if he places any worth or respect on the white laborer. But it does not appear so. Then why should certain journals and statesmen censure the people of the Coast because they want to rid themselves of or restrict Chinese immigration? They know but little of the grievances of the whites in this country. They are told why such feelings are fostered against a class of emigrants that reduces wages, horde their money and send it to China. Also, they are cognizant of the fact that Chinese cheap labor has been and is the foundation of crime and destitution in this country. They also know that this cheap labor system has driven many white children on to the streets in Coast cities, beggars, and has made thieves of men who never carried a dishonest hair on their heads when they could obtain work at reasonable wages, and support their families decently and comfortably.

The foregoing passage focused on the emotional topic of public morality, in which the Chinese were labeled "the foundation of crime and destitution." What were people in 1882 to conclude from reading such biased journalism? The part played by newspaper editors in building the "exclusionist" pyramid cannot be underestimated.

"Well," say our Eastern neighbors, "the Chinese live, work and save money on small wages, why can't the Americans?" The most effective answer we can give to this question, is to ask Senator Hoar, and all friends of the Chinese cheap labor system, to seat themselves at a rough, wooden table, with chop-sticks in hand,
and eat rice three times a day, wash it down with a cup of tea—no other luxuries—and then do a white man's work with this kind of food for six months, with a pick and shovel. If, at the end of that period they do not look upon this question as the people of this coast do, then we will throw up our prophetic pretensions and say no more against the influx.

The above argument about "rice and chop sticks" must not have impressed its author, because immediately thereafter he returned to "the heathenish and revolting" Chinese.

Furthermore, their presence tends to increase vice and immorality. They leave behind them their families and bring prostitutes to this country, as well as their opium habits and other vices. Their customs after years of residence here are as heathenish and revolting, and approach no nearer refinement than the day they embarked from the Celestial Empire. If they would become naturalized, invest their money here, and work for the same wages and do as other foreigners do, there would be less complaint. But there is nothing elevating, nothing pure, nor nothing about their whole makeup that makes a constant association with them desirable. If our country cannot be benefitted by their presence, then we don't want them. Let Congress for the next two weeks be flooded with petitions, praying for the passage of the bill, from all quarters of the Continent, and give them to understand that the Chinese must go.9

No one seemed to notice that an economic depression during this period may have found causes in corporate leadership or the saturation of the West with white

laborers from other parts of the country and Europe. The Chinese were earmarked as the scapegoat.

In essence, the following short news item expressed the feelings of the Park Record's editor on the subject of Chinese: "Only 17,767 Chinese landed in San Francisco last year, and 8,178 returned. When the figures are reversed the Chinese question will be in a fair way for settlement."\(^\text{10}\)

The Silver Reef Miner had its own terse and direct way of parroting attitudes shared by newspapers of the Western region:

An enterprising Celestial has opened a barber shop in the lower part of town, Alle same Melican man. Where, O, where is Kearney! Let us rally on Bonanza Flat and have a new Constitution for Silver Reef.

In Silver Reef, a product "not made by Chinese hands," increased in saleability: "Quirk brothers have just received an invoice of choice cigars, not rolled by Mongolian hands."\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\)Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 52, January 28, 1882, p. 2, col. 1.

\(^{11}\)The Silver Reef Miner, June 10, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.
Cheaper Chinese labor was considered in the following passage, but the corporate heads got the worst of the tongue lashing:

The Echo and Park City Railroad, a Utah affair, has substituted Chinese for white labor, paying the former sixty-five cents per day less than Caucasians. It is presumable that after the road is built it will depend on white patronage for support; for it is evident that its revenue from the Chinese businessmen and artisans would not buy waste enough to wipe its locomotives. It would be a pity, of course, to hear of a cyclone come raging along which would tear up and scatter the grading and rails of such a philanthropic corporation to the four winds of heaven, but it would be recompense sufficient if it would only take the sixty-five cent souls of the directors of such a company and include them among the general wreck.12

Once again, the Chinese and polygamists were viewed as the common enemy: "With polygamy wiped out, and an embargo on Chinese cheap labor, America will soon be a nation to be spelled with a big N."13 "S-I-G-N-E-D! P-A-S-S-E-D! Polygamy and the Chinese must go."14

The Utah newspapers kept an ear to the ground for news about the Chinese question coming from other parts of the nation: The Utah Reporter of Corinne reproduced

13 Ibid., March 24, 1882, p. 1 (Brieflets).
14 Ibid.
a poem about the already mentioned credit ticket broker, Koopmanschap, whose agency in San Francisco was used extensively for bringing Chinese workers in to build the Central Pacific Railroad.

