

1-1-1998

**Pawns of fate: Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriages, 1860-1920,
Walker River Reservation, Schurz, Nevada**

Ruth Kretzler Billhimer
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/rtds>

Repository Citation

Billhimer, Ruth Kretzler, "Pawns of fate: Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriages, 1860-1920, Walker River Reservation, Schurz, Nevada" (1998). *UNLV Retrospective Theses & Dissertations*. 917.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.25669/llsu-9uz0>

This Thesis is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Scholarship@UNLV with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Thesis in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Thesis has been accepted for inclusion in UNLV Retrospective Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@unlv.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

PAWNS OF FATE: CHINESE/PAIUTE
INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGES 1860-1920
WALKER RIVER RESERVATION
SCHURZ, NEVADA

by

Ruth Kretzler Billhimer

Bachelor of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
1995

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

in

History

**Department of History
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
December 1998**

UMI Number: 1393742

UMI Microform 1393742
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103



Thesis Approval
The Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

November 2, 1998

The Thesis prepared by

Ruth Kretzler Billhimer

Entitled


Pawns of Fate: Chinese/Paiute Intercultural Marriages, 1860-1920,

Walker River Reservation Schurz Nevada

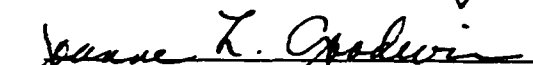
is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts - History


Examination Committee Chair


Dean of the Graduate College


Examination Committee Member


Examination Committee Member


Graduate College Faculty Representative

ABSTRACT

**Pawns of Fate:
Chinese/Paiute Intercultural Marriages
1860-1920
Walker River Reservation
Schurz, Nevada**

by

Ruth Kretzler Billhimer

Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Examination Committee Chair
Professor of History
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This thesis focuses on “intercultural” marriages between Chinese immigrant men and Northern Paiute women who lived on or around the Walker River Reservation between 1860 and 1920, the years in which census manuscript records have been made public. Because of federal, state, and local laws, Chinese men sometimes sought marriage partners among Native American women because these relationships were not banned by law. Based upon federal, state, and local archives, census data, and oral interviews of descendants of Northern Paiute and Chinese “marriages,” some insight into the reasons for these marriages have been ascertained from the perspective of descendants presently living on or around the Walker River Reservation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
PREFACE	ix
CHAPTER 1 METHODOLOGY	1
Government Documents and the Bureau of Indian Affairs	2
Nevada’s Frontier Newspaper.....	6
Letters, Oral Interviews, and Personal Documentation	8
Intercultural Marriage Studies	11
Max Weber’s Immigration Theory.....	15
Anthropologist Create the Basis of Intercultural	16
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	19
CHAPTER 2 NEVADA’S 1861 MISCEGENATION LAW	21
CHAPTER 3 AN ORCHESTRATED PLAYING FIELD OF WORDS	38
Endurance	39
Hatred	42
Confrontation and Murder.....	46
Alcohol, Opium, and Gambling	54
CHAPTER 4 INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE	60
Why would a Chinese Immigrant Choose to Interculturally Marry a Paiute Woman?	67
The Confucian Concept of Filial Piety	68
Federal, State, and Local Laws	71
Sociological Outcast Theory	79
The Sojourner/Non-Sojourner Theory	81
Why Would a Paiute Woman Choose to Interculturally Marry a Chinese Immigrant?	85

CHAPTER 5 PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS: ORAL INTERVIEWS WITH PAIUTE/CHINESE DESCENDANTS.....	91
Mrs. Juanita Pontoon	93
Mary and Sam Jack	100
Margie Dick	105
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION	108
APPENDIX A: PAIUTE INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOM	112
APPENDIX B: NEVADA INDIAN MARRIAGES LEGALIZED	114
APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE TO PAIUTE/CHINESE INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	116
APPENDIX D: BERING STRAIT LAND BRIDGE	119
APPENDIX E: DENTAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE FIRST AMERICANS	120
APPENDIX F: BIOGRAPHIES OF NEVADA'S FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATORS	121
APPENDIX G: REVOCATION OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE BANS	131
APPENDIX H: IMMIGRATION LAWS	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY	136
VITA	147

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Comparative Population Statistics: 1880-1920	40
Table 2 Chinese Population in Nevada Counties: 1870-1920	41
Table 3 Chinese Male and Female Population in the United States : 1860-1920	74
Table 4 Nevada's Chinese Population from 1860-1920 Compared to Neighboring States	77
Table 5 Nevada's Chinese Population: 1860-1920	83
Table 6 Census of Walker River Indian Reservation : 1897-1920	86

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No project of this scope could be completed by a writer alone. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, my mentor and chairperson, whose counsel and support have been constantly available and invaluable. I would also like to thank: Dr. Willard H. Rollings, Dr. P. Jane Hafen, and Dr. Gary Palmer whose classes provided great insight into Native American culture, literature, and history; Dr. Robert Davenport whose knowledge and tales about the Western frontier held me spellbound semester after semester; and Dr. Joanne Goodwin whose women's history classes provided insight into the discriminatory plight faced by women of color. Equally helpful was fellow graduate student David Stevens whose encouragement, advice, and editing skills were invaluable. Also important behind the scenes was the support of my husband, Thomas. He chauffeured me around Nevada on roads that had pot holes bigger than our truck, through wind, rain, sleet, dust storms, and snow, and patiently sat through one interview after another.

Among the many librarians who helped me (with the wonderful zeal that puts them in every researcher's debt), I wish to single out Chris Wiatrowski, who worked a miracle in showing me the ins-and-outs of online computer research. Jay Mardsen who compiled a good synopsis of frontier newspaper articles regarding the Chinese. Nevada historian Phillip I. Earl who patiently brought me one reel after another of micro-film and reminisced about some of the encounters between the Chinese and Paiutes.

This research was greatly enhanced by the friendship of Las Vegas Tribal chairman, Richard Arnold, who helped direct the study in finding Chinese/Paiute descendants. And of course, this endeavor would have failed had it not been for Juanita Pontoon and the

other Chinese/Paiute descendants who graciously shared their families' memories, documents, pictures, and stories.

I dedicate this work to my parents, Dr. Carl D. and Esther Kretzler, who gave me life, taught me values, morals, and faith, instilled in me the importance of education, and allowed me to expand my wings and soar with the eagles. They are my heroes.

PREFACE

In 1911 the Walker River Tribal Census roll acknowledged that a Chinese and two Japanese men were either cohabitating or married per “Indian custom” to Paiute women.¹ Intercultural/interracial marriage in itself is not unique to either the Chinese or Paiutes. For decades both have chosen blacks, Mexicans, and Euro-Americans as living partners. What is interesting is the diverse circumstances -- legal, political, geographical, and social -- encountered by the Chinese immigrant and the Paiute tribe which explain “why” and “how” intercultural/interracial marriage with another person of color occurred because of discriminatory Euro-American actions. This is the problem this thesis will address. Discovering the causes and substantiating the phenomenon which led to Nevada’s Northern Paiute women and Chinese immigrant men, between 1860 and 1920, becoming either cohabited or “Indian custom” marriage partners.

Chapter One, “Methodology,” presents the fundamental approach used. Five basic investigative research techniques were combined: oral interviews and personal or family documents; Nevada’s local, county, and state statistical records of marriage and death certificates; the United States census manuscripts; Nevada’s history which included frontier newspapers, museums, and films; and scholarly monographs on social and psychological theories regarding intercultural/interracial marriages and immigrants. Not only is the concept of intermarriage addressed, but the basis for establishing an intercultural

¹ Data taken from the 1911 and 1912 Bureau of Indian Affairs annual tribal census rolls. The men were: Sam Wong , alias Sam Leon (Chinese) age 31 married to Daisy Benton age 24; Joe Yamma (Japanese) age 31 married to Sarah Mason age 24; and Kuy Que (Japanese) age 38 married to May Mason age 18.

connection between the Paiutes and Chinese using the anthropological studies of Samuel Haven, Franz Boas, and Christy Turner and the sociological studies of Reger C. Smith. While each of the above sources contained both positive and negative results, none could stand solo. Each relied on the other to supplement missing data.

Chapter Two discusses Nevada's 1861 miscegenation law, particularly how and why such legislation evolved and was adopted. An examination of the unsuccessful challenges to the law will eventually cumulate into Nevada's lawmakers being virtually forced to either repeal the one hundred year old law or ignore all challenges being brought by interracial/intercultural couples. The repeal was part of a nation-wide movement and Nevada was one of the last states to repeal the law.

Chapter Three focuses upon popular sources, especially the frontier press, literature, adventure stories, and oral tales which projected negative stereotypes and reinforced alleged problems between the Chinese and Paiutes. Euro-American beliefs of supremacy, racism, and prejudice played a significant role in creating racial antagonism which limited the Chinese and Paiutes' economic, social, and political mobility.

The Chapter Four focuses on the taboos behind the myths that shroud interracial/interracial marriages. Myths resulted from fear, misunderstanding, and the lack of tolerance for anything different than that prescribed by the dominant Euro-American society. The study focuses upon the "why" such a union occurred in Nevada between 1860 and 1920 in the geographical area of the Walker River Reservation in Schurz, Nevada. Although there were some descendants of Chinese/Native American marriages in Nevada who identified with their Chinese father, most notably Bertha Coffey, a Chinese/Shoshone woman who lived in Tonopah and eventually married a Chinese man

around the 1920s,² this study was limited to Chinese-Paiute marriages whereby the descendants remained on or around the Walker River Reservation.

Chapter Five is based upon three of thirteen oral interviews with Northern Paiute/Chinese descendants demonstrating that Chinese and Paiutes interculturally united in matrimony per “Indian custom” or cohabited together on the Walker River Reservation. Only one of the Paiute/Chinese descendants allowed the publication of their name and the other two were given fictitious names per agreement. The interviews demonstrated the diverse feelings regarding their Chinese relative. The other ten interviewed wanted to remain anonymous because of legal complications, but their information shed additional light on the situation from a Northern Paiute perspective. Unfortunately, only the Chinese influence on the Paiute tribe was spoken about.

After all the research, the second most important decision was selecting a title for the thesis. The process was far more elaborate than first anticipated. It would have been very easy just to stipulate the title as *Chinese/Paiute Intercultural Marriages in Nevada, 1880-1924*. After much contemplation and watching a chess match, the thought of the juxtaposition of the Chinese and Native Americans being similar to pawns in Euro-American society became the focus. Pawns presumed being menial in size and value through no fault of their own. Their individual or tribal history predestined or predetermined by an ethnocentric Euro-American society. With this analysis in mind, the title chosen *Pawns of Fate* truly explains the trials and tribulations the Chinese and Native Americans have encountered.

More research is needed in this area because many questions remain unanswered, for example, what beliefs, especially folklore, were common to both the Chinese and

² Information from the United States census manuscript, 1910, Nevada, Nye County, Tonopah and oral interview by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung with Shirlaine Kee Baldwin of Berkeley, California, whose aunts were close friends with Bertha Coffey Wei and her family.

Paiutes, how did those who identified with their Chinese heritage view the intercultural marriages, and how extensive numerically were these marriages? However, at this time, this is beyond the scope of this study.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

Very little research has been done on intercultural/interracial marriages in general. The small amount of literature that exists generally focuses on black-white interracial marriages whereby scholars often based their analysis on assimilation, socio-cultural change, and social integration. There has been a strong tendency to rely on quantitative and statistical data with limited analysis on the positive aspects of relationships or the people in the marriages. Furthermore, most of the studies began with World War II to present day ignoring or overlooking that intercultural/interracial marriages have occurred for decades. Only two authors Phillip I. Earl¹ and Betty Lee Sung² have written about potential or actual Asian intercultural/interracial marriages with blacks, Hispanics, and Euro-Americans. To date, nothing has been done on the topic of intercultural nuptials or cohabitation between Nevada's Northern Paiute women and Chinese immigrant men. Because of the lack of historical, sociological, anthropological, and psychological research, the process of securing diverse information was at times very difficult and

¹ Phillip I. Earl, "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws and the Marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Bridges," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 37 (Spring 1994), 1-17. The article chronicles the origination and demise of Nevada's 1861 Miscegenation Law that was challenged by Norko Sawada a Japanese American woman and Australian born Harry Bridges.

² Betty Lee Sung, *Chinese American Intermarriages* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1990), passim. Sung's study was limited to the New York area and did not mention Chinese/Native American intercultural marriages.

extremely time consuming. Small portions of data extracted from scholarly texts had to be supplemented with oral interviews, frontier newspapers, and government documentation. No source could stand alone. Furthermore, these restrictive limitations denied a broader and statistical study of Chinese/Paiute relations.

Government Documents³ and the Bureau of Indian Affairs: Walker River Reservation

The most frustrating problem with government documentation was in the limited information recorded. The records invariably supplied the following information: age, address, and occupation. The additional data recorded was diverse, inconsistent, inconclusive, and too often written in illegible penmanship. Rare, but occasionally parents' names and birth places were included. The ethnicity of the individuals usually was missing. This had to be deduced from the surname. For example, issuance of a marriage license to a Chinese couple who used their Chinese surname was obvious. If a Chinese immigrant had Americanized his name, which was very common, detection was impossible. The same held true for the Paiutes, who, beginning in the late 1890s, were being encouraged to take Americanized names.⁴ For example, had it not been for the *Record-Courier* reporting on the front page "INDIANS TAKE MARRIAGE VOWS," one would not know this was a marriage between two Paiutes based on their surname. The article states: "Harry Dressler is the first Indian to apply to the clerk for a marriage

³ This includes local (Walker River Reservation), county (both Esmeralda and Mineral), and Nevada state written records of birth, death, marriage, land holding titles, treaties, and private corporation contracts.

⁴ At the bottom of the 1889 Walker River Tribal Census manuscript the following was recorded: The Pah-Ute [*sic*] Indian receives his or her Indian name from some individual act of theirs, or from something characteristic of the individuals. Hence the absence of Indian names to many. The practice of naming in the Indian language is being discouraged, if for not other reason in most cases, they are very tripar [*sic*] and immoral and do not follow any Sir [*sic*] name of Parents. Signed: L.A.E.

license... Appearing at the office of the Justice of the Peace he was accompanied by Miss Amelia Fred and the couple was united in marriage.”⁵ Consequently, the government census records had to be supplemented by other information.

Furthermore, there was rarely any way to detect intercultural/interracial marriages.⁶ For example, unless the frontier press reported such an incident, if a Chinese man and a Paiute woman used Americanized surnames to apply for a marriage license and had been married before a judge, the event would virtually go unnoticed. There was no written verification in local, county or state documentation that indicated marriages accepted as “common law,”⁷ or performed per “Paiute Indian Custom.”⁸ Sometimes the marriage of a Paiute woman to a Chinese man was indicated on the Bureau of Indian Affairs Tribal Census, but unusually there was no substantial written proof.⁹

Nevada legislators on March 29, 1942 enacted specific marriage laws regarding marriage ceremonies between Native Americans conducted per “Indian” or “tribal” customs within closed reservations or elsewhere in the State of Nevada.¹⁰ Since the 1861

⁵ *Gardnerville (NV) Record-Courier*, January 24, 1919.

⁶ Abby L. Ferber, “Exploring the Social Construction of Race: Sociology and the Study of Interracial Relationships,” In *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, ed. Narnoi Zack (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1995), 155-167. This article described the extremely faulty procedure of research that was specifically directed and implemented toward finding a common surname which indicated one’s ethnic origin, such as Chinese.

⁷ A “common law” marriage was a marriage entered into without a civil or religious ceremony, recognized as valid under certain legal systems where documentary evidence could be produced.

⁸ See Appendix A “Paiute Indian Marriage Custom.”

⁹ Acknowledged on the 1911 and 1912 Bureau of Indian Affairs Walker River Tribal Census Rolls was the intercultural marriage of Wong, Sam, alias Sam Leon, Chinese and Wong, Daisy Benton. Also listed was the marriage of two Japanese men to Paiute women - Joe Yarma to Sarah Mason and Kuy Que to May Mason..

¹⁰ See Appendix B “Nevada Legalized Indian Marriages.”

Miscegenation Law¹¹ prohibiting Native Americans from marrying Caucasians was repealed in 1919, and Chinese in 1959 there was no indication that this statute applied to intercultural/interracial Native American marriages performed in the same mode.

Unfortunately Euro-American public records, such as local, county, and state documentation provided little substantial information regarding deaths, births, and marriages that took place on the Walker River Reservation. Circumstances surrounding public occurrences, such as murder, selling of liquor or opium, or arrest was recorded in local and county legal, court, or prison documentation, and provided news for the local frontier press. In the 1800s incidents that occurred on the Walker River Reservation were recorded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent assigned to the area. With the establishment of the Walker River Tribal police in 1883, written records acknowledged illegal actions perpetrated on reservation land, as well as trials and sentencing the guilty individuals.¹² This information revealed Chinese/Paiute interactions.

In order to verify family histories and family relations the Bureau of Indians Affairs' annual census manuscripts provided a list of tribal members from 1897 to 1924.¹³ However, there were problems using these records. The first BIA tribal rolls and the agency's correspondence were hand written and often illegible; however, in the early 1900s a typewriter was used to report all documented information. The census rolls did not specifically indicate if an individual was living or actually present on the reservation during the time the census was taken. The BIA tribal census rolls gave the following information: Native American Name, Americanized name, age, sex, and date of birth,

¹¹ See Chapter 2 for descriptive and detailed analysis of Nevada's 1861 Miscegenation Law.

¹² Edward C. Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Printing Service, 1975), 88-89.

¹³ The Bureau of Indian Affairs will be referred to as the BIA.

and indicated head of household, widow, child, or how related. Each family surname was alphabetically listed separately in block form to indicate father, mother, children, and relatives living in the household. Individuals were sequentially numbered per the year of the census with the numbering changing from year to year. This numbering technique was used exclusively to indicate overall tribal population for a specific reservation and was entirely different from the lifetime federal government allotment numbers issued for land allocation.

Each tribal member was assigned by the federal government an allotment number that became their identification for life. This number also indicated if the individual was an “allotted” or “unallotted” tribal member and this designation became permanent and unchangeable.¹⁴ For example, if a tribal member died during the year it was indicated next to the individual’s allotment number, if a child became an orphan that was indicated; or if an individual married their allotment number accompanied them to the new household.

By 1897 the census roll revealed that the majority of the Paiutes listed had chosen or were given Americanized names. The process of giving Americanized names to Northern Paiutes was strongly recommended according to a notation at the bottom of the 1889 census manuscript in preparation for the federal government’s land allotment program. Reinforcing the government’s endeavor was the reservation’s “day school”

¹⁴ An “allotted” tribal member indicated who was eligible to receive and guaranteed an “x” amount of land or benefits from such circumstances as the 1887 Dawes Act or the Allotment Act, any treaty, or contract engaged in for the benefit of the entire tribe. The purpose of this was to assist in the eventual assimilation of Native Americans. “Unallotted” meant an individual could not be included in the overall tribal benefits derived from government or private negotiations. This was also a means of indicating who could receive any future government subsidies and who was ineligible. An “unallotted” person was generally one with mixed heritage, but the individual could inherit from an allotted tribal member all their land rights.

teachers¹⁵ who took on the responsibility of naming their students Euro-American names chosen from the names of prominent citizens living in the area around the Walker River Reservation.¹⁶

Before conducting oral interviews the BIA Walker River Tribal census manuscripts between 1897 and 1924 was copied. This was done to verify family existence of those interviewed. When comparing family stories with the census records there appeared to be problems between the written record and generational memories. Additional information had to be supplemented to fill in missing gaps of time, place, and occurrences. Such documentation included Edward Johnson's *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*, Jack Forbes' *Nevada Indians Speak*, and Nevada's frontier newspapers.

Nevada's Frontier Newspapers¹⁷

Nevada's frontier newspapers provided the means for establishing an active connection between the Chinese and Paiutes. Unfortunately most articles sensationalized the negative aspects of their encounters, such as murder, gambling, opium, liquor, and prostitution. Very few articles presented a positive relationship. This was contrary to the picture portrayed during oral interviews with Chinese/Paiute descendants.¹⁸

¹⁵ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 86. Johnson indicated that a day school was established on the Walker River Reservation in 1882 because the tribal children would not stay at the Stewart Institute due to the great distance from family and they did not want to associate with their bitter enemy the Washos.

