“They Looked Askance”:
American Indians and Chinese
in the Nineteenth Century U.S. West

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Introduction

An article published by the Sacramento Record-Union on October 21, 1893, gives an account of a typical frontier scene. On a clear, cool day in Winnemucca, Nevada, a drunken man, angered by the outcome of a game of cards, shot and killed one woman and wounded another woman and three men. After committing the crime, the man tore off his clothing and dashed away, shotgun in hand. He attempted to escape under the cover of a clump of willow trees which stood on the banks of the Humboldt River. Police officers, along with a group of justice-seeking citizens, pursued the murderer until they reached the point at which the trees and the river intersected. With the criminal out of sight, the motley group of officers and citizens surrounded the area and conducted an exhaustive search of the scene. Shortly thereafter, the man was discovered hiding partially submerged in the river. He surrendered without resistance. Within the hour, the perpetrator of the crimes was brought back to town and thrown into the local jail.

While the overall plot of this story is remarkably familiar to any who have heard popular tales of the U.S. West, the individual actors who took part in the events are far from typical. The drunken man who shot the others was an American Indian, possibly of Northern Paiute descent. His victims included other American Indians, an African American, and a Chinese man. The actors in this scene belie traditional narratives that define the American west as a land subdued and tamed by white men. Frederick Jackson Turner’s seminal essay, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” written in 1893 after a declaration made by the Superintendent of the Census of 1890 which noted that there was no longer a “frontier of settlement” in the country, propounded this view of the West which remained dominant in western scholarship for

1. The Record-Union (Sacramento, CA), 21 October 1893.
several decades. In Turner’s eyes, the West was the continuation of the frontier, a continuation that had gradually extended from the east coast. The concept of the frontier engrossed everything about the West. It was the “meeting point between savagery and civilization” and the “line of most effective and rapid Americanization.” For Turner, “the advance of the frontier[…]meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines.” The advance of “American settlement” westward explained “American development.”

Turner’s view of the West was filled with romantic notions of a simple and deserted country, where nature reigned and innocence abounded. As one historian put it, this image sprang up from an “agrarian myth.” Apart from the East, the West was where people went to escape the evils of a developing society: poverty, conflict, and social divisions were non-existent in this world. To the extent that ethnicities were included in this narrative of the west, they were mere obstacles to be pushed out of the way, as is the case with American Indians by the 1870s, or as tools to help white Americans in their conquest of the land, as is the case with Chinese men who came to mine gold. As their uses were exhausted, American Indians and Asians often faded into obscurity within Anglo-American histories. More often than not, ethnic groups, along with women, were left out of the narrative altogether.

With the works of scholars such as Henry Nash Smith and Richard Hofstadter, a new type of western history developed. Departing from Turner’s shadow, this scholarship, produced

3. Ibid., 4.
4. Ibid., 2.
by the generation of scholars “coming of age” in the 1950s and 1960s, began to identify the West as an actual place rather than a mythical, utopian land. Rather than emphasizing the region as a unique place, these historians emphasized the level of continuity that the West had with other areas and with terms that were typical of the period: expansion, development, and growth. Western history was the history of an urban and progressive region not unlike the rest of the U.S. Although the myth of the simple agrarian existence had departed, the myth of an unbroken line of progress quickly took its place, stretching from the East to the West and from the nineteenth century to contemporary times.7

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing until now, another new type of western history was formed. Under the guidance of scholars like Patricia Limerick, this scholarship also chose to deemphasize the frontier and the idea of the West as part of a process and reinforced the notion of the West as a place. However, rather than avoiding the violence and conquest that was a major part of the region, this scholarship has confronted and sought to understand the “unsavory” aspects of western history. The West is now acknowledged as the meeting ground of a myriad of peoples and cultures, and the centrality of those meetings, whether in conquest or in peace, is inherent in the narrative. The struggles over race and culture are central aspects of western history. Federal involvement, along with the environment of the region, have become main characters in this new narrative.8 Yet the actors in the Sacramento Record-Union article evade the boundaries of this scholarship to a certain extent as well. Chinese and American Indians are central to the narrative, but to the extent that they are found only within either their own

such as those of American Indians and Asian Americans. These histories, for their part, have typically revolved around relationships and connections between their own respective groups and the greater Anglo-American society that surrounded them. Much of ethnic cultural identity and heritage in the nineteenth century has been defined by its differences from the cultural identity and heritage of white society. Traditional constructions of “red to white” and “yellow to white” histories have overlooked the fact that American Indians and Asian Americans—wherever they went—did meet with people other than white Euro-Americans. As the article in the Sacramento paper shows, the “red” man often met the “yellow” man as well.10


This work explores American Indian and Asian American interaction from the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century U.S. West and Midwest. By utilizing accounts of interaction between the two groups in white-owned newspapers, first person stories from western travelers’ accounts and memoirs, as well as articles about the Chinese in newspapers published by Native Americans, I trace the meaning and place of this aspect of inter-ethnic interaction in nineteenth century U.S. society. I study the way in which the ethnic racial experience was influenced by meetings with other racial groups, as well as the processes of incorporation and understanding that these groups used to make sense of the position and place of the “other” vis-à-vis their own respective entities and American society as a whole. Conversely, I examine the way in which that society viewed and attempted to understand interaction between these two ethnic groups.

In the first chapter I explore the overall nature of Chinese and American Indian interaction from the middle of the nineteenth century, when Chinese began arriving in the U.S. in large numbers, to the beginning of the twentieth century, prior to the onset of World War I. Certain trends in the types of interaction that occurred, as well as notable absences of what did not occur, are highlighted.

How white Americans interpreted and sought to understand Chinese and American Indian interaction forms the basis of chapter two. I trace how the Euro-American authors of the newspaper articles that report and describe American Indian and Chinese contact used preconceived stereotypes in order to fit these contacts into a tidy niche which would not undermine societal perceptions as a whole. I posit that, in part, these articles were used to affirm and solidify aspects of white, Euro-American masculine virtue in opposition to the characteristics projected into the American Indian and Chinese actors of the articles.
The appearance of Chinese within the American Indian consciousness and mindset and vice versa is the subject of chapter three. I evaluate how American Indian perceptions of Asian Americans and vice versa influenced each racial group’s own experience in nineteenth century America. The ways in which Chinese and Native Americans variously sought to ideologically empathize with or repudiate each other offer a unique opportunity to examine the influence of other ethnicities on the minority mindset in a multiracial society.

**Worlds Apart, Worlds Together (Historical Background)**

Although the mass entry of Chinese and other Asian groups into American society has popularly been perceived as a phenomenon of the past few decades, Chinese individuals have been entering the nation in significant numbers since the nineteenth century. From the late 1840s, when gold was discovered in California, to the passage of the infamous Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, it is estimated that approximately 370,000 Chinese men and women landed on American soil in either Hawaii or California. Most of these immigrants came from Fujian and Guangdong provinces, which historically had housed the port cities into which most foreign trade with China was funneled and maintained a tradition of emigration to areas such as Southeast Asia.\(^\text{11}\)

Both internal and external factors prompted emigration outwards from China. The Treaty of Nanking, which brought an end to the first Opium War, wrought numerous concessions from the Chinese government that indirectly placed strenuous burdens on Chinese society as a whole. While foreign manufactured goods challenged domestic products on the market, taxes were raised in an attempt to pay off indemnities incurred from the provisions of the treaty. This double-faceted pressure placed a strenuous burden on the common people who were most

inclined to emigrate. The introduction of western soldiers, mainly English and French, into Chinese ports created an environment in which crafty labor recruiters could more easily lure Chinese peasants to emigrate. The outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion in 1850 devastated the countryside, providing further impetus for the outward migration of Chinese men. The discovery of gold in California, among other places, served as one of the main attractions for those who left.\footnote{12}

Contrary to the claims of those who opposed Chinese immigration, the majority of Chinese who came to America did not come as indentured laborers or “coolies.” Most bought tickets for ships on credit and eventually repaid the money that they owed with whatever wages they earned. An overwhelming majority of the Chinese migrants who came were men. Of the 370,000 migrants who came from the late 1840s to the early 1880s, only 9,000 of those were women. Traditional attitudes towards women in Chinese culture, which dictated that women should not travel far from home, hindered the prospects of emigration for many women. Most women who left were typically from poor families, and were sold as servants or prostitutes who were shipped to various locales. Labor recruiters actively sought young, able-bodied men rather than women, based on the idea that the men would more easily handle the hard labor that awaited any who left for the U.S.\footnote{13}

By 1890, nearly a decade after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Chinese community situated on the American mainland held an alarming 27:1 male to female ratio. Although a significant number of men who emigrated to the U.S. were married prior to their

\footnote{12. Ibid., 3-8.}
\footnote{13. Ibid., 103-106}
arrival, the sheer discrepancy between the sexes meant that there were far more Chinese men looking to marry than there were Chinese women. This, in part, drove men to look outside traditional racial lines and seek interethnic marriages.\textsuperscript{14}

As the Chinese arrived in the U.S., they spread throughout the West and across the nation, although they were most heavily concentrated in California due to the allure of gold. In 1900, 51 percent of the Chinese population in America was situated in California. When gold was discovered in places as far away as South Dakota, Chinese men quickly followed. As can be expected, the main activity that the Chinese were engaged in was panning for gold. Until 1880 59 percent of the Chinese in California were still panning. As white prospectors abandoned sites that were apparently exhausted, Chinese miners moved in and mined profitably from those same areas; much to the chagrin of the non-Chinese mining community.\textsuperscript{15} The heightened level of visibility of Chinese in California gave rise to a popular outcry that was heard in newspapers and discussions across the nation.

Of course, not all Chinese were miners. As groups of miners formed in certain areas, Chinese merchants accompanied them in order to provide the miners with the goods that they desired. By selling native food items and other items of Chinese material culture, merchants helped Chinese immigrants live with a material lifestyle that was fairly similar to the one that they left. Merchants eventually became some of the richest and most influential members of the immigrant community.\textsuperscript{16}

The construction of the western half of the first transcontinental railroad also served as a

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 103-106.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 25-29.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 29-30.
major source of employment. At its peak, Chinese employment in building the railroad reached 10,000 workers. As the railroad stretched throughout the west, Chinese were introduced into areas in which they had not been a presence before; namely Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. And, of course, the railroad had to go through somebody’s land, and more often than not it was the land of American Indians.¹⁷

As the early period of Chinese migration passed, Chinese moved on from these two occupations and expanded into other occupational niches. Enterprising Chinese individuals began commercial ventures, such as laundries and restaurants, throughout the west; and especially in the Midwest. These types of occupations brought interaction between the owners and employees of the businesses and a clientele that was not solely Chinese. Indeed, Chinese restaurants were partially so successful because they did not have the racial barriers that some Euro-American operated businesses had.¹⁸ Those Chinese who came into contact with American Indians came from various economic backgrounds, not just the typical image of the poor Chinese manual laborer.

As with all immigrant groups who have come to the U.S., the arrival of the Chinese met with a vitriolic brand of racism and stereotyping. As Stuart Creighton Miller has shown, Chinese men were portrayed as passive and effeminate in comparison with the quintessential “manly” Anglo-American man. Fear of Chinese corruption and notions of cunning, guile, and deceit as racial characteristics inherent in the Chinese character were rampant among white observers. Beliefs in Chinese inferiority existed not only among those who lived and interacted with the

¹⁷. Ibid., 30-32.
¹⁸. Ibid., 33-34.
Chinese, but also among those who had never seen or spoken with a Chinese person. Reports about the Chinese coming from missionaries, merchants, and diplomats created a national, rather than regional, disdain for the Chinese. While local hatred of the Chinese was typically more acute, it was the nation-wide feeling of ill will that allowed the Chinese to be discriminated against in federal legislation like the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.19

Chinese communities, or Chinatowns, were typically located in the “less savory” districts of western towns. Together with saloons, brothels, gambling houses, and other institutions of ill repute, the Chinese were figuratively and literally lumped together with the people and areas that respectable white Euro-Americans wished would cease to exist. Besides the ever-popular image of the opium den, Chinese communities contained restaurants, shops, temples, and housing for a variety of people. Among these communities, different community organizations were formed. In general, the richest merchants of the community served as the leaders of these organizations. Associations that were comprised of people from the same districts in China, called huiguan, were the most visible and most important groups in Chinese communities. In addition to similar geographical origins, these associations banded together on the basis of common dialects, places of residence, occupations, and real or perceived clan relationships. One of the first two associations, the Siyi(Four Districts) huiguan, had almost all of its members located in California, most of whom started out as laborers.20

These associations provided multiple services for their members that extended families usually offered in China. New immigrants were met by the members of their society and given


housing until they could find their own. Chinese who wanted to mine for gold were given the necessary tools. Quarrels between members of the community were typically settled by association members, and credit was given to aspiring businessmen who wanted to open their own individually operated enterprises. Associations also built altars and temples for adherents of Chinese religious practices and maintained cemeteries. The sick and poor were cared for in buildings owned by the association, and it was through the association that letters and money were sent back to the families of the Chinese men in the U.S.\(^{21}\) By the 1890s, associations of second-generation Chinese, like the Chinese Native Sons, were attempting to root out prostitution within their communities.\(^ {22}\)

The “Six Chinese Companies,” the English name for a confederation of the huiguan existing in California which began in 1862 and later expanded to other areas, served as an informal governing structure for the Chinese. Affiliated associations were formed in Chinese communities across the West. The “Companies” built schools focused on the instruction of second-generation children in the Chinese language. They also settled disputes between different associations. In response to anti-Chinese legislation, the “Companies” hired Euro-American lawyers to defend Chinese rights in the courts. The administration of these services was met by membership dues and the sale of permits that allowed their members to return to China.\(^ {23}\)

Outside of these essentially benevolent associations, organizations called *tongs* were formed. These associations were fraternal brotherhoods, and many became famous for their criminal activities. The associations usually employed “highbinders” and “hatchetmen” to

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21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 65-66.
kill members of rival tongs. Each of the organizations vied with each other over control of the profits from opium trade, gambling, and prostitution. Violent tong wars were highly publicized by the white Euro-Americans who witnessed them, and they eventually aroused violence, committed by the Euro-Americans themselves, against the members of the tongs. The existence of such radically different associations illustrates the breadth of Chinese institutions in America as well as the diversity of viewpoints and experiences. Not all Chinese had the same viewpoints and opinions.24

The Chinese who came to the U.S. and met with a rapidly changing and hostile nation met with the American Indians who were suffering from the policies of that nation. One of the most commonly overlooked aspects of American Indian history in the popular mindset is that there were, and still are, hundreds of different tribes and groups of American Indians. Historical attempts to characterize and regulate all Native Americans under umbrella policies have ignored this crucial fact. Among “popular” or widely known American Indian tribes like the Apaches, there were numerous different groups that lived in separate areas, although it is true that they were culturally and linguistically related in some aspects. As white Americans drove westward in an inexorable march to the Pacific Ocean under the banner of “manifest destiny,” American Indians were forced to fight for their lives and make decisions which often bore no real benefit.

Two traditional strains of thought surrounded American Indians. One mode of thought characterized American Indians as unworthy subhuman beings; unable to be assimilated into the greater white society that they came into contact with. As white spectators saw Native American lands apparently “unused” and “unimproved,” they clamored for the chance to take their land

24. Ibid., 67.
from them and to “improve” it with Eurocentric concepts of what needed to be done for the land to be properly used and maintained. Of course, this was a complete fallacy. As historian William Cronon has highlighted, American Indians had been subtly changing and improving the American landscape for centuries in ways that escaped the notice of the supposedly superior Anglo-Americans.  

25 Euro-American observers were also appalled by traditional American Indian gender roles, in which the man typically hunted and waged war while the woman farmed or gathered. Gender roles so alien to those of the Anglo-Americans helped accentuate the differences between the two cultures. Proponents of this ideology of difference often supported outright extermination of American Indian tribes or at least their removal far away from white landholders.