This is the way the Chinese question strikes a paper in Texas, where an invoice of Celestials has recently arrived:

We are coming Father Koopmanschap, one hundred million strong; We will bear each man a rice bag, and each will beat a gong; We will drive the Sambo flying, before our moon-eyed hosts, And whip the poor white-trash sir from out these golden coasts, Then we'll take this mighty nation and sell it for a song, For we're coming Father Koopmanschap, one-hundred million strong.  

By 1869, the Chinese had already been categorized as "cheap labor":

The Colorado people are agitating the question of Chinese labor. They seem to think they can develop that wonderful territory more rapidly by introducing the "pig-tail," "almond-eyed," celestials in their mines and workshops. They can try it for all we care. We'll sell em ours cheap.

The editor of The Corinne Daily Mail could not resist appending the following news item with an exclusionist attitude:

16 Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 12, November 27, 1869, p. 3, col. 1.
The remains of several Celestials were brought down to Franklin from Montana a day or two since and shipped to the Flowery Kingdom. How happy we'd be if the living heathen could be got rid of so easily.17

Unlike her sister states of Nevada and Idaho particularly, Utah did not have so large a Chinese population. But ten Utah counties record Chinese inhabitants in 1880 and fourteen counties had Chinese populations by 1890.18 So, during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Utah was aware of the Chinese, and according to the above newspaper reports, attitudes of hostility toward the Chinese in Utah did not differ with those in other Western states with Chinese populations. The Chinese were second-class people in Utah.

BENEATH THE CHINESE QUESTION

Various theories have developed to explain the causes of Chinese persecution which culminated in their exclusion from this country. Among prominent theorists Stuart Creighton Miller observed that for half a century preceding the arrival of the first Chinese in America an image of China and its inhabitants had been forming in

18 1880 Census and Lee table, p. 77.
American minds, established by returned missionaries, sea captains and diplomats. To a great extent, this image was not favorable and produced a defined stereotype of the Chinese in the minds of nineteenth century Americans. According to these reports the Chinaman was without morals, filthy in bodily care and household—of a group character which included every negative trait. There was much evidence in Utah newspapers to verify that such an image had been established. From an editorial discussing the veto of one of the Chinese bills, April 8, 1882, The Park Mining Record gave the following description of the Chinese:

... they [the Chinese] are the filthiest people on the face of the earth, as anyone will testify who has been in the Chinese quarters in any large city in the West. Even digger Indians are respectable compared with Chinamen, for although they may keep their bodies disgustingly dirty and live in filth, in their social relations they at least resemble man. ... 20

Miller's thesis proposed that the discriminatory legislation which excluded Chinese from the United States between 1882 and 1943 was the direct result of "the


Chinese image" created through the composite reports of the above-mentioned sources, who:

... in their multitudinous publications and word-of-mouth story telling portrayed Chinese as uniquely enslaved to an idolatrous ancient tradition, politically servile, morally depraved, and loath-somely diseased. China was viewed as singularly impervious to nineteenth century ideals of progress, liberty and civilization to which an emergent modern America was fervently committed. 21

The following article appeared in The Silver Reef Miner:

Chinese Leprosy

Leprosy exists among the Chinese to a greater extent than is generally supposed. It is one of the most dreaded diseases in China. There is a current belief there that if a person afflicted with it can kill a young girl and eat her heart the evidences of the disease will not appear on the face, and that he can thus escape being known as a leper. This notion has probably been the cause of many murders ... 22

Miller wrote further that:

The Chinese arrived in the middle of the slavery controversy, when modern racist theory was being developed and when Americans were becoming conscious of antisepsis and germs. This stimulated editorial fears of "coolieism," of alien genes and germs. 23

In Utah, as in most Western and Pacific states, there were laws enacted which prevented whites from