¹⁶ Hawthorne (NV) *Walker Lake Bulletin* August 5, 1891.

¹⁷ The frontier newspapers discussed and used in this thesis were mechanically reproduced, all were on paper of some kind, although not always newsprint.

¹⁸ See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections" for the entire text of oral interviews conducted with Chinese/Paiute descendants.

It was not uncommon for an editor to display his personal hostility toward minorities not only for depredations committed, but for overtly racial reasons as well. Regardless of the frontier newspapers surveyed, the minorities were underrepresented and portrayed in stereotypical ways inconsistent with reality. People of color were assumed as having inferior characteristics, hostile to Euro-American society, and incapable of rational or moral thought. Furthermore, in order to accentuate inferiority descriptive labels were attached such as “Chinaman,”¹⁹ “heathen,” “savage,” “John Chinaman,”²⁰ “red-man,” and “squaw or buck.” From these descriptive words one can perceive a hierarchical caste had been created – the blacks were better than the Native Americans and Chinese; the Native Americans were better than the Chinese; thus placing the Chinese at the lowest social class status. Additionally, image comparison in Nevada’s journalism portrayed the Chinese as being strange, superstitious, harbingers of drugs, and an economic threat to Euro-Americans because of their willingness to work at any job.²¹

¹⁹ Loren B. Chan, “The Chinese in Nevada: An Historical Survey, 1856-1970,” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 25 (Winter 1982), 291. Chan objects to the word “Chinaman.” In his opinion this was “the way most whites referred to the Chinese during the late nineteenth century and a good part of the twentieth century.” Chan equated the term in the same vernacular as “Nigger,” “Spick,” or “Kite.” Use of the term is now considered in poor taste, and very offensive to Chinese ancestry. The proper term is “Chinese.” The author’s use was not intended to offend. It was used both in a historical and regional context and quite often in the vernacular of frontier presses.

²⁰ Larry D. Quinn, “Chink Chink Chinaman,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58 (April 1967), 83. Quinn equates John Chinaman to Euro-American John Doe.

²¹ Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 217. “Willing to work at any job regardless if it meant taking the Euro-Americans principal means of employment” was the main fear mongering propaganda promoted by the frontier press. Research suggests this ideology not only was untruthful and created fear, it quite often was the core that lead to extreme violence and hatred. This propaganda became the main element played upon not only in Nevada, but in other small towns where Euro-American unemployment was high. Another element to consider is the “cheap labor” concept. From all indications the Chinese were not cheap labor. The Chinese worked for what ever pay they could receive. “Cheap labor” was what the capitalistic Euro-American business elite made them.

The Native Americans were characterized as being ignorant, childlike, and dependent upon a “white parent-figure” for survival.²²

Three factors played a significant role in how events were reported: (1) the geographical location, economic productivity of the region, and the active presence of organized labor in the community; (2) historical events happening not only in the world, but in the state/territory, county, or locally; and (3) the frontier editor who became the prime catalyst for creating a positive or negative image of any historical situation and the individuals involved. These circumstances were not only critical in shaping the psychological perspective for the frontier settlers, but in determining how the settlers reacted to each other, the law, community activities, politics, and minorities.

Yet, the frontier press provided only part of the story. Personal documentation and oral histories constructed from tribal poems, songs, myths, and family tales filled in some of the missing gaps.

Letters, Oral Interviews, and Personal Documentation

Before beginning interviews, letters were sent to all of Nevada’s Paiute tribal reservations, requesting information or leads of individuals who had Chinese/Paiute heritage. Not surprisingly there were no responses. Based on the experience of other historians letters or questionnaires mailed fared the poorest of results, but needed to be done in case some response was possible.

Local Las Vegas tribal chairman Richard Arnold provided the names of various Northern Nevada Paiute tribal members who could be descendants of Chinese/Paiute

²² This was the ideology of the “white man’s burden” which meant Euro-Americans had the duty to assume protective “trusteeship” over inferior individuals and help them develop to whatever level of civilization they were capable of achieving.

intercultural marriages or could possibly have information that could direct one toward finding further information. Of these names three were currently living on the same reservation. This made it much easier to pinpoint the exact Paiute tribe of focus -- the Walker River Indian Reservation in Schurz, Nevada.²³

The most productive method used in securing information was the “snowballing oral interview sampling.” By finding one Chinese/Paiute descendant, that individual was able to provide the names of other descendants. While this was a successful endeavor, it did have a major problem. The majority of the Chinese/Paiute descendants, primarily second generation, did not wish to have their names published or acknowledged for fear of losing their government land and tribal allotments due to being a “mixed blood” Paiute.²⁴ As a result, the interviews were conducted in an “off-the-record” format in respect to the individual’s wishes and per prior agreement, the notes taken during the interviews were sent back to the individual after the author’s use. The information provided was invaluable and substantiated perceptions of what it was like having either parents or grandparents from a Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriage. The individuals who sought anonymity were given fictitious names for reading purposes. For example, it could become cumbersome to continually refer to anonymous interview number thirteen versus stating “Margie Dick indicated.”

²³ Even though Nevada is also the home of the Shoshone this study did not attempt to include nor discover if Chinese/Shoshone intercultural marriages occurred at this same time.

²⁴ This was interesting because when questioned about blood quantum, the Paiutes interviewed stated that the Paiutes do not have a blood quantum requirement. Several stipulated that very few Walker River Tribal members were of pure Paiute blood -- some are mixed with Shoshone, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, white, and black. A similar situation did occur with the Pyramid Lake Reservation in regards to being granted voting and citizenship rights. The tribal members expressed fear of losing government and tribal allotments, so tribal members abstained from voting on citizenship rights.

The questionnaire used for the oral interviews is presented in its entirety in Appendix C. The prime objective of the questionnaire was to provide an overall view of what happens when two people from diverse cultural backgrounds unite in cohabitation or matrimony and raise a family. Although the questionnaire may seem lengthy and extensive in subject matter, those interviewed were very receptive to the questions. In fact several of the individuals expressed appreciation of the Personal Recollections section; no one had ever asked how they felt about being of a mixed ethnic heritage.²⁵

Thirteen interviews were conducted; however, only three interviews will be used for this thesis. The three chosen are: Mrs. Juanita Pontoon, whose grandfather, Sam Leon or Sam Wong, was Chinese;²⁶ Mary and Jack Sam children of a Chinese/Paiute marriage between Ah Son and Sarah Sam;²⁷ and Margie Dick, whose grandfather, Koo Chee, was Chinese.²⁸ The remaining interviews will be used in future studies.

The oral interviews demonstrated that Chinese/Paiutes either interculturally married per "Paiute Indian Custom" or cohabited and raised a family on the Walker River Reservation or a nearby town between 1860 and 1920 and the result was a family having

²⁵ M. Annette Jaimes, "Some Kind of Indian: On Race, Eugenics, and Mixed-Bloods," In *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, ed. Naomi Zack, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 1990), 133-153. This article highlighted the concept of fear experienced because of being a mixed blood. Much of what was stated in the oral interviews provided insight into this article and mirrors what Jaimes contended. Several of the questions asked came from the article.

²⁶ Juanita Pontoon of Schurz, Nevada, interviewed by the author February 1998. Interview 01, hand notes kept. See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections" for the oral interview.

²⁷ Mary Sam of Fallon, Nevada, and Jack Sam of Schurz, Nevada, (fictitious names given to individuals) interviewed by the author April 1998. Interview 05, transcript notes returned to individuals. See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections" for the oral interview.

²⁸ Margie Dick, Hawthorne, Nevada, (fictitious name given to individual), interviewed by the author June 1998. Interview 07, transcript notes returned to individual. See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections" for the oral interview.

both Chinese and Paiute traditions. Unfortunately, the oral interviews indicted how the Chinese culture and traditions influenced the Paiutes. The other side of the story remains unknown.

Many of the second generation Chinese/Paiute descendants provided the author with personal documentation such as wills, letters, and heirship interviews. While this documentation was highly prized by the individual and provided information, too often it was a copy and very few could remember how they obtained the information. The missing element from the oral interviews and personal documentation was comprehending the complexities of an intercultural/interracial marriage.

Intercultural Marriage Studies

In order to fully understand the intricacies of an intercultural/interracial marriage scholarly texts, such as *Chinese American Intermarriages*, *Intercultural Marriages: Promises and Pitfalls*, and *Two Cultures, One Marriage*, written by sociologist, psychologists, counselors, and lay individuals were examined. Reger C. Smith provided the basis for understanding the terminology used by professionals. Smith defined intercultural marriage as being “ a union of two people from diverse cultures not different ethnic groups.”²⁹ “Ethnic groups” designated as a human population with a sense of identity and belonging based on loyalty to a distinctive cultural pattern related to common ancestry, religion, and/or race.³⁰ Smith further contended that,

culture includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, behaviors, feelings, attitudes, and any other habits and capabilities learned by human

²⁹ Reger C. Smith, *Two Cultures, One Marriage* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1996), 4.

³⁰ Ibid.

beings as members of society. Culture is learned and none of it is inherited -- it is not in the genes nor passed down through the blood. It is not synonymous with race. Two people of the same race can have different cultural backgrounds and people from two different races can share the same cultural background.³¹

With Smith's analysis in mind -- to marry an individual from another culture is to marry that culture -- a Chinese/Paiute marriage can be considered intercultural as both were willing to accept and learn the others cultural traits. Furthermore, a Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriage takes aspects from both cultures creating a new culture.

Smith basically combined the sociologist and psychologist perspectives by highlighting the common characteristics -- positive and negative -- shared by both the Native Americans and Chinese making intercultural marriage between the two not only highly probable, but understandable.³² For example, each prized family kinship and loyalty, reticence, humility, non-Christian religion, respect and love of nature gods, superstitions transmitted through folk tales, herbal medicine, respect of age and ancestors. These culture characteristics that Smith cited were general in regards to specific ethnic groups and did not imply "they all do this."³³ Each ethnic group was not presented in a compare and contrast, but listed individually. Furthermore, Smith emphasized that each must be studied according to one's preferences, family values, and environmental

³¹ Ibid., 3. Also see, Franz Boas, "Race," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (15 vols., New York, 1930-1935), XIII, 27. Boas indicated human difference and human history are best explained by culture, rather than race. Boas' stated, "race is often used loosely to indicate groups of men differing in appearance, language, or culture," but "should apply solely to the biological grouping of human types."

³² Ibid., 13-14 and 17-19.

³³ Ibid., 12.

conditioning. While Smith's monograph contained valuable information it was designed as a cross-cultural counseling manual to be used by a "dominant society counselor."³⁴

It became apparent from the reading that an intercultural marriage is extremely complicated because both partners have a different set of values, habits, viewpoints, sometimes languages, religions, and ways of resolving situations. Man Keung Ho, in his book *Building a Successful Intermarriage between Religious, Social Classes, Ethnic Groups, or Races* uses the Chinese word *ting*, meaning to listen, to explain the complexity.³⁵ According to Ho, *ting* is composed of four vital parts: "the ear is necessary for hearing the words spoken, the eye for seeing the message conveyed by the body, the mind for interpreting the meaning of what has been seen and heard, and the heart for being able to feel what is wanted and needed from the relationship."³⁶

Additionally, Dugan Romano indicated that individuals who choose to marry interculturally/interracially could be characterized as being: unstable, escapists, adventurers, compensators, mavericks, rebels, or social outcasts.³⁷ When the Chinese/Paiute descendants were asked how they would place their Chinese relative, nine of the thirteen chose social outcasts. The four other respondents did not feel their Chinese relative fit into any of the supplied categories, but chose to marry a Paiute woman because he was lonely, and there was no Chinese women in town. This response

³⁴ Ibid., 20.

³⁵ Man Keung Ho, *Building a Successful Intermarriage between Religions, Social Classes, Ethnic Groups, or Races* (St. Meinrad: Meinrad Archabbey, 1984), 98.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Dugan Romano, *Intercultural Marriages: Promises and Pitfalls* (Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, 1988), 5-15.

was applicable to Walton R. Johnson and D. Michael Warren's theory that timing, geographical location, laws, and the availability of one's own kind were the contributing factors in an intercultural marriage.³⁸ When putting the oral interview questionnaire together, the subjects highlighted by the above scholars, such as traditional customs, child rearing, religion, food, language, social behavior, economic conditions, and relationships were incorporated into the interview to ascertain how the couple handled their diversity and raised a family.

There were two problems with most of the hypothesis presented by the sociologists. First was the time frame of their analysis and study. The majority of the studies were directed from World War II to present day with prime focus in the United States. Johnson and Warren's monograph covered the greatest time span beginning from 1619 to 1993. It also was the most diverse in world wide perspective regarding intercultural/interracial marriages. Secondly, the studies predominately were based on white-black interracial marriages. Only Betty Lee Sung's studies have been directed toward the Asian immigrant strictly in New York. Cardell K. Jacobson's edited monograph was the most diverse in intercultural/interracial terms regarding the families of Hispanics, Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, and Jews.³⁹ The articles highlight personal experience, gender identities, parenting skills, dating, mate selection, education and the family structure. While each of the above scholars provided information and various perspective theories there was no study or research directed

³⁸ Walton R. Johnson and D. Michael Warren, eds., *Inside the Mixed Marriage: Accounts of Changing Attitudes, Patterns, and perceptions of Cross-Cultural and Interracial Marriages* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1994), 1-13.

³⁹ Cardell K. Jacobson, ed., *American Families: Issues in Race and Ethnicity* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), *passim*.

specifically to Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriages. Portions of scholarly information was selected from each of the above sociologist and psychologist studies in order to gain an insight into the problems experienced by individuals whom interculturally married and raised a family in a Euro-American social, political, and economic environment. In addition, scholars referred to the patterns of immigration that led to acculturation or assimilation as a means of understanding intercultural/interracial marriages.

Max Weber's Immigration Theory⁴⁰

While this investigation of Max Weber's immigration theory might seem useless, it was very important in understanding the pattern each immigrant group either followed or was denied pursuit to the path of acculturation or assimilation into the predominant society. Weber's immigration hypothesis highlighted the social cultural level that struggles against continuing old traditions or adapting to new ways as a problem faced by each immigrant who came to America. By using Weber's analysis, one can understand that the Chinese immigrant was not any different from the German, Irish, or Italian immigrant who sought a better life in a foreign land. Yet, the Chinese were not able to complete the final step as they were denied acceptance into Euro-American society because of their physical distinctiveness.

According to Weber, each immigrant group established a recognizable sociological pattern of settlement. First, the individual or immigrant was introduced and indoctrinated into the community of his own ethnic kind. By being around those who speak the same language, dress the same way, eat the same food, share religious beliefs,

⁴⁰ Peter Roche de Coppens, *The Ideal Man in Classical Sociology* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 107-141. Also see Seymour Martin Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), 20-58.

and work together the individual was allowed to progress at his'/her's own pace in attaining a comfortable secure feeling in the unfamiliar surroundings. There was no set time limit for this first step to be accomplished. Some immigrants failed and returned to their homeland.

Secondly, once an immigrant had established a fairly secure feeling or achieved confidence, the individual often moved out into the broader community; thereby, mixing with other immigrants in social, political, and personal ways. This last step, according to Weber created the total man in being aware of their personal capabilities in a society based on freedom, equality, brotherhood, and the realization of human potential working together for the good of the whole society. Individualism to Weber was a negative facet of society that could lead to failure or a downfall and to truly survive, the whole community must not only be interactive in every aspect, but must relate to the elements rooted in its history.

Had true Weberian theory been enacted in Western settlements, the people of color would have been judged on their contribution to the social whole, and not on their perceived shortcomings. This sociological approach was further strengthened by looking at studies by anthropologists.

Anthropologists Create the Basis of Intercultural

Establishing the premise of an intercultural connection rather than an interracial was first based on sociologist Reger Smith's analysis of culture characteristics.⁴¹ Smith's characterization of cultural groups in America and how they relate to each other gave the basis for further investigation into the potential hypothesis that Asians and Native

⁴¹ Smith, *Two Cultures, One Marriage*, 9-20.

Americans could be culturally related through shared common characteristics that date back thousands of years.⁴² By using the research theories of anthropologists Samuel Haven, Franz Boas, and Christy Turner one can argue that the Chinese and Paiutes exhibit certain biological and cultural characteristics that can link them as being interculturally connected.⁴³

Beginning in 1856, the “*Pre-Clovis*” and “*Clovis*”⁴⁴ hypothesis gained wide support and respect in the anthropological community when Samuel Haven summarized myths and legends regarding “pre-Columbian Indian” beginnings.⁴⁵ Haven stipulated that *Homo sapiens* first evolved and survived as hunters in the Eastern hemisphere. It was not until the Wisconsin glaciation that geographical barriers changed forming a large travelable land mass between the Asian and North American continent.⁴⁶ This provided the means for northern Asiatic or Dyukhtai hunters to venture across the Bering Strait, most likely following large migrating herds of animals, into North America at an unknown or precise date and establish isolated settlements in Alaska.⁴⁷ The Dyukhtai hunters used

⁴² Ibid. Also see <http://www.comptons.com> “Archaeology” subtitle “Milestones in Archaeology.”

⁴³ Brian M. Fagan, *People of the Earth: An Introduction to World Prehistory*. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Incorporated, 1992), 230 - 238. Also see Christy Turner, “Advances in Dental Search for Native American Origins” *Acta Anthropogenetica* 8 (Fall 1984), 23-78.

⁴⁴ The *Pre-Clovis* hypothesis stipulated that the Americas were colonized by *Homo sapiens* some time during the Wisconsin glaciation, perhaps as early as 40,000 years ago or earlier by crossing the Bering Strait. The *Clovis* hypothesis argued that the first Americans crossed into the New World at the very end of the Wisconsin glaciation, perhaps as recently as about 15,000 years ago, and penetrated south of the Upper Pleistocene ice sheets as they retreated. The difference between the two theories was the dates at which time *Homo sapiens* crossed the Bering Strait.

⁴⁵ Fagan, *People of the Earth: An Introduction to World Prehistory*, 230.

⁴⁶ See Appendix D for a detailed map showing the Bering Strait and how the Dyukhtai hunters traveled.

⁴⁷ Fagan, *People of the Earth: An Introduction to World Prehistory*, 230.

fire to keep warm, ward off predators, and cook their food -- the first great step toward civilization. These Asian Ice Age hunters have been acknowledged by anthropologist, such as Haven, Christy Turner, Brian Fagan, and Richard Leaky, as being ancestors of Native Americans based on shared biological and cultural characteristics. Most anthropologist accept the theory of crossing the Bering Strait as plausible since the strait on numerous occasions formed a land bridge between Asia and Alaska.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the scantiness of archeological human and animal remains have made it difficult for anthropologist to place an exact date this occurred. Yet, Haven's analysis does indicate that a cultural and social connection was established thousands of years ago linking the Chinese and Native Americans as being interrelated.⁴⁹

Cultural anthropologist, Franz Boas, in 1920 introduced a new paradigm that "human difference and human history were best explained by culture, rather than race."⁵⁰ He indicated that race is not language, customs, intelligence, character, and civilization, but solely biological used in grouping of human types based on color of skin, hair, and facial features.⁵¹ Furthermore, his hypothesis that one's culture environment was more influential and powerful was the opposite of the scientific racist perspective that had been in force since the 1600s in determining racial restrictions, such as miscegenation laws. Boas' philosophy further strengthens the argument that the Chinese/Paiute marriages were intercultural.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 233-238.

⁵⁰ Boas, "Race," 25.

⁵¹ Ibid., 25-27.

⁵² For additional insight see Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of "Race" in Twentieth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* 83 (June 1996), 44-69.