The second strain of thought that typically was opposed to the first emphasized the ability of American Indians to eventually become “civilized” human beings. By acculturating Native Americans and teaching them the ways of the white man, Native Americans would eventually be able to assimilate into the dominant society. If American Indian men dropped the bow and arrow and took up the plow instead, then one day they could possibly boast of the privilege of living within American society. This type of thinking played upon traditional notions of the “noble savage,” that is, that the currently childish, uncivilized American Indian also had inherent elements of humanity and virtue in him that could hypothetically rise up within him at a certain point. Proponents of this ideology generally favored “educating” American Indians through a steady process of inculcation via missionary work and teachers.


26. An extensive amount of literature covers this topic. For a basic introduction, see Philip Weeks, *Farewell my Nation: the American Indian in the Nineteenth Century* (Wheeling, Harlan Davidson, 2001), pp. 27-29, 30-35.
Three main policies came to the forefront of “Indian affairs” in the nineteenth century. The first policy to emerge was that of removal or separation; this was the plan advocated most vehemently by those who believed that the American Indian could not and would not become civilized quickly enough. This policy is perhaps best known through the widely publicized Trail of Tears that the Cherokee people were forced to undergo in the late 1830s. As white civilization began to grow more envious of American Indian lands and holdings, various forms of state and federal pressure increased in an attempt to force the American Indians out of their traditional homelands and into what Euro-Americans perceived as untamed lands west of the Mississippi. Naturally, these lands were the ancestral lands of other Native American tribes, and American Indians who were relocated were forced to deal with other tribes that were not very enamored of their new neighbors.

The passage of the hotly contested Indian Removal Bill in 1830 signaled the official beginning of removal, and Indian tribes were forced to relocate to new areas for the next several decades. Not only were the “Five Civilized Tribes” forced to move, but also numerous others. The Navajo underwent their own form of the Trail of Tears in the Long Walk of 1864.27 The story of the Winnebagos, although not as widely known, contains many of the same characteristics of horror and cruelty that other forced removals had. As traditional Winnebago lands in present-day Wisconsin were inundated with new settlers and lead miners, frictions gradually grew until a minor war erupted—the Winnebago war. With their defeat in the war, the Winnebagos forfeited some of their lands and were forced to wander across the Midwest in search of new homes for the next thirty years. After settling for a short time in Minnesota, their

lands were again taken from them and they were eventually relocated to their final home in Nebraska. Over this period, the population of the tribe decreased by nearly half. There was perhaps no other tribe that could better understand and empathize with the famous question of the Sioux chief Spotted Tail: “Why does not the Great Father put his red children on wheels, so he can move them as he will?”

As the policy of removal was gradually put into effect, the beginnings of a new policy—concentration—began to appear. This policy focused on reducing American Indian territory and concentrating American Indian tribes onto federally sanctioned lands that would be under the eye of the “Great Father.” In these new reservations, American Indians would be strictly regulated by the government and forced to abandon their traditional ways of life in favor of the “civilized” American lifestyle that the government espoused. The process of teaching the Native Americans fell into the hands of four groups: the agents who were in charge of the reservations, reformers, missionaries, and educators. All of these groups, who were supposed to have the interests of the American Indians at heart, embarked on the destruction of one lifestyle and the construction of another.

The policy of concentration gave rise to the most popularly known aspect of American Indian and white relations, that of the many wars fought between the two groups in the late nineteenth century over the settling of American Indians on reservations. This period brought fame to such figures as George Custer, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo. It also helped solidify the popular stereotype of American Indians as natural warriors—inherently militaristic.

28. Ibid., 91-95.
and undeniably savage. While all of these conflicts evolved in different areas and in different ways, they all ended in the same manner. American Indians were defeated and were forced to relocate onto reservations of the federal government’s choosing. Although many tribes attempted to protest their pitiful conditions on the reservations and escape, they were always brought back or dealt with in a fashion that satisfied the federal government.\textsuperscript{30}

With the conclusive defeat of the Indians, the aforementioned teaching of the American Indians could begin in earnest. This process of acculturation—what one historian calls “Americanization”—took place throughout the end of the nineteenth century and lasted up till the 1930s and the Bureau of Indian Affairs administration of John Collier, who served under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.\textsuperscript{31} The process of acculturation took shape through several forms, but two of them deserve the most attention: education and allocation of lands.

The policy of education took shape in two forms. As always, missionaries and religious institutions played a significant role. Missionaries of varying denominations fought for the same American Indian souls, generally weakening their appeal with their incomprehensible infighting. At times, this religious strife reached points at which priests would be removed from reservations. Christian concepts like baptism were so alien to tribal religions that conversion of American Indians was often very difficult. Wherever conversions did occur, the Christianity that emerged was typically a blend of traditional beliefs with Christian principles.\textsuperscript{32}

Eventually, a new form of education took root with the creation of boarding schools and day schools. By 1899, 148 boarding schools and 225 day schools had been created and almost

\textsuperscript{30} Hagan, \textit{American Indians}, pp. 121-131.
\textsuperscript{31} Weeks, \textit{Farewell my Nation: the American Indian in the Nineteenth Century}, 10.
\textsuperscript{32} Hagan, \textit{American Indians}, pp. 138-141.
20,000 children were in attendance. Schools that were off the reservation and a distance from the children’s families, such as the Carlisle school in Pennsylvania, were often the most popular types of schools among white enthusiasts. At these schools, American Indians were taught to abandon their old ways in favor of the way of the Euro-American. In addition to the difficult living conditions inside the schools, traditional elements of native culture, such as long hair and clothing, were changed in order to conform to what was expected of Euro-American children. The cutting of the children’s hair was often a bitter experience for the newcomers. Far away from their families and their accustomed way of life, the children were taught what their counterparts in American society were expected to learn. All were taught English and discouraged from their tribal languages. Girls were instructed on how to cook and clean, among other domestic chores, while boys were instructed in the handling of farm implements and the ways of the agriculturalist. It was not uncommon that the children returned to their homes in a sort of limbo. They were trained in skills that were foreign to their families’ way of life, yet had skills that their parents did not, which led to feelings of superiority over other tribal members. Indeed, tribal members often viewed the returning children as outsiders in the community.33

The second policy of acculturation took shape under land allocation, or severalty. The passage of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887 drastically altered the lives of many American Indians for the worse. The age-old concept of private property as a cornerstone of American civilization and culture stood at the heart of the policy. Upon the passage of the act, the president could allot any reservation lands to the American Indians with the title to the land held in trust

33. Ibid., 152-153.
between the American Indian individual and the United States government. Heads of families—that is to say, men—would receive 160-acre plots of land and smaller amounts would go to other categories of American Indians. The allocation of land solely through Indian men undercut traditions of matrilineality and communal ownership of land among many American Indian tribes. After all of the land was allocated, surplus land would be sold off on the market to eager white prospectors. This procedure often led to reservation lands becoming “checkerboards” in which whites owned parcels of land next to American Indians. By the end of allotment, tribal land holdings had been severely cut down in size, and those lands that were still in the hands of Indians were often leased to white men.34

From the beginning, the Dawes Act was a disaster for Native Americans. The desired outcome of American Indians owning a small, private farm on which they would live the typical white man’s lifestyle and adopt his principles often could not be supported by the lands which reservations were situated on. Reservation lands typically were located on undesirable grounds which, at best, were borderline acceptable for agriculture. The unsuitability of this land undercut the policy markedly. If American Indians were to become farmers, they needed land that could be farmed profitably. In addition, the high start up costs of farming were prohibitive to a people who were markedly poor compared to other levels of American society. It would be difficult for an American Indian to obtain the fertilizer, seed, and farming equipment needed to begin farming.35

American Indian tribal traditions which highlighted farming as the gender specific role of

34. Ibid., 158-161.
35. Ibid., 162-164.
women also worked against the success of allotment. Many American Indian men spurned the idea of doing what was traditionally a woman’s job. Rampant abuses by whites, including appointing themselves as guardians to American Indian children and orphans in order to receive control of their allotments, cast a dark shadow on the overall policy.\textsuperscript{36}

While these national trends offer some insight into the American Indian experience in the nineteenth century, specific attention should also be paid to local tribal histories and circumstances. Although the majority of articles neglect to identify the tribe of the American Indian actor, a considerable number of tribal affiliations are reported in the accounts. Among these were such well known tribes as the Apache and Paiutes, and the “Pueblo” peoples. In addition to these tribes, a bevy of lesser known tribes appears in the record: the Bannock, Flathead, Lummi, Shasta, Siwash, Walla Walla, Washoe, Yaqui, and “Yuma,” or Quechan. Two American Indian tribes which published their own newspapers and reported about Chinese in their pages—the “Five Civilized Tribes” in Indian territory and the Ojibwe in Minnesota—also had their own unique histories and experiences.

Although commonly identified by contemporaries as one tribal group, the Paiute tribe was roughly split into two groups; the Northern Paiute and the Southern Paiute. One of the most well known Northern Paiute individuals was Sarah Winnemucca, who was the first American Indian woman to write and publish a work in English. The Northern Paiute typically lived in northwestern Nevada, southwestern Idaho, parts of Oregon, and eastern California. In 1845, the Northern Paiutes numbered around 7,500; by the beginning of the twentieth century this number

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 162-164.
had declined to around 5,400. Numerous bands of Paiutes existed across this area, some of which took part in wars such as the Snake War of 1866-68 and the Bannock-Paiute war. Many of the bands of Northern Paiute people eventually were “brought in” during the 1860s and 1870s and settled in reservations like the Klamath, Duck Valley, Malheur, and Umatilla.\(^{37}\)

Southern Paiutes generally inhabited the areas north and west of the Colorado river: southern Utah, northern Arizona, southern Nevada, and a small part of southeastern California. With the arrival of miners, ranchers, and farmers, Southern Paiute lands were taken away and their population began to decline in number. By the 1870s, most Southern Paiutes were either on reservations, such as the Moape reservation, or lived on the borders of Euro-American settlements, serving as menial laborers.\(^{38}\)

The Apache people, like the Paiute, were also split into various bands and groups. Among these groups were the Chiricahua (the band that produced such famous American Indian chiefs as Geronimo), the Kiowa-Apache, the Jicarilla, Lipan, Mescalero, and Western Apache. Taken together, these groups inhabited portions of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The popular contemporary image of the Apache as a bloodthirsty and a warlike people arose, in part, from their frequent raids on neighboring groups, whether they were Pueblo Indians who lived a sedentary lifestyle or any other type of Euro-American group. When times were bleak, Apache groups generally took to raiding as a form of subsistence. During the 1860s and 1870s, most of the Apache tribes were forced to settle on reservations. The capture of Geronimo in 1886 marked


\(^{38}\) Trudy Griffith-Pierce, *Native Peoples of the Southwest* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2000), pp. 401-413. See Image H.
the end of active military Apache resistance to Euro-American peoples.³⁹

The designation of “Pueblo” Indians often referred to the descendants of certain American Indians who lived in “pueblos,” the Spanish word for towns. In the sixteenth century when the Spanish first came across these groups, Pueblo Indians had already lived a sedentary lifestyle for centuries. Of the pueblos, the Acoma, Zuni, Taos, and Hopi were perhaps the most well known to contemporary observers. As Pueblo Indians were often the target of Apache raids, they frequently attempted to join forces with groups or powers that opposed the Apache as well. When New Mexico was taken by the United States in 1846, a lieutenant described a group of Pueblo Indians’ relationship to the United States as “fast friends now and forever.” This fairly positive image of Pueblo Indians, which evolved from their juxtaposition to neighboring nomadic and semi-nomadic Apache tribes, often led white observers to view Pueblo Indians with a less critical eye.⁴⁰

The Bannock tribe was a branch of the Northern Paiutes that resided in southern and central Idaho. The men of the tribe often went as far as Montana and Wyoming in order to hunt game and buffalo. By 1869, the tribe was forced to settle at the Fort Hall Reservation. However, due to inadequate provisioning, American Indians from the tribe often left in search of traditional food sources. As grievances accumulated over time, the Bannock-Paiute War erupted, which eventually ended in the defeat of the Bannock and their return to the Fort Hall reservation.⁴¹

The Flathead tribe, also known as the Salish, lived in the present-day areas of Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming. The tribe was particularly known for being expert horsemen and hunters as

⁴⁰. Ibid.
they typically ranged far from their homes in search of the buffalo. By 1891, with the introduction of more and more white settlers into their territories, the tribe left their lands for the Flathead Reservation in northwestern Montana.\footnote{42. Ibid., 111-114.}

Northwestern Washington, next to the border of the United States and Canada, was the home of the Lummi tribe. In 1855, the Point Elliott Treaty established the Lummi reservation. With the discovery of gold near the Fraser River in Canada, white prospectors often travelled through Lummi lands. Members of the tribe took advantage of the opportunity to sell goods and provide services for these miners. By the early 1870s, a significant portion of the tribe was working for local whites.\footnote{43. Ibid., 189-190, 258-259.}

American Indians of the Shasta tribe lived mostly in northern California and parts of southern Oregon. Some of the bands of the tribe were noted for opposing miners and settlers who came too close to their land, which ultimately led to a negative image of the Shasta as a whole. Members of the Wallawalla tribe lived in southeastern Washington and northern Oregon along the Columbia River and Walla Walla river. On June 9, 1855, the Wallawalla signed a treaty in which they were to be removed to the Umatilla Reservation in northeastern Oregon. Over the next decades, the people of the tribe slowly gathered onto the reservation as their native lands were taken by white settlers.\footnote{44. Griffith-Pierce, Native Peoples of the Southwest, 213-215.}

The Yaqui were a tribe of indigenous peoples originating from northern Mexico and the state of Sonora. Following decades of conflict and bloodshed between the tribe and the Mexican
government, attempts to disperse the Yaqui from their traditional homelands forced some members of the tribe to travel into the U.S. and settle in southern Arizona. Once there, they often took up hard labor jobs either on the railroad or on farms.45

The “Yuma,” or Quechan, tribe of American Indians was located along the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers. During the gold rush, Quechan men helped provide transportation across the rivers for white prospectors. By the 1870s, with the completion of railroads through their homelands, Quechan men were often employed as laborers by the companies. Quechan women were used as domestic helpers in local Euro-American homes. In 1884, the Fort Yuma reservation was established for the Quechan. Over the course of the next few decades, land allotment and “Americanization” shrunk Quechan land holdings and helped break down long-established traditions.46

The “Five Civilized Tribes”—the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole—were five tribes from the southeastern U.S. that, by the nineteenth century, had culturally assimilated to Euro-American customs and ways of life to a degree that few other tribes had. Despite these attempts to do what white, Euro-American society had always deemed necessary for American Indians, the passage of the Indian Removal Act signaled the end of their claims to their traditional homelands and their removal to the Indian Territory in what is now known as Oklahoma. To some extent, members of these tribes had begun relocating themselves into western territories beginning in the 1820s. The Choctaws had already held thirteen million acres in what was then known as the “West,” while approximately 3,000 Creeks moved during

45. Griffith-Pierce, Native Peoples of the Southwest, 252-253.
the late 1820s and early 1830s to lands west of the Mississippi that they had been given in a prior
treaty. Some members of the Cherokee had also moved to parts of Arkansas and Oklahoma prior
to their well known Trail of Tears.47