21 Miller, p. vii.
23 Miller, p. 15.
marrying with Chinese or other racial minorities (miscegenation). Rolander Guy McClellan, in his book *The Golden State: A History of the Region West of the Rocky Mountains*, displayed an attitude toward the marriage of a White with a Chinese:

... so deeply rooted and general is the prejudice against amalgamation with Chinese that every species of crime may be committed under some pretext or other, but the last crowning sin--to marry a Chinese--will be avoided. The human nondescript that might be produced by the amalgamation of the Caucasian and Chinese must long remain unknown, at least in California.24

A miscegenation case involving a Lee Chin and a white woman Eva Lee in Cheyenne was ruled in the couple's favor. They were married in Denver, Colorado being the only Western state which allowed interracial marriage at this time.25

The miscegenation laws in Utah permitted members of the Negro, Mongolian and Malay races to intermarry, but forbade any of these to intermarry with whites.26

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Chinese contemporary events received much front-page coverage in American newspapers during this same period. The Opium War, Taiping Rebellion, Arrow War, and Tien Tsin Massacre, to mention the major events, were all viewed as negative in regard to Chinese participation. There was no sympathy for the dangerous challenges these events posed to Chinese sovereignty or the dreaded effects from the opium traffic introduced to China by Western nations. In 1880, Park City's newspaper editor remembered the Taiping Rebellion which was:

... led by Hung Hsui-ch'uan ... a peasant uprising against the Manchu rulers in the name of Christianity that featured a communistic economy. But like the Chinese use of Marxism a century later, The Taipings adapted a Western religion doctrine to their own needs and freely mixed in with it some Chinese traditions.27

The newspaper only recalled the Western mercenary period, toward the very end, when the Taipings were already destroyed from within. The Taipings nearly toppled the dynasty and many historians agree that if the leadership would have maintained stability throughout, they would have succeeded.

The Chinese government has given notice that it will employ no foreigners in the contemplated war between China and Russia. A great number of adventurers are applying for commands in the army and navy, but the government proposes to furnish its own commanders. The government fails to remember that the empire was preserved by the gallant Gordon when he quelled the Tai Ping Rebellion. Chinamen make good soldiers but they need foreign officers to command them. [Italics mine.]

Gunther Barth demonstrated that unlike other immigrants—the Irish and others of European stock, the Chinese in America had not disowned their homeland in favor of the chosen land—America. Barth's thesis concluded that this was a major factor leading to exclusion. The Chinese had come to spend an indefinite but "temporary" period of time with a goal of saving their profits, hopefully equal to their sacrifices. After this was accomplished they generally returned to China. If they died en route to this final goal, they would have their bones shipped back for burial in the ancestral graveyards.

Hostility to the Chinese grew from their peculiarity as unfree sojourners who's presence threatened the ideals of a society committed to freedom, nationalism and expecting all newcomers to share in this attitude.

28The Park Mining Record, Vol. 1, No. 27, August 7, 1880, p. 2.
29Miller, p. vii.
As a laborer, because of this "sojourner" attitude, a portion of the profit made by Chinese was sent to the homeland, and not altogether reinvested in the American economy to the disdain of newspaper editors and labor leaders.

The following editorial from the Park Mining Record reinforces Barth's conclusions. In reaction to President Arthur's veto of one of the preliminary Chinese exclusion bills, the editor, after providing a description of numerous Chinese vices, concluded that the Chinese were a class of people:

... who come here solely for the purpose of accumulating wealth, and returning to their homes with the gains they have filched from honest white laborers of this free and independent country. As we have said, and as every honest American does say, that if the Chinese would work for wages the same as white men, bring their families and leave their prostitutes home and become naturalized citizens, and live as human beings, there would be no such complaints made against them, and there would be no need of legislation or division of parties on this important question. 30

There is no doubt that the "sojourner" attitude of the Chinese was not positively received. However, this pious concern may be viewed from still another

30 "Reasons for His Veto," The Park Mining Record, Vol. 3, No. 11, April 15, 1882, p. 2.
perspective. The American majority required respectable motives for excluding the Chinese, and among "scapegoat" reasons which could be voiced was this idea that Chinese were only here temporarily, without families, not putting down roots. This unemotional logic finally influenced Congress to pass the exclusion bill. But it was not the "real" reason behind exclusion; it was the "scapegoat" respectable reason.