Christy Turner has gone one step further in proving northern Asians were the first Americans by comparing the dental remains of Native Americans and Chinese.⁵³ Turner divided his study into two dental categories based on similar or identical characteristics -- “the Sinodont and Sundadont”.⁵⁴ The characteristics found in each group link northern Asians and Native Americans to the Sinodont and eastern Asians to the Sundadont. On this basis Turner believes that the first Americans originated in northern Asia and established a social and cultural base in Alaska before dispersion to lower parts of the North and South American continent. Turner’s theory establishes an intercultural connection between the Native Americans and Chinese biologically.

The author combined the theories of sociologist Smith and anthropologists Haven, Boas, and Turner to establish an intercultural connection between the Chinese and Native Americans. Furthermore, oral interviews with Chinese/Paiute descendants indicted that the Chinese and Paiutes mutually accepted each other’s cultural traditions, such as food, medicine, religion, and family values, and the amalgamation formed new cultural traditions. Therefore, the marriages between the Chinese and Paiutes were intercultural rather than interracial.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Family History Library

One final source was consulted, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Family History library, which did not prove to be useful. When visiting the reservation,

⁵³ Turner, “Advances in Dental Search for Native Americans Origins,” 23-78.

⁵⁴ See Appendix E “Dental Morphology and the First Americans.” Characteristics of the Sinodont (northern Asian and Native Americans) were incisor shoveling, single-rooted upper first premolars, triple-rooted lower first molars and other attributes such as an odontome. The Sundadont (eastern Asian) lacked or was weak in dental comparison.

several Paiutes indicated Mormon missionaries had come to the reservation when Brigham Young sent settlers into Nevada and remained after establishing a mission on the Walker River Reservation since 1859.⁵⁵ While this library publicizes having over two million rolls of microfilm containing copies of original records that include vital, census, church, land, and probate records, its excellent collection of genealogical histories is mainly Euro-Americans. It lacks information in regards to specific “Lamanites” other than the five civilized tribes in America.⁵⁶ Only one book acknowledged the presence of the Paiutes, which is surprising considering Nevada was part of Brigham Young’s proposed “State of Deseret.”⁵⁷ There was no microfilm or written documentation available of Paiute tribal census rolls taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, State of Nevada, or by the federal government.

As illustrated, the overall methodology used has been diverse. It would have been much easier to write this thesis had this not been a pioneering endeavor, but one taken from the text books based on the research of other scholars. But on the other hand, the value of the experience far outweighs the monumental amount of hours, rewrites, and work that has gone into making this thesis a precursor to future studies on Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriages.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 26-41. Johnson also indicated that Brigham Young sent missionaries and an Indian agent into the area to help the people.

⁵⁶ Mormons refer to the Native American people as Lamanites or “the chosen people.” The five civilized tribes: Chickasaws, Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole.

⁵⁷ The “State of Deseret” consisted of Utah, Nevada, Arizona and parts of Colorado, Oregon, Wyoming and California. The term “deseret” is found in the Book of Mormon meaning honeybee and signifying or symbolizing the accent on industry in the Mormon community.

CHAPTER 2

NEVADA'S 1861 MISCEGENATION LAW

Nevada's miscegenation law was a major factor in promoting an intercultural marriage between the Chinese immigrant man, who was not prejudiced against the People whom he never encountered in his homeland, and the Paiute woman who sought a mate outside of the reservation. An understanding of how the 1861 miscegenation law was established in Nevada provides an insight into the prevailing American prejudices of the late nineteenth century that reinforced pseudo-scientific beliefs regarding race.

Making governments and building towns are the natural employment of the migratory Yankee. He takes to them as instinctively as a young duck to water. Congregate a hundred Americans anywhere beyond the settlements, and they will immediately lay out a city, frame a state constitution and apply for admission to the Union, while twenty-five of them become candidates for the U. S. Senate.⁵⁸

While these statements were true across the western frontier, Nevada in 1861 began such a process by organizing a legislative body for its first Territorial Legislative session. This group put together laws and acts to govern the land which would culminate in 1865 in the writing of a state constitution and admission to the Union. One specific act was the initiation and passage of a miscegenation law prohibiting the Chinese, Native Americans, blacks, mulattos from interculturally or interracialy marrying

⁵⁸ Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*. (Hartford: 1867), 177.

Euro-Americans. This statute would remain active for nearly a hundred years before being repealed.

The passage into law of the country's first miscegenation statute was ratified during the Colonial Period between 1619 and 1776. The initial ideology was to protect the superior Euro-American race from infusion of inferior non-European genes in order to prevent biological and cultural deterioration.⁵⁹ The earliest recorded endeavor was in 1661 when the commonwealth government in both Maryland and Virginia legislatively activated miscegenation laws not only to protect the valuable property of the master class from subservient mulatto off-spring conceived by "distasteful" and "inappropriate" sexual liaisons with an African slave woman, but to insure only those "genetically pure" could inherit.⁶⁰ Mirroring the example of Maryland and Virginia, but incorporating extremely severe penalties to the offenders and the individual who conducted the marriage ceremony between a black and white, legislative representatives in Massachusetts in 1705, North Carolina in 1715, Delaware in 1721, Pennsylvania in 1725, and Georgia in 1750 enacted miscegenation laws.⁶¹ Eventually, miscegenation laws would spread across America prohibiting interracial sex and marriage, with twelve states including Native Americans and fourteen Asian-Americans as undesirable marriage partners for Euro-Americans.⁶²

Nearly two hundred years after Maryland and Virginia sanctioned a prohibitive ban on intercultural/interracial marriages between Euro and non-Euro Americans, Nevada's first territory legislative session met on October 1, 1861 and began the tedious

⁵⁹ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶² Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," 49.

process of argumentative debate that cumulated into the miscegenation statute. From the November 11th and 19th debates the underlying motive to protect the Euro-Americans from biological and cultural infusion in order to maintain a pure race became apparent.⁶³ The following is a detailed and chronological account of Nevada's first territory legislative session that ratified the miscegenation law.

On October 14, 1861 John W. Grier,⁶⁴ Legislator of the Fourth District, informed the Territorial Council that an act relating to intermarriages and divorces was being composed.⁶⁵ On October 19th Isaac Roop,⁶⁶ Legislator of the Ninth District, gave the Council notice that an act to prohibit the cohabitation and marriage of whites with "Indians and negroes [*sic*]" had been written.⁶⁷ Two days later John W. Pugh,⁶⁸ Legislator of the First District, introduced a written act "to prohibit the cohabitation and marriage of whites with Indians, negroes [*sic*], and Chinese."⁶⁹ This was the first time the Chinese had been included in the list of undesirable matrimonial mates for Euro-Americans. One could surmise this inclusion of the Chinese was based on a heightened visibility of the Chinese, the Civil War which highlighted not only the race issue, but slavery as well, the large influx of Chinese immigrants into the United States especially the West, and the growing anti-Chinese movement in San Francisco. Perhaps,

⁶³ Andrew J. Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory 1861-1862*. (Legislative Counsel Bureau: State of Nevada, 1862), 247 and 311.

⁶⁴ See Appendix F "Biographies" : John W. Grier.

⁶⁵ Marsh, *Letters From Nevada Territory*, 82.

⁶⁶ See Appendix F "Biographies" : Isaac Roop.

⁶⁷ Marsh, *Letters From Nevada Territory*, 107.

⁶⁸ See Appendix F "Biographies" : John W. Pugh.

⁶⁹ Marsh, *Letters From Nevada Territory*, 113.

Pugh himself ought to be considered the main culprit because he eventually introduced two more anti-Chinese acts before the end of the legislative session -- a Chinese head tax and a measure to prohibit Chinese land ownership -- both based upon California precedents.

On October 23rd the act was “severally read”⁷⁰ for the first time “to prohibit the marriages of whites with Indians, negroes [*sic*], and Chinese.”⁷¹ The second reading to the act occurred on the October 29th daily agenda: “to prevent certain marriages [amalgamating races] and referred to the Standing Committee.”⁷² After the Standing Committee reviewed the act, they returned to the Council on the 4th of November for a third reading and passage.⁷³ The next day the Council transferred the act to the House where it was read twice and passed to the Judiciary Committee for further advisement.⁷⁴ Samuel Youngs⁷⁵, of the Judiciary Committee, reported that on the 7th of November the act had been reviewed, but was being returned without any recommendation of passage.⁷⁶

Since there was not any pro or con opinion professed, “the Act to prevent the marriage of whites with Indians, mulattos, Chinese, and negroes [*sic*]” went to the

⁷⁰ There is no indication of what “severally read” means. It can have several connotations. It could mean the oral tone of voice in which the law was recited before discussion or how the members of the committee reviewed the law piece by piece or sentence by sentence.

⁷¹ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 136.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 168.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁷⁵ See Appendix F “Biographies” : Samuel Youngs.

⁷⁶ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 230.

Committee of the Whole chaired by William E. Teall, a member of the House of Representatives for the First District.⁷⁷ The debate that ensued November 11th went as follows:

William Osborn,⁷⁸ representative of the Eighth District, moved to strike the word “Indian” wherever it appeared in the bill. This idea -- Lost.

Samuel Youngs, representative of the First District, moved to strike out all after the enacting clause, thus severing the body from the head instead of beheading the bill. Youngs’ argument that the bill could never be enforced and would uselessly cumber [*sic*] the statue book. He further contended other things about the bill that would not look good in print.

John D. Winters,⁷⁹ representative of the Third District, proposed to insert the word “squaw” in place of “Indian”, but did not insist upon it.

John. H. Mill,⁸⁰ representative of the Fifth District, advocated the bill contending that it was for the advantage of the white race to prohibit the intermarriage with any of the inferior races.

Ephraim Durham,⁸¹ representative of the Sixth District, took the same view, and said in Shasta County, California there were probably three hundred white men living with squaws. Trinity County was not much better, and they were raising in those counties a race of disgraceful half-breeds.⁸²

⁷⁷ Ibid., 247.

⁷⁸ See Appendix F “Biographies”: William J. Osborn.

⁷⁹ See Appendix F “Biographies” : John D. Winters.

⁸⁰ Ibid., See Appendix F “Biographies” : John H. Mills.

⁸¹ Ibid., See Appendix F “Biographies” : Ephraim Durham.

⁸² This substantiated intercultural/interracial marriages or cohabitation between Native Americans and other races, such as Euro-Americans was not unusual or unique. Furthermore, this established the premise that genetic intermixing was repugnant to Euro-Americans. For a modern understanding of why intermarriages were and are repugnant to Euro-Americans see Betty Lee Sung *Chinese Intermarriages*, and Dugan Romano *Intercultural Marriages*.

Voting had Youngs' motion to amputate the body of the bill was lost, and so were several other amendments. The bill was reported to the House, and ordered to a third reading. The Council Bill -- an act relating to marriage and divorce were [*sic*] severally read twice and appropriately referred.⁸³

The Committee of Whole returned the act to the Council November 12th where it was "severally read" a third time and passed.⁸⁴ Yet, on November 13th the Council in an unexplained move decided to reexamine the document requesting that the House's wording -- "imposing fines and imprisonment for amalgamation" -- be amended or removed.⁸⁵ The Council, determined to exert political pressure and override the House's proposed statute, turned the act over for further scrutiny and debate to the Committee of Conference in which Thomas Hannah, William M. Stewart,⁸⁶ and John W. Grier were instructed to provide written revisions or recommendations. After taking the act under consideration and not desiring to become entangled again, the Committee of Conference subsequently passed the act onto the Committee of Whole chaired by Edward C. Ing, Representative from the Seventh District, where it was extensively discussed and amended to the Council's liking then returned to the House.

After a lunch break, the House reconsidered and further debated the provisions of the act, but did not agree with the Council's modification. The act was voted upon and defeated in a close vote: ayes 5, nays 6.⁸⁷

⁸³ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 247. From this debate one can see the forces of an ethnocentric Euro-American society determined to remain "racially pure" and to prohibit the amalgamation of "inferior" non-European genes that could cause a "biological and cultural deterioration" of the dominant society.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁸⁶ See Appendix F "Biographies" : William Morris Stewart.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 265.

With the defeat in the House, the Council became more determined to secure a favorable opinion of the act regarding intermarriages and was, therefore, willing to make several concessions with the House regarding the addendum attached to the act. The following day, November 14th, the Council discussed all possible points of their disagreement with the House's proposed amendments and quickly appointed a Committee of Conference consisting of William M. Stewart and Isaac Roop.⁸⁸ The main problem, according to Roop, was the wording of the act. The House was willing to strike out "niggers and Hong Kongs," but wanted "Indians" to remain.⁸⁹

Not reaching any sort of agreement, the Council subsequently appointed Samuel Youngs and John D. Winters to form a special Committee of Conference to scrutinize the disagreement between the two Houses.⁹⁰ Still not discovering any plausible way to resolve the disputed issues between the legislatures, the House on November 18th added John H. Mills to the Winters and Youngs committee to seek a speedy resolution.⁹¹

On November 19th, the Conference Committee verbally highlighted the section in which the legislative bodies had disagreed: "to prevent [carnal connection] with Indians and Chinese, but not with negroes [*sic*] or mulattos." The following debate ensued:

Isaac Roop stated he did not like the section, but would go for it as a matter of compromise.

Ira M. Luther objected to the section because it smacked of Abolitionism.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁹² This was a rather ironic statement coming from an individual who professed to be an avid supporter of Northern Union politics and agenda in denying or eliminating the South's right to purchase and/or have

William Stewart stated he accepted the amendment in the Committee of Conference as the only way of settling the difference between the two branches. He further stipulated that the bill would remove “one great cause of most of our Indian difficulties.”⁹³

Following the debate, the report of the Conference Committee was agreed to: ayes 6, nays 3. The Act was forwarded to the House the same day.⁹⁴

Convening after a recess, the House received the Conference Committee’s report on the Act to prohibit certain marriages. After a short discussion of the relative inferiority of Indians, Chinese, and negroes [*sic*] a vote was taken. The House refused to accept the Council’s Act -- ayes 5, nays 9.⁹⁵

One might easily assume the miscegenation act was now lost and would not merit further debate or consideration. This was not the case.

The following day, November 20th, the Council once again approached the House with a special request to form a second Committee of Conference which was granted. Appointed to the Committee were William P. Harrington,⁹⁶ James H. Sturtevant,⁹⁷ and Mark H. Bryan.⁹⁸ Two days later on November 22nd, the Council, for unknown reasons, appointed John W. Pugh, Isaac Roop, and Augustus W. Pray⁹⁹ as additions to the

slaves for Euro-American agriculture purposes.

⁹³ This constituted the first time this analysis was mentioned. The hypothesis will be repeated in the final debate November 24, 1861 that helped to secure the passage of the miscegenation statute. How this act was going to eliminate the prime difficulties with the Native Americans was unclear, as Stewart did not profess further knowledge on the matter.

⁹⁴ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 305.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

⁹⁶ See Appendix F “Biographies” : William P. Harrington.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, See Appendix F “Biographies” : James H. Sturtevant.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, See Appendix F “Biographies” : Mark H. Bryan. Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 326.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, See Appendix F “Biographies” : Augustus W. Pray.

Harrington, Sturtevant and Bryan Committee of Conference with explicit instructions to provide additional insight and opinion into the act prohibiting certain marriages.¹⁰⁰

Harrington, acting as the spokesman for the Committee, reported to the House November 23rd that the section in which the disagreement occurred within the act be allowed to stand as it was originally written and favorably ratified by the House. The Committee's endorsement was received and dismissed from further discussion and action on the act. After some lengthy debate in the House, the proposed recommendation was agreed upon and a vote ensued : ayes 5, nays 8.¹⁰¹ The act was considered lost or dead by the House legislative body and concluded it merited no further consideration, discussion, or debate.

Not wanting to admit defeat or willing to let go, and becoming more determined to secure passage, House of Representative member William J. Osborn proposed on November 24th that the act to prohibit certain marriages be seriously reconsidered by the House in spite of the fact it had been defeated the previous day. After some lengthy and vigorous discussion in which it was strongly argued that the act was designed to prevent one of the prime causes of difficulties with the Indians, the act was reconsidered.¹⁰² A vote was subsequently pursued -- ayes 10, nays 2.¹⁰³ After nearly two months of political and legislative haggling, *An Act to Prohibit Marriages and Cohabitation of*

¹⁰⁰ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 329.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 339.

¹⁰² As to how this act was going to eliminate the prime difficulties with the Indians was unclear. The debate did not stipulate what difficulties were being experienced in regards to only the Native Americans and not other non-European races.

¹⁰³ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 347.

whites with Indians, Chinese, Mulattos, and negroes [sic] became part of Nevada's Territorial Law legacy.¹⁰⁴

On November 28, 1861 the following miscegenation statute was enacted and signed into Nevada Territorial Law by Territorial Governor James Warren Nye. The Act was incorporated under the major heading of "Crimes and Punishments."

An Act to Prohibit Marriages and Cohabitation of whites with Indians, Chinese, Mulattos, and negroes [sic].

(Approved November 28, 1861, p. 93.)

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Nevada, as follows:

2472. Section 1. If any white man or woman intermarry with any black person, mulatto, Indian, or Chinese, the parties to such marriage shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the State Prison for term not less than one year nor more than two years.

2473. Section 2. If any person authorized to perform a marriage ceremony shall unite any such person as mentioned in this Act in marriage, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, be subject to imprisonment in the State Prison for a period not less than one year nor more than three years.

2474. Section 3. That if any white person shall live and cohabit together with any black person, mulatto, Indian, or Chinese, in a state of fornication, such person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the County Jail not less than one nor more than six months, or both such fine and imprisonment, as the Court may order.

¹⁰⁴ The Act was listed under the section of "Crimes and Punishments" in the Nevada Territorial Law and remained under that section until final repeal.

2475. Section 4. All fines collected under this Act shall be paid into the treasury of the county in which the conviction is had, and set apart for the Common School Fund of the State.¹⁰⁵

In conclusion, during Nevada's territorial period Euro-American legislators were determined to maintain "Euro-American supremacy" which meant that the ethnic race must be protected from infusion of "non-European mongrelized genes to prevent severe biological and cultural deterioration."¹⁰⁶ This miscegenation law also indicated, in a broader sense, that Euro-American society would "never permit full equality, nor accept social mixing which could lead to the amalgamation of non-Europeans" or people of color with the Euro-American race.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the territorial period of Nevada exhibited tremendous discrimination against non-whites in every way.¹⁰⁸

Even Nevada's 1864 statehood movement, the adoption of the state constitution, and establishment of the state government did not alter the precedents set during the territorial period as legislatures willingly adopted the territorial laws.¹⁰⁹ Article 17 section 2 of the Constitution of the State of Nevada states:

All laws of the Territory of Nevada, in force at the time of the admission of this state, not repugnant to this constitution, shall remain in force until

¹⁰⁵ M. S. Bonfield and TAW. Heady compilers, *The Compiled Laws of the State of Nevada Embracing Statutes of 1861 to 1873 Inclusive* published under authority of law. (2 Volumes, Carson City: Charles A.V. Put-on, State Printer, 1873), 1 and 590. The above numbering was the original law. Over the course of Nevada's legislative sessions the law's numbers continually changed, but remained under the title of "Crimes and Punishments." For example: *The General Statutes of the State of Nevada: 1861 to 1865 Inclusive* becomes 4760 to 4763; *Revised Laws of Nevada from 1861 to 1912* becomes 6514 to 6517; *Nevada Revised Statute; Nevada Compiled Laws Supplement 1943-1949*, becomes 122.180 to 122.190. Legally this miscegenation law did not prohibit cohabitation, intercultural, or interracial marriage between non-Europeans or people of color.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 27.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰⁸ Michael W. Bowers, *The Nevada State Constitution: A Reference Guide* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 15.

¹⁰⁹ Earl, "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws," 3.

they expire by their own limitations, or be altered or repealed by the legislature.¹¹⁰

Unfortunately, this included the 1861 Miscegenation Law despite Nevada's constitution which adopted the following preamble concerning an individual's declaration of rights:

All men are, by nature, free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.¹¹¹

Therefore by continuing the legal validity of the territorial miscegenation law, Chinese immigrant men were limited in their choices of marriage partners in Nevada and some turned to Native American women. However, this miscegenation law did not go unchallenged.