The policy of removal caused strong factionalism to arise in most of these tribes. These
splits often broke down along the lines of more acculturated “mixed blood” American Indians
and “full blooded” traditionalists. The case of the Cherokee serves as a poignant example
of the tensions produced by removal among southeastern tribes. Personalities such as John
Ridge, Major Ridge, and Elias Boudinot, the editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, a Cherokee
produced newspaper, stood in opposition to figures like John Ross, the Principal Chief of the
Cherokee nation, over whether the Cherokee should sign a removal treaty. Despite the victories
of the Cherokee nation in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia and Worcester v. Georgia, increasing
pressure was being placed on the Cherokee to depart from their lands. As time went on, members
of the “Treaty Party,” the group of Cherokee that rallied around the Ridges and Boudinot, came
to realize that removal was inevitable. A small group of these individuals signed the Treaty of
New Echota without the backing of the Cherokee nation at large, which stipulated that the
Cherokee nation would sell all of its land east of the Mississippi and remove to the “West”
within two years in exchange for monetary compensation and government supplies for the
journey west. As the Cherokee arrived in their new homes, a virtual civil war erupted between
the two factions which had either supported or opposed the removal treaty. The two Ridges and
Boudinot were both murdered shortly after establishing themselves in their new lands.48

In addition, there were often conflicts between the members of the tribes that had already

47. Ibid., 94-102. See Image F.
48. Ibid.
moved to the new lands at a prior time and the majority that came with the enforced removal of
the federal government. Tensions also existed between those American Indians who owned
slaves and those who did not. Among the Creeks, the division became so severe that two Creek
divisions governed themselves until 1840. At that point, there was an agreement made that led to
members of both divisions meeting at an annual National Council. Among the Cherokee,
intermittent conflict between the “Old Settlers,” those who had removed in earlier years, and the
newcomers resulted in intermittent warfare until 1846, when both sides agreed to sign a treaty
that pardoned all involved in the violence between the two factions.⁴⁹

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the Five Civilized Tribes once again splintered along
factional lines; this time between pro-Union and pro-Confederate forces. With the defeat of the
Confederate forces, new treaties were signed with each nation that contained similar provisions.
Each treaty stipulated that slaves were to be freed, those loyal to the Union were to be
compensated, rights of way were to be granted for the construction of railroads through
American Indian territory, and lands were to be ceded in the western part of the Indian territory.
The feature dealing with the right of way for the construction of railroads played a particularly
important role in subsequent developments. In order to build the railroads, a vast number of
laborers were brought into the Indian Territory and temporary towns were formed that put strains
on American Indian life. As the railroads were completed, towns and stations were built along
their routes, where non-Indians gathered and built their own homes and businesses. By 1890,
there were eight of these “railroad towns” in the Chickasaw nation alone. It is into these towns
that Chinese men most likely moved.⁵⁰

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⁴⁹. Ibid.
⁵⁰. Ibid., 104-110.
The Ojibwe, otherwise known as the Chippewa, were a tribe that lived mainly in parts of Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Canada. Traditionally, Ojibwe peoples served as middlemen in the North American fur trade. With the approach of white settlers, members of the tribe signed treaties which sold the land that they owned but preserved Ojibwe rights to hunting, fishing, and trapping on the land—all traditional elements of Ojibwe subsistence. By the 1850s, the Ojibwe that lived in Michigan and Wisconsin were removed to Minnesota, and reservations such as the Red Lake and White Earth reservations were created.51

Another point deserves special attention. The term “Digger” was often used as a derogatory label for American Indians, especially those from California. “Primitive” peoples that lived on subsistence diets of roots, seeds, and small game, and who lacked organized bands and complex housing structures, were often given this label. They were viewed by whites as the “lowest” form of man. Most of the American Indians of California who descended from these “diggers” worked as laborers for whites; either in the gold fields or on ranches.52

The white, Euro-American societies within which American Indians and Chinese met were societies that had undergone various processes of change during the mid to latter half of the nineteenth century. Early western communities typically were either towns, starting around kinship-based bonds, or camps, located near local resources such as gold or timber. Single men, mostly laborers who were mobile and willing to travel and leave their present locations for better opportunities, comprised a majority of the population in most of the early “camp societies.”

Although many of these societies lacked true, formal institutes of governance, their members created an informal code by which order, or at least a semblance of it, was maintained. The men who were engaged in work related to communally sought-after commodities created their own laws and principles—laws and principles that were designed to further wealth and protect basic rights to a community member’s own wealth. In mining communities, miners followed rules that protected a miner’s property, including tools and any minerals that had been obtained, as well as rules that were created to regulate the establishment of new claims. Most miners who lived in the camps held the idea that they would return to their original homes after accumulating wealth rather than stay and help transform the informal community into a more formal one. The social life of these societies centered around prostitution and gambling. Camps experienced a high rate of turnover as resources were exhausted and men moved on to new areas.\(^{53}\)

Many early western towns had highly visible “immoral” institutions: brothels, gambling halls, and saloons. As towns became more stable and local middle-class elements of society wished to promote a more respectable reputation for the community, these non-respectable elements of society were pushed to the borders and reduced to staying within certain rigidly defined boundaries. As the attack on “institutions of vice” developed, the immorality that was associated with them began to be associated with ethnic groups like the Chinese and the American Indians.\(^{54}\)

In these towns, smaller communities based on class, religion, and race were formed. Outside of the occasional successful merchant, the Chinese and American Indians were at the


\(^{54}\) Ibid., 306-309.
bottom of this hierarchy. While the Chinese formed huiguan and the American Indians were part of tribes, many white Euro-Americans were members of voluntary organizations. These organizations—whether they were fraternal organizations, churches, labor unions, or anything else—allowed their members to pursue their self-interests and to form personal relationships across the boundaries that typically separated them from each other. Organizations like the Masons or the Knights of Columbus bridged together elements of white society that had rarely been together before.⁵⁵

One final note concerning the terminology used in this work must be made. The racial descriptions that indigenous peoples use for themselves generally vary on a tribe-by-tribe basis. In some regions, the people prefer to call themselves Native Americans, in some American Indians, and in others indigenous. In an effort to simplify the terminology used in this work, I use both “American Indian” and “Native American” interchangeably to describe the indigenous peoples of the United States.

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Chapter One
A New Frontier: American Indians and Chinese Meet in the West, 1850-1910
As early as 1852, a few years after gold was discovered in California, articles in Euro-American published newspapers began to report about contact and interaction between Chinese and American Indians.¹ This set off a trend of reporting which would extend virtually unbroken until the early twentieth century. In the same years as newspapers publicized third-person reports of the various activities that American Indians and Chinese were engaged in with each other, personal accounts from those who witnessed these “curious” meetings were being recorded in journals and diaries that would later be retold and recounted in memoirs and the like. Red men met yellow men, and white men certainly noticed.

In order to provide a framework for the course of American Indian and Chinese interaction reported by observers, I have divided the articles into certain thematic categories. The categories are as follows: fascination and comparison, corruption, labor, violence, and understanding. Fascination and comparison articles relate to the very first accounts of American Indian and Chinese contact. They relate those incidents which occurred before the entrenchment of decades old stereotypes about the opposite group that the greater Euro-American society held. The corruption category highlights the numerous accounts of Chinese selling liquor and opium to American Indians, while the labor category describes accounts of American Indians and Chinese working either with or for each other. Accounts of hostility, physical harm, and general antagonism between the two groups comprise the violence theme. Reports about friendships, marriages, and other positive interactions between Chinese and Native Americans are grouped up within the “understanding” category.

The construction of these categories is not meant, however, to suggest that all reports

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¹ Daily Alta California (San Francisco, California) 01 November, 1852.
regarding American Indian and Chinese interaction can be rigidly labeled under only one theme. Many of the articles branch out into several different categories. Indeed, one of the main trends in these meetings was the confluence of factors and themes that constituted the interaction. For instance, an article that began with American Indians and Chinese working as manual laborers for the same planter could quickly become an article reporting elements of hostility and violence after the two groups became less than enamored with the other’s presence. There is no single, monolithic way to describe the interactions between Chinese and American Indians.

Certain geographical, spatial, chronological, and ideological trends should also be noted. The newspaper accounts of the authors spanned the U.S. West and Midwest. From California north to Washington, and from Montana south to New Mexico, American Indians and Chinese found themselves seeing and meeting with each other. While a slight majority of the articles report instances of contact in California, there are also numerous other accounts reported in states such as Nevada, Idaho, and Oregon, states not usually associated with a significant Chinese population. Indeed, that numerous accounts were published not only in California where the Chinese were most visible but in other western states shows that Chinese and American Indian interaction was often not only a matter of local importance and interest but one of regional importance and interest as well. A subset of these articles—namely those reporting about interaction between Chinese and indigenous peoples in British Columbia—elevated American Indian and Chinese interaction into a matter of transnational interest.

Some local and chronological trends within the types of American Indian and Chinese interaction are visible. Many of the articles that appear around the time of the arrival of the Chinese in a specific area generally report elements of hostility and violence between the two groups. Cases of understanding and mutual acknowledgement are often reported in articles
published in a later period, after Chinese and American Indians had been in the same areas for a longer period of time. However, the evidence is insufficient to term the relationship “linear rather than cyclical” as Daniel Liestman does.² As late as 1891, a full four decades after the arrival of the Chinese in California, there are reports of antagonism between Chinese and American Indians living in the state.³ On a regional level, reports of hostility extended into the early twentieth century.⁴

As the Chinese arrived in the U.S. and encountered American Indians, mutual interest and fascination was high. A Chinese miner named Wong Ying reported that upon one of his first meetings with a group of American Indians, the two sides wondered whether they held a common ethnic background.⁵ This sentiment would later be repeated after Chinese and American Indians met in a parade in Denver, Colorado. Chinese men in the city speculated that American Indians were “long lost” countrymen who had simply sunk into savagery after centuries of separation.⁶ A band of Apaches who saw a Chinese person for the first time when visiting San Francisco in 1887 were reported as utterly surprised and amazed at the appearance of the Chinese man.⁷

Not only were the Chinese and American Indians who saw each other for the first time interested in each other, but their white observers were as well. As American Indians and Chinese compared themselves to each other, a subset of articles in which white authors tended to

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³ *The Morning Call* (San Francisco, California) 14 December, 1891.
⁴ *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City, Utah) 26 October, 1900.
⁶ *Denver Evening Post* (Denver, Colorado) 06 October 1897.
⁷ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, CA) 28 June 1887.
compare the two groups also developed. An article from a Christian newspaper describes the Chinese and American Indians as two groups that deserved a “chance” in American society.\textsuperscript{8} American Indian and Chinese work efficiency was often compared.\textsuperscript{9} Notions of Native American intelligence and wit were also often an area of comparison. Alaskan Indians were found to be superior to Chinese in one article, while in another American Indians were found to be the equals of Chinese in “inventive genius.”\textsuperscript{10}

As the Chinese began to become more settled in America, opportunities for “commercial ventures” began to arise. One of these “ventures” was the sale of liquor and opium by Chinese men to American Indians. In some areas, the sale of liquor to American Indians had been outlawed due to its deleterious effects on the lives of those who drank it. As a result, American Indians who were determined to obtain alcohol looked for middlemen who could help them obtain the alcohol which they so desired. In many instances, Chinese men were these middlemen. The sale of “China brandy” to Indians, which eventually resulted in intoxicated Native Americans causing mayhem in small towns across the U.S. West, was often reported.\textsuperscript{11} American Indians in the Reno, Nevada area were reported as being prevalent opium smokers. In Unionville, Nevada, a group of Indian women were discovered smoking opium in the local Chinatown.\textsuperscript{12}

The story that Pete Hall, a Shasta Indian, gave of how he obtained the liquor is typical.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} Southwestern Christian Advocate (New Orleans, LA) 23 January 1879.
\item \textsuperscript{9} The Atchison Champion (Atchison, KS) 27 February 1891.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Daily Yellowstone Journal (Miles City, Montana) 23 February 1886. The Evening Post (Denver, CO) 10 June 1895.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, California) 02 June, 1858.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Mary K. Rusco, “Chinese in Lovelock, Nevada: A Historical and Archeological Study,” Halcyon 3(1981), 146.
\end{itemize}
He went into the cellar of a house and met a Chinese man who sold him liquor that had been home-made. 13 At other times, Chinese men simply bought the liquor from others and gave it to the American Indians at a fee. 14 These illicit sales were also often punished. Chinese individuals across the U.S. West were often brought to court and sometimes convicted. Ah On, Charlie Hong, Lee Ong, Ah Lum, and others were just a few of the names of Chinese men who were tried in court. When these men were convicted, they typically were fined. In cases in which the men could not pay the fine, they were forced to serve a stint in jail. One man, who could not pay his $50 fine, served a one-month sentence in the county jail instead. Overall, the harshest punishment seems to have been a financial penalty of $500. 15 These cases of selling liquor and opium to American Indians generally reinforced notions of the Chinese as a corrupting and degenerating force. One author went so far as to note that the Chinese in San Francisco could “render” all of the good elements out of the American Indians that they came into contact with. 16

Chinese men worked with American Indian men in other ways than as liquor-providing middlemen. As two minority racial groups pushed into the margins of society, Chinese and American Indian individuals often worked in the same positions in the labor hierarchy. At times, Chinese and American Indians competed for the very same positions. A group of Chinese, who had been hired as hop pickers by John J. Glacken in Brighton, California, decided to hold a strike when they learned that a band of Paiutes were also being hired for the same job. 17 In Washoe County, a Chinese man was struck in the back with an axe by a Paiute Indian when he refused to

13. The Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 29 September, 1896.
14. The Record Union (Sacramento, CA) 21 November, 1896.
15. Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 25 April, 1882.
16. The Galveston Daily News (Galveston, TX) 10 October, 1885.
17. Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 19 August, 1890.
stop cutting and selling wood.\textsuperscript{18} As Chinese and American Indians came to occupy overlapping economic positions, the potential for violence emerged. In Seattle, a group of Chinese hop pickers was attacked by a group composed of angry American Indians. The reason for the attack was that the American Indians had been employed as the sole pickers of the crop the year before, and were displaced by the new Chinese laborers.\textsuperscript{19} An article from \textit{The Record-Union} emphasizes this sense of hostility: “There can be no Chinese-Piute[sic], Japanese-Chinese, nor Piute[sic]-Japanese combinations to raise the price of labor in the hop fields, for these races do not assimilate with one another.”\textsuperscript{20} Chinese laundrymen in San Francisco competed with American Indian women in San Francisco until the women were eventually driven out of business by the Chinese men.\textsuperscript{21} In Seattle, a combined crew of Chinese and American Indian men fished for salmon.\textsuperscript{22} The canneries to which the salmon were brought were also staffed by a joint crew of Chinese and American Indians.\textsuperscript{23} In 1888, a group of Chinese who worked with Mojave Indians on the repairs of a railroad track quit after the American Indians reportedly stole from the Chinese and bullied them around.\textsuperscript{24}

There are also numerous accounts of Chinese men hiring American Indians for certain tasks. As early as 1856, a group of seven Chinese men panning for gold are reported to have

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Daily Evening Bulletin} (San Francisco, CA) 05 September, 1864.
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Daily Yellowstone Journal} (Miles City, Montana) 12 September, 1885.
\item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{The Record-Union} (Sacramento, CA) 17 August, 1891.
\item \textsuperscript{22} \textit{The Daily Astorian} (Astoria, Oregon) 09 March, 1882.
\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{The Daily Astorian} (Astoria, Oregon) 04 October, 1888.
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{Los Angeles Daily Herald} (Los Angeles, CA) 20 October, 1888.
\end{itemize}
hired twelve Indian laborers to help them. The American Indians evidently did not appreciate being menial laborers for the Chinese. They are said to have boasted that they would make the Chinese their slaves one day.\textsuperscript{25} In Yuma, Arizona, a white man who had gone through the area and taken an unpaid for meal from a Chinese man was pursued by an Indian who worked for him.\textsuperscript{26} A Chinese man in Belmont, Nevada hired an American Indian to bring him to a nearby town. On the way there, however, he was killed and robbed.\textsuperscript{27}

With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese individuals had to look for new ways to get into the country. One of these ways was to hire American Indians. A group of eight Chinese men in British Columbia went to the Lummi Reserve in an attempt to hire the American Indians to smuggle them across the border into the U.S. They were ultimately killed and robbed as well.\textsuperscript{28} The outcome of these two articles highlights the way in which interaction between the two groups could straddle the line between two different thematic categories; from labor to violence.