One of the pioneer researchers into Chinese immigration was Mary Roberts Coolidge. Her approach was to investigate the reasons for exclusion as voiced by labor leaders and politicians, and one by one eliminate them as unrealistic.

One of the most astonishing things in connection with the exclusion of the Chinese is the fact that the general immigration laws shutting out undesirable aliens—diseased, paupers, insane, criminal and the like were not applied to the Chinese until 1903. They were constantly charged with all these defects but the California statesmen who secured the exclusion laws never asked that the general exclusion law be applied to them. The records of prisons, asylums, hospitals and almshouses after fifty years, show why; if those laws alone had been applied to the Chinese there would have been very few shut out—too few to suit the advocates of no-competition with American-European labor.\(^\text{31}\)

\(^{31}\)Coolidge, p. 488.
She concluded that "race discrimination" was the motive behind exclusion, and advocated a reevaluation of laws, advising a nonracist posture. She noted that Chinese were assimilating in 1909:

The few hundreds who have tried to assimilate with us are living peaceably and usefully with their families, bringing up their children in American fashion with American ideas and contributing as stable and useful a factor as any foreign element in California.32

The Chinese had a decided disadvantage in comparison to other nationalities who were immigrating to America in the late nineteenth century, or in prior immigrations, with the exception of the Negroes who did not immigrate but were brought to America as slaves. For the Chinese, like the Negro, the American culture gap was tremendous, and by the time of their arrival, a racial definition of "Americanness" was already a finished product. The California philosopher Homer Lea concluded in 1900 that "... the foreign non-Anglo Saxon element in this country" had risen from one-twelfth of the population in 1860 to almost one-half in 1900. "Since

32 Ibid., p. 487.
that time the declination of primitive Americanism has gone on at even greater speed." 33

It is significant to note that cultures and races most readily assimilable into the American melting pot have been those with the greatest common background. The English had the advantage as the most influential founders of the republic, followed by other northern (Nordic) Europeans. These non-English Europeans had to learn a new language, but still possessed physical characteristics, customs and beliefs common with the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP). The further removed from the "WASP" ideal, the more difficult it has been to achieve assimilation. Ultimate assimilation is only achieved through inter-marriage. Many states, including Utah, until recent years had laws prohibiting "marriage or cohabitation between a white person and a member of another race." 34

Besides racial differences, the Chinese dressed in a style peculiar to Westerners, and their eating


34 Webster's Dictionary, definition of miscegenation.
habits were different. Their holidays were special "lunar" holidays and they were "pagan" by nineteenth century Christian standards. If a Chinese became Christian, which rarely occurred in those times, he was still the product of a "pagan" nation. These differences, as perceived by labor unionists, politicians, laborers and others made the Chinese a perfect target for scapegoat discrimination.

Alexander Saxton, referred to many times herein, authored The Indispensable Enemy, a history written about labor and the anti-Chinese movement in California. This convincing new perspective, published in 1971, illustrated that the anti-Chinese movement was rooted, not in the West, but in the East; specifically tied to Jacksonian democracy, which being pro-slavery was therefore also racist toward Negroes. But,

. . . during the Civil War and the years immediately following, expressions of hostility toward Negroes had acquired a secessionist connotation. The Chinese argument, however, remained untainted, and within this fabric the driving emotions of racism could be woven into a pattern of economic rationalization. 35

The racist political philosophy which led to Chinese exclusion, indirectly pressured the republicans into

35Saxton, Enemy, p. 104.
abandoning reconstruction and eroded abolitionist thinking within the party; which in turn gave permission for the bi-partisan anti-Chinese alliance between the two major parties, and which quietly put Negroes back at the bottom of "the list." Through years of erosion, the twin-mandate of the republican and democratic parties, "the equality of all men," was replaced by the definition of an American as "WASP," or something reasonably close; a racist ideology which in turn categorized non-whites as inferior.

The Indispensable Enemy tells about the rehabilitation of the Jacksonian democratic party in the California election of 1867 running on a platform of anti-coolieism: "... The events of 1867, moreover, had demonstrated that anti-Chinese politics in the West were successful politics." The Chinese became the scapegoats for the mid-eighties depression, because they had been categorized as "cheap labor." Saxton pointed out that by the mid-eighties, because of the passage of the exclusion laws, Chinese numbers were decreasing and white labor from the East had exceeded the saturation point.