Within ten years of the original ratification, Nevada's miscegenation law came under attack as the Northern Paiute Princess, Sarah Winnemucca, sought to marry Euro-American military man Lieutenant Bartlett. The couple were denied a marriage license in Nevada, but this did not discourage them. They eventually traveled to Salt Lake City, Utah to take their marriage vows. Being annoyed and repulsed by the denial, the *Silver State* wrote the following editorial regarding the situation.

Married at Salt Lake -- Lieutenant Bartlett and Miss Sarah Winnemucca, the person who recently made application to the County Clerk of this county for a license to get married, and was refused, made their way to Salt Lake and were there joined in the holy bonds of wedlock and have returned to their old quarters. We could never quite understand why you County Clerk should deny the loving couple the sanction of his official

¹¹⁰ *Constitution of the State of Nevada*, issued by Department of Education, State of Nevada. Byron F. Stetler, Superintendent of Public Instruction. (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1959), 35. In addition see Bowers, *The Nevada State Constitution*, 135; and Eleanore Bushnell, *The Nevada State Constitution: Origin and Growth* Third Edition (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1972), 191-192.

¹¹¹ *Constitution of the State of Nevada*, 4; and Bowers, *The Nevada State Constitution*, 25.

seal to consummate their happiness. The case of Sarah Winnemucca is clearly covered by the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, as she is an educated lady and has, we understand, long since renounced all tribal relations with the Indians, and is in Government employ as an interpreter. It is true our State law forbids marriages between white persons and Indians, but then it must be remembered that our statute on that subject belongs to a past age, before Civil Rights bills and constitutional amendments had become the fashion. The Fourteenth Amendment provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside, and that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. The Civil Rights bill which was incorporated in the Fourteenth Amendment further provides that citizens of every race and color shall have the same rights in every State and Territory of the United States to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties to suits, give evidence, etc. The contract of marriage being a civil contract there is no doubt but that the parties have the full right to enter into it under the Civil Rights bill.¹¹²

From time to time over the next thirty years, local frontier editors would take note of white women living with Chinese or black males or interracial couples being denied marriage licenses, but Nevada's miscegenation law did not become a public issue until 1910.¹¹³ Three highly publicized challenges to the Nevada law came when American born Japanese men and their Euro-American fiancée's sought marriage licenses. Because the Miscegenation Law did not include the Japanese in the list of undesirable marriage partners, all three were granted marriage license after a multitude of legal manipulation, but only two of the couples were married in the state.¹¹⁴ This prompted an editorial

¹¹² *Winnemucca (NV) Silver State*, March 18, 1872. The author of this article highlights the fact that Sarah Winnemucca had renounced her tribal affiliations and was a government employ; thereby, making her more Euro-American than Native American.

¹¹³ Earl, "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws," 4.

¹¹⁴ *Goldfield (NV) The Goldfield Daily Tribune*, March 3, 1910 reported that Henry Y. Inuito, a Los Angeles Japanese-American businessman and Miss Vivian Blackwell sought and obtained a marriage license in Goldfield March 1, 1910. They were married by Judge Theron Stevens.

entitled the “Legalization of Crime” in the *Reno Evening Gazette* which called for a law adding the Japanese to the miscegenation prohibition.¹¹⁵

When the 1911 Nevada State legislative session met, both the Senate and Assembly diligently attempted to add the Japanese to the list of undesirable marriage partners; however, the effort failed.¹¹⁶ No further action regarding the miscegenation law occurred until the 1919 Twenty-Ninth Nevada Legislative Session amended the miscegenation statute to repeal the prohibited ban on a legal marriage between Native Americans and Euro-Americans.¹¹⁷ Senate Bill 36 reworded the original “An Act to Prohibit Marriages and Cohabitation of whites with Indians, Chinese, Mulattos, and negroes [*sic*]” Number 2472, section 1 to stipulate:

It shall be unlawful for any person of the Caucasian or white race to intermarry with any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malay or brown race, or Mongolian or yellow race, within the State of Nevada.¹¹⁸

Reno (NV) Nevada State Journal, March 16, 1910 reported that George Mashie, a Japanese-American, and Juliet Schwa were issued a marriage license, but could not find anyone to marry them. Judge Somas stated that in his opinion the Japanese were included in the Chinese statutory designation. The couple left Nevada and were married in New Mexico.

Reno (NV) The Reno Evening Gazette, December 23, 1910 and *Nevada State Journal*, December 24, 1910 both reported that H. H. Beckon, a San Francisco Japanese laundry owner and Miss L. A. Frederick sought a marriage license in Reno, but were denied. The couple contacted a lawyer who accompanied them to the Reno court house where they were issued a marriage license. After contacting three judges they were finally married by a First Methodist Minister, Reverend Dr. W. S. Kelly.

¹¹⁵ *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 24, 1910.

¹¹⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, Nevada State Legislature, Twenty-fifth Session (1911), 38, 64-65, 67, 69, 177, and 190. *Journal of the Assembly*, Nevada State Legislature, Twenty-fifth Session (1911), 60, 91, and 129.

¹¹⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, Nevada State Legislature, Twenty-ninth Session (1919), 88, 97, 122, 129, 201, and 217.

¹¹⁸ *Revised Laws of Nevada*, Volume III, Section “Crimes and Punishments,” 3383. The new amended law became Law 6514. Section 249. Titled “Mixed Marriages of Caucasians with certain races prohibited.”

By adding “Malay” (the Filipinos) and “Mongolian” (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) they felt they had covered their bases. This placed the Chinese below the Native Americans in the “acceptable” hierarchy. For nearly forty years, the Miscegenation Law, prohibiting the marriage of Euro-Americans with a black person, mulatto, or Chinese, would remain in force in Nevada despite many states repealing the miscegenation laws on their statute books.¹¹⁹

Forty years later the miscegenation statute began its fast track to removal. In 1958, an Australian born and prominent California labor union leader, Harry Bridges sought to marry his Japanese American born fiancée, Noriko Sawada in Reno.¹²⁰ After several days and a considerable amount of legal maneuvering the couple was issued a marriage license¹²¹ and married based on Judge Taylor H. Wines’ written opinion which stated:

Sections 122.180, 122.190 and 122.210, Nevada Revised Statutes, are unconstitutional in that they violate Article I, Section I of the Constitution of the State of Nevada and Section I of Amendment XIV of the Constitution of the United States of America.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid. See Appendix G Map “Revocation of Interracial Marriage Bans.” The map illustrates the approximate dates Miscegenation Laws across the United States were amended.

¹²⁰ *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 9 - 11, 1958; *Nevada State Journal*, December 10-13, 1958; and *Nevada Appeal*, December 11, 1958.

¹²¹ The case of *Bridges and Sawada, Petitioners, v. Brown, Respondent* was filed in Washoe County. The petitioners were represented by Sam Frankovich, a Reno attorney. The case was heard by Judge Taylor H. Wines who based his final decision on the California Supreme Court case of *Peers v. Sharpie*. Frankovich declared the 1861 Miscegenation Law was a violation of Article 1, Section 1 of the Nevada Constitution that stipulated “all men are created free and equal, with the right to happiness.” The respondent, Brown was defended by Assistant District Attorney Emil Gezelin who contended that Brown was merely doing his job in denying a marriage license to the interracial couple. Gezelin further stipulated that the miscegenation law was based on the theory that other races were inferior to the Caucasians.

¹²² Judge Taylor H. Wines’ written opinion in the *Bridges and Sawada, Petitioners v. Brown, Respondent*. Judge Wines further accepted a motion from Frankovich to hold blameless the individual who performed the ceremony.

The Judge Wines' decision produced a myriad of editorials that encompassed praise,¹²³ disapproval¹²⁴, and foresight¹²⁵ for having the courage to take the first step in getting rid of an out dated 1800s law. Judge Wines had laid the foundation that eventually forced Nevada's Forty-Ninth Legislative session to repeal the racially motivated statue. Leading the endeavor was Russell McDonald, Legislative Counsel and Director of the Statue Advisory Commission, who believed that the lawmakers should act upon the 1861 Miscegenation Law and draft a repeal measure immediately. Introduced by the Judiciary Committee as Senate Bill 19 on January 21, 1959, the measure was amended to permit persons of mixed race to live together after they were married and was reported out of committee with a "do-pass" recommendation on February 2. The bill passed the Senate with a vote of 17-0 and was sent to the Assembly who passed the bill with virtually no floor debate -- 32-5. The bill was acknowledged and signed by the speaker of the House, then forwarded to Governor Grant Sawyer who penned it into law March 16, 1959.¹²⁶ Thus ended Nevada's nearly one hundred year old Act to prohibit the cohabitation and marriage of Euro-Americans with people of color.

Unfortunately and for no apparent reason while most of Nevada's newspaper editors limited their comment on the repeal of the 1861 Miscegenation Law, Hank Greenspun, editor of the *Las Vegas Sun*, not only fully supported the repeal, but highly praised the legislative endeavor and courage:

¹²³ *Yerington* (NV) *Mason Valley News*, December 19, 1958; *Elko* (NV) *Elko Daily Free Press*, December 24, 1958.

¹²⁴ *Hawthorne* (NV) *Mineral County Independent*, December 17, 1958.

¹²⁵ *Las Vegas* (NV) *Las Vegas Sun*, December 14, 1958.

¹²⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, Forty-ninth Session (1959), 15-16, 57-58, 66, and 346; *Journal of the Assembly*, Forty-ninth Session (1959), 104-105, 372, 421, and 452.

Slowly and surely Nevada is making gains in the affairs of humanity. Outdated, stupid, brutal laws, conceived in bigotry are being deleted from our statutes to be replaced with sensible, enlightened and progressive laws embodying the principle of the dignity of man.¹²⁷

Changing Nevada's laws and dealing with unequal treatment of citizens was an uphill fight all the way. The success of this repeal ultimately signified the redemption of the American spirit based upon the fundamental and basic principle proudly proclaimed in both the Nevada State and the United States Constitution that there should be no written laws making a mockery of the integral doctrine that "all men are created equal." Furthermore, Nevada not only removed a thorn that created agitation, but had eliminated an insult to people of color.

The passage of the miscegenation law had a detrimental effect upon Chinese men, who were severely limited in their choices of marriage partners and forced them to turn to Native American women, especially between 1861 and 1920. Working against this union were the negativism in the Nevada newspapers.

¹²⁷ *Las Vegas Sun*, January 29, 1959.

CHAPTER 3

AN ORCHESTRATED PLAYING FIELD OF WORDS

Buttressing the miscegenation law was Nevada's newspapers which characterized Chinese and Native American relations in a negative light. The written word created a scenario of interaction and images between the Chinese and Northern Paiutes that emphasized a numerical threat to the state's population, hatred, gambling, drugs, alcohol, and murder. Census records showed that the Chinese and Native Americans were only a small percentage of Nevada's population; however, Nevada's frontier newspapers seldom reported a positive relationship, much less a positive effigy between the Chinese and Paiutes.¹²⁸ These unfavorable stories worked against unions between Chinese men and Paiute women.

Too often newspaper articles and memoirs were fictionalized so that separating actual fact from fiction was impossible. A common characteristic of Nevada's journalist was to transform nondescript bland or otherwise insignificant occurrences into sensationalized epic stories that created an unrealistic and negative stereotypical image of both the Chinese and Paiutes. Unfortunately, sensationalism not only sold better than an unexciting story, but created a conscious and boisterous literary extraction that left an indelible enhanced image in the mind of the reader. Adjectives, such as "heather,"

¹²⁸ The Shoshones were prevalent in Nevada's Great Basin, but the focus of this thesis was strictly on the interaction between the Chinese and Northern Paiutes living on or around the Walker River Reservation.

“Chinaman,” “squaw,” “buck,” “non-human,” “inferior,” “disease infested” were to common in Nevada’s frontier presses and the words played a melodious theme to the isolated communities which thrived on the printed word. Although the frontier newspaper editors competed with the local town gossip line, they were the prime link in providing extensive coverage of local, state, national, and international affairs.¹²⁹ Their genre became endure, resist, and prevail against overwhelming odds.¹³⁰

Endurance

Nevada is truly a unique territory/state that came into existence without an organic structure of either its institutional nor economic order.¹³¹ Furthermore, Nevada became a legal entity with no apparent ties between communities or between the people and government.¹³² Nevada’s physical terrain was extremely unfriendly, continually broken by mountains and deserts, towns sparsely populated and unevenly dotted across the land, and the inhabitants singularly mobile. In the 1880s, Nevada held the distinction of being the most remote, hostile, isolated, and prime materialistic golden opportunity state/territory in America. Furthermore, Nevada attracted a far larger per capita of foreign born immigrants than any state/territory in spite of its “boom and bust” economic cycle.¹³³

¹²⁹ Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1970), 69.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 4, 13, and 18.

Endurance also included getting along in a society by withstanding the hardships or stress that quite often interfered with another's very existence, lifestyle, language, mode of dress, religious customs, and means of employment. Frontier editors took delight in mischievously implying that the foreign born immigrants, especially the Chinese, were trying to exert their own culture on the old inhabitants. This was not likely or a logical probability, but it highlighted the lack of tolerance one ethnic group had for another. As Wilbur Shepperson indicated,

... most of Nevada's immigrants did not wish to transfer the Old World to the New, or reproduce in the West the customs they had left behind. When exposed to new forces and new pressures, their national traditions were quickly blurred and their native temperament reshaped. Yet, on the other hand, most of the immigrants were robust spirits intent on retaining an independence of mind as they were Americanized. Most were genuinely proud of their background and unashamed of their immigrant status. Seldom was their customs or attitudes totally erased.¹³⁴

Furthermore, when examining the number of Chinese in Nevada, the idea of Chinese influence is made even more ludicrous. Table 1 illustrates that the Chinese population in Nevada was insignificant when compared to other foreign born immigrants.

Table 1: Comparative Population Statistics: 1880-1920¹³⁵

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Nevada Total	62,266	47,355	42,335	81,875	77,407
Euro-American	33,810-54%	27,493-58%	27,026-64%	56,944-70%	60,715-78%
Foreign Born	20,237-33%	11,873-24%	8,741-21%	18,764-23%	11,096-14%
Chinese	5,416- 9%	2,833- 6%	1,352- 3%	927- 1%	689- 1%
Indian	2,803- 5%	5,156-11%	5,216-12%	5,240- 6%	4,907- 6%

¹³⁴ Ibid., 61.

¹³⁵ Russell R. Elliot, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 396-397. The foreign born total does not include the Chinese.

Breaking down into more minute statistical data Table 2 emphasizes the small number of Chinese residing per county in Nevada that clearly illustrates the Chinese would have or could have little influence over anything in Nevada.¹³⁶

Table 2: Chinese Population in Nevada Counties 1870-1920¹³⁷

County	When established	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Churchill	1864	16	32	30	7	9	17
Clark	1909	....	....	....	....	16	9
Douglas	1864	23	159	56	19	14	17
Elko	1869	439	613	311	191	151	93
Esmeralda	1864	56	242	277	115	64	8
Eureka	1873	....	633	284	101	30	14
Humbolt	1861	220	529	377	225	162	78
Lander	1862	218	387	87	71	24	13
Lincoln	1866	23	100	34	72	32	18
Lyon	1861	116	390	86	39	24	15
Mineral ¹³⁸	1911	....	....	....	....	....	40
Nye	1864	6	66	23	7	59	44
Ormsby	1861	769	988	760	152	118	73
Pershing	1919	....	....	....	....	50	33
Storey	1850	749	639	245	76	44	13
Washoe	1861	221	526	217	246	155	155
White Pine	1869	292	107	46	31	25	32
Roop ¹³⁹	1859	4	5	....	....	....	....

¹³⁶ Note that Elko, Eureka, Ormsby, and Storey has the greatest Chinese population. Each of these counties had active anti-Chinese societies that quite often used force and violence to achieve their goal of getting rid of or reducing employment opportunities for the Chinese .

¹³⁷ Data from: U. S. Bureau of the Census 1870 to 1920.

¹³⁸ Before 1911 Mineral was part of Esmeralda County. The Walker River Indian Reservation is currently in Mineral County.

¹³⁹ Roop County was unofficially established in 1859 and was located in the northern part of present day Washoe County. The county was named in honor of Isaac N. Roop, a Nevada legislature who verbally read and sat on the committee during Nevada's 1861 Territorial Legislature that passed the miscegenation law.

There is little doubt that those individuals, whether Paiute, Chinese, or Euro-American, living in Nevada had a very difficult time trying to provide a means of support for themselves and their families. Individuals had to be constitutionally strong in body and mind not just to withstand Nevada's volatile boom and bust economy, but also the severe weather conditions and the unfriendly terrain. Survival basically came down to the sociological Darwinian theory "the survival of the fittest." Those individuals who were meek in body, spirit, and mind had a very difficult time enduring Nevada's early days.

Hatred

Relations between the Chinese and Paiutes were colored for several reasons: (a) by Euro-American opinion; (b) actual experience between the two in employment, drug and alcohol buying and selling, murder, and confrontations; (c) by Native American perspective; and (d) the Chinese perspective. Unfortunately, dislike, distrust, hostility, aversion, and jealousy best summarizes the feelings cultivated among foreign-born Euro-Americans, American born Euro-Americans, Native Americans, and Non-Europeans toward each other. The frontier press often did its best to play upon each aspect of the idiosyncrasies that perpetuated the ethnocentric racial hatred.

Euro-American Nevada communities and the frontier press rhetorically encouraged hatred and resentment against the Chinese and Native Americans. As early as 1878, anti-Chinese societies became prevalent across the sparsely populated state of Nevada. Frontier editors continually highlighted the slogan the "Chinese must go."¹⁴⁰ Editorials further suggested denying the Chinese employment and replacing them with

¹⁴⁰ *Reno (NV) Nevada Tribune*, November 4, 1878 and February 19, 1879. Also see Shepperson, *Restless Strangers*, 116-122; and Gary BeDurnah, "A History of the Chinese in Nevada: 1855-1904 (Master Thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1966), 15-18, 24-32.

Paiutes,¹⁴¹ extermination, or providing funds for transportation to send them Eastward -- “Go East, John, go East.”¹⁴² Just what the Euro-Americans hated about the Chinese was summed up in an editorial “Go East Chinaman” in the *Gold Hill Daily News*:

(1) His habitual opium problem; (2) His cheap labor that denies a white working man the opportunity to put bread on the table and shoes on his family feet; (3) His paganist immoral and evil virtues; (4) His animal-like social life, and (5) His non-encouragement of science, art, literature, newspapers, and human advancement.¹⁴³

Native Americans quite often adopted the Euro-American perspective of prejudice against the Chinese. Nevada’s local frontier newspapers and other recorded documentation related the aversion the Northern Paiutes had for the Chinese. As to why or if this did exist historians offered various opinions to support their contentions. Edward Johnson could not substantiate nor prove by citing incidents if there was a feud between the Chinese and Paiutes.¹⁴⁴ He believed poor feelings between the Chinese and Paiutes existed. Yet, according to Johnson, the Chinese as shopkeepers and restaurant owners catered to the People. If the People presumed they were being improperly dealt with or treated poorly, they did not hesitate to take appropriate actions to remedy the situation. Johnson cited the “Bridgeport Murder Case”, discussed later, as the prime example of Paiutes believing they had been dealt with unfairly and taking action to set the situation in balance.

¹⁴¹ This idea was interesting as many Euro-Americans considered the Paiutes as non-human, savages, inferior animals, and illiterate.

¹⁴² *Gold Hill (NV) Gold Hill Daily News*, March 10, 1879.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 6, 1879.

¹⁴⁴ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 89-90.