A trend of American Indians and Chinese attempting to trick and deceive each other also emerges in the articles. The two aforementioned articles hint at the type of deception that occurred between American Indians and Chinese. The Chinese men would not have gone to the American Indians if they thought that there was a chance that the services they sought would be reneged upon. In Salem, Oregon, a group of American Indians seems to have made a living by asking Chinese men to furnish them whisky at a price. These men, two of whom were named Tom and the third named Dick Tipton, would then go to the local authorities with the liquor and

\textsuperscript{25} Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, CA) 01 December, 1856.
\textsuperscript{26} The Morning Call (San Francisco, CA) 28 January, 1894.
\textsuperscript{27} Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, CA) 26 November, 1884.
\textsuperscript{28} Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 21 May, 1883.
report that the Chinese man had given them it. In return for this complaint against the Chinese target, the three were given a reward. At one point, however, one of the Chinese men that they attempted to report was able to provide an alibi in court and was acquitted of the charge. Afterwards, he lodged his own complaint against the American Indians for perjury. They were acquitted as well on the grounds that there was another Chinese man in the area who looked like the one they had mistakenly reported.  

Woo King, a Chinese man living in Utah and reputed to be a hard-working teamster in the employment of the DeLamar company, was reported to have bought a horse from an American Indian man for thirty seven dollars. The day after, the American Indian man stole back the horse and left the area. Two months after this incident, Woo King discovered from a friend that the Indian was nearby once again. After approaching him and demanding his horse back, the two got into a fight and Woo King shot the Indian. He immediately fled the town, and no reports surfaced of his arrest.  

Shortly after the arrival of the Chinese in California, a “Miner’s Tax” was established by the state to charge those foreigners who had come to the state in order to mine gold. Since this tax was infrequently collected, some American Indians seem to have capitalized on the opportunity to charge Chinese miners. A group of six American Indians, upon meeting six Chinese men, demanded the miner’s tax from them. When they refused to hand over the money, the American Indians asked the Chinese men to show them receipts that indicated that they had

30. *The Salt Lake Herald* (Salt Lake City, Utah) 29 November, 1893.
paid the tax. When these were not shown, one of the American Indians in the group shot at a Chinese man, at which point the Chinese men paid the American Indians eighteen dollars. 

In another instance, a group of eight American Indians, posing as tax collectors, demanded the tax from two elderly Chinese men. When these two men showed their receipts, the American Indians denied the validity of the receipt and continued with their demand for the tax. When it was discovered that the Chinese men had no money, the American Indians knocked them down and took all of the pair’s victuals. In one case, when three Chinese men were accosted by a group of American Indians and refused to pay the tax that was demanded of them, they were taken by the American Indians to their camp. At the camp, they were held overnight until the Chinese offered to give four bottles of brandy to the American Indians in return for their freedom. This was agreed upon and they were released. Of course, not all deception was committed by American Indians against Chinese. In Idaho, hostility arose between American Indians and Chinese after it was discovered that the Chinese in the area had been paying the American Indians with fake gold.

Of all the articles and accounts that report American Indian and Chinese interaction, antagonism and violence are the two most common themes. Daniel Liestman argues that there were at least three mass murders of Chinese men by American Indians. However, it seems more likely that these reports of “mass murder” were unsubstantiated accounts that played upon the

31. *Sacramento Union* (Sacramento, CA) 06 June, 1853.
33. *Sacramento Union* (Sacramento, CA) 26 March, 1863.
34. *Idaho World* (Idaho City, ID) 21 March, 1879.
racial prejudices that the white authors of the articles held against American Indians. The Rock Springs Massacre, one of the most well known incidents of violence against the Chinese in the period, involved the deaths of roughly thirty Chinese men. It is difficult to believe that a mass murder of fifty Chinese men or more, as some of the accounts that Daniel Liestman writes about mention, would have gone by so relatively unreported and unknown.\textsuperscript{35}

Rather than pitched battles taking place between two large sides, most of the accounts of violence and antagonism that were reported involved small groups of Chinese and American Indian men. A common reason for the violence was the desire of American Indians for the money and items that the Chinese owned. Five Chinese men in Idaho were murdered by American Indians after they had collected a substantial quantity of gold.\textsuperscript{36} A group of Chinese men with badly frozen feet came into Tuscarora, Nevada, after their camp was robbed by American Indians who sought their provisions.\textsuperscript{37} The aforementioned American Indian who killed the Chinese man he was hired to transport stole from the Chinese man after he had killed him, indicating that material motives were at least part of his decision.

A Wallapai American Indian, after murdering a Chinese man who had been attempting to seduce his wife, reported to those who questioned him that it was traditional among his tribal fellows to kill any Chinese whom they came across. He went on to boast of several killings of Chinese men by members of his tribe that had occurred in the past few decades. Although this

\textsuperscript{36} The Salt Lake Herald (Salt Lake City, UT) 02 September, 1896.
\textsuperscript{37} Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 04 December, 1880.
may have been an exaggerated account, it does reveal the depths to which antagonism between the two groups could run.\(^{38}\) An article from as late as 1891 reported that Yuma Indians were still hostile to Chinese men.\(^{39}\)

Violence between American Indians and Chinese often begat more violence. Ah Quong Tia, a Chinese store owner in Bridgeport, California, murdered an American Indian named Poker Tom, probably of the Northern Paiute tribe, after Tom had won $200 in a card game and attempted to leave with his winnings. After murdering Tom, Tia cut up his body into pieces, salted it, and put it into brine so that there would be no smell to give away what had occurred. Afterwards, he threw the body parts into a river, where they were later located by members of Tom’s band. Ah Quong Tia was promptly arrested and thrown into jail. Friends and family of Tom surrounded the jail throughout the night leading up to his trial in order to make sure that Tia did not make an attempt to escape.\(^{40}\)

The next morning, Tia admitted that he had killed Tom but argued that it was done in self defense. The judge eventually acquitted Tia. The American Indians who had been around the courthouse were so enraged by the verdict that they seized Tia as he was leaving the courthouse and tied him with a rope. They dragged him outside of the town and cut him up in the same manner as Tia had done to Tom.\(^{41}\) One article reported that this was the latest case in a long string of Chinese and Northern Paiute conflicts. The original incident was the shooting of a Chinese miner by a Paiute man. Since the Paiute was not punished by white authorities, the


\(^{39}\) The Morning Call (San Francisco, CA) 14 December, 1891.

\(^{40}\) The Atchison Daily Globe (Atchison, KS) 15 June, 1891.

\(^{41}\) Ibid.
Chinese got their revenge by burning a shack in which four drunk Paiute men were sleeping.\textsuperscript{42}

Sometimes the violence between the two groups pushed Chinese men to group together in order to fight against American Indians, with each other and with white men. A band of American Indians came to the camp of eight Chinese men at night sometime in December 1857. They asked for money and provisions from the group, but were promptly denied. Upon being refused, the American Indians killed the Chinese men and stole their possessions. Ah Dich, a Chinese man living in the vicinity of the murders, attempted to gather monetary contributions from other Chinese men in order to raise a fund that could be used to bring the party to justice.\textsuperscript{43}

In 1853, two Chinese men were killed by an unspecified number of American Indians in California. The Chinese in the area, after complaining about the murders, were offered aid by a number of white miners in return for supplies. They agreed and pursued the American Indians and fought them without any casualties.\textsuperscript{44}

As with all meetings between differing groups, instances of day-to-day interaction grounded in understanding and mutual friendship also existed. The aforementioned articles regarding the role of Chinese in furnishing liquor for American Indians was one example of this type of interaction. In Idaho, Chinese farmers rented land next to the Nez Perce Reservation without any issues.\textsuperscript{45} A Chinese dried fish company, located on the coast of Washington, purchased the fish that they used from American Indians.\textsuperscript{46}

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\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{42} The \textit{Daily Picayune} (New Orleans, LA) 10 July, 1891.
\bibitem{43} Daily \textit{Evening Bulletin} (San Francisco, CA) 16 January, 1858.
\bibitem{44} Paul C. Phillips, ed., \textit{Forty Years on the Frontier, as Seen in the Journals and Reminiscences of Granville Stuart}, vol. 1, (Cleveland, 1925), 79-80.
\bibitem{45} The \textit{Spokesman-Review} (Spokane, WA) 18 February, 1895.
\end{thebibliography}
American Indian laborers worked together in the fishing industry in Washington without any overt signs of hostility.

In Yakima, Washington, as the Chinese New Year, or lunar New Year, approached, a white author discussed the coming festivities with some local Chinese men. One of the men said that the celebrants would have a “tenas” time, a word from the Chinook language that he learned while associating with Chinook peoples.47 A traveler who inspected some silver mines in the southwestern U.S. noted that some mines employed both Chinese and American Indians, and that they “agree very well, and have constant friendly intercourse with each other.”48 In Idaho, an American Indian named Jim hunted deer for their hides. Since he had no use for the extra meat, he gave it to Chinese men in the area.49 American Indians and Chinese typically played cards together.50 Josephine High Eagle, a Nez Perce woman, grew up with her father in rural Idaho with no neighbors besides a Chinese gold prospector. She remembered him fondly, stating, “He talked Chinamen to me.”51

Chinese men often operated businesses and stores that American Indians frequented. A Chinese man who owned a restaurant in Hawthorne, California served mostly American Indian patrons. He was reported to be a “great favorite” with the American Indians, but less admired by fellow Chinese men.52 In Arizona, a Chinese merchant spoke the language of the Pimas, which he learned as a child while playing with Pima children.53 Wong Sing, a Chinese

47. *Yakima Herald* (North Yakima, WA) 28 January, 1897.
49. *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (Sacramento, CA) 03 August, 1881.
50. *Omaha Daily Bee* (Omaha, NE) 30 May, 1880.
52. *Daily Los Angeles Herald* (Los Angeles, CA) 22 June, 1882.
laundryman at Fort Duchesne, Utah, spoke Ute and other local American Indian dialects. He was so favored by the local American Indian people that his funeral was attended by a number of Utes. 54 In Idaho, a member of the Bannocks was nicknamed “Chinaman.” A Chinese physician near the Colville Reservation in Washington was preferred by the American Indian residents in the area over the agency doctor. 55

Chinese men also frequently married American Indian women. As the population of Chinese women in the U.S. was extremely low and laws existed that blocked marriages between Chinese and Euro-American women, American Indian and other ethnic women were the most likely potential spouses of Chinese men. It seems that intermarriage between the two groups primarily occurred from 1880 onwards. Wong Bow, a Chinese man, married a Yurok woman and lived with her tribe in California. They had two children together. 56 Hop Lee, a laundryman, fell in love with a Flathead woman when her tribe passed by through his town. He offered her marriage and she accepted, although she was later rejected when the bridal dress that he had gotten her was ruined by members of her tribe. 57 Lee Moy and Neevis Paderas were issued a marriage license in San Francisco without issue. 58 In Arizona, Chinese men often fathered children with American Indian women, who were ultimately adopted into the tribes of the mother. 59 In Albuquerque, a Chinese man and “Pueblo Indian” were married “happily.” 60

57. Daily Yellowstone Journal (Miles City, MT) 22 May, 1884.
58. The Seattle Star (Seattle, WA) 18 April, 1899.
60. Daily Los Angeles Herald (Los Angeles, CA) 30 March, 1883.
A thirty-eight-year old Chinese man and twenty-three-year old American Indian woman were married in 1880.\(^{61}\)

These marriages were frequently accompanied by a sense of underlying hostility or disapproval on the behalf of either the Chinese or American Indian community. An American Indian woman who married a Chinese man in Salem, Oregon, was reported to have been driven out from her tribe.\(^{62}\) In Missoula, Montana, Charlie Lum Fung was married to Sophia Walton, a mixed blood American Indian. He eventually lost his wife when her tribe came and took her forcefully away.\(^{63}\) The tribe of an American Indian woman who married a Chinese man in Hawthorne, Nevada threatened that they would kill both the woman and man. The husband barricaded their home and made preparations to leave with his wife.\(^{64}\) In Toledo, Oregon, Jim Sam and Betsey Holland married each other in 1898. The event was notable, according to the author of the article, since both groups were said to have a dislike of each other.\(^{65}\)

Some final points regarding the overall course of interaction between Chinese and American Indians should be made here. As Daniel Liestman notes, neither the Chinese nor the American Indians attempted to dominate and incorporate the other group in a material sense.\(^{66}\) While that is true, both sides did attempt to dominate and incorporate the other side within their mental perceptions of each other; as will be explored in chapter three. Liestman also argues that interactions between Chinese and American Indians did not become national issues, and were

\(^{61}\) Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 23 January, 1880.
\(^{62}\) Daily Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock, AR) 14 February, 1880.
\(^{63}\) Cheyenne Transporter (Darlington, Indian Territory) 10 March, 1885.
\(^{64}\) Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 11 April, 1884.
\(^{65}\) Daily Capital Journal (Salem, OR) 31 December, 1898.
viewed by Euro-Americans with little interest.\(^{67}\)

However, interaction that took place between the indigenous peoples of Canada, mainly those living in British Columbia, and the Chinese who migrated to the area were reported in newspapers across the U.S. The uprising of “Chilicoate” Indians against local Chinese miners near the Vancouver area was reported in California. After two of the Chinese miners were killed, the rest of the Chinese locked themselves inside a lodge house. The Indians had surrounded the house and begun to assault it when the messenger who carried the report of the attack had left.\(^{68}\)

The follow up to these murders was reported a few months later in another California newspaper—two Indians were hung.\(^{69}\) A newspaper from Milwaukee ran a story about the murder of a Chinese man with a “large quantity” of gold dust by a group of Indians near Lillooet, a town in British Columbia near the Fraser Canyon, which was the site of a gold rush in the mid nineteenth century. The Indians were reported to have remarked that if the government did not remove the Chinese from their territories, then they would themselves.\(^{70}\) A Utah newspaper reported that Yip Luck, a Chinese man residing in Vancouver, confessed to murdering an American Indian near the Fraser River after being sentenced to death for the murder of a local police chief.\(^{71}\) This subset of articles indicates that not only was there widespread interest in the sense that reports were being published about events hundreds of miles away, but that the interest that was felt by this national audience could spread to transnational events.

\(^{67}\) Ibid., 331, 348.
\(^{68}\) Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, CA) 23 April, 1883.
\(^{69}\) Sacramento Daily Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 14 September, 1883.
\(^{70}\) Milwaukee Daily Journal (Milwaukee, WI) 28 August, 1884.
\(^{71}\) Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City, UT) 26 October, 1900.
The large number of newspaper articles reported above, and the publication of articles in other places not often associated with both the Chinese and American Indians, such as New Orleans or Boston, signify that, on the contrary, Chinese and American Indian contact did carry some level of intrinsic interest within the Euro-American mindset. To what extent and how this manifested itself are the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter Two
“John Chinaman” Meets “the Redskinned Buck”: The New Interactions in the White Imagination

A cartoon from the February 8, 1879 edition of Harper’s Weekly, a national magazine distributed across the U.S. in the nineteenth century, depicts an American Indian and Chinese man together. The American Indian, clad in the accoutrements of the stereotypical plains Indian warrior—three feathers sticking out from his headdress, a blanket draped around his shoulders, and a sharp weapon in hand—looks menacingly at the Chinese man; who in turn is looking over his shoulder at the American Indian with his typically “Mongoloid” features emitting an expression of fear mixed with insolence. Referencing general fears of a massive Chinese influx that would "crowd out” white Americans from their lands, the American Indian tells the Chinese man, “Pale face ‘fraid you crowd him out, as he did me.”

Although this scene does not depict actual American Indian and Chinese interaction or focus on it as its subject, the cartoon reflects a trend that is inherent within Euro-American attempts to portray Chinese and American Indian contact. By using highly popularized images of the American Indian and Chinese man, the artist of the cartoon employs stereotypes to cast a sense of familiarity over the whole scene.