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36 Ibid.
Labor parties and unions received necessary impetus for successful establishment from platforms of "anti-collieism." Because there was no longer a fear of labor shortage by 1882, the Chinese were already dispensable. "Even the non-Chinese laborers themselves used the crusade against the Chinese as a principal organizing tool."

Saxton says:

... [The Chinese] were the indispensable asset, for many white laborers and labor organizers. The only real danger was that the Chinese might die out; but happily the exclusion act had been written only against the Chinese, and there remained a parade of Asian menaces--Hindoos, Filipinos, Japanese--waiting in the wings to provide employment for subsequent generations of craft union officials and labor politicians.37

A PERIOD OF EXPULSION

Alexander Saxton's research further revealed that during the period (1885-1886) a chain reaction of Chinese expulsions occurred throughout the West. In Eureka City, California, in the winter of 1885:

... rival factions of the Chinese came to blows ... some of the Chinese opened fire--at each other, not at outsiders; but among those hit were two white onlookers ... A thousand men gathered in Centennial Hall and elected a committee to notify

37 Ibid., p. 264.
the Chinese they had twenty-four hours to pack up and leave. The Chinese offered no resistance... two steamers took them to San Francisco.  

Violent expulsion of Chinese coal miners encouraged by the local assembly of Knights of Labor occurred in Rock Springs, Wyoming, even as a Corinne newspaper editor had imagined more than a decade before when the Chinese passed through Corinne on their way to the Wyoming coal mines:

Rioting erupted at Rock Springs on September 2, 1885, when the white miners in the Union Pacific coal camp attacked Chinese laborers there, killing twenty-eight, wounding fifteen, and causing ($150,000) extensive property damage.  

On November 3, 1885, the Chinese were expelled from their buildings and driven out of Tacoma, Washington. About this same time, anti-Chinese leaders in Seattle were arrested.

Chinese expulsions became a series of chain reactions throughout California from Los Angeles to Oregon City. Chinese poured into San Francisco from the hinterlands where many supposedly starved because of

38 Ibid., p. 201.

depression and unemployment. In Oregon, exclusionist leaders planned to drive all Chinese out of the small towns before Washington's birthday, 1886.\textsuperscript{40}

The following editorial from The Deseret News dated June 10, 1884 brings news "... that the Pleasant Valley coal mines [in Carbon County] are to be operated almost exclusively with Chinese workmen."\textsuperscript{41} In this article it was shown that the spirit of Chinese expulsion had made its way to Utah. Considering what later occurred in the Pleasant Valley mines, the following editorial, undoubtedly influenced by expulsions in other areas, may have psychologically precipitated the one which was to occur in Utah:

Thus far Utah has not been appreciably affected by the labor troubles by which other parts of the country are kept in almost constant commotion. That phase of the question in which the Pacific slope is more especially involved—the Chinese branch of it has had scarcely any bearing here at all. The few Orientals residing in Utah have mostly confined their business relations to the cleaning of clothes and the creation of nuisances.\textsuperscript{42}

This uncomplimentary paragraph contained within it an element of significant insight. In nineteenth

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Saxton, Enemy, pp. 202-213.
\item The Deseret News, June 10, 1884.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
century Utah, the Chinese population peaked with 806 in 1890, never a very great number. If the Chinese encountered less persecution in Utah, it was because there were fewer Chinese attracting attention from the majority population. Accepting employment in an important coal mine was not keeping a low enough profile, even for the few Chinese in Utah. No one cared so long as the Chinese remained "within their limits"; those limits as created by the majority populace included washing clothes, raising vegetables, cooking for white men, and other occupations unattractive to American workmen of the day. Coal mining was not to be found on that list.