Historian Russell M. Magnaghi mentioned various reasons for contempt, such as the Chinese coveted the Paiutes means of employment, denied the Paiutes the right to collect, sell or use pine nuts, held exclusive rights on wood cutting, or possessed a superior work ethic over the assumed unproductive Paiutes.¹⁴⁵ Magnaghi further contended “the Indians despised the Chinese for their aggressive work ethic, their tendency to use even the scraps of the environment such as roots of pine nut trees, and their proclivity to take Indian jobs.”¹⁴⁶ Yet there is no substantial proof that this really existed. Certainly the Paiutes never stopped collecting and using pine nuts nor did they stop cutting wood to sell to settlers. Moreover, Chinese merchants sometimes hired Paiute workers. For example,

Jim Low, the Chinaman, continues to keep a lot of Indians wool gathering. They pull the wool from the carcasses of sheep which perished in deep snow last winter and now omit an odor that only Piute [*sic*] nostrils can withstand.¹⁴⁷

Interestingly, Jim Low’s wife spoke Paiute fluently and the Paiutes affectionately called her “Auntie,” suggesting a close relationship between the two groups. Furthermore, Ella Cain indicated that Captain John, the Chief of the Big Meadow Valley Paiutes, hired Ah Yang as a foreman to not only help the tribe set up mining operations, but to work their mineral mines. Yang hired other Chinese to work as miners and camp tenders.¹⁴⁸ Annie Lowery told Lalla Scott about the “little brown men with the long pigtails of smooth

¹⁴⁵ Russell Magnaghi, “Virginia City’s Chinese Community: 1860-1880,” *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 24 (Fall 1981), 155-156.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ *Silver State*, May 22, 1890.

¹⁴⁸ Ella M. Cain, *The Story of Early Mono County: Its Settlers, Gold Rushes, Indians, Ghost Towns*. (San Francisco: Rearon Publishers, Incorporated, 1961), 124.

black hair that gave the Paiutes a new morsel to eat which was rice.”¹⁴⁹ Scott further contended that this gesture was a means of acquiring a friendship between the Chinese and Paiutes.¹⁵⁰

David Myrick stated the motive for friendship was based on the fact that the Chinese laborers “ were often the victims of the lazier and less scrupulous Indians, who soon discovered that after being sufficiently harassed and terrorized the Chinese were willing to buy peace with food.”¹⁵¹ Gunther Barth added another reason for the Chinese soliciting friendship, “the Indians volunteered their services to tax collectors and tracked down those Chinese miners who had gone into hiding at the first sight of officials.”¹⁵²

Since no concrete evidence could be found to substantiate poor feelings, one begins to believe that perhaps this supposed animosity was more in the minds of the frontier editors and Euro-American society. There is no evidence that this concept was coming from an interview with a Paiute or Chinese individual nor that this is a Euro-American perspective of a situation based upon observation.

The following articles are examples of incidents that occurred between the Chinese and Paiutes reported in Nevada’s frontier presses between 1870 and 1900. As each story was scrutinized it became difficult to distinguish a filler article from an actual occurrence that was embellished to create a point or mood. While hundreds of articles appeared in the frontier press regarding numerous occurrences such as theft and prostitution, the examples chosen concentrate on confrontation and murder, gambling

¹⁴⁹ Lalla Scott, *Karne: A Paiute Narrative* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 35.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 136-137.

¹⁵¹ David Myrick, *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1962) 18.

¹⁵² Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 145.

and the selling of drugs and alcohol. Each of these commentaries showed a continual stereotypical pattern of Euro-American reporting that enhanced ethnocentric attitudes and behavior. The articles selected have been placed in chronological sequence to illustrate how the characterization of the Chinese and Paiutes remained constant for nearly thirty years.

Confrontation and Murder

It would be naive to presume that the Paiutes and Chinese did not have personal conflicts from time to time. Their method of handling a problem was quite different from that of a Euro-American. The *Territorial Enterprise* characterized Chinese and Paiute men as inhuman, often displaying animalistic behavior with limited intellectual prowess. The descriptive adjectives used to describe each as “Spanish steers,” “wild bulls” clearly portrayed the individuals as being inferior. An added touch “the eyes of both flashed a deadly hate” clearly was a subjective analysis used to create a mind set demonstrates how these two subservient beings possessed a contempt for each other.

Yesterday afternoon a Piute [*sic*] Indian and a Chinaman had a singular contest on Taylor Street, between B and C streets. 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. Sometimes one appeared to have the best of it, and again his antagonist outpushed. Both constantly scolded in their respective languages, and the eyes of both flashed a deadly hate yet neither cared to do more than outpush the other. At length the pair of wild bulls were forced to quit from sheer exhaustion -- neither having gained the victory.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ *Virginia City (NV) Territorial Enterprise*, July 17, 1870.

Not understanding the seriousness of the following situation, a *Silver State* reporter described a disrespectful encounter between an adult Chinese man and Paiute children as a playful incident, when in reality the youths were tormenting the Chinese man. What was strange about the article was the implication that Paiute children are as rude and disrespectful as Euro-American boys. This passage illustrated the writer of this article demonstrated his lack of familiarization regarding Paiute culture, as children were generally taught to respect adults. Here again was an implied hatred or disrespect for each other, as well as an indication of inferiority and animal behavior on the part of the Chinese.

AN INFURIATED CELESTIAL. -- The young Piutes [*sic*] have adopted the habits of white boys in the larger cities, and take a cruel delight in tormenting Chinesemen when they catch the Celestials at a disadvantage. Last evening a Celestial was jogging along after the manner of his countrymen, with two large buckets of water swinging from the ends of a pole which he carried on his shoulder, when a young savage, brimming full of mischief, stepped up behind him and upset one of his buckets. The Chinaman laid down the other and taking his bamboo chased the Piute [*sic*] several hundred feet, to the great amusement of several Indians, old and young, who saw the chase. The Chinaman returned to the pump and refilled his bucket, and though proceeding very cautiously was again followed by the stealthy Indian, who repeated the operation. This made the Chinaman furious, and he followed that Indian as a coyote does a rabbit, with the determination of catching him, but the Indian evaded him and occasionally turned around and laughed at him. Finally the Celestial gave up the chase, and once more filling his buckets, patiently stood guard over them until he thought the coast was clear, when he traveled backward, crawfish fashion, and succeeded in getting within the limits of Chinatown, and beyond the range of the Piutes [*sic*].¹⁵⁴

The lack of understanding another's culture and tolerance best characterized the following *Silver State* article. The reporter emphasized hatred thrived between the

¹⁵⁴ *Silver State*, June 8, 1875.

Chinese and Paiutes based on what the Paiutes supposedly thought and felt. Undoubtedly the characterization of the Chinese as being effeminate, timid and bizarre in appearance was based on a visual representation; however, the missing link was whose? What was an interesting notation was the cleverly placed "rule among the Paiutes" that indicated to the reader this impression was strictly a Paiute interpretation of unmanliness. Yet, there was no indication that this concept was coming from an interview with a Paiute or just a preconceived notion by the one reporting.

THE CHINESE EMBASSY.

What the Piutes [*sic*] Thought of the High Toned Chinese.

The Chinese Embassy, sent by the Child of the Sun, whose will is absolute in the Flowery Kingdom, to visit the United States and get our Eight to Seven President to decapitate Kearney and prohibit, under penalty of imprisonment in the penitentiary, people from uttering the treasonable sentiment, "The Chinese must go," passed through here yesterday going east. Chin Lan Pin, Chief of the Embassy, had a suite of thirty retainers, all attired in long, loose dresses. The Piutes [*sic*] who hate the Chinese as heartily as Honest John Sherman and Stanley Matthews do the Potter Investigating Committee, eyed the loose robed Celestials with evident curiosity. They saw by their faces, some of which were embellished with mustaches, that they were of the male gender, and at once sent them down as a lot of cowards, who had behaved like women when fighting and were compelled to wear long dresses, all the same as squaws, as an emblem of their degradation and unworthiness. It is a rule among the Piutes [*sic*] to compel those of their warriors who show the white feather on the war path, to dress and work like squaws, and they thought the high-toned Chinese had been similarly degraded.¹⁵⁵

Confrontations and lack of tolerance were minor when compared to murder.

Although the reported incidents of Chinese/Paiute murders were undoubtedly far less than the number of Euro-American murders, the frontier newspapers often

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1878.

sensationalized these events. One prominent case was featured in the Winnemucca *Silver State*. The story presumed that both the Paiutes and Chinese were perceived guilty of murdering one another. While this may be true, the editor undoubtedly was playing to the desire of a community who wished to think the Chinese and Paiutes were inferior, so the killing of each other meant less problems faced by the Euro-American community. It was too easy to imply or place the blame directly on a Paiute as having committed the crime; after all, they could not, or generally did not, defend themselves to a biased society.

What makes this first editorial so interesting was a rebuttal written by Charley Paiute to the first implied story "Murdered by Indians" that was printed eight days later. Surprisingly, the letter was published as Charles' admonishment clearly indicated that blame was erroneously placed on the Paiutes. After researching several months of the *Silver State* there was no indication that a Paiute had committed the crime they were blamed for committing, or if any of the readers truly believed Charles' refutation.

MURDERED BY INDIANS.

A Chinaman Horribly Mutilated and Thrown in a Well.
McColley's Ranch March 20.

The remains of a Chinaman were found in a well to day [*sic*] by Henry Hoppin, who was engaged in digging a ditch on Canyon Creek, close to the McCulley road. He happened to look down in the well, which is 48 feet deep, and saw what appeared to be

THE LEGS OF A HUMAN BEING

Sticking out of the dirt in the bottom. He procured help and ropes and prospected the well, in which was found the body of a Chinamen, by the name of Wong Hook, who had been working for Charles Bowling at Camp McDermitt, whose employ he left on the 21st of February, and went to McColley's, where he stayed all night, and left on the morning of the 22nd to walk to Willow Creek, since which time nothing had been seen or heard of him until his MUTILATED REMAINS were discovered in the well. Circumstances indicate that he was murdered by the Indians. His skull was crushed in several places, as if done with a sharp stone; his head

was almost severed from his body, only a small piece of flesh on the back of the neck holding it to the trunk. The ground at the mouth of the well had been dug, as if with a sharp stick for the purpose, it is supposed, of covering the remains. The condition of the body and the digging at the mouth of the well leave no doubt of the murder having been committed by Indians. He was known to have some money when he left McColley's, but was robbed of every cent before his mangled body was thrown into the well. H.H. McColley¹⁵⁶

The rebuttal:

THE MURDERED CHINAMAN.
What an Indian is Represented as Saying on the Subject.
CAMP MCDERMIT, March 28.

Editor Silver State: In view of a communication from H.H. McColley, published in your issue of the 22nd inst., relative to the finding of a murdered Chinaman in a well near Mr. Hoppin's place, I hope in fairness to myself and all the Indians of the neighborhood, that you will also publish my protest, in their name, against the truth of Mr. McColley's assertion [*sic*] that there is "no doubt of the murder having been committed by Indians." I am personally acquainted with every Indian living between Winnemucca and Silver City, and intimate with all Indians in this section of the country; know them thoroughly -- so well that nothing of consequence happens among them unknown to me; consequently I am able to contradict the statement referred to, and can assure you and the public that Wong Hook, the murdered Chinaman, was not killed by Indians. If I was not personally acquainted with these Indians, the fact of the manner in which the Chinaman was murdered would be sufficient proof that the Indians had nothing to do with the dastardly act, for Indians shoot an enemy; do not beat them to death with stones or clubs. They do not bury nor throw into wells their dead, but leave them above ground to rot, or for the cayotes [*sic*] to carry off.

We Indians are all peaceable and well disposed, and are known to have been so for years, wish to do right, and be treated in the same way, and therefore do not like for actions of which we are absolutely innocent, to be laid to our charge. I hope, Mr. Editor, you will publish this -, and you and the public at large may be assured from me that no Indian had a hand in

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1878.

the murder of this Chinaman. I am known in Winnemucca, and all the way through Silver City; have been raised in this State, and my word will be accepted by all who know me.

Yours Respectfully,
Charles --, Piute [*sic*] Indian¹⁵⁷

But Paiutes did murder and rob the Chinese. Historian Gunther Barth stated the “Indians were aware of their weakness before the dominant groups, rigorously rejected the even weaker Orientals and frequently robbed and murdered them.”¹⁵⁸ Edward Johnson substantiated Barth’s statement “ the Chinese were robbed and murdered by the Paiutes.”¹⁵⁹ Corbett Mack told Michael Hittman that “ Ah Gee and this other Chinaman, they get killed by bunch them Fallon Indians...”¹⁶⁰ Regardless, this was not a common occurrence between the two groups and probably less common than among Euro-Americans.

The most famous confrontation and murder between the Chinese and Paiutes occurred in Bridgeport, California according to the nearby Hawthorne’s *Walker Lake Bulletin*. This incident not only drew wide publicity across the West, but came to the attention of the Chinese government who sent a representative to uncover all the pertinent facts. Fear was so prevalent in the tiny town, that the community requested a National Guard unit to be dispatched for protection, but California authorities would not comply to the request. The following descriptive article copied from the *Bridgeport Chronicle Union* by the *Walker Lake Bulletin*, fails to mention that Ah Ti was a prosperous restaurant merchant who catered to the People on numerous occasions and had recently

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., March 30, 1878.

¹⁵⁸ Barth, *Bitter Strength*, 145.

¹⁵⁹ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 45-46.

¹⁶⁰ Hittman, *Corbett Mack: The Life of a Northern Paiute* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1996), 132.

served them the most delicious stew meal presumed to contain bits of the murder victim, Poker Tom. Yet, the Paiutes being dissatisfied with the “white courts verdict” took matters into their own hands, making the following commentary a good example of what Johnson noted -- “if the People felt they were being treated unfairly they would take appropriate action.”¹⁶¹

THE BRIDGEPORT BUTCHERY. The Chinaman Cut Piecemeal A Heartless Exhibition. From the *Bridgeport Chronicle Union* we learn that when the Indians found Poker Tom’s body in the river the Chinaman gave himself up to the Sheriff and confessed to the killing, saying that he had won over \$50 from the Indian at poker, and the Indian wanted his money back again. In the fight which ensued the Chinaman said he struck Tom over the head with a club, killing him. Becoming alarmed at what he had done and fearing the vengeance of other Indians, he cut the arms, head and legs off, put the body in a barrel and threw it into the river that night.

He acknowledged killing the Indian, but pleaded self defense.

An inquest was held on last Sunday week, and the coroner’s jury charged Ah Ti with murder.

On the following Tuesday Ah Ti was taken before Justice Fales. W.O. Parker and Judge J. C. Murphey were his lawyers. Deputy District Attorney Hayes persecuted.

Dr. Kaibles testified that it was impossible to identify the trunk found in the river as that of any particular person. The head, arms and legs were gone and all the entrails were taken out. He could not tell if the body was that of a man or woman.

No other important testimony was adduced.

Counsel for defendant moved the Court to discharge the defendant upon the following grounds:

¹⁶¹ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 90.

First - There is no evidence to show that an Indian by the name of Poker Tom has been murdered.

Second- The evidence for the prosecution shows that they do not know whether the remains found are those of a man or woman.

Third- There has been no testimony taken before the Court as required by law.

The defendant was ordered discharged for want of sufficient evidence.

After his discharge Mr. Parker told Ti he was free to go where he pleased, but he refused to leave, saying the Piutes [*sic*] would kill him, and offered to pay \$5 a day per man for a posse to protect him. Judge Murphey, one on his attorneys, went out to find Sheriff Cody to have Ti put in jail till [*sic*] a body guard could be secured -- if such was to be had, but the Judge had been gone but a moment when the door was opened and four Indians entered, Justice Fales, the Chinaman and Mr. Parker being the only occupants. One of the Indians told Ti he wanted him, and seized him by his wrist. Ti grabbed Parker's arm with one hand, and threw the other around his waist, praying for him to save him. The Justice begged them to do nothing in the Court room. They told him to keep still, and Parker was told the same. They disengaged Ti from Parker, who was pretty well scared, and rushed him into the street, where they were backed by a band of Indians. This was all done in less time than it takes to write it. The Indians had made the plans and were executing them promptly and would brook no interference from the whites. Ti was rushed up Main Street on the double quick, and through the Avenue to Day's field, in which a spot had been selected the day before for the execution of the murderer. On reaching this spot Ti was taken by one of the tribe, the others standing back, and quickly executed in the same manner he had served the Indian.¹⁶²

The grisly details of the double murder made this one of the memorable crimes of the time and reinforced Euro-American attitudes regarding the savage nature of these

¹⁶² *Walker River Bulletin*, June 17, 1891. See the following articles for more in-depth coverage : Cain, *The Story of Early Mono County*, 69-70; Sally Zanjani, "Paiute Revenge: Grisly crime brought threat of massacre," *American West*, 21 (July-August 1984), 119-129; Phillip L Earl, "The Bridgeport Murders," *Nevada Magazine*, 37 (Fall 1977), 22-3; and Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 90-91.

“inferior” minorities. Confrontations and murder were actually just a small part of the interaction between the Chinese and Paiutes. The most common occurrences dealt with alcohol, opium, and gambling, vociferously denounced by the press and upright American citizens.

Alcohol, Opium, and Gambling

Alcohol, opium, and gambling -- three major problems that plagued Nevada's Paiute colonies and provided a myriad of frontier newspaper articles. Unfortunately these elements became a crutch to the Paiutes as their traditional tribal culture deteriorated. A crutch provided by the Chinese.

Nevada Territorial law stipulated that selling liquor to Native Americans was an illegal act and punishable by either monetary fines, and/or jail. The Chinese not only sold liquor and opium to the Paiutes, they went to jail for the offense. Gary BeDunnah indicated that between 1865 and 1904, Nevada State Prison had seventy two Chinese serving one year sentences for selling liquor and thirteen serving five year terms for selling opium to the Paiutes.¹⁶³ Countless newspaper articles highlighted these illegal Chinese activities.

A Chinaman who has been selling whisky [*sic*] to Indians in Elko, was caught in the act a few days ago and was fined \$100 or imprisonment in the county jail for fifty days.¹⁶⁴

CONVICTED AND SENTENCED. -- Ah Kain a subject of the Flowery Kingdom, convicted yesterday for selling whisky to the Indians, was sentenced to-day [*sic*] by Justice Davis to pay a fine of \$500 or 250 days in

¹⁶³ BeDunnah, “A History of the Chinese in Nevada,” 88-89.

¹⁶⁴ *Silver State*, September 9, 1875.

the County Jail. The Judge is determined to put a stop to this illeked [sic] traffic if in his power to do so. The Celestial appears to be one of the higher class Chinese, but his friends will have to come up with the cash, if they want him to breathe the Summer air outside the walls of the County Jail.¹⁶⁵

A CELESTIAL CAGED: A Chinaman named Ah On, was fined \$500 or 250 days in the county jail, by Justice McMillan, of Unionville, for selling whiskey to Indians, and getting squaws drunk for the basest purposes. The Celestial was lodged in jail yesterday, and will celebrate the Chinese New Year behind bolts and bars, unless he pays the fine.¹⁶⁶

Sheriff Hadley arrested a Chinaman named Ah Duck last night, whom he caught in the act of selling whisky [sic] to indians [sic]. The Sheriff had reason to believe that the Chinaman has been in the habit of going around to Indian wickiups at night and peddling whisky [sic] by the bottle. He set a trap for him and last night nabbed the Mongolian at an Indian camp above town just as he was disposing of a bottle of whiskey [sic]. Dick will probably help swell Humboldt's already large colony at the state prison.¹⁶⁷

Ah Charles Jim was taken into custody last night by Sheriff McDeid for selling whiskey to Indians, and will be turned over to the U.S. officers.¹⁶⁸

A more serious offense, which also led to federal imprisonment after 1907, was the sale of opium by the Chinese. When the Chinese first immigrated to America some brought with them their opium smoking paraphernalia and had opium imported into the country. At this time it was not illegal to use or openly sell opium to any individual.¹⁶⁹ In the late 1870s Nevada passed anti-opium legislation making it illegal to sell, smoke, or have opium paraphernalia. The constitutionality of the law was challenged in 1880 by a

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., May 17, 1876.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., October 10, 1877.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., January 18, 1895.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., November 11, 1898.