As the white editors of the newspapers came across these accounts of interaction, they evidently felt some sense of interest in and curiosity about what was occurring. Words such as “notable” and “interesting” are often used by the authors of the articles to describe the events.

Indeed, the fact that these interactions were reported about and published in the first place indicates that the greater Euro-American audience which was being targeted by these editors wanted to read about this.

1. Harper’s Weekly (New York City, NY), 08 February 1879. See Appendix A.
However, more often than not, the authors of these articles included more than the facts about what happened between Chinese and American Indians. Stereotypes that reflected the mindsets and perceptions of the authors generally made their way into the overall narrative of the articles. Journalistic terminology, thematic schema, and the general composition of the articles were all used to reflect and support general underlying prejudices about both the Chinese and Native Americans. These prejudices were frequently twisted and changed in order to fit into instances which typically would not support some aspects of those stereotypes. When an event occurred that could challenge aspects of prejudice against either group, the authors of the articles often portrayed it in a manner that still preserved the stereotypes that were being challenged. For instance, white authors could sustain the myth of Chinese passivity even within articles portraying Chinese in violent conflict with American Indians. In particular, the way in which the Chinese and American Indian parties are cast either in the role of active instigator or passive recipient in the articles reveals this complex process of modifying engrained stereotypes even in the face of new, and sometimes contradictory, information. In some respects, the usage of these stereotypes was to affirm, solidify, and portray aspects of white, Euro-American virtue in opposition to the characteristics that the authors wanted to be seen in the American Indian and Chinese actors of the articles.

By using stereotypes, the white authors of the article exhibited a level of metaphorical control over the events that they were reporting. In familiarizing these events through the usage of common prejudicial elements—events that were anything but familiar to their white audience—the authors of the articles placed interethnic interaction between the two groups in a comfortable niche that remained unchallenging to the general Euro-American mindset and perspective. The meetings between American Indians and Chinese that were completely new
could be interpreted as just “more of the same” between two peoples who always acted in the same characteristic ways; at least in the white prejudicial mindset.

This brings up another important issue. The need for ideological familiarity and control over the events unfolding between American Indians and Chinese illustrates that interethnic interaction was significant for Euro-American society to a certain degree. Although it may not have been the cause for the passage of laws or lengthy public debates, it was evidently important enough that it had to be controlled in some way; hence the usage of stereotypes. Indeed, it even became a tool with which whites could shape their own ideas about what it meant to be white in Euro-American society.

Articles which compared the two groups often reflected an inclusion-exclusion dichotomy as to what American Indians and Chinese could or could not be compared to Euro-Americans. An article from *The Atchison Champion* quotes a comparison of Chinese and American Indian workers as laborers in salt beds made by a foreman at the work site: “In fact, one Indian is worth two Chinamen, and they know it, and demand more pay. You have to keep continually watching a Chinaman, for he will talk and chatter during the working hours. Not so the Indian.”³ *The Evening Post* reports that, “The Chinese are commonly spoken of as the most skillful imitators on earth, but as a matter of fact, they are not to be compared with the Indians of Alaska. An Indian of average intelligence will give the best Chinaman on earth cards and spades and beat him on anything from a [unable to be read] to a clock.”⁴ In the *Daily Yellowstone Journal*, the “Aztec Indians” of Mexico are described as being “something like the Chinese in

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their inventive genius and their habit of keeping to themselves, but they are very childish and simple-minded.” The traits and characteristics which these comparisons highlight reflect the “proper” places in society where American Indians and Chinese were “supposed” to be as well as general myths about their character. It is significant that the American Indians are compared to Chinese in terms of “crafty” or “cunning” intelligence, such as the American Indians demanding higher pay than the Chinese, rather than with comparisons relating to good moral character. By including the American Indians with the Chinese in traits such as “imitating,” the article authors are simultaneously excluding both groups from laying claim to more “respectable” or “moral” qualities, or characteristics illustrative of inherent intelligence. This dual process of inclusion to certain traits and exclusion from other ones acts as a way to confine American Indians and Chinese to very specific modes of thought which correlate with the authors’ mindsets. Relating these comparisons helps preserve the preconceived notions of what each group was and “could be.” While the American Indians are “superior” to the Chinese in the aforementioned articles, the fact that they are compared to the Chinese instead of white men highlights the notion that they “belong” with the Chinese.

Articles which described the sale of liquor by Chinese to American Indians reflected notions of popular stereotypes harbored by white, American society as a whole. The notion of the Chinese as forces of corruption who could degrade Native Americans appears often. The language of these articles could help expand those very stereotypes. The Daily Evening Bulletin describes the Chinese as corrupting agents: “It is generally believed that the liquor is obtained by the Indians from the Chinese traders at the west end of our town[…]” The Daily Yellowstone

5. Daily Yellowstone Journal (Miles City, MT) 23 February, 1886.
Journal reports that, “The Reno journal says that the practice of smoking opium is becoming almost as prevalent among the Pacific coast Indians as among the Chinese from whom they have learned it.” An article from the Rocky Mountain News more explicitly conveys these sentiments:

Wherever Chinese and Indians come in contact, the former, with their superior cunning and civilization, demoralize the latter. Gambling is a passion strong in the Indian breast, and the Chinaman, who is a natural poker sharp, inducts the Indian in the mysteries of draw-poker and keeps him flat broke all the time. In Nevada, in addition to the United States laws, there are strong statutory enactments against selling intoxicating liquor to Indians, but the Chinaman furnishes the Indian with a vile and poisonous decoction that professes to be whisky, and makes the traffic so profitable that he can afford to take the chances of getting caught and being(…)in a heavy fine.

These articles play upon common stereotypes about Chinese as a debasing influence as well as notions of American Indian susceptibility to degrading forces such as liquor. Significantly, the Chinese are portrayed as active when performing these “corrupting” actions. The language builds upon the stereotype of Chinese as corruptors by implying a certain level of agency within these actions. The reference by the author of the Rocky Mountain News article to the “superior cunning and civilization” of the Chinese casts the Chinese individual in the role of the insidious evildoer, who “preys” upon the susceptible American Indian. By hinting that the Chinese know that the activity is against the law but are still doing it, the author helps portray the Chinese as a more nefarious element.

A Harper’s Weekly article from 1857 states:

There has been from the first an inveterate hatred between the Chinese and the Indians. The latter soon found it useless to attempt any opposition to the whites, and tacitly admitted their supremacy; but the sight of a Celestial pig-tail set their bristles on end in a twinkling, and peaceable as the Chinese are represented, they

7. Daily Yellowstone Journal (Miles City, MT) 08 December, 1887.
meet their enemies more than half-way. Some of the funniest battles on record have taken place between them. The reference to the “funniness” of the battles in the article hints at the fact that these sources of violence were almost a type of entertainment for the people who either watched the conflicts, heard about them from acquaintances, or read about them in newspapers. Indeed, the article goes on to describe: “When one of these battles [between Chinese and Native Americans] is about to take place, the news is circulated far and near, and the occasion is observed as a sort of holiday and general merry-making.” Both the Chinese and Native Americans are like animals from whose battles and conflicts the white observers derive satisfaction. The author goes on to state, “It is a matter of little moment who gains the day, as a thinning-out of either party is considered a public benefit.” The spectators are watching a “show” between two subhuman entities which are expendable in the mindsets of the observing parties. Interethnic interaction is used to highlight the superiority of the Euro-American audience that can pass judgement on the combatants.

The language and content of the article also reinforces certain stereotypes about both Chinese passivity and Native American “ferocity.” Although the occurrence of the fight contradicts traditional images of the Chinese as “peaceable,” the article nevertheless manages to reinforce the stereotype. The act of building myths and constructing stereotypes about the Chinese and American Indians was a fluid and changing process that continued and developed over time. While the author notes that, “peaceable as the Chinese are represented, they meet their enemies more than half-way,” it goes on to modify the overall terminology of the article in

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
order to maintain the underlying notion of Chinese passivity and the purported femininity of Chinese men. The notion that the battles are “funny” undermines the idea that these sources of violent conflict are “real” or “respectable” fights. It takes away the “masculinity” and “virility” that one would associate with the combatants in a fight and replaces it with a sense of mutual impotence and incompetence. The author goes on to mention, “The Chinese, as a general thing, get the worst of it, and when they turn tail to run, no language can describe the laughter and hurrahs of the multitude.”

Thus, while there is a challenge to the myth of Chinese passivity, it is “resolved” by the end of the article in the form of the Chinese being defeated and running away.

An article from the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel repeats this theme: “Yesterday afternoon a Piute[sic] Indian and a Chinaman had a singular contest[...]Both were evidently highly enraged, but, instead of striking with their fists, they seized hold of each other by the shoulders and began pushing like two Spanish steers. Up and down the street they had it for nearly half an hour, much to the amusement of a large crowd of spectators.”

The comparison of the combatants to “Spanish steers” undermines the notion that the fight is serious, and dehumanizes the participants to the point that the fight can no longer be characterized as a “normal” or “human” fight; or even an Anglo-American fight. Rather, the conflict becomes a comic struggle which subconsciously reinforces any notions of the subhuman or “unmanly” character of the Chinese and Paiute Indian.

A “naval” fight between American Indians and Chinese is depicted in the Daily Evening Bulletin in the following terms:

Last Friday a canoe or bungo, containing two or three Digger Indians with their mahalas[women] and offspring, came floating leisurely down the river at

13. Ibid.
14. Milwaukee Daily Sentinel (Milwaukee, WI) 03 September, 1870.
Sacramento City. When opposite the Gas Works it came accidentally in contact with a small flat-bottomed boat occupied by two Chinese fishermen. As soon as the boats struck, without waiting for any diplomatic intercourse, a war ensued which was more admirable for the vigor with which it was conducted than for the skill exhibited by the combatants. The Diggers used their paddles with considerable dexterity at times, bringing them in contact with the backs of the Chinamen, and others using them for the purpose of throwing water into the eyes of their opponents. The Chinamen used their oars, which they brought down with “a vim” [Latin for force] on the heads of the Diggers and their fair companions. The Chinamen finding that they were getting the worst of the engagement, commenced bombarding the rival craft with the fish lying in the bottom of the boat. This species of warfare rather took the Diggers by surprise, and might have crowned the Celestials with victory, but an extra effort on their part resulted in upsetting their boat. This settled the contest. The Chinamen struck out for the shore, and the Diggers, helping themselves to the remaining fish, went on their way rejoicing.\footnote{Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco, CA) 05 August, 1857.}

The author’s note that the fight was “more admirable for the vigor with which it was conducted than for the skill exhibited by the combatants” plays upon familiar notions of the inadequacy of the American Indians and Chinese. Both groups are excluded from the basic skill of how to fight; one of the core tenets of Euro-American masculinity. Regardless, the “Diggers,” as is fitting for a “martial” race like that of the American Indians, are described as having slightly more skill when the author says that they employed “considerable dexterity.” In turn, the Chinese men display no martial tact or skill; they just attempt to bludgeon the American Indians and try to force them to submit through blunt force. Their usage of fish as projectiles further underlines their incompetence in fighting. The ultimate victory of the American Indians reinforces the stereotype of Native Americans as natural-born warriors.

An article from \textit{The Daily Evening Bulletin} gives a similar account of a battle between Chinese and Native Americans. It is reported:

A few days since a party of Digger Indians attempted to ‘pan out’ some ground belonging to a company of Chinese miners on Pike Flat, a few rods east of Auburn street. The
The description of the fight, and the terminology used to complete that description, help to modify the stereotype of Chinese passivity into a notion of comic Chinese incompetence in fights. That is not to say that the myth of Chinese passivity is lost, however. It remains in more subtle elements, and is reinforced by stereotypes, new and old, as well as seemingly contradictory information. The account of the circumstances of the fight, with the “strategic” position and artillery, gives the sense that the Chinese should win the battle, and makes their subsequent inability to defeat the under-equipped Indians an example of Chinese futility in conflicts. It also helps reinforce the notion that the American Indians were somehow “natural fighters” who had “martial superiority” in their blood. By describing the Chinese reconnaissance as “cautious,” the author reinforces the notion of passivity in the form of “cowardly” wariness in battle. Subsequently, the description of the battle itself, with the Chinese repeatedly driven into cover, underlines the idea that the Chinese are passive in the battle. Indeed, throughout the account, it is the Chinese who respond to the American Indians, rather than the Chinese acting

first and forcing the “Digger Indians” to act accordingly. While the Chinese are the “victors” of the battle, to whatever extent a victor can be accurately designated in such a case, the author’s inclusion of the assumption that the American Indians had a “clearly understood threat to renew the conflict at an early day” portrays the American Indians as the potential aggressor and future instigator, even if they are withdrawing from the battle. Thus, the Chinese are perpetually described as the passive entity which must react to Native American activity.

Even in instances of conflict where the Chinese are portrayed as either aggressors or entities acting in an aggressive manner, underlying notions of Chinese passivity or “unmanliness” still remain. An article from the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* describes the murder of two white men and thirteen Chinese by a group of Native Americans while the Native Americans attempted to rob the group. The Chinese were laborers contracted by the white men. The article states, “From appearances, some of the Chinamen had fought like tigers, the ground around them being completely trodden down.”17 Nevertheless, this notion of “heroic masculinity” is tempered by the news that “six of the Chinamen escaped,” while both of the white men fought tenaciously and died.18 While a majority of the Chinese “fought like tigers,” and presumably like “real men,” at least in the mind of the author, there was still a sizable minority who ran away in an “unmanly” manner, forsaking the group. It is not the white men who escaped, but the Chinese men. Indeed, the article offers an image of the valiant white man who initiates fights and stands up for his values and belongings, the type of man needed to conquer the West and subdue the land: “Ingalls [one of the white men] seized a club and struck

18. Ibid.
the hindmost Indian and knocked him down. The Indians immediately commenced firing on Guild and Ingalls, and also at the Chinamen.” 19 The courageous white men who heroically fight to the last breath—and willingly from the notion that they start the battle—are highlighted in comparison with the mixed actions of the Chinese.

An article from The Daily Evening Bulletin titled “Indian Braves,” describes a visit by a band of Apaches from Mexico to San Francisco. In this article, a pair of Apache warriors’ first look at a Chinese man is described as follows:

There are in the party one or two braves who cause a little anxiety to those having them in charge, and who will take them through Chinatown tonight, owing to what may be termed the savage vivacity displayed by them. When going up the street last night after arrival, a Chinaman with pig-tail flying came into view, whereupon one of the braves stopped as if suddenly paralyzed, and fixed his eyes on the strange being with a look that made the white attendants feel for the moment doubtful as to what could next happen. The interpreter explained to the warrior what the odd-looking creature was, and he at last consented to move away, but he did so slowly and with eyes fixed upon the Mongolian, who by this time was as pale as a Mongolian can be. 20

The terminology which the author uses to describe the encounter, and the manner in which he portrays it, reflects deep-seated notions and stereotypes of what the author associates with both the Chinese and American Indian. The notion that the “savage vivacity” of the Apache men can be fulfilled within the Chinatown of the city underlines the idea of the Chinese, and Chinatowns, as a morally corrupting force, as well as the notion that American Indians were especially susceptible and easily “degraded” by morally loose parties. The usage of the phrase “odd looking creature” conjures up an image almost akin to a beast, who is to be looked at as an object of interest rather than as a human individual. The manner in which the Apache brave slowly moves

19. Ibid.
away, with “eyes fixed upon the Mongolian,” portrays the Apache brave as if he were a hunter cautiously backing away from his prey. Indeed, the mention that the Chinese man was “as pale as a Mongolian can be” underlines the myth of a passive Chinese character.