A good many Chinamen have been employed in the construction of railroads in this region, but as that is transitory work, it has cut no permanent figure in the question of labor. But if reports be correct, the entering wedge of Chinese labor has already been or will soon be driven into this market. It is stated that the Pleasant Valley coal mines are to be operated almost exclusively with Chinese workmen.43

As in other similar situations throughout Western states where Chinese had competed with white men for a job, the stereotyped reason was afforded, which always laid the majority of the blame on the Chinese who

43Ibid.
accepted needed employment, moreso than upon the employer, who exploited everyone to his own advantage:

This may appear a trifling circumstance on its face, but does not take so slight a shape upon closer inspection. It means a material reduction in the rate of miners' wages, for the white laborer in that line will have a competitor in the field with whom he cannot cope successfully. The larger amount of work that can be done in a given time by the white man is more than offset by the greatly reduced rate at which the Chinaman can afford to work, for he can live on what the other would starve.  

The editor allotted the company bosses a portion of the responsibility, but overreacted to "coolies" monopolizing the coal mining profession.

The object of employing coolie labor in the mines is of course the production of coal by the company at the cheapest possible rate, enabling them to so reduce the price to consumers as to, if possible, command the market. This will, as a natural sequence, cause rival coal companies to cut down their operating expenses, either by reducing the wages of white employees or the employment of coolie laborers, the blow in any event falling upon the workingmen, whose condition does not as a rule receive the consideration to which it is entitled.

The remainder of the article attempted to express the side-effects which might have been expected by the majority community if the Chinese were employed. An economic theory and a "unionist" concern for "proper

\[44\] Ibid.
\[45\] Ibid.
wages" to sustain a necessary standard of living were the
concluding remarks with a warning about the real culprit:

While the effects of competition are in some
respects beneficial, in others, they are disastrous.
It compels reductions in the prices of products, and
the aim of corporations and businessmen generally is
to bring down prices so far as practicable without
corresponding depreciation of profits.

Every man who is willing to labor to the extent
of his ability, be it much or little, has a common
right—whether it be recognized or not—to a decent
living. What we mean by that is that he is entitled
to sufficient food, clothing and shelter for himself
and those who may be helplessly dependent upon him.
While this right—which we hold to be inherent—is
generally recognized in theory, it is under existing
conditions, frequently ignored practically. Having
this view, we hope the example set by the company
operating the Pleasant Valley coal mines will not
largely enter into the labor avenues of Utah.46

The editor had obviously been converted by simi­
lar arguments against the Chinese editorialized during
this same period. It appeared that with the general
consensus in their favor—in other words, what people
were saying and what authoritative newspaper men were
writing—bolstered by expulsions of Chinese in other
parts of the West, that it was just a matter of time
before a similar expulsion would occur in Utah. The
Chinese came to Pleasant Valley in Carbon County and they
labored in the coal mines for an unknown period of time:

46 Ibid.
At the reopening of Utah mine, Chinese were sent in. On their behalf I will say that there is still standing a portion of the mine entry that was driven by them and it is as beautiful a piece of work as one could wish to see in a coal mine. Evidently no powder was used for blasting. Entry was driven exclusively with pick work. The sides are perfectly straight to a certain height and the roof is semi-arched. Due to the method of working this entry will stand indefinitely.

A short time after the Chinese were imported into Pleasant Valley, white labor started to come in and naturally resented the presence of the yellow men. When white labor was strong enough they brought the situation to a climax and took the law into their own hands. One day they herded the Chinese into a box car, fastened the doors and started the car down grade. Fortunately, the car kept the track until it reached a place near Hales where there is an adverse grade. It stopped there and evidently the "Chinks" traveled the rest of the way on foot. At least they have not been seen in Pleasant Valley from that day to this.47

Besides Pleasant Valley, trouble also began to brew in Ogden during this same period; it is not known what, if anything, resulted from the following anti-Chinese gathering:

It appears that Chinamen are becoming somewhat numerous in Ogden. So much is this the case that their presence is being made the subject of a boisterous agitation on the part of the secret organization known as the Knights of Labor, joined probably by some others.

These agitators have betrayed a feverish anxiety to get rid of the Mongolian residents, the disposition being betrayed by threats of violence. A meeting on the subject was held in Ogden on Tuesday night. . . .