¹⁶⁹ Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington:Indiana University Press, 1986), 39.

convicted Winnemucca Chinese man, Ah Sam, before the Nevada Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld Winnemucca's District Court decision by declaring the law constitutional; thereby, validating Ah Sam's seven month sentence in the State prison.¹⁷⁰ In 1909 federal legislation declared opium selling, use, or having the paraphernalia illegal.¹⁷¹

Michael Hittman's interview with Corbett Mack indicated the Chinese introduced the Paiutes to opium smoking as a means of relieving pain from an injury, a hard days work, or "escaping the hostile environment."¹⁷² This was similar to the use of morphine and other opiates commonly used in Euro-American medications of the time. Unfortunately, opium led to many social problems within the Paiute tribe, such as addiction. Jack Forbes believed that by 1897, "all" of the young women at Walker River were under the influence of the liquor-opium-prostitution "merchants" of Hawthorne.¹⁷³ This was probably an exaggeration. Furthermore, the *Silver State* reported that the Chinese in Winnemucca were doing an exceptionally good and profitable business selling opium to white people and squaws.¹⁷⁴ Edward Johnson indicated as the traditional tribal culture of the Paiutes deteriorated the People clung to a crutch -- alcohol and opium.¹⁷⁵ *The Walker Lake Bulletin* indicated that:

¹⁷⁰ *Silver State*, February 14, 1880.

¹⁷¹ Tasi, *The Chinese Experience in America*, 39.

¹⁷² Hittman, *Corbett Mack*, 14 and Chapter 6 passim.

¹⁷³ Jack D. Forbes, *Nevada Indians Speak* (Reno: University of Nevada Press), 13 and 17.

¹⁷⁴ *Silver State*, November 11, 1898.

¹⁷⁵ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 93.

Sheriff Stewart made a raid on an opium joint in Chinatown and captured four Indians in the act of smoking. The four culprits and the Chinese boss, Ong, were lodged in jail... At the trial of Ong, the Indians testified that they bought the opium from Ong. The Chinaman pleaded innocent, but as there was no question as to his guilt he was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of \$100 or go to jail for 50 days. He went to jail."¹⁷⁶

The article continued by noting "the opium habit has been carried on to such an extent that nearly all the Indians (men, women, and children) are regular habitués of the joints, and Sheriff Stewart and District Attorney Bowler are determined to leave no stone unturned to stamp out the vice before white people become its victims."¹⁷⁷

Undoubtedly, this was a rhetorical exaggeration by the frontier press to emphasize the inferiority of the Paiutes and illustrate the ruthlessness of the Chinese opium peddler. The opium problem was made significant in countless frontier newspapers and journal articles with sensationalized horror stories. While the Paiutes adopted the Euro-American attitude toward opium, they resented the Chinese for causing the opium addiction among the People.

A more common problem was the involvement of the Chinese and Paiutes in gambling. Gambling posed many problems for the community as well as those involved. The love of gambling drew the Paiutes and Chinese together and each shared a common problem -- neither liked to lose their hard earned money. Whereas gambling is a game of chance that created happy winners and disgruntled losers, the competition endeavors were generally friendly, such as the one reported in the *Silver State*:

¹⁷⁶ *Walker Lake Bulletin*, September 14, 1892.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* The interesting aspect of this case was the fact that the Indians testified against a Chinese man. Had this been a Euro-American caught selling drugs or alcohol to the Paiutes, they would not have been allowed to testify in court against him. Well into the twentieth century, federal BIA agents commented that Native Americans were used to trap Chinese in opium sales.

A Chinaman Beat the Piutes [*sic*]: Yesterday a party of Indians were gambling in a Chinese restaurant, which they frequent, and deposited the stakes, \$750 on the stove. A tramp entered the restaurant and offered an overcoat for sale. While the Indians were examining the coat they say the Chinaman got away with the pot, and the Indians appealed to the officers to get their money back.¹⁷⁸

While the above editorial indicated a displeasure from being duped the following editorial illustrated a gambling event that turned deadly. The *Reese River Reveille* highlighted how treacherous and untrustworthy a Chinese man was and basically served as a warning for others who thought of engaging in games of chance with the Chinese. While this story was most likely true the ending of “kill um quick” clearly indicated the savage Paiute would rid the community of another undesirable, a Chinese immigrant.

Piutes [*sic*] Cremated By Chinese: A brother of Johnson Sides, the Piute [*sic*] Premier, informs the Chronicle that two Indians were burned to death and fore [*sic*] severely singed at Salt Marsh, Esmeralda County, July 5. He said six Piutes [*sic*] had been gambling in a Chinese dug-out all night, and losing their coin laid down and went to sleep. The Chinamen went outside, barricaded the entrance to the den, poured coal oil under the door, and after setting fire to it fled. The matter had been reported to Naches, who issued an edict commanding his warriors to find the murderous Mongols who cremated and singed his dusky subjects and “kill um quick.”¹⁷⁹

The frontier newspapers, memoirs, and other documents portrayed the Chinese and Paiutes as “inferior” peoples. Despite their small numbers in the state’s population, they were the subject of much negative stereotyping. The Paiutes believed and perpetuated these stories, seldom recalling the more positive relationships that had occurred. Sensationalized murder cases in the frontier press reinforced hatred and dislike between the Chinese and Native Americans. Gambling, the sale of alcohol, and opium

¹⁷⁸ *Silver State*, January 12, 1888.

¹⁷⁹ *Austin (NV) Reese River Reveille*, July 9, 1886.

addiction also often led to poor relationships between the two. Despite all of this, there were Chinese men and Paiute women who valued each other as individuals and despite objections from their respective communities, they married per “Paiute custom” or cohabitated and some even raised a family together.

CHAPTER 4

INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE¹⁸⁰

Taboo! Most societies shroud intercultural/interracial marriages in veils of mystery, fascination, and disapproval.¹⁸¹ The very idea of such unions can elicit feelings of deep, very personal opposition in individuals who have never seen such a marriage.¹⁸² Societal reaction is often so strong that families can be torn apart. Despite the intense feelings marriage is the most basic social institution. Though the nuptials are between two individuals intercultural/interracial marriages become the object of attention in every society because of their symbolic meaning. Marriage is far more than a relationship between individuals, it is a relationship that unifies not only families, but signifies “equality between all the members.”¹⁸³ Thus, marriage, regardless of ethnicity, is the most “equal” of all social relationships which violates Euro-American socially sanctioned patterns of privilege and superiority.¹⁸⁴ In fact, it is this characteristic which causes society to label intercultural/interracial marriages as being “mixed” -- mixed between

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *Two Cultures, One Marriage*, 4. Smith defined “intercultural marriage” as a marriage between members of different cultures, not different ethnic races.

¹⁸¹ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 1-13.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

groups which are different in the social, political, and economic pecking order. Furthermore, a consensual marriage demonstrates “likeness” and shows the absence of meaningful difference. Take for instance Sam Leon, a Chinese immigrant from Guangdong province, and Daisy Benton, a Northern Paiute woman, who became cohabitation partners or married per “Paiute custom” in 1910 on the Walker River Reservation in Schurz, Nevada.¹⁸⁵ While there was a socially gray area in regards to marriages per “Indian custom” or common law this Chinese/Paiute union was socially acceptable as both were considered socially inferior on the hierarchical pecking order. Furthermore, Nevada’s miscegenation law made them undesirable marriage partners for Euro-Americans. The Leon/Benton marriage indicates that a more positive relationship existed between the Chinese and Paiutes than had been previously believed. While their marriage can be classified as “mixed” based on Euro-American society’s use of race as a social differentiation, the author will refer to this union as being “intercultural.” Finding sociological or psychological text regarding the “whys” proved to be easy in regards to the Chinese, but more difficult for the Paiute woman.

There is little information concerning marriages between Native Americans and Chinese immigrants, but intermarriage¹⁸⁶ between the two is not unique.¹⁸⁷ For decades, both the Chinese and Native Americans have also chosen blacks, Hispanics, and

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix A for a detailed discussion of what constitutes a “Paiute Indian Marriage Custom.”

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. Smith defined “intermarriage” as being a broad term denoting marriage across religious, racial, ethnic, or other social divisions. Often it was used wrongly to mean interracial marriages only.

¹⁸⁷ Sue Fawn Chung, “Their Changing World: Chinese Women on the Comstock, 1860-1910,” In *Comstock Women: The Making of a Mining Community*, edited by Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1997), 223. Chung used the same example, the Leon/Benton intercultural marriage as the author of this thesis and interviewed the granddaughter, Juanita Pontoon in July 1994.

Euro-Americans as interracial cohabitation or marriageable partners.¹⁸⁸ Even though mixed marriages can be attributed to a myriad of reasons or circumstances, the prime factors of geographical location and gender imbalance seems to be the predominant.

Centuries ago the possibility of intercultural/interracial marriages was not a problem because natural boundaries, such as mountains, rivers, and oceans, separated the races.¹⁸⁹ With the introduction of transportation, the boundaries that divided became invisible and the intermixing of ethnic groups for economic, social, political, or other reasons became more common place. America is not only an excellent example of this hypothesis, but the most unique social experiment in the history of mankind.¹⁹⁰ Never before has any nation been shaped by such a multitude of diverse ethnic groups whereby the mixing or inbreeding of races would be inevitable and the potential loss of one's unique identity, culture, and heritage would be fractured by the dominant group forming an "American way of life," or the "American melting pot."¹⁹¹

While the preservation of the dominant Euro-American identity, religion, and culture traditions was paramount and instinctual, on their part, there was a fear that interracial marriage would produce biological and socially deficient human beings.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 17. Also see, Scott's *Karne* about the life of Annie Lowery a Paiute/Caucasian; *New York Times*, June 20, 1859; and *Harper's Weekly* October 3, 1957 issue "Chinese Marriages in New York."

¹⁸⁹ Race is being used in a biological context indicating a distinct group of people, the members of which share certain inherited physical characteristics such as skin color, blood, and hair texture.

¹⁹⁰ Young I. Song and Eugene C. Kim, eds., *American Mosaic* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1993), ix.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., viii. Stuart Creighton Miller stated in *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) that the cultural pluralists ideology behind the melting pot was mythical, and that Americans always had in mind a cauldron in which the immigrant was cleansed of his foreign ways. Miller further believed that American opinion leaders had a real melting pot in mind, but one which excluded the Native Americans, blacks, and Chinese.

¹⁹² Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 7 and 27.

Historically, each ethnic group strongly disapproved and opposed interracial marriages.¹⁹³ Social and legal sanctions against racial intermarriages, such as miscegenation laws, were specifically enacted to prevent the genetic mongrelization of the Euro-American race; those who dared defied this were severally punished by law or suffered social ostracism.¹⁹⁴ This was in keeping with the ideology espoused by pseudo-scientific racism prevalent in Europe and the United States prior to the 1920s.¹⁹⁵

Furthermore, the Chinese were unfortunate in arriving in the middle of two major controversies or debates -- the origin of mankind and the slavery issue. American intellectuals in the 1850s were debating the origin or evolution of mankind in order to determine which ethnic race was superior based on biological evidence. From this, spawned the evolutionary theories of development from a single (monogenesis)¹⁹⁶ or diverse seeds (polygenesis)¹⁹⁷ which helped incubate the racist philosophy that rendered the Chinese nonassimilable on biological grounds.¹⁹⁸ While the polygenesis theory was eventually excluded, "the fear of miscegenation and the germ theory of culture appear to have been important by-products of the controversy."¹⁹⁹ Unfortunately this inconclusive

¹⁹³ Sung, *Chinese American Intermarriage*, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 28. Also see Chapter 3 "Nevada's 1861 Miscegenation Law."

¹⁹⁵ Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," 47.

¹⁹⁶ The monogenesis theory contended that all organisms developed from a single cell or organism. This hypothesis further suggested the races of man were descended from a single pair or from a common type of progenitor.

¹⁹⁷ The polygenesis theory stipulated that the human races originated from a few primitive types taken as species.

¹⁹⁸ Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, 154.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

analysis gave the Euro-Americans a substantial reason for not accepting the Chinese into the greater society.

The Chinese posed the first serious immigrant threat to the “melting pot concept.”²⁰⁰ Euro-Americans believed the Chinese were “immutable, tenaciously clinging to old customs, and recalcitrantly opposing progress and moral improvement.”²⁰¹ Unfortunately, being nonwhite and non-Christian at a time when either trait alone was a serious handicap, the Chinese looked different, dressed differently, ate differently, and followed customs wholly unfamiliar to Euro-Americans.²⁰² This became a positive indication that the Chinese were inferior. “Oriental blood supposedly determined the oriental thought and oriental habits.”²⁰³ The best example of the culture germ theory applied to Chinese immigrants was an 1882 article appearing in the *Popular Science Monthly* written by Gerritt Lansing.²⁰⁴ Lansing argued that social characteristics were as “fundamental and as immutable as are the physical characteristics of races.” He felt it would be absurd to presume the “Chinese could even adjust to American institutions when the Negro and Indian could not.” To add further fear he warned of the grave dangers of “commingling” between races based on the ideology that if two races exist side by side, acculturation took place in favor of the longest established traits, not necessarily the superior one. Lansing was apprehensive that the great Chinese civilization

²⁰⁰ Bill Ong Hing, *To Be An American: Cultural Pluralism and the Rhetoric of Assimilation*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 16.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, 191-200.

²⁰³ Hing, *To Be An American*, 16.

²⁰⁴ Gerritt Lansing, “Chinese Immigration: A Sociological Study,” *Popular Science Monthly*, 20 (1882), 721-735.

that had existed since the dawn of history would become dominant, a victory that would pose a problem for Euro-Americans who believed in the social Darwinian theology “of the survival of the fittest.”

Secondly, from 1855 to 1860, the North and South was in an emotional and heated sectional controversy over the slavery issue that incorporated the Chinese immigrant. Too often the Chinese became equated with the Native Americans and especially the blacks. Mary Coolidge wrote:

It was the habit of congressmen and editors to draw most alarming deductions from these comparisons, although the Negro and the Indians belonged to primitive and comparatively undeveloped races as contrasted with the Chinese who had attained a high -- if wholly different -- civilization before the Caucasian race had emerged from the savage state.²⁰⁵

Elmer Sandmeyer mirrored Coolidge when he wrote “ Public opinion, as represented in the press, tended to identify Chinese labor with Negro slavery in the south, a slavery not of law, but of condition and custom.”²⁰⁶

Too often the Chinese term “coolie” or those who immigrated by signing a “credit ticket contract” became erroneously linked to “slavery.”²⁰⁷ Quoting from the *Franklin St. Mary's Planters' Banner*, the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* wrote “Small farms and white labor or large farms and coolie labor may serve the land.”²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Arno Press, 1909), 75.

²⁰⁶ Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 12.

²⁰⁷ David M. Brownstone, *The Chinese American Heritage*, (New York: Oxford, 1988), 35; and Kil Young Zo, *Chinese Immigration into the United States, 1850-1880*, (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 49.

²⁰⁸ *New Orleans (LA) Commercial Bulletin*, January 16, 1867.

This concept was further highlighted by three editorials in the *New Orleans Picayune* which advocated to let the “Chinamen come” and take the place of the Negro labor.²⁰⁹ To add to the probability of this concept being successful, letters from the paper’s special correspondent in California assured Southerners that the Chinese “will be a success on the Southern plantations.”²¹⁰ This analysis was further exaggerated by not understanding the concepts of the “credit ticket system” that the majority of the Chinese came to America under as being similar in nature to the indentured servants contracts of America’s colonial past.²¹¹ A contract made by a free individual, for a specific amount of time and when the terms were meant free to do whatever they desired.²¹²

The Native American was never associated with slavery, nor was there any attempt on the part of Euro-American plantation owners to solicit their services. Early in American history the Native American had proved to be an unreliable source of plantation labor. In addition, it was presumed by Euro-Americans that Native Americans could not adjust to their institutions; however, Native Americans did not want to be incorporated into Euro-American social institutions.

Non-Christian, non-white, germ theory, and the possibility of commingling with inferior beings created fear and unfounded speculation in the Euro-Americans’ seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century ethnocentric mentality regarding the

²⁰⁹ *New Orleans (LA) Daily Picayune*, “The Chinamen,” June 5, 1869; “The Chinese Immigration,” July 7, 1869; and “The Chinamen and the Negroes,” July 13, 1869.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, “Letters from California,” February 7, May 18, July 11, 1869.

²¹¹ Barth, *Bitter Strength*, 55-58.

²¹² Zo, *Chinese Immigration into the United States*, 51; Shin-Shan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983), 17; and Linnie M. Herz, “The History of Chinese Immigration and Exclusion in the United States,” Master Thesis (University of Southern California, 1940), 16.

Chinese and Native Americans. Just the thought of forming intercultural/interracial unions was deplorable. This strong interdiction not only clearly substantiated that Euro-Americans brought their socially constructed racial perceptions to America, but highlights two specific aspects: the use of sophisticated techniques in social control and the implementation and operation of social superiority.²¹³

Yet the amalgamation of races -- European and non-European -- should have been expected in America's multicultural, multiracial, egalitarian democracy.²¹⁴ But this would be the exception rather than the norm. It would be the Euro-American society that would push minorities, such as the Chinese and Paiutes, together through not only legislative means, but instilled social, political, and economic limitations.

Why would a Chinese immigrant choose to interculturally marry?

Choosing to marry outside one's own kind is a difficult decision. There are many factors that must be considered such as religion, customs, culture, and language. When circumstances dictate or laws are focused to deny one the rights granted to others in society other means must be considered and adopted. Such was the scenario that brought the Chinese man to seek a Paiute companion.

While not unique, Chinese immigrants married per "Paiute Indian Custom"²¹⁵ Nevada's Northern Paiute women residing on or from the Walker River Indian

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 5 and 7.

²¹⁴ Barth, *Bitter Strength*, 7.

²¹⁵ Hittman, *Corbett Mack*, 103-104, and 262. See Appendix A for a detailed discussion on "Paiute Indian Marriage Custom" explained to John Wesley Powell by Chief Wimmerucca's brother Natchez.

Reservation.²¹⁶ For the Chinese male immigrant, entering into a Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriage can be attributed to the following causes:

- the Confucian concept of filial piety and the Chinese male immigrants attitude;
- federal and state laws which created not only a geographical, but national gender imbalance;
- the sojourner/ non-sojourner theory; and
- the sociological outcast theory.

The Confucian Concept of Filial Piety

Confucian tradition emphasizes the importance of the family and honoring one's parents.²¹⁷ A Chinese woman was trained since childhood to practice not only the three obedience's: to father when unmarried, to husband when married, and to son when a widow; but the four virtues: knowing one's place in society, not talking too much, keeping a good appearance for husband, and do all the household chores without complaint.²¹⁸ Maintaining a subservient role and position in the patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal Chinese society forced a non-wage earning wife to remain behind and accept the duties at home rather than accompany her husband to an unknown foreign land.²¹⁹ Unfortunately her absence in America was significant, as she was the main

²¹⁶ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 92. Oral interviews with Chinese/Paiute descendants substantiated this fact. See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections."

²¹⁷ Ronald Takaki, *Journey to Gold Mountain* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 101-109; Dana Ying-Hui Wu and Jeffrey Dao-Sheng Tung, *Coming to America: The Chinese American Experience* (Brookfield, Connecticut: The Milbrook Press, 1993), 40; and Alexandra Bandon, *Chinese Americans* (Canada: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994), 98.

²¹⁸ Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese*, 17; Bandon, *Chinese Americans*, 98.

²¹⁹ Wu and Tung, *Coming to America*, 40; Chung, "Their Changing World," 204.

promoter of culture preservation in the Chinese family.²²⁰ Furthermore, according to American writers proper Chinese women did not come to America.²²¹ Sue Fawn Chung pointed out that Chinese women did come to America in one of four ways: “with their husbands, as *muzai* (literally meaning “little sister” but usually referring to domestic or bond servants, or prostitutes), with relatives, or as prostitutes.”²²² Chung further stipulated that once in America “they began to adapt to their new surroundings and adopted some American ideas and practices, brought about by economic and social factors, of interacting with the Euro-American community.”²²³

In many cases, Chinese immigrant men added to the gender imbalance by not wanting their family to come to America.²²⁴ Based upon the interviews conducted in 1920 by the Survey of Race Relations Project, once the Chinese immigrant established himself in America he recognized first hand the strong anti-Chinese sentiment, the hostile environment, the high cost of living and did not want to subject his family to this.