As the account of this encounter progresses, the “roles” of the two groups, as either the active or passive participant, correlate with the examples of the authors’ engrained prejudice. Thus, when it comes to the idea of moral degradation and debasement, it is the Chinese as a group and idea who become the active party. It is Chinatown that becomes the place which can help supply the Apache braves with an environment of debauchery, and it is the Apache braves who are passively taken by their white attendants. However, when the Apache brave lays eyes upon the Chinese man in a somewhat confrontational scene, he is cast in the role of the active instigator, who causes his attendants to worry about his actions. On the other side of this meeting, the Chinese individual is depicted as the bewildered, passive target of the Apache braves’ attention, who is too frightened to engage in any course of action while the Apache individual is staring at him.

Notably, it is the information of the white attendants which helps end the would-be confrontation; and it is they who calm down the “wild” Apache brave. Whereas the Chinese man and Apache brave both reflect opposite but extreme elements of the emotional spectrum, the attendants represent the cool, rational, and level-headed solution to the irrational minorities. An examination of what type of knowledge each group holds is telling. The Apache brave, as befits any American Indian of the savage description, has none. The Chinese man has knowledge, but only of the danger that he is in; and it does him no good as he is too scared to do anything. The whites, although they do feel a sense of uncertainty and apprehension, have the courage and virtue to utilize their knowledge in order to resolve the problem before it can reach the tipping
point. In this instance, interethnic interaction allows for the promulgation of the role of whites as peacemakers in society.

This usage of interethnic interaction can also be witnessed in an article that reports the killing of Chinese men by American Indians in the *Daily Evening Bulletin*. The article states:

> Two Indians shot two Chinamen near Nelson Point, on Saturday last; and after murdering the poor Asiatics, (rumor says the deed was done through mirthfulness, and not on general principles,) the savages were found dragging the dead bodies toward Feather River. The Indians fled upon the approach of some white persons. They were pursued by a party of whites, and at Long Valley two of the copperhided malefactors were shot.”

Once again, it is the white men that restore peace and order to the scene. In addition to this function, they serve as the figures who achieve justice for the community. The usage of the phrase “general principles” is interesting. At the most basic level, the notion that the American Indians committed the murder through “mirthfulness” rather than general principles plays on the stereotype of American Indians as bloodthirsty savages. However, it also implies that an attack launched in these “general principles” is, to an extent, more acceptable than what the American Indian murderers did. The subsequent murder of the American Indians by the party of white men conforms with this idea of “general principles.” In this case, the principle that the author alludes to is that of seeking justice for those who have been wronged. While both the American Indians and whites have essentially done the same thing, the author injects a defense of the whites and a reason for why their case was different. By using an instance of interethnic violence and its subsequent aftermath, the author depicts what is right and what is wrong, at least in a Euro-American context, for his audience.

An article in the *Daily Yellowstone Journal* also contains similar characteristics. The

author describes an instance of interaction between “Flathead Indians” and Chinese men in a Montana town as such:

About a dozen Chinamen were coming down the street in a body yesterday, when a small party of these [Flathead] Indians were in town, and as they were passing by an auction store, in front of which two bucks were standing, one of the bucks grabbed a Chinaman by the queue, and, drawing his scalping knife, circled it around the Celestial’s head in a threatening manner, uttering the characteristic ‘ugh!’ His expression was so ferocious that John Chinaman, thinking his last hour had come, gave vent to several ear-splitting shrieks, and would have fainted had not some white men standing near compelled the Indian to release him at that stage. The other Chinamen had deserted him at the first alarm, and quickly pattered up the street to Chinatown. Presently word was passed to the bucks to fly for their lives, a piece of advice they promptly followed by mounting their cayuses and heading for camp when they beheld several hundred Chinese heading down the street. Judging by their fierce countenances and violent language no doubt the aggrieved Chinaman’s friends meant to have terrible revenge, yet there are persons in town who insist that the laundrymen were agreeably disappointed to find the bucks flown.22

At the beginning of the incident, the Chinese, as an individual and then as a group, are portrayed as passive entities who are scared of the aggression shown by the American Indians. That the group of Chinese deserted the man “at the first alarm” underlines notions of cowardice and betrayal. While the Chinese come back as active entities attempting to seek revenge on the American Indians, the comment by the author that the Chinese were “agreeably disappointed” at the news of the departure of the Indians helps undermine any notion of “true” bravery or valor. The exaggeration of the Chinese as grouped in “hundreds” makes a case that individually, or in small numbers, the Chinese are passive, cowardly men. They must band together in overwhelming numbers in order to act bravely and aggressively, and even while they enjoy a vast numerical superiority, they still exhibit elements of fear. Once again, it is the calm, deliberate white men who restore order over the violent and emotional minorities. Euro-

22. *Daily Yellowstone Journal* (Miles City, MT) 22 May, 1884.
American courage and fortitude are silently lauded in comparison with the reckless savagery of the American Indians and the comedic cowardice of the Chinese.

The description of a Chinese man’s murder by two American Indians and their subsequent arrest by a white officer are reported in an article in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in 1877. It is written:

Last Thursday morning, a Chinaman named Lem Hoy, was found murdered at Sinclair Flat, close to Cherokee. Information was at once lodged with Judge Willoughby, and he sent officer Duret to ferret out the matter if possible and bring the perpetrators to justice. Duret left Cherokee and went to an Indian camp where he got into conversation with a squaw about the matter, and finally told her that Mountain Jim had done the deed, and that he felt certain she knew all about the murder and advised her to tell all she knew. Thinking he really did know, she told him that Mountain Jim had come to the camp last Tuesday and wanted some of the Indians to help kill Lem Hoy [...] The Indians refused to have anything to do with the matter, and he left their camp, saying he would get his brother Frank to help him [...] Following the scent thus obtained, Duret came to Chico last night, and sent for B.F. True and Lon Dolliver, to whom he told his errand [...] True went to the Bidwell Rancheria and found out that the two men wanted were there, so he, in company with Dolliver, went to the cabin where they were and took them both prisoner."

Through the figures of the white men in the story, the author portrays the ideal characteristics of a “good” Euro-American man. The inactivity of the American Indians that were visited and told of Mountain Jim’s plans contrasts sharply with the restless energy and activity of the white men who help resolve the murder and deliver justice. In this instance, a case of interethnic violence is important so far as it helps promote the desirable characteristics of white men.

The use of interaction between Chinese and American Indians as a way to codify Euro-American virtues and the idea of Euro-Americans as a force of order extends beyond these instances of antagonism and violence. The sale of liquor by a Chinese man to an American Indian is described in an article from *The Record-Union*:

Sunday afternoon Pete Hall, a Shasta Indian, was taken to the police station fighting-drunk, and having slept off the effects of his potations came up smiling before Justice Davis yesterday morning. It was a clear case of the infraction of the State law prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to Indians, and during the examination of the aboriginee Justice Davis incidentally inquired where he got his liquor. "Oh, from a Chinaman up there," replied Pete[...] After court adjourned Hall was questioned by Bailiff Hardy, and said he had no objection to buying more liquor of the Chinaman who had obliged him the day before, and accordingly he was supplied with the collateral and sent out to repeat the performance, being shadowed by Hospital Steward Robinson. Hall went up 1 street to a place between Third and Fourth, and there dived into a cellar, and after following a dark and winding passage he finally brought up before a fully equipped gin plant, from the proprietor of which he purchased another bottle of fire water. At this interesting part of the proceeding Robinson appeared on the scene, seized the bottle — which Ah Yung, the proprietor, admitted he had just sold to the Indian—and then marched the offender to the police station, where he was accommodated with a cell. 24

Pete Hall plays the role of the stereotypical drunken, good-for-nothing American Indian who lives in a life of vice, while Ah Yung becomes a sort of insidious criminal, whose gin plant is described almost as an underground dungeon that takes great effort to reach through a "dark and winding" passage. The energy, activity, and responsibility of the white actors is highlighted in comparison with the inactivity of Pete and the capacity to degrade of Yung. Whereas Pete is "unconcerned," Hospital Steward Robinson is described as shadowing him, seizing the bottle when the transaction was made, and marching Ah Yung to the police station. In all these activities, Robinson’s vivacity and effort come through. The white men, from Justice Davis, to Bailiff Hardy, and finally to Hospital Steward Robinson, are the main instigators of the article. It is they who try to bring justice, and the minorities are “just along for the ride,” so-to-speak.

Even the marriage of an American Indian woman and a Chinese man could be used to identify and promulgate “proper” Euro-American values. The Seattle Star reports the marriage of Lee Moy, a young Chinese man, and Neevis Paderas, an eighteen year old American Indian

24. The Record-Union (Sacramento, CA) 29 September, 1896.
woman. Moy is described in glowing terms:

Lee Moy is a young Chinese, sleek, prosperous, and extremely proud of his ability to speak English like a native. Long ago he decided to make America his permanent home, so he cut off his queue, doffed the costume of his own country, forebore lottery, fan tan, and the opium pipe and became as good an American citizen as it is possible for him to be.25

Notably, the author makes a point of mentioning that he does not engage in the stereotypical activities that most believed Chinese were involved in: gambling, smoking opium, and preserving elements that connected him to his past; like the queue. Paderas receives a milder, but still positive description. She is “as comely a young woman as one could meet in a day’s journey.”26 Both Moy and Paderas had similar qualities as well: “[they] have a good common school education and both are members of the Methodist church.”27 Finally, “they declared their intention of being married by a Methodist minister.”28

Rather than imbuing Moy and Paderas with the general stereotypical characteristics of their own respective races, the author fills them with the positive characteristics of the quintessential “assimilated” minority. In an article that is so unabashedly positive about interracial marriage, the ethnicities do not have the typical traits of their own respective “racial characters.” Moy has abandoned all vestiges of his Chinese past, and if not for his name, his description could be that of any of the sober, Christian, hard-working American men that Euro-American society aimed to portray as the builders of its nation. Paderas, for her part, acts as the beautiful bride-to-be from a good background by virtue of her education and Christian beliefs; a

25. The Seattle Star (Seattle, WA) 18 April, 1899.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
potential mother of the nation. The interracial marriage between the two offers an opportunity for the author to show what characteristics are essential to the positive, Euro-American character.

On the flip side, these instances of interethnic interaction also offered some authors and observers the ability to criticize and lambast Euro-American actions and practices. For these conscientious writers, interethnic meetings and the ways whites reacted to them offered an opportunity to examine the less “savory” aspects of Euro-American culture and character. The author of the aforementioned *Harper’s Weekly* article felt the implications of this, as he writes at the end of his article: “The reader, however, must not suppose from this that the miners are all of this rowdyish[sic] stamp. There are thousands who rule and give a tone to society in the interior who would do honor to any community.”

His feeling that he needs to defend the white spectators of the American Indian and Chinese fights indicates that he felt that some would take these cases of interethnic violence as a way to look down upon the observers, rather than the actors.

A short statement from the editor of the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* reflects similar sentiments. It states, “An Indian maiden has been driven out by her tribe, in Oregon, because she married a Chinaman. A San Francisco Chinaman has lost the respect of his countrymen by marrying a negro woman. A Virginia mob whipped a negro for marrying a white woman.” The author uses different examples of interethnic relationships to question the logic of intolerance among all aspects of society. Interethnic interaction offers a chance to connect the localized perspective of a newspaper editor from Arkansas with a national perspective that still correlates

with the same anti-racial bias sentiment. In an article about Ah Quong Tia, the previously mentioned Chinese store owner who was killed by Paiutes after he murdered one of their own over a game of cards, the author writes, “The lawyers and the justice of the peace are blamed for acquitting Tia as it was known if they turned him loose the Indians would kill him.”\textsuperscript{31} Contrary to the image of whites as preservers of order, the author attacks the neglectful behavior of white officials in power. Yet, rooted in this critique, there is still a sense of what the author feels are the characteristics of a good Euro-American. Someone who was thorough and conscientious would not have let such an event occur.

An article from the \textit{Sacramento Daily Record-Union} contains a similar process. The report describes the murder of Chinese by three American Indians:

Three Indians went hunting in the upper country yesterday, and finding no game concluded to take a shot at some Chinamen who were working a claim on the hillside. One of the Chinamen was killed, and then the Indians were arrested and imprisoned. We are glad to find that this brutal deed excites quite general indignation, but it may be as well to recall the fact that had white men done the same a few years ago it would have been very difficult to get a jury to convict them. The mistake of the Indians lay in supposing that they would be protected by the anti-Chinese sentiment. But it is only too probable that they acquired their ideas concerning the worthlessness of a Chinaman’s life from the white men among whom they had obtained their slight knowledge of civilization.\textsuperscript{32}

The author’s acknowledgement of what would have happened if a white man had committed such an act dampens the disapproval of the audience towards the American Indians and instead redirects it to white Euro-Americans in general. Instead of white men as the preservers of peace, they become the cause of death.

While articles from white-owned newspapers that used interaction between the two

\textsuperscript{31} The \textit{Atchison Daily Globe} (Atchison, KS) 15 June, 1891.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Sacramento Daily Record-Union} (Sacramento, CA) 11 January, 1881.
groups to reinforce negative stereotypes and perceptions were the most common types of articles, it is notable that this small subset of articles, which used interaction as a vessel for critique against Euro-American society, existed. For one, it reflects that white cultural response to interaction between Chinese and American Indians was far from monolithic. Of course, not all Euro-Americans had held the same view about either the Chinese or American Indians before these contacts emerged. Small parties of Euro-Americans, typically hailing from areas like the Northeastern U.S.—where there was generally very little day-to-day and face-to-face contact with either Chinese or American Indian individuals—could even support each group to a limited extent. That some of the articles containing critiques on Euro-American society came from these areas should not come as a surprise.

The fact that articles existed in areas where there was more day-to-day and face-to-face contact with the two groups suggests that the seeds of change were beginning to be planted within Euro-American cultural thought as a whole. That is not to say that Euro-American society was ready to abandon its prejudicial practices, or even to demand changes because of the problems that the authors have highlighted. It suggests, rather, that more nuanced perspectives were coming into view; views that lacked blind resentment and ones that could begin to discern the problems inherent in Euro-American treatment of ethnic groups.
Chapter Three
“Long Lost Cousins” and “Our Chinaman”: American Indians and Chinese Construct the Other

At 1:15 p.m. on October 5, 1897, the third annual Festival of Mountain and Plain, otherwise referred to as the Pageant of Progress, began in Denver, Colorado on the intersection of Nineteenth Street and Broadway. The festival included, among other things, a procession of floats designed and sponsored by local companies and communities. These floats were intended to display the development of Colorado from its first white settlers to the present day. Designed ostensibly to cultivate and promote local pride in the achievements of the peoples of Colorado, a newspaper editor remarked that it would “demonstrate, as no other event can, the progress which has been achieved, as well as the substantial basis on which the industries of Colorado rest.”¹

As the parade was planned out, six divisions were created to signify different aspects of the Colorado experience.² First came the pioneers, those first white men and women who came to subdue the land and brought the beacon of civilization upon the virtually uninhabited landscape. Of course, the original inhabitants were included, as well; “cliff dwellers” and mounted American Indians were included side-by-side with pioneer miners and farmers. The second division featured decorated carriages, while the third focused on agriculture, horticulture, and livestock from local districts. Among the interesting facets of this division was the display of quality horses and cows. Division four centered around mining in Colorado, with floats from the counties which were associated with mining, and division five, by far the largest, exhibited floats from a number of local companies. The final division of the day featured the Chinese, with a float designed to look like a dragon. As the day’s events unfolded and night began to set in on

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1. Rocky Mountain News (Denver, CO) 06 October, 1896.
2. Denver Evening Post (Denver, CO) 05 October, 1897.
the bustling town, an American Indian powwow was scheduled for 8:00 p.m. Shortly after that, at 8:30 p.m. to be exact, an American Indian camp would be open to viewers at City Park.³

As the festivities played out, the American Indians and Chinese who were involved in the cavalcade got the opportunity to see each other’s floats—and each other. The day after the parade, a reporter from *The Denver Evening Post* went and interviewed members of the Chinese community in Denver, mainly merchants and priests of the native “Joss” religion, about what they thought about the American Indians that they saw. After this, he went to the American Indians who took part in the parade and asked them to reply to what the author had written down regarding the thoughts of the Chinese towards the American Indians.⁴ This article points at the ways in which American Indians and Chinese viewed each other. As whites viewed the interaction between American Indians and Chinese and began to understand it in their own mindsets, the American Indians and Chinese who were actually involved in these meetings developed their own respective thoughts and perceptions of each other.