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Chapter 8

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The railroad was inseparably connected to the Chinese community in Utah throughout the nineteenth century. Even so, Mormon cooperative participation in interstate railroad construction limited opportunity for the Chinese experienced in this field of labor. From 1870 to the end of the nineteenth century, opportunities in railroad employment sharply declined for the Chinese in Utah, but even by 1890, as Wallace Clay and the census records indicated, 147 Chinese in Box Elder County were still employed mostly as section-hands with the Central Pacific Railroad Company.¹

Besides railroad work, mining booms which occurred throughout Utah from 1870 to the end of the century, indirectly provided another source of employment for Chinese. It is possible, but not absolutely certain, that during the early seventies Chinese were involved in placer

¹Lee table, p. 77.
mining activities in the Echo precinct of Summit County, before mining laws excluding aliens were passed. ²

The 1870 and 1880 census confirmed that Chinese living in various mining camps from Park City to Silver Reef were engaged in occupations other than mining. The principal type of labor in which they engaged was service work such as cooking, restaurant management, laundry work, general merchandise, and raising and peddling vegetables.³

The Salt Lake City Chinese population growth provided one exception. It was the major metropolitan area with a large population of Mormons, lacking both mining and railroad work, where there was apparently enough security in service work to attract a large Chinese population, who, in turn, developed the most important Chinatown in Utah, containing the center of Chinese tong activity with the original headquarters located in "Plum Alley."⁴ By 1890 Salt Lake County had the largest Chinese population in the territory with

²Konvitz, p. 199.
³1870 and 1880 Census.
⁴See supra, p. 62, "The Salt Lake City Chinese."
and it was the only county in Utah with an increase in Chinese population by 1900 with 271. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Bill in 1882, Salt Lake City's Chinese population still doubled between 1880 and 1890; and during this same period the editorials in The Deseret News became more critical, but with no apparent effect on the population growth.

Another exception was metropolitan Ogden. As the railroad center for Utah, the effects of the railroad, rather than the railroad itself, provided a situation similar to Salt Lake City. Ogden's population tripled between 1880 and 1890, even with evidence of expulsionist activities. As Chinese population increased in Ogden and Salt Lake City, so did the concern about their presence.

As mining camps prospered, their Chinese populations became synonymous with their stability. Park City peaked in Chinese population in 1890 with 131 and still

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5 Lee table, p. 77.
6 1880 Census and Lee table, p. 77.
7 Ibid.
8 Lee table, p. 77.
had seventy-four Chinese in 1900. In Washington county at Silver Reef, there were fifty-three Chinese in 1880, but, as this town boomed for only a decade, by 1890 there were only two Chinese remaining.

The Chinese brought with them to Utah certain personal habits which stimulated a flow of concern for "Christian" morality. Because the Chinese population was almost entirely male, a result of the sojourner mentality, they had prostitutes brought in, probably through a San Francisco tong engaged in this kind of business. Of course, in nineteenth century mining and railroad towns with sizeable unmarried male populations, prostitution was at least as successful a business among the Anglo-Saxon element as it was among the Chinese. Opium, too, was synonymous with Chinese during the early migrations into the West. It became a symbol to Anglo-Americans of the degradation which they had learned in the mass media was the character of the Chinese. Utah newspapers were

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9 Lee table, p. 77.
10 1880 Census.
11 Lee table, p. 77.
12 See supra, p. 49. "The Chinese in Early Corinne."
often concerned with this opium habit, and such news as "Opium Den Raided," or another negative aspect of life in the Chinese quarter could always count on second or third page coverage. Newspaper editors had forgotten that opium had been severely discouraged by the Chinese government and that its importation was illegally conducted by the pinnacle of the civilized world, Great Britain.

Besides the obvious motive of cultural continuity, Chinatowns which developed in Ogden, Salt Lake City, Park City, Silver Reef and elsewhere were restrained from expansion by pressure from the outside majority. The Park Record and Fraser Buck13 revealed that the Chinese and their businesses were not desirable in certain parts of town. There were places where they were more easily tolerated. Park City's China Bridge, romantically recalled in most literature written about early Park City, was symbolic of the status of the Chinese in that community. The bridge stretched from Rossie Hill, across the Chinese settlement located in a gulch below, to the Post Office in the main part of town. Curious watchers could, from the bridge, gain enough distance to vaguely observe

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13See supra, p. 81, "Park City's Pioneer Chinatown."
the strange happenings beneath. Unfortunately, no eyewitness could be found to describe what it felt like to look up from the gulch at those above on the bridge.