The Chinese immigrants’ wages could best be described as meager or poverty wages which limited what they could afford and what they could not afford. It did not matter what their own desires or those of their wives might have been, it would have been very difficult to sustain family members in America on such low wages:

²²⁰ Chung, “Their Changing World,” 214.

²²¹ Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese*, 17; Zo, *Chinese Immigration into the United States*, 105; and Mary McNair Mathews, *Ten Years in Nevada; or Life on the Pacific Coast* (New York: Buffalo Press, 1880), 257.

²²² Chung, “Their Changing World,” 203.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 204.

I could not support my wife in this country, so I leave her in China.²²⁵

Not enough money to bring her over here. I would bring her here if I had enough money. She wants to come very bad.²²⁶

Add to this the discriminatory treatment Chinese immigrants received:

My wife come over here, and you Americans cause her a lot of trouble. You pen her up in the immigration office and then have doctors come and say she has liver trouble, hookworm, and the doctor does not know anything about it, to tell the truth. When my little boy came to this country, he was kept in the immigration office for over two months. Poor little fellow -- he was so homesick. That is the reason my wife hates to come over here.²²⁷

Or a father's fears regarding proper Confucian child rearing and education:²²⁸

I want my children to get Chinese education. They must have Chinese customs.²²⁹

Girls in China are more safe than here. No spend so much money, no all time want something. Chinese girl born in this country very wasteful.²³⁰

To the vast majority of the Chinese living in America who were laborers, American laws made family life impossible.²³¹ To understand how state and national

²²⁵ Survey of Race Relations, document 237, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace Archives, 1920.

²²⁶ Ibid., document 251.

²²⁷ Ibid., document 237.

²²⁸ Chung, "Their Changing World," 215-216. Chung explained the difficulty Chinese parents faced in educating their children in Nevada.

²²⁹ Ibid., document 256.

²³⁰ Ibid., document 245.

²³¹ Sucheng Chan, ed. "The Exclusion of Chinese Women, 1870-1943," In *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 97; and Wu and Tung, *Coming to America*, 40.

lawmakers, judges, local law-enforcement officers and federal government officials fashioned an ever-tightening noose to constrict Chinese immigration, it is necessary to understand the sequence of laws enacted. The Chinese have the regrettable distinction of being the first ethnic group to be targeted in sweeping federal legislation limiting immigration to America.²³²

Federal, State, and Local Laws

American laws determined not only who could come to America, but who could become a citizen. Decades before Asian immigration began, Euro-Americans had already defined the complexion of its citizens. The Naturalization Law of 1790 specified that naturalized was to be reserved for “whites.” This attitude of “only a white population” spread from coast to coast.

The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 between the United States and China did not contain this bias.²³³ The Preamble to the treaty read:

The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents.²³⁴

A principle of reciprocity in privileges, immunities and exemptions was established under the heading “Laws Affecting Displace Persons, etc.:”

²³² Hing, *To Be An American*, 16.

²³³ See Appendix H “Emigration Laws” for a detailed description of the Burlingame Treaty.

²³⁴ Quoted in Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 149.

Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel and residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel and residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.²³⁵

However, within seven years pressured by anti-Chinese movements the first restrictive law would take form as Congress passed “An Act Supplementary to the Acts in Relation to Immigration” -- commonly referred to as the 1875 Page Law²³⁶ -- forbidding the entry of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian contract laborers, women for purposes of prostitution, and felons.²³⁷ The Page Law would not only have a significant effect in restricting Chinese female immigrants, but have the distinction of being the first law to specifically include women.²³⁸

Californians were partially happy with the Page Law in restricting the influx of Chinese women and contract laborers, but wanted more to be done to completely eliminate Chinese immigration. In an endeavor to gain more national sympathy and amplify the Chinese problem, California legislators created a special committee to highlight the Chinese immigration problem and to focus on the foolish sentimentality of

²³⁵ Ibid., 148.

²³⁶ See Appendix H “Emigration Laws” for a detailed description of the Page Law.

²³⁷ Chan, “Exclusion of Chinese Women,” 105.

²³⁸ This was a controversial issue. Coolidge’s *Chinese Immigrants* argued that the law did not have any effect on Chinese immigration; Lucy Cheng Hirata’s “Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 5 (1979), 3-29, could not ascertain an effect; Sandmeyer’s *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* signified the impact of the law was short lived; and George Anthony Peffer’s “Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women Under the Page Law,” *American Ethnic History* 6(1986), 28-46, argued that the law had a great impact on restricting the immigration of Chinese women coming to America.

easterners for wanting to honor the Burlingame Treaty.²³⁹ Testifying before a Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, Giles H. Gray, a San Francisco port customs official, specifically outlined what a Chinese woman must do to gain legal entry into America:

When women come here, a letter is sent by the American Consul at Hongkong [*sic*], inclosing [*sic*] photographs of the women, and saying that he is satisfied that they do not come within the prohibited classes... Before women are permitted to go on board ships, they must have photographs taken at their own expense, and must swear to a certain state of facts... [and] produce witnesses who must also swear to a similar state of affairs. If the Consul is satisfied that they are respectable women, tickets are sold them, and they come here... Since last July there have arrived here not more than two hundred and fifty women, but previous to that every steamer brought two hundred and fifty upwards... Very few prostitutes come now, the majority of the women immigrants being family women... I have no doubt but that the importation of women for lewd and immoral purposes has stopped. The adoption of the "certificate" system has had that effect. If the same rules and regulations were applied to the men, I think it would practically stop their coming also.²⁴⁰

The Page Law succeeded in creating the mechanism that would limit the influx of Chinese women which led to the Chinese gender imbalance in America.²⁴¹ While the Page Law's prime focus was on women engaged in prostitution, it also effected all Chinese women who desired to come to America because the women, often unsophisticated peasants, had to prove to the United States consul in Hong Kong that

²³⁹ Philip S. Foner and Daniel Rosenberg, eds., *Racism, Dissent, and Asian Americans from 1850 to Present: A Documentary History*. (Westport : Greenwood Press, 1993), 106-108. California legislators stated that whenever the Northwestern voter wanted to seize land or violate a treaty with Native Americans it was done based on the philosophy "the weak are powerless to prevent the powerful." California wanted the same concept followed in regards to the Burlingame Treaty.

²⁴⁰ California State Legislature, "Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, and Political Effect," *Report of the California State Senate of Its Special Committee on Chinese Immigration* (Sacramento: F. P. Thompson, Superintendent of State Printing, 1878), 154.

²⁴¹ Takaki, *Journey to Gold Mountain*, 40.

they were not prostitutes.²⁴² Long before the subsequent Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was passed, the impact of the exclusion laws directed toward Chinese women was cemented in place.²⁴³

While the Chinese American society from its inception was predominately male, the Page Law furthered the problem. Table 3 shows how numerically the Page Law did have an affect across the American continent in ensuring and enforcing that a predominately male Chinese American society would remain in force. Regrettably for the Chinese men, this meant either remaining a bachelor or seeking a companion through other means. Table 3 not only illustrates the significance of the gender imbalance in the United States between 1860 and 1920, but shows the percentage of males to females and indicates after 1900 how many are native born versus foreign born.

TABLE 3: Chinese Male and Female Population in the United States from 1860-1920²⁴⁴

Year	Total	Male	Female	% Females
1860	34,933	33,149	1,784	5%
1870	63,199	58,633	4,556	8%
1880	105,465	100,686	4,779	5%
1890	107,488	103,620	3,868	4%
1900	89,863	85,341	4,522	5%
Native Born	9,010	6,657	2,353	35%
China Born	80,853	78,684	2,169	3%
1910	71,531	66,856	4,675	7%
Native Born	14,935	11,921	3,014	25%

²⁴² Chan, "Exclusion of Chinese Women," 108-109; Chung, "Their Changing World," 212-214. Chung discussed the stereotype image publicized for both political and racial reasons that Nevada Chinese women were presumed to be prostitutes.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 109.

²⁴⁴ Data from: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume II, page 19.*

China Born	56,596	54,935	1,661	3%
1920	61,639	53,891	7,748	14%
Native Born	18,532	13,381	5,214	39%
China Born	43,107	40,573	2,534	6%

Because of the great influx of Chinese immigrants to America, the Burlingame Treaty was amended in 1882 to give the United States the right to “regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it.”²⁴⁵ This modification was the first of the “Chinese Exclusion Acts”²⁴⁶ that contained two major provisions:

(1) It suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers (skilled and unskilled and those engaged in mining) for ten years, but exempted teachers, students, merchants, and travelers.²⁴⁷

(2) It prohibited the naturalization of Chinese in America. It specifically stated: “That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship.”²⁴⁸

Six and half years after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 the Scott Act²⁴⁹ was passed. The Scott Act of 1888 prohibited the return of Chinese laborers who had departed America. At the time of passage, a large number of Chinese had temporarily left the United States with a certificate permitting them to return, but

²⁴⁵ Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 160-61.

²⁴⁶ See Appendix H “Emigration Laws” for a detailed analysis of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

²⁴⁷ Foner and Rosenberg, eds., *Racism, Dissent, and Asian Americans*, 24. Also see Rose Hum Lee’s *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York: Arno Press, 1978) who expanded the list to ten classes of Chinese exempted from exclusion.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ See Appendix H “Emigration Laws” for a detailed description of the 1888 Scott Act.

readmittance was denied.²⁵⁰ Further endeavors to limit or prohibit Chinese immigration was initiated with additional restrictions applied over the next half century.

In February 1892, William Geary, a member of the Fifty-Second Congress, introduced a bill to absolutely prohibit immigration of Chinese people into the United States. Subsequently titled the Geary Act of 1892,²⁵¹ it was based on the original Chinese Exclusion Act. The Geary Act represented the extent to which racism against the Chinese had become public policy.²⁵² A subsequent act in 1902 would extend the provisions of the Geary Act, followed by an act in 1904 that would further modify the Geary Act indefinitely.²⁵³

In addition to national or federal acts geared at limiting immigration local and state laws were enacted to prohibit marriage with Euro-Americans, limit employment, and even the mode of personal appearance. While California excelled in enacting a myriad of anti-Chinese legislation, its sister state Nevada was not as aggressive.

While Nevada's laws in many respects were a mirror of California's laws, Nevada never went as far as California in enacting anti-Chinese legislation. Nevada did not enact such California laws as the Cubic Air Act,²⁵⁴ the Foreign Miner's Tax,²⁵⁵ Police

²⁵⁰ Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, 203.

²⁵¹ See Appendix H "Emigration Laws" for a detailed description of the Geary Act of 1892.

²⁵² Forner and Rosenberg, *Racism, Dissent, and Asian Americans*, 22.

²⁵³ Fred W. Riggs, *Pressure on Congress: A study of the Reale of Chinese Exclusions* (New York: 1950), 206-208.

²⁵⁴ The Cubic Air Act required that all lodging houses have 500 cubic feet of air for each resident and made tenants equally culpable with landlords for violations. Police generally only enforced the ordinance in Chinatown which produced overcrowding in city jails and subsequently put the police in violation of the act.

²⁵⁵ The 1853 Foreign Miner's Tax required a monthly payment of three dollars from every foreign miner who did not want to become an American citizen. While the law was supposed to cover all nationalities, the tax was only collected from Chinese miners. This tax discriminated against the Chinese in particular as they were denied citizenship by the 1790 Naturalization Act. This law was eventually repealed by the 1870

Tax,²⁵⁶ or the Queue Ordinance.²⁵⁷ It is understandable why Nevada did not follow its sister state because Nevada did not experience the large influx of Chinese. Neither the Comstock Lode boom in 1858, the silver discovery in 1879, nor the construction of the transcontinental or other rail roads between 1869 and 1900 brought a large migration of Chinese into Nevada. When, in 1880 the Chinese population reached almost nine per cent of the state's total population, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and its supplements effectively stemmed the tide of Chinese immigration in Nevada. From Table 4 one can see the insignificant number of Chinese in Nevada when compared to California and Oregon.

TABLE 4: Nevada's Chinese Population from 1860-1920 Compared to Neighboring States²⁵⁸

State	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Nevada	....	3,152	5,416	2,833	1,353	927	689
California	34,933	49,277	74,132	72,472	45,753	36,248	28,812
Oregon	....	3,330	9,510	9,540	10,397	7,363	3,090

While Nevada's anti-Chinese legislation was minimal compared to California, "Nevada did not welcome the Chinese."²⁵⁹ Nevada's territorial laws and eventual state

Federal Civil Rights Act.

²⁵⁶ The "Police Tax" was passed April 26, 1862 whereby all Mongolians 18 years or over, unless they had already paid a miners' tax, or were engaged in the production of sugar, rice, coffee or tea, had to pay a monthly capitation tax of \$2.50. This law was eventually ruled unconstitutional.

²⁵⁷ The Queue Ordinance was passed in May 1873 meant that every Chinese prisoner in jail would have his hair cut or clipped to a uniform length of an inch from the scalp.

²⁵⁸ Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860 to 1920.

²⁵⁹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada 1540-1888*. (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 292.

constitution discriminated against the Chinese.²⁶⁰ Nevada passed a Miscegenation Law in 1861 prohibiting the cohabitation or marriage of non-Europeans with Euro-Americans.²⁶¹ Nevada Territorial Council member J. W. Pugh on November 22, 1862 introduced a bill to impose a capitation tax of four dollars per month on all Chinamen currently in the Territory, or to come hereafter. The Chinese Capitation Tax Bill died as it violated the Burlingame Treaty stipulations; a similar law in California was ruled unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court.²⁶² In 1879, Nevada passed an act to designate who could and could not own land which stipulated:

An Act to Authorize and empower aliens and non-resident persons and incorporations to take, hold, enjoy, and acquire real estate in the State of Nevada.

Approved February 27, 1879

Persons to Take, Hold, and Own Property.

2725. Section 1. Any non-resident alien, person, or corporation, except subjects of the Chinese empire, may take, hold, and enjoy any real property, or any interest in lands, tenements, of hereditaments within the State of Nevada, as fully, freely, and upon the same terms and conditions as any resident citizen, person, or domestic corporation.²⁶³

American laws, whether local, state/territorial, or federal, were not friendly nor favorable to the harmless Chinese. They were a gentle people, more sinned against than sinning,

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 347.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 634.

²⁶³ This act was first introduced October 11, 1861 and was debated on October 26, 1861, but support was nil, thus the measure died.

but Euro-Americans did everything in their power to limit the Chinese's social, political, and economic progress.²⁶⁴

American federal laws contributed significantly to creating a predominately Chinese male society. This gender imbalance became the paramount reason why a Chinese man would seek and attain a wife or living companion through intercultural/interracial marriage. This was a choice not of free will, but one forced upon the Chinese male through predetermined Euro-American ethnocentrism and unfavorable laws created out of fear and lack of tolerance that relegated the Chinese immigrant to becoming a social outcast.

Sociological Outcast Theory

The sociological outcast theory best characterized the social plight of both the Native American and Chinese immigrant. Individuals who were not judged on the merits of their personal attributes, but solely on the color of their complexion.

The *Webster Dictionary* defines an "outcast" as one being shunned, cast from, rejected, expelled, ignored, or mistreated by the dominant society not through any means or behavior of their own; more precisely -- an underdog who has limited ability in fighting the dominant society. From this definition, one can readily understand why the sociological theory of being an outcast pertained to both the Native American and Chinese immigrant and provided one of the reasons why each sought the other.

According to sociologist Dugan Romano, there were seven categories which best explained why an individual chose to interracially/interculturally marry: rebels,

²⁶⁴ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 160.

mavericks, compensators, adventurers, escapists, unshakables, and outcast.²⁶⁵ In analyzing each aspect of the seven categories, only Romano's definition and characterization of an individual as being an outcast according to the predominant Euro-American race pertained.²⁶⁶ Romano did not indicate that by being an outcast these were incapable individuals, but merely individuals never given a chance to excel because of their independent nature or inability to form a rebellious group to go against the majority, and therefore, relegated to inferior status, menial employment, and limited legislative rights.

Each were outcasts because of legislation that prohibited marriage with the dominant Euro-American race, restricted the right to franchise, jury duty, vote, hold office, right to bear arms, and limited their ability in other ways to be equal to Euro-Americans.²⁶⁷ They were outcast in regards to employment in low paying menial jobs that the Euro-American man would not do; they were outcasts in social, economic, and political mobility. By being outcast, each was segregated -- the Native Americans on reservations, the Chinese in Chinatown -- from the Euro-American majority and the need to escape the prejudice which dominates their life, intermarry in a culture where particular prejudices do not exist or are minimal.²⁶⁸ Although much more research needs to be done in this area, there were some common cultural traits and beliefs that bound the two groups together. For example, beliefs in natural forces, such as the power of the moon; the efficacy of tea drinking for health, especially tranquility of the mind; belief and use in the power of herbal medicines; and the importance of family and children. This was

²⁶⁵ Romano, *Intercultural Marriage*, 3-23.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁶⁷ Johnson and Warren, *Inside the Mixed Marriage*, 28.

²⁶⁸ Romano, *Intercultural Marriage*, 6-8.

clearly indicated in two oral interviews: “ The People accepted the Chinamen. He participated in sweats, went hunting, and helped in the fields.”²⁶⁹ “The Chinese man in Hawthorne used to give me candy when I came into the store. He also played jokes on me. My dad really liked the Chinaman because he gave him a white powder (opium) to help him feel better.”²⁷⁰

Euro-American fear played a significant role in relegating the Chinese and Native Americans to the lowest social caste which subsequently drew these two ethnic groups together. Euro-American lack of tolerance for others different from themselves strove to make sure the Chinese were sojourners and not permanent residence.

The Sojourner/non-sojourner Theory

Was the Chinese immigrant a sojourner or non-sojourner? Actually, each psychological/sociological position presents a good argument. This author feels that this area is very gray and believes that the Chinese were neither sojourners, nor immigrants.

In the beginning the Chinese immigrant was assumed as solely a sojourner who left family behind temporarily with the prime goal of coming to America, earning sufficient capital, and returning to China -- they wanted to die in their homeland.²⁷¹ In this way they were not unlike many European immigrants. Many returned to tell of the

²⁶⁹ Anonymous interview with second generation Chinese/Paiute descendant conducted by the author, March 1998 in Fallon, Nevada. The term “People” is how the Paiutes refer to themselves. This also indicates Chinese assimilation into Paiute culture and his willingness to become like the People.

²⁷⁰ Anonymous interview with the niece of a Chinese/Paiute descendant conducted by the author, August 1998 in Fallon, Nevada. The woman stated her mother’s sister lived with a Chinese man who owned a store in Hawthorne.

²⁷¹ Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, 169; Takaki, *Journey to Gold Mountain*, 12; Wu and Tung, eds., *Coming to America*, 28; Zo, *Chinese Immigration into the United States*, 88-89; and Bandon, *Chinese Americans*, 28.

riches or read about the wealth that abounded in America and helped incubate the seed for future sojourners such as the following circular issued by a Chinese broker:

Americans are very rich people. They want the Chinaman to come and will make him welcome. There will be big pay, large houses, and food and clothing of the finest description. You can write friends or send them money at any time, and we will be responsible for the safe delivery. It is a nice country, without mandarins or soldiers. All alike; big man no larger than little man. There are a great many Chinamen there now, and it will not be a strange country. China God is there, and the agents of this house. Never fear, and you will be lucky...²⁷²

But many of them never returned because they never made enough money. Thus the original concept of being a sojourner was reversed and the individual becomes an immigrant. Just as there were obvious reasons for returning to China, there also were many reasons for remaining in the United States.

There were many Chinese who could not or would not go back to China for one reason or another.²⁷³ A majority of them obviously belonged to the poorer classes who could not afford to pay even the passage, and they continued to struggle until such time as they could accumulate a small savings. But many of them turned into stranded sojourners whose chances of return became increasingly remote as their stay in America became prolonged. On the other hand, there were those Chinese immigrants who came as sojourners, but became established in Chinatown and were not willing to leave: men who had built successful business and professions despite the adverse circumstances; men who were very unwilling to abandon what they had built through their years of hard work and perseverance. There were those Chinese immigrants who came to America

²⁷² Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1947), 23.

²⁷³ Zo, *Chinese Immigration into the United States*, 205-206.

with the intention of living the remainder of their lives in America or a non-sojourner from the very beginning.²⁷⁴ Undoubtedly, the enactment of the 1868 Burlingame Treaty giving the Chinese favored nation rights made the idea of starting over in a new land appealing and the possibly of bringing their family once they had become established in America.²⁷⁵ Subsequent American federal laws such as the 1875 Page Law and the 1882 Chinese Immigration Act virtually made this impossible and significantly contributed to the problem of a Chinese gender imbalance across the nation. Table 5 illustrates the gender imbalance in Nevada:

Table 5: Nevada's Chinese Population, 1860 - 1920²⁷⁶

Male/Females	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Chinese Males	2,817	5,102	2,749	1,283	876	630
Chinese Females	306	314	84	69	51	59
Total	3,123	5,416	2,833	1,352	927	689
Per Cent Female	10%	6%	3%	5%	5%	9%

In Nevada's gender imbalanced Chinese society under strict miscegenation laws, Chinese men had to decide whether to: live a life as a bachelor, return to China to marry, buy or kidnap a Chinese bride, find a Chinese bride among the scant few either born or immigrated to America, or marry interculturally/interracially with another individual of color, specifically with Northern Paiute women. Some Chinese men did return to China to seek a bride as was noted in a *Silver State* article "Going Back to China":

²⁷⁴ See Chapter 5 "Personal Recollections" of oral interviews conducted with Mrs. Juanita Pontoon, Mary and Jack Sam, and Margie Dick. Each stated that their Chinese relative had come to America with intentions of spending their entire life here.

²⁷⁵ See Appendix H "Emigration Laws" for a detailed description of the Burlingame Treaty.

²⁷⁶ Data from the United States Bureau of Census 1860-1920.

Gee Kwong Yow, a Chinaman who has been engaged in the restaurant business here for a number of years, left yesterday for San Francisco on his way to China. Yow is going back to his native country for the purpose of securing a wife to lighten the cares of his declining years. He is probably about 65 years of age.²⁷⁷

Other Chinese men preferred to purchase a bride even though it was an expensive endeavor. A Chinese bride could cost between \$400 and \$800.²⁷⁸ Affording a bride was just part of the problem, keeping and protecting her from other Chinese men posed the greater threat. Marriage in a Euro-American court did not guarantee or secure the groom's rights should his Chinese wife be stolen or kidnapped.²⁷⁹ Highlighted in the *Silver State* was an article "A Chinawoman Stolen:"

Chinatown was in commotion yesterday. The cause of the excitement was the discovery made by a Chinaman, that his woman for whom he paid some \$400 to \$500 was stolen. It was supposed that she was taken to Dutch Flat, Cal., and telegrams were sent to friends of her bereaved owner at that and other places along the railroad to look out for her. Heretofore [*sic*] it has been the custom when a Chinawoman ran away from her owner to swear out a warrant for her arrest for larceny or some other trumped up charge, so as to get the officers to bring her back, after which the complaining witness would refuse to testify against her. The experience of Bow Lingo, a high-toned Celestial, who made a business of hunting up fugitive Chinawomen, has ended that manner of procedure in this part of Nevada, as he was indicted for perjury by a Grand Jury in this county, and was saved from conviction for perjury by death. It is a well-know fact, that all the Chinawomen in Nevada, with rare exceptions, are as much of a mercantile commodity as cattle. They are bought, and kept by their owners for the basest purposes. The laws of the State prohibit slavery, yet those women are bought and sold, and if they escape from their owners, the law is frequently resorted to by their owners to assist in getting them back into bondage. The Legislature should pass a

²⁷⁷ *Winnemucca* (NV) *Silver State*, April 6, 1893.

²⁷⁸ Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community," 146.

²⁷⁹ Chung, "Their Changing World," 213-214. Chung highlighted two incidents of Chinese women being kidnapped in Nevada.

law prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the purchase and sale of Chinawomen in Nevada.

We have been informed to-day [*sic*] that the Chinawoman was abducted by some Carson Chinese, and the Jack Larthen followed the kidnappers to Mill City and rescued the Chinawoman, who, it appears, in this instance, was not willing to go with her abductors, by whom she was gagged and bound hand and foot.²⁸⁰

Therefore, if a Chinese man could not return to China, buy, or kidnap a Chinese bride, he must seek marriageable female companionship elsewhere. A few Chinese men living in Nevada sought Paiutes as wives or living companions because of circumstances such as geographical location, the miscegenation law, the availability of few Chinese women, and cultural "comfortness." The Paiute woman was not confronted with such issues, but looked to the Chinese man because of feelings of love or an improvement in her economic position.

Why would a Paiute woman choose to interculturally marry a Chinese immigrant?

Why a Paiute woman chose a Chinese immigrant mate is based on speculation. The Paiute woman did not encounter the same problems as the Chinese immigrant. There was not a gender imbalance nor problem of geographical location that limited the availability of Paiute men. The restrictive 1861 Miscegenation Law was repealed in 1919 whereby Native Americans were removed from being undesirable marriage partners for Euro-Americans, even though society still frowned upon such unions. There is really no obvious reason why a Paiute woman living on or in a nearby town from the Walker River Reservation would even consider such a union. However, the period under study indicated the Walker River Paiutes were not financially prosperous, so an intercultural

²⁸⁰ *Silver State*, December 21, 1880.

marriage often promised a better lifestyle. Yet, the final fact remains -- Paiute/Chinese intercultural marriages did occur.²⁸¹

Ronald Takaki theorized that non-Chinese women sought Chinese men because “Chinamen make better husbands than men of their own (Paiute) nation. A Chinaman never beats his wife, gives her plenty to eat and wear and generally adopts her mode of life.”²⁸² Perhaps this might be true, as to whether a Paiute man beat his wife or could not provide food and clothing for her there was no proof of this. Besides after the repeal of the 1861 Miscegenation Law in 1919 allowing a Euro-American man to marry a Paiute, he too could provide a Paiute woman with the same economical benefits in spite of social snubbing.

There definitely was no gender imbalance on the Walker River Reservation like the one in Chinese American communities. However, like the Chinese, Paiute society believed in polygamous marriages.²⁸³ Table 6 illustrates the Bureau of Indian Affairs population totals of men and women assigned to the Walker River Reservation.

Table 6: Census of Walker River Indian Reservation 1897-1920²⁸⁴

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1897	188	222	129	539

²⁸¹ Chung, “Their Changing World,” 223. Chung used the same example, the Leon/Benton intercultural marriage as the author of this thesis and interviewed the granddaughter, Juanita Pontoon in July 1994.

²⁸² Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1989), 126; and Takaki, *Journey to Gold Mountain*, 109.

²⁸³ Hittman, *Corbett Mack*, 26-27 and 262. Mack stated “the coexistence of polygamy and “sister exchange” was due to the harsh survival demands and the need for mobility and flexibility among the Paiutes.” Mack did not indicate that there was a gender imbalance that would force the Paiute woman to see a mate from another ethnic race; Chung, “Their Changing World,” 227. Chung indicated that the structure of Chinese society allowed Chinese men to have secondary wives or concubines.

²⁸⁴ Data from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Walker River Tribal Census Rolls 1897 to 1924.

1898	184	226	127	537
1899	189	220	119	528
1900	.....	.....	.....	.....
1901	140	158	63	361
1902	136	149	79	364
1903	152	180	91	423
1904	155	185	103	443
1905	163	205	106	474
1906	246	240	84	570
1907	257	250	88	595
1908	.....	.....	.....	466
1909	.....	.....	.....	461
1910	227	257	38	522
1911	177	212	137	526
1912	249	273	.....	522
1913	.....	.....	.....	.....
1914	269	290	.....	559
1915	.....	.....	.....	.....
1916	276	288	.....	564
1917	154	149	.....	303
1918	250	251	.....	501
1919	251	240	.....	491
1920	243	239	.....	482

..... Unknown information.

So why? A myriad of reasons were given when asked during oral interview sessions with Chinese/Paiute descendants. The women quite often mentioned “love.” The men were more blunt, stating that their mother or grandmother should never have married outside of the People. To them the marriage was a social disgrace in the tribe and instilled a mind set that she would rather be with an outsider than one of her own kind. Undoubtedly, parental dislike of the Chinese played a part in how the descendants reacted such is the case with Jack Sam.²⁸⁵ Stories from the oral tradition suggested that the

²⁸⁵ See Chapter 5 “Personal Recollections” oral interview with Mary and Jack Sam.

Paiute woman was attracted to the wealth of the Chinese worker, but Jack Sam refuted this. When the Chinese taught the Walker River Paiutes dry farming techniques, contact between the two groups may have shown a few Paiute women that Chinese men were not “alien” as they previously had believed and gave them the opportunity to know each other as individuals, which may have led to cohabitation or marriage. Furthermore, Chinese men might have pursued influential Paiute women to marry in order to establish a trade or business relationship among the People.

Granted, the Chinese and Paiutes shared many of the same cultural values. For example, respect of age and ancestors, reticence, humility, non-Christian religion, prized family kinship and loyalty, respect and love of nature gods, superstitions transmitted through folk tales, and the use of herbal medicine. Like the Chinese men, a Paiute woman interculturally marrying was going against the Paiute family tradition of picking her mate and inserting an outside member into the kinship or clan. A successful marriage often meant the sharing of each other’s cultural traditions, such as food, holidays, and beliefs which subsequently led to forming a new cultural basis in the family unit.

Fear discouraged Chinese/Paiute unions and stories circulated to instill this fear. Beatrice Whiting, in her study of Paiute sorcery, related that if a child did not comply with parental desires, such as in marriage partners, harsher methods were used to convince otherwise. Such was the case of a Paiute girl who was sought after by a Chinese man. The mother was so strongly opposed to the pursuit of her daughter by the man, she cast a spell on him. The Chinese man subsequently died and her problem was solved.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ Beatrice Whiting, *Paiute Sorcery* (New York: The Viking Fund Incorporated Publications in Anthropology, Number 15, 1950), 80-81.

Undoubtedly the spreading of this tale discouraged intercultural marriages between the Chinese and Paiutes, especially among those who were very superstitious.²⁸⁷

Edward Johnson pointed out that there were more reasons why a Paiute woman should have never associated with Chinese men.²⁸⁸ The Chinese brought opium with them and introduced it to the People.²⁸⁹ In addition, the Chinese provided the Paiutes with liquor which was against the law.²⁹⁰ He further contended that the Chinese helped to contribute to the disintegration of traditional tribal culture and the Paiute family by supplying the People with the addictive substances.²⁹¹

Based on the oral interviews conducted by the author and various frontier newspaper stories and other tales, the most obvious reason for a Paiute woman to marry a Chinese man was economic. Many, but not all, married small business owners, who probably provided them with a better lifestyle than that available on the reservation. Daisy Benton, for example, married Sam Leon, who at the time of their marriage was a Nevada small businessman and who eventually owned a hotel, laundry, bar, and casino in Bodie, California.²⁹² Without the ability to find another wife and placing a high value on family life, the average Chinese husband probably took very good care of his Paiute wife. Another reason was that the couple worked together and as menial laborers, they came

²⁸⁷ *Winnemucca* (NV) *Daily Silver State*, July 26, 1875. The article was titled "Chinese Superstitions."

²⁸⁸ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 90-93.

²⁸⁹ Hittman, *Corbett Mack*, 13 and 132-135.

²⁹⁰ Nevada Compiled Laws, *An Act to Prohibit the Sale of Ardent Spirits to the Indians*, Under Crimes and Punishments Section 4829, 4830, 4831, and 4832. Passed February 25, 1885.

²⁹¹ Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes*, 93.

²⁹² His home and business have been preserved in Bodie, California.

into frequent contact and fell in love in an environment where there was little objection or barriers, especially when the man was outside of a Chinatown setting and the woman was working away from the reservation. Therefore, they could fall in love.

Various reasons have been presented as to “why” a Paiute woman would choose to seek a mate outside her own tribe. Yet, in reality only the Paiute woman could answer this question. Unfortunately, none could be found to interview and ask “why.” The fact does remain that Paiute women did interculturally marry or live with Chinese men in spite of these unions being opposed by maternal relatives.²⁹³

Historically, intercultural/interracial marriages are considered taboo in most societies, yet, they have taken place for decades. These marriages are far more than just a relationship between two individuals, but a relationship that unifies and equalizes all family members. Such was the case of the Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriage of Sam Leon and Daisy Benton. Even though each faced different reasons for choosing to marry outside their own ethnic origin Euro-American social, political, and economic limitations played a significant part. Had Euro-American society not been gripped by fear and lack of tolerance the Chinese and Native Americans would have been “equally” accepted into the general “melting pot” scheme.

²⁹³ *Hawthorne (NV) Walker Lake Bulletin*, April 2, 1884; and *Yerington (NV) Lyon County Times*, September 22, 1906.

CHAPTER 5

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS :

ORAL INTERVIEWS WITH CHINESE/PAIUTE DESCENDANTS

Thirteen oral interviews were conducted between February and August 1998 either on the Walker River Reservation or in a nearby towns with the goal of establishing whether Chinese immigrants interculturally married or cohabited with Paiute women.

The investigative process set forth involved:

- A pre-investigative interview, with Las Vegas Tribal Chairman Richard Arnold, provided the names of possible descendants. The list of potential individuals were contacted by telephone. Only two initially agreed to allow a personal interview. From those two descendants a “snow-balling effect” was created as they told other individuals about the author’s study and agreed to a personal meeting. This process produced a total of thirteen Chinese/Paiute descendants.
- The next step was copying the Walker River Tribal census rolls from 1897 to 1924. This procedure was done primarily to confirm the genealogy of each family who was being interviewed.
- A questionnaire was devised using a myriad of sources to establish a base in determining what happened when two individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds united in cohabitation or matrimony and raised a family. (See the questionnaire used in Appendix C.)

- One hour appointments were set up with the original two individuals in February 1998. After the first oral interview other Chinese/Paiute descendants agreed to meeting with the author. Questionnaires were either mailed or given to these individuals so that time was not consumed in filling it out and proved to be more effective in letting the interviewees speak of recollections about their Chinese relative. What was not anticipated, only one of the descendants allowed the use of her name; therefore, off the record interviews were conducted with an agreement between the author and the individual of returning notes taken during the session. Fictitious names were given to two of the oral interviewees used for this thesis.
- The thirteen interviews clearly demonstrated the problems within the marriage and the amalgamation of cultural traditions. Three of the interviews were selected for use in this thesis: Mrs. Juanita Pontoon, granddaughter of the Sam Leon and Daisy Benton marriage;²⁹⁴ Mary and Jack Sam, children of the Ah Son and Sarah Sam marriage;²⁹⁵ and Margie Dick, granddaughter of the Koo Chee and Marry Milton marriage.²⁹⁶ Those interviewed live on or around the Walker River Reservation. No descendants of Chinese/Paiute marriages who identified with their Chinese father were included in this study. The remaining nine interviews will be used in future studies.

²⁹⁴ Juanita Pontoon of the Walker River Reservation Schurz, Nevada, interviewed by the author, February 1998. Juanita's mother, Laura Leon Thom, and father, Sullivan Thom was listed on the Walker River Tribal Census Rolls. Laura was listed as "unallotted" and Sullivan Thom as "allotted." It was noted on the 1934 tribal records they were married. No further information could be discovered about the Thom family because they are protected under the federal Privacy Laws.

²⁹⁵ Mary Sam of Fallon, Nevada and Jack Sam of the Walker River Reservation (fictitious name given to sister and brother), interviewed by the author, August 1998 in Fallon, Nevada. The family was listed on the Walker River Tribal Census Rolls beginning in 1897. Their mother is an "allotted" tribal member.

²⁹⁶ Margie Dick of Hawthorne, Nevada, (fictitious name given) interviewed by the author, July 1998. Margie's family was listed on the Walker River Tribal Census rolls beginning in 1897. Her mother was an "allotted" tribal member.

Each sequential step presented above cumulated into proving Chinese immigrants interculturally married or cohabited with Paiute women living on or near the Walker River Reservation between 1897 and 1920. While the oral interviews presented diverse feelings regarding their Chinese relative there was a common ground shared by all -- they eat rice as their main staple and raised vegetables in a manner taught to their ancestors by their Chinese relative.

MRS. JUANITA PONTOON

Mrs. Juanita Pontoon was the first interview conducted. She was born, raised, and currently lives on the Walker River Reservation. Her husband, George, a Reese River Shoshone, owns and operates a tack and saddle shop on the reservation. Juanita and George have two daughters, Genia and Michelle and six grandchildren.

Juanita is the granddaughter of Sam Leon, a Chinese immigrant from the Guangdong province, and Daisy Benton, a Northern Paiute woman from the Walker River Reservation. Daisy Benton was the daughter of Thomas and Ida Benton who were listed on the Walker River Tribal Census rolls beginning in 1897. The immediate family members of the Thomas Benton household were recognized as "allotted" tribal members. Juanita's mother, Laura Benton Leon, also known as Gladys, was the only child of Sam and Daisy Leon acknowledged on the tribal census rolls in 1912. She was considered an "unallotted" Paiute tribal member.

The Thomas Benton family illustrates the complexity of tracing family trees. According to BIA Walker River Tribal Census rolls Juanita's great grandmother name was Ida Benton, yet the records from 1897 to 1899 indicated her name was Rosa; from 1900 to 1905 she was listed as Rose; and in 1906 was listed as Ida. One might question if this was the same individual through all the years, or if the great grandfather had remarried. From all indications this was not the case. While the name changed, the age

sequence did not. Juanita not knowing this can be attributed to the fact she did not know either her great grandmother or her grandmother. Both women had died before Juanita was born and most likely when the grandmothers were mentioned it was by the name her mother knew them as.

Keeping annual track of a family or family members proved difficult. In 1902 the entire Thomas Benton family was missing from the tribal census; then in 1903 the entire family was back on the record. In 1905 Daisy Benton, Juanita's grandmother, was not included as part of the Benton family, but in 1906 she reentered the picture. From all indications Daisy remained on the Walker River tribal census rolls while married and living in Yerington, Nevada. Mrs. Pontoon indicated that perhaps this can be attributed to the residency requirement set forth by the United States government in attaining and keeping the forty acre land allotment; therefore, Daisy Benton was given her land allotment without question in 1906 when the tribal land allotments were issued to each Paiute on the Walker River tribal rolls .

Another example involved the daughter born in 1912 from the Chinese/Paiute intercultural marriage of Daisy Benton to Sam Leon, also known as Sam Wong. Tribal census records indicated that "Wong," Sam (Chinese) and "Wong," Daisy had a four month old unnamed daughter born February 1912. In 1914 the baby girl was recognized on the tribal census roll as Gladys (later known as Laura) and was a member of her grandfather's, Thomas Benton, household. Gladys continued to be listed and recognized as an "unallotted" orphaned tribal member until 1917 then there was no further mention of her. Juanita indicated that her mother, Laura, was taken to a San Francisco school to learn about her Chinese heritage and get a good education.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ See Peggy Pascoe's "Gender System in Conflict: The Marriages of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939" in *Unequal Sister: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. by Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, (New York: Routledge, 1994), 139-156. Article explained the

According to federal oral interviews conducted in 1917 to determine who should inherit Daisy Benton Leon's allotment, two children were acknowledged, yet tribal census manuscripts did not indicate there was another child.²⁹⁸ In another federal oral interview conducted in 1917 on the heir apparent of two Benton sisters, who had died recently, it was stipulated Sam Leon had taken Daisy's only child.²⁹⁹ A letter sent to Mr. Sam Leon by the Bureau of Indian Affairs August 12, 1913 requested that he meet his fifty dollar a month payment obligation for a single child, not support of children.³⁰⁰ On a legal document indicating heir rights, two daughters are listed as being born to Ah Sam or Wong Leon and Daisy Benton -- Anna about two years old (born 1915) and Laura five years old (born 1912).³⁰¹ Federal census, taken in 1900 and 1920, did not include these individuals. Three questions come to mind:

- Are the Walker River Tribal census records accurate enough in verifying the existence of individuals?
- Which one of the daughters was originally named Gladys and when was the name changed and who legally changed her name?

educational system of church organizations