For the most part, American Indian and Chinese individuals felt and emphasized a certain level of difference between their own respective groups. This difference often manifested itself in either the Chinese or American Indians looking at the opposite group as being lesser than themselves. That does not mean, however, that there were no attempts at finding common ground. At certain points, both Chinese and American Indians voiced sentiments that indicated attempts at mutual understanding and empathy. However, even in these instances when either group attempted to forge connections or empathize with each other, there was still often a concomitant process of attempting to separate the “others” in terms that positioned the speaker’s

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³. Ibid.
⁴. *The Denver Evening Post* (Denver, CO) 06 October, 1897.
respective group, whether American Indian or Chinese, as the superior social and racial group.

For instance, an article from the *Daily Evening Bulletin* reports that American Indians in the area considered the Chinese a class of “low, cowardly Indians.” While the Chinese are American Indians in the perception of the local Native Americans, they are not American Indians of any standing and have no characteristics that can boast of a good standing.

Sources that contain elements of what Chinese said and thought about American Indians are sparse. The aforementioned article from *The Denver Evening Post* is one of the only ones to provide a detailed account of Chinese men’s thoughts on American Indians as a whole. The author describes the reactions of the Chinese towards the Native Americans in the city as follows: “The Indians made a hit with the Celestials, who were lost in admiration of the types of savage life.” The article goes on to give a rare glimpse at what the Chinese thought about the American Indians: “The Chinese of Denver are willing to embrace the whole three Indian tribes now in the city as cousins if the Indians will lose their stolid contempt for all affection and consent to the embrace. According to the Chinese scholars in the city, the Indians are no more nor less than Chinamen who have sunk into savagery.” It goes on to describe the comments of Wah Lee, a priest of the Quong War Joss house, a religious institute, as such: “I tinka Indians he comes from China long time ago. Velly much look like Chinaman, dless like Chinaman. Money he make of copper, all like China money. Indian sluhly Chinamens.” After pointing at a likeness of a Chinese god, Lee states, “Eyes same, nose he same, allee same allee ova. Indian make much show—look good. We beat ‘m with dlogon, though.”

Hue Kai, described a “one of the brightest

6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
Chinamen in Denver,” remarks:

We have history, telling of how long I know not. Chinese soldiers were fighting with other nations. When they were all on the water a great storm came up and blow hard. All were lost and evlybody in China feel bad because they were good men and won many fights. The wind blow them to North Amelica, and they couldn’t get out of the junks. They come on land and live here ever since. When Chinese ask Indian where he come from he makes a mahk on papah just like Chinese ship, so they must come from China first. His skin different from Chinese. Climate make it darker. They blacker than Chinese. They fo’get ‘ligion. They wo’ship the sun. Chinese have they own gods. They descended down, so did Indians. Indians dless like Chinamen, with shirt and leggings[…] Indians look like Chinese even now. They got lost hundreds of years ago […] Oh yes! They’d learn Chinese quick. They talk vely much like Chinaman now.

He goes on to state: “Chinamen would like to be fliends with them. They look at flags and dagon and say nothing. Chinamen like the way they lide and take babies in baskets. But they wild men and used to kill. They don’t like Chinese dish no more. That is because they have to kill wild game and have no rice. They must be some Chinaman in ‘m. They like birds.”

Both Wah Lee and Hue Kai’s comments portray a dualistic process of attempting to highlight similarities and “common ground” between the two groups while simultaneously creating small distinctions which bar the notion of complete compatibility. While the two highlight how some aspects of Native American culture are admirable and even equal to aspects of Chinese culture, they also provide caveats that separate the two cultures. Thus, while the Chinese want to “embrace” the American Indians as individuals of the same race, they also make sure to note that the American Indians are individuals who have sunk into “savagery.” While they look the same, Hue Kai makes sure to note that the skin of the American Indians was darker. The American Indians can be acknowledged as Chinese, but only insofar as that they are Chinese who are not quite the same as the Chinese speakers who say these comments.

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9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
The American Indians, in turn, are described as wholly rejecting these sentiments. The article states, “But a great howl of protest went up when the Chinese attempted to claim the Indians as cousins.”\textsuperscript{11} It is noted that Julian Buck, the son of the chief of the Utes, “scoffed at the claims of relationship advanced by the Celestial admirers.”\textsuperscript{12} Julian Buck goes on to exclaim, “We are no relations of Chinamen!”\textsuperscript{13} Later on, he remarks that:

Indians don’t care if Chinaman washes for living. That’s all right. Chinamen make a pretty parade. Most all of them were pretty. It was, whole thing, much better parade than last year[...]All the same, too, my people look better and march good. There was more of my people than last year[...]The floats were painted, yesterday, much better than last year, same as my people were dressed up much better.\textsuperscript{14}

Chief Jose de Jesus Naranjo, a Pueblo chief, states: “Indian no like the Chinese. Too much half-breed in Chinaman. Chinamen parade pretty. Pueblos take arrows and kill Chinamen in fight. They no good in battle. Just pretty to look at.”\textsuperscript{15} In addition to emphatically denying the supposition of common ancestry, these comments also hint at a general sense of dislike towards the Chinese felt by the American Indians.

Notably, the comments by chief Naranjo underline a sort of Chinese passivity; depicted in the form of the Chinese being unable to fight well. Both the Chinese and the American Indians carried stereotypes of each other within their perspectives, as evidenced by the emphasis of the Chinese on the savagery of the Native Americans and the Native Americans’ emphasis on the Chinese being unable to fight. The idea that the Chinese men were all laundrymen who washed for a living hints at the idea that the Chinese are effeminate—washing clothes was generally a

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
woman’s activity. Indeed, these stereotypes are almost identical to what white Americans thought about both parties. While the Chinese mindset held a somewhat less disdainful view of the other group, it still contained elements of separation which hint more generally at a current of incompatibility underlying the perspectives of Chinese and Native Americans towards each other.

Articles from the *White Earth Progress*, an Ojibwe newspaper published in the late 1880s, *The Tomahawk*, the spiritual successor of the *Progress* published in the early twentieth century, the *Cherokee Advocate*, the first American Indian newspaper, produced and published by members of the Cherokee tribe before and after their relocation, and the *Indian Chieftain*, a paper published in the Indian Territory and self-described as “devoted to the interests of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Creeks, and all other Indians of the Indian Territory,” provide a glimpse of how American Indians viewed the Chinese in areas not normally associated with Chinese settlement—present day Minnesota and Oklahoma. The content of the articles, and the themes which are addressed in them, offer a picture into what associations and ideas they connected to their image of what a Chinese person was like. Although some of the articles may not directly address Native American and Chinese contact, they nevertheless offer insights into Native American views of the Chinese in a general sense. From the pages of the *White Earth Progress*, there is an article about factional quarrels between different Chinese societies, as well as a report on a Chinese man said to be the ringleader of an opium-smuggling group with a capital of a million dollars. The deaths of four Chinese men in their tents in

present-day Wyoming and the deaths of three Chinese in an explosion in California serve as the topics for two other articles.\textsuperscript{18}

*The Tomahawk* gives a report of the release of a Chinese prisoner:

Ham Hong, a Chinese prisoner at the penitentiary, who received a conditional pardon, after he had served several years of a twenty-five years’ sentence for murdering another Chinaman at Brainerd[Minnesota], was released from prison and left Stillwater for St. Paul[…]Ham Hong has been employed as a cook at the prison and has been an exemplary[sic] convict. This fact and the belief that he had been convicted of a crime of which he was probably[sic] not guilty, gained him his freedom. He was profuse in his thanks for his release, and for fear that he might again be placed behind the bars at the prison he left the city in a hurry.\textsuperscript{19}

The plot of a play about two Chinese men and a Chinese woman entangled in an absurd love triangle is recapped in an article published in 1903.\textsuperscript{20}

Articles from the *Cherokee Advocate* covered a wide array of topics. There are articles relating to Chinese burglary schemes, as well as articles about Chinese maid servants.\textsuperscript{21} One article describes the Chinese in financial terms: “The money-making propensities of the Chinese beat those of the Jews, and it is not so very surprising that the richest man in the world is a Chinaman.”\textsuperscript{22} The newspaper relates an account of a Chinese cook working for a family on the west coast in the following terms:

A Chinaman applied for the position of cook in a family in one of our western cities. The lady of the house and most of the family were members of a fashionable church, and they were determined to look well after the characteristics of the servants. So, when John Chinaman appeared at the door he was asked; ‘Do

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} *White Earth Progress* (White Earth Reservation, Minnesota) 02 March, 1889. *White Earth Progress*, 01 September, 1888.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} *The Tomahawk* (White Earth, Minnesota) 06 August, 1903.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} *The Tomahawk* (White Earth, Minnesota) 11 June, 1903.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma) 01 September, 1886. *Cherokee Advocate* 16 January, 1895.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma) 29 January, 1886.
\end{itemize}
you drink whisky?’ ‘No,’ said he; ‘I Clistian man.’ ‘Do you play cards?’ ‘No; I Clistian man.’ He was employed and gave great satisfaction. He did his work well, was honest, upright, correct, and respectful. After some weeks the lady gave a ‘progressive euchar’ party, and had wines at the table. John Chinaman was called upon to serve the party, and did so with grace and acceptability. But next morning he waited on the lady and said he wished to quit work. ‘Why, what is the matter,’ she inquired. John answered: ‘I Clistian man; I tole you so before, no heathen! No workee for Melican heathen!’.

An article printed in 1890 in the *Indian Chieftain* described the “prince of modern swindlers,” a Chinese man who had managed to trick the Chinese government into believing that he was a high official. After he had done this, he collected money from various local government bodies that supposedly resulted in a profit of two million dollars. The business practices of Chinese banks and Chinese men served as the topics for two articles. A Chinese man who smuggled cigars and cigarettes from Havana, Cuba, was described as the shrewdest of all smugglers. Different ways that Chinese could insult each other are described in an article published in 1891.

These articles depict the myriad of ways American Indians could portray and imagine the Chinese. Perceptions of the Chinese as subservient emerge from the descriptions of the Chinese as maids and cooks. Negative connotations about Chinese character and the association of Chinese with deception, fraud, and generally corrupting behavior come up often, as in the accounts of Chinese burglary and sale of opium. While the Chinese are connected to maids,

23. *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, OK) 30 November, 1887.
24. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 09 January, 1890.
25. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 04 April, 1889. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 13 March, 1884.
26. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 17 April, 1884.
27. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 06 August, 1891.
cooks, and various types of “low” manual labor, they are also depicted as enjoying vast and unlimited amounts of financial prosperity. Indeed, above all, the image of the Chinese as wealthy appears most often. Inflated sums of money become the “norm” in terms of how much Chinese men are envisioned as having. A similar contradiction can be seen in the connection of Chinese to burglaries and deceit and the depiction of the Chinese cook as an extremely moral, conscientious man. An ideological dichotomy appears that splits the Chinese between two equally over-exaggerated positions. On the one hand, when the Chinese are good, they are good in a ludicrous sense. The Chinese cook is moral, but to an extreme that is comedic. When the Chinese are evil, they are evil in connection to money—as if they are robber barons. Their sole concern is to profit financially at whatever cost, and abandoning any morals or scruples that a “normal” person would have is not beyond their character. Moreover, both of these perspectives avoid any attempt at characterizing the Chinese as normal people. Instead of existing as real human beings, the Chinese exist as mental caricatures. Above all, there was no “set in stone” way to envision the Chinese as a whole.

Articles that described Chinese living in towns with large Native American populations and interacting with the American Indians who read these newspapers reflected a mix of reactions and feelings about the Chinese. The reactions to Chinese were sometimes negative. These negative reactions usually sprouted from two interconnected issues; jobs and money. An article from the *Cherokee Advocate* notes:

We hear a great deal of complaint about the Chinese laundry which has been started in our town. It is feared that other Chinamen will follow and that pretty soon they will monopolize the laundry business in this place, thereby depriving a large per cent[sic] of the poorer class of our citizens of their only means of support. Now there is no doubt some room for complaint, as it looks a little rough to see an outsider come in and set up a laundry and, one might say, take the bread right out of the mouths of some of our old
widows and their children. Now what’s to be done in the matter?\textsuperscript{28}

An editorial note from the \textit{Indian Chieftain} states, “Our nation is too small for the immense charity of some of our people—John the Chinaman must be nickeled.”\textsuperscript{29} It is significant that within an article complaining about the need to take advantage of people in a better economic position than themselves, the American Indian authors of the article target the Chinese in their community. The idea of the Chinese as an inherently wealthy people is evident.

At other times, the treatment of Chinese was rather neutral. In the March 20, 1890 edition of the \textit{Indian Chieftain}, an article reports what a Chinese laundryman in the area said of his condition: “John Chinaman, who does ‘washee for Melican man,’ is in sore trouble. He says he is paying $15 per month rent and now the Indian wants him to pay $75 license of permit. John states: ‘Before I pay seventy-five dollars, me go back to United States.’”\textsuperscript{30} Another article reports the robbery of a local Chinese man: “Frank Daniels was taken to Fort Smith Monday evening charged with having robbed the Chinaman of six dollars. ‘John’ seems to be in hard luck; some weeks ago he fell into a crap game and lost what small change he had accumulated.”\textsuperscript{31} The murder of a Chinese man was treated matter-of-factly: “News reached here yesterday morning that Burrell Cox had killed a Chinaman at Tulsa Tuesday night. Our informant states that the Chinaman was restaurant keeper and that Cox had been drinking heavily. Cox was arrested and taken to Muskogee.”\textsuperscript{32} While the American Indians offered no support for the Chinese in the articles, they refrained from expressing sentiments of ill will that many white authors would have

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Cherokee Advocate} (Tahlequah, OK) 18 November, 1891.
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Indian Chieftain} (Vinita, Indian Territory) 23 September, 1886.
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Indian Chieftain} (Vinita, Indian Territory) 20 March, 1890.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Indian Chieftain} (Vinita, Indian Territory) 04 May, 1893.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Indian Chieftain} (Vinita, Indian Territory) 29 September, 1898.
written.

Positive treatments of specific Chinese by American Indians were also given. A note from the editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* states: “The civilization that recently murder[sic] over half a hundred inoffensive Chinamen in Wyoming—that cremated two men in their cage in a border state prison—that offered $250.00 apiece for Indian scalps in Arizona—needs itself to be civilized.” Support for a Chinese man is given in an article published in the *Indian Chieftain*: “Owing to a continued annoyance by a lot of half grown boys, breaking windows and making themselves generally disagreeable, the Chinaman has been compelled to move down town. If John would exchange his three and a half shoe for a No. 14 boot and use it vigorously upon his persecutors the public would say he deserved credit.” The neutral or positive treatments of Chinese men in American Indian communities in newspapers like the *Cherokee Advocate* or the *Indian Chieftain*, at least compared to what would have most likely been written in a white-owned newspaper, imply that some individuals had compassion and understanding for the Chinese that moved beyond thought centered around self-benefit.

In certain articles, the inclusion of the Chinese in the American Indian mindset and community can be seen. An article from the *Indian Chieftain* reports: “Muskogee’s Chinaman rather outmatches our John. He is a member of the Presbyterian Church and has his life insured for the benefit of the pastor.” Four years later, the *Chieftain* states: “Adair has a full fledged dramatic company and to-night will present ‘Nevada;’ eleven characters and all of them stars. A

33. *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahkequah, OK) 16 October, 1885.
34. Referring to the Rock Springs Massacre. See Appendix B.
35. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 20 November, 1890.
36. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 29 May, 1890.
lot of special new scenery has been painted by Eugene Hall and everything necessary has been procured; they have even borrowed our Chinaman, Leo Chung, to complete the realistic features. Net proceeds go to Aid society. All invited.”

The description of the Chinese men as “our” indicates that they were absorbed and acknowledged as part of the community in some manner. It is unlikely that they married into any of the tribes and forged literal bonds with native members of the community, as there were no reports about the marriage of the Chinese, which presumably would have been an interesting enough event to mention—even if as an aside as was typically done in white-owned newspapers. Even though the Chinese man in Muskogee was “better” than the Chinese man in the community of Vinita, where the newspaper was published, the local man was still held to be part of the community. This absorption, however, seems to have been predicated on the assumption that the Chinese who were being absorbed were lesser than the society and peoples that they were being absorbed into. By demonstrating possession of the Chinese men, the American Indian community and mindset places their own level of control over the Chinese.

An article from the *Daily Alta California* shows similarly ambiguous feelings towards the Chinese among the American Indian tribes of Nevada. A meeting was planned at the ranch of a Mr. Storm who lived in a local county. The gathering included American Indian tribal leaders, probably of Northern or Southern Paiute descent, Euro-American state and federal officials, including two senators, and roughly one hundred local citizens. As the “council” began, the reason for the meeting was brought forward when the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a man by the name of Colonel Henly, stepped in front of the crowd and asked the assembled tribal leaders

37. *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita, Indian Territory) 10 May, 1894.
to remove their tribes from the surrounding mining areas. In response to this request, a chief by the name of Wemeh stated: “Why[…] do you not remove the Chinese? The Indians are better than the Chinese, and you allow them to remain among you. Remove the Chinese first—then we will go.” Wemeh’s remark is clearly opposed to the Chinese—his feelings that his own people are superior to the Chinese are clearly stated. However, in bringing up the Chinese as a response to the question of removal, Wemeh’s statement suggests that he felt some level of similarity between the Chinese and American Indians—at the very least in the way that both groups were similarly disempowered within local societies. The separation between these two—that is, the personal feeling of superiority and the understood feeling of both groups as disempowered—points at the potential of American Indians to view the Chinese in a dual manner. They could be viewed both on an emotional or “gut feeling” level as well as on a more ideological level.

While it is difficult to identify the precise elements of how Chinese figured into the American Indian mindset and vice versa, some basic elements should be highlighted. Common prejudices and stereotypes often played into the ideas that each group had about the other. Differences existed between emotional and ideological responses of each group towards the other. Emotionally, the Chinese could consider the American Indians as cousins, but ideologically they were not ready to accept them in any formal or literal way. A portion of American Indians, albeit small, seem to have been able to treat the Chinese with understanding and compassion, or at least without a sense of prejudice or disdain.

The processes of mutual inclusion and exclusion as to the rest of the Chinese and American Indian mindsets indicate that the idea of the “other”—that is, other racial groups—

38. Daily Alta California (San Francisco, CA) 07 October, 1854.
served mainly as a way to bolster the ideological status of each group’s respective standing. American Indians and Chinese generally affected each others’ racial experiences by offering examples of different, non-white peoples that could be viewed in ways that promoted a self-superior image of their own peoples.
Conclusion

On November 1, 1852, two Chinese men left their mining claims and traveled to the nearby town of Placerville in order to purchase supplies. While they were returning, both were shot—one fatally—by an American Indian using a bow and arrow. Their money and provisions were taken and the American Indian was able to escape. If this earliest report of Chinese and American Indian interaction was to foreshadow anything, it was to suggest an inauspicious beginning to the meeting of two peoples coming from radically different backgrounds.¹

That the contacts between Chinese and American Indians went above and beyond this, however, is evident. To be sure, violence and antagonism were the two dominant themes of interaction between the two groups. Indeed, they never quite disappeared, even several decades after the Chinese had arrived and contact had been made. Yet elements of fascination, connected to notions of comparison and similarity, were present from the beginning. Mercantile relationships were forged which white, Euro-American society would deem “immoral.” The sale of liquor and opium to American Indians by Chinese men looking to profit was highly visible and vigorously attacked.

Chinese and American Indian laborers, often occupying the same menial positions in the labor hierarchy, worked with and against each other. At the same time as Indian and Chinese field workers clashed in the hop fields over who could get their own people hired as the predominant labor force, Indian and Chinese workers peacefully coexisted in the canneries of Washington. These were not the only type of labor relationships—American Indians would work for the Chinese that hired them. Alliances and other friendly interactions occurred between the

¹. *Daily Alta California*(San Francisco, California) 01 November, 1852.
two groups as time passed and the understanding necessary for beneficial relationships could be obtained. Chinese merchants learned local American Indian languages and catered to tribal members, often to the chagrin of the white merchants whom had previously reaped the profits of selling to American Indians. Marriages between Chinese men and American Indian women occurred on a fairly regular basis.

That these instances of contact were widely reported and discussed in white-owned newspapers reveals the inherent interest felt by white, Euro-American society at these meetings. Many editors utilized stereotypes and preconceived notions about the Chinese and American Indians in order to support and reinforce the thought patterns of the dominant white world. When instances arose in which American Indian and Chinese actors behaved in ways that undermined common white perceptions, the editors of the articles adapted the content and terminology of the reports in order to reinforce commonly held notions.

In part, these articles were used as a way to affirm Euro-American values and the notion of white, masculine virtue. By using the interaction between the two groups in such a manner, the white authors of the article placed it in a comfortable niche that would remain unchallenging to the dominant American way of thought. On the other hand, however, some used interaction as a way to criticize white society at large and some of its supposed principles. Overall, both usages signified the importance of interaction between the Chinese and American Indians and the desire for its control, even if only metaphorical, by Euro-American society.

Chinese and American Indian opinions of each other hint at the ways in which other, or outside, ethnic groups could influence the mindsets and experiences of the speakers themselves. Common stereotypes were a fairly strong influence on each group’s respective opinion. As the Chinese looked at the American Indians, notions of savagery and simplicity colored the extent to
which Chinese were willing to acknowledge a common background between both groups. The idea of the Chinese as cunning, sly, and rich generally found homes in Indian-owned newspaper articles concerning the Chinese. By utilizing processes of inclusion and exclusion, the Chinese and American Indians used the idea of other racial groups as a way to reinforce their own group’s standing.
Appendix

B. The Rock Springs Massacre of 1885 was one of the most publicized instances of violence against the Chinese in the U.S. At Rock Springs, in Wyoming Territory, over 600 Chinese laborers worked for a coal mining company alongside Euro-American laborers. General opinion towards the Chinese turned hostile in early September when they refused to join a strike for higher wages that had been initiated by the Euro-American workers in the area.

On September 2, a fight broke out between a group of Chinese and Euro-American miners—the result being that two Chinese were badly beaten. A mob of whites soon gathered and marched towards the part of the camp where the Chinese were living. They closed off all escape routes and fired at any unarmed Chinese that they saw. Some of the participants took the opportunity to search the Chinese for any valuables that they owned, while others burned the shacks that the Chinese were living in. The bodies of the dead and wounded were thrown into these flames. By the end of the day, 28 Chinese were killed and 15 wounded.

The Chinese who were able to flee the massacre, over 550 in total, were brought by railroad to the nearby town of Evanston. On September 5, federal troops were assembled to protect the Chinese. Four days later, the Chinese were escorted back to Rock Springs by the troops and were given clothing, provisions, shelter, and spots on the payroll by the coal company. Congress allocated $150,000 in indemnities for the Chinese in compensation for an estimated $147,000 in damages sustained during the massacre.

For more on the massacre, see Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911* (Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Press, 1983), pp. 72-78.
A. The Denver Evening Post (Denver, CO) 06 October, 1897. Full Article.

THE CHINESE AND THE INDIANS.

They saw each other in the parade, and tell what they think about the affair.

The Indians and the Chinese looked askance at each other in the Pageant of Progress yesterday. The Indians led the first division, while the Chinese dragon moved along sinuously at the extreme end of the long and glittering illustration of Eastern progress. At several points in the parade they caught glimpses of each other and their eyes fairly bulged out at the sight.

THE CHINESE.

The Chinese of Denver are willing to embrace the whole three million tribes now in the city as cousins if the Chinese will lose their stolid contempt for all affection and consent to the embrace. According to the Chinese scholars in the city, the Indians are no more nor less than Chinesemen who have sunk into savagery.

The gay apparel, the nodding plumes, the ostentatious display of brilliant color and the splendid equestrianism of the Utes, Apaches and Pueblos yesterday won over the Chinese completely.

Wah Lee, the learned priest of the Quong War Joss house on Sixteenth and Vine streets, removed the pipe from his mouth last evening and said:

"Jinks hanh he comes from China long time ago. Xelly much look like Chinaman, dress like Chinaman. Money he make of copper, all like China money. Indian clumsy Chinamen."

To prove this statement Wah Lee pointed to the gods before which the eternal punk fires were glowing and drew attention to the similar characteristics in the natures of the Joss—the great, omnipotent god of the Chinese religion—and the modern Indians. "Eyes same, nose he same, allie same, alle sava, ov." the

THE INDIANS.

The Indians made a hit with the Celestials, who were lost in admiration of the types of savage life. The astute denizen of the New Mexican mountains and Colorado plains withheld all admiration and nodded stolid approval of the gorgeous bannos, drums and life-like serpents. But a great hual of protest went up when the Chinese attempted to claim the Indians as cousins. It created a sensation in the tepees at City park. The chiefs would have nothing of it.

While Chief Buckskin Charley of the Utes grunted approval Julian Buck, his son, scoffed at the claims of relationship advanced by the Celestial admirers, and gave the Indian belief of the creation of man.

"Lost? What Indians lost?" queried Julian in an injured tone. "Lost nothing! Indians born right here and came from no place. No Americans in this country when the first Indian lived. No one was here from any other country. It was nothing but Indians. Old people say they know there was once another world; that is gone. On that world, which the Great Spirit destroyed, all animals used to live like people. There
pods, he same all the time, all the same, says the priest continued. China men make much show—look good. We beat, in will.

In the large tea and curio stores of Main Wai on Market street sat Hue Kai, one of the brightest Chins in town, and a group of exultant countrymen discussing the events of the momentous day. The cheers of thousands still rang in their ears as they excitedly surged upward, seduced with the strangely-patterned vases and tea pots, and wafted out toward the noisy street where Italians were grinding out carnival airs and the yellow of hot tamales could be heard from the bands.

"We have history," said Hue Kai in excellent English, "telling of how long ago Chin men were fighting with other nations. When they were, it was a great storm came up and blow hard. All were lost and everybody in China feel bad because they were good men and won many fights. The wind blow them to North America, and they couldn’t get out of the towns. They come on land and live here ever since.

"When you ask them where they come from he makes a mark on paper just like this—\\——and so they must come from somewhere.

His sign different from Chinese. Climate make it darker. They blacker than Chinese. They forget legion. They worship the sun. Chinese have their own feet. They descend down, so did Indians. Indians dress like Chinese, with shirt and tights. They like heads, too. They have no shoes."

Hue Kai went on:

"Indians look like Chinese even now. They got lost hundreds of years. It’s like the books will tell so. Chinese priests will pray for them and say, ‘Oh, we’ll learn Chinese quick. They talk very much like China. China, they do—like play, like flag, and say nothing. Chin men would like to be friends with them. They look at flags and flag and say nothing. Chin men like the way they live and take babies in baskets. But they wild men and used to kill. They don’t like Chinese dish no more. That is because they have to kill wild game and have no rice. There must be some Chin men in ‘m. (They like big)

Lee, Chin Pooh, Hue Kai and other influential Chin men are firmly animals used to live like people. There was no people like us. That time saw the other world burned. When the other world burned up the other world and the animals of the other world came to this world like the birds. The Indian, he was born and killed the animals for meat. One deer then was so big it would feed a tribe. Indians never would think about another kind of people and didn’t know about white people. This world was only made for Indians. So the gods say.

"One day, many thousands moons ago, from the South came to the North some kind of a great man looking like a Mexican. He talked the sign language to the Indians. He said: 'I am going around the world.' He was with another man in a small, narrow boat. Their only clothes was a breech-clout and a coat of wool. The hills were not very high. They only had spears to fight with. One kind of Indians they met were going to kill them, but the man holds up his hands and they let him go. He never came back. No, he didn’t look like a Chinaman.

"Indians don’t care if Chinaman wash for living. That’s all right. Chinamen make a pretty parade. Most all of them were pretty. It was, whole thing, much better parade than last year. All the same, too, my people look better and march good. There was more of my people than last year. The floats were better than last year. I never saw anything so big as that parade before. This year was very well yesterday, much better than last year, same as my people were dressed up better, with fine head work. The queen was very fine. I liked it, also all the people. We will be glad to come another year."

"Chin men don’t understand their banners, flags, or music. If were close relations we would know about that. I didn’t believe it. I knew what they believe, because a Presbyterian preach also told me that the Chinese were cousins sometime ago. If some things we understand, then we are relations. This is why I don’t believe it. We are in very recent relations of the rest.

"Chief James A. Garfield of the Jicarilla Apaches indignantly said, through Edward Ladd, the interpreter: ‘We are not seeking to the Chinamen. We don’t know their language, and we don’t know their religion. They will not come here. We don’t know their religion and we use ours. I have heard..."
like birds.

Wah Lee, Chin Pooh, Hue Kai and other influential Chinamen are firmly convinced that if they could hear some of the Indian songs they would be enabled to distinguish some pure Chinese words still remaining despite the centuries which have passed since the Chinese warriors were lost at sea. The visit of the tribes to Denver at this time has stirred up Chinese interest. It is not improbable that the theory of the Chinese is true. The pure Indian language is of the same monotonous tone used by the Chinese. The features of the full-blooded Indian are of a Mongolian type. Wah Lee points out that the pronounced Roman nose is caused by nomadic habits and a wild life of peril and hardship.

Other Chinamen praised the Indian portion of the procession very highly. "Alcee samee Chinamen," said a gray-haired tea merchant prophetically. "Some day worship Joss Chinese send pilasters to make them worship allee Chinese gods. The sun Chinaman's joss. Hot they come back to China some day and don't take all land and don't theirs. They write words we cannot. We make pictures. They use their own religion and we use ours. I have heard the old generations talking of white people. There were none before a man came from the south in a boat. When the white people came to the mountains we couldn't tell them why we came and how we came.

"The old generation knew more than we do. When our God made this world, they said, all of this plain here was covered with nothing but waters. Then a great storm came up and cleaned the land of water. And then the Apaches were born. The Indian was not born in any place but here. Chinamen do not know what is true."

Chief Jose de Jesus Naranjo of the Pueblos, through Pedro Baca, the interpreter, was also positive that the Chinese had no logical claims on which to base such a presumption — for presumption the Indians persisted regarding it. "Indian no like the, too much half-breed. In Chinaman Chinaman parade pretty. Pueblos take arrows and kill Chinamen in fight. They no good in battle. Just pretty to look
Final part of columns:

(Chinese column): “Some day worship Joss. Chinese send pliests to make them wo’ship allee Chinese gods. The sun Chinaman’s joss. Ho! They come back to China some day when Melicans take all land and don’t give fest-vals!


C. Map of Guangdong province in the nineteenth century and the major districts that emigrants came from. The Sam Yup (San Yi) and Sze Yup (Si Yi) were the first two huiguan in the U.S.

D. Map showing the location of reservations in the West, circa 1890.

E. Map showing the total amount of lands ceded by American Indians until 1890.

Calloway, *First Peoples*, 306.

F. Location of American Indian populations in the Indian Territory and major railroad routes.

G. Ojibwe Reservation lands in Minnesota.

Anton Steven Treuer, *Ojibwe in Minnesota* (St. Paul, 2010), I.

H. Location of American Indian Tribes in the Southwest.
I. Location of American Indian tribes in the Northwest.