As elsewhere, the Chinese in Utah were stereotyped. The Silver Reef Chinatown was the "Pigpen," and in Silver Reef and Park City the Chinese were scapegoats for fires. It is little wonder that the Park City Chinese held no expectation for help from the majority when their settlement and the rest of Park City was destroyed by fire in 1898. But then, right away, even after China Bridge had been consumed by flames, to prove nothing had changed, Rossie Hill residents had the bridge reconstructed.

Newspaper articles throughout the territory, with the exception of The Deseret News prior to exclusion, were replete with derogatory statements about Chinese. After exclusion, when the Chinese were hired to work in the Pleasant Valley coal mines, and appeared to be a threat in this territory, The Deseret News became similarly concerned.

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14 See supra, p. 90, "Silver Reef's Pioneer Chinatown."
15 See supra, p. 87.
16 See supra, p. 140.
During the expulsion period which moved like a chain reaction through Western territories with Chinese populations, Utah also became involved. One expulsion occurred involving Chinese coal miners in Pleasant Valley in Carbon County, and the Knights of Labor in Ogden held a meeting for the purpose of expelling the Chinese from their city. This expulsion period occurred after passage of the first exclusion laws. Because of the nature of such laws, groups must have felt free to vent their feelings toward remaining Chinese, allowed to remain because they had been in America before passage of the act. If those Chinese on the outside were unworthy to immigrate, how much less worthy were those already here taking up space on the American labor market? It must have seemed something like this to the white miners in Pleasant Valley.\(^{17}\)

Because nineteenth century Utah historians were unconcerned with a small population of Chinese scattered throughout the state, the major documented evidence of their existence besides newspapers was the census and living informants. During the interview with Wallace E.

\(^{17}\)See supra, p. 138, "A Period of Expulsion."
Clay, flesh and blood began to appear on the skeletal information derived from the census records about the Chinese section men. All other interviews served to reinforce the impression that the Chinese had made a little-known, but significant, contribution to the life and history of this region. The candid and genuine feelings of affection and admiration which Oliver Bradley Cloward expressed for his employer Wong Sing is a testament that not all men are moved by a general public response. According to Wong Sing's legacy, the same could be said for the entire Uintah Basin. Wong Sing himself surmounted many unknown and known obstacles to gain the confidence and respect of the community in which he so remarkably succeeded in the endeavors of living. Through seemingly small means great things can be accomplished; and to find a successful life to emulate, the historian does not have to look to the upper echelons of society. It is not a new idea, just a generally forgotten one. Wong Sing was not the only Utah Chinese who found success despite obstacles, but more information is available about him, so he makes an interesting example.

18 See supra, p. 36, "An Eye-Witness Account of the Lives of Chinese Section Men in Box Elder County."
Here was a man in the nineteenth century who viewed the American Indian as a fellow man. He learned the language of the Utes, he knew and respected their customs, and they were privileged to charge merchandise at his store. According to Cloward, Wong is still remembered among many of the old surviving Indians and no subject can bring them to animated conversation so easily as the mention of his name. He was one man of a despised minority who showed by the way he lived that he understood the secret of success in life which escapes most men.  

19See supra, p. 98, "Wong Sing, Pioneer Chinese Merchant at Fort Duchesne."
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THE PIONEER CHINESE OF UTAH

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ABSTRACT

With the single exception of a survey of Chinese history in the Western United States written by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, there exists no other documented history of the Chinese experience in Utah.

This paper offers an overview of Pioneer Chinese life in Utah territory from the Chinese railroad laborers in Box Elder County to the Chinatown settlement in Silver Reef mining camp in Washington County. Old Chinese customs, individual Chinese personalities and communities are rediscovered through the use of census data, newspaper editorials, and oral interviews. Chinese religion is analyzed from available data about pioneer Chinese funeral customs. Emphasis is placed on majority attitudes and the corresponding effects they had on this minority group, as reflected in local nineteenth century newspapers. Of particular interest is the Chinese exclusion bill which was followed by a period of expulsion affecting Chinese in many Pacific states and territories including Utah. This study is a foundation for a significant but mostly unknown area of Utah minority history.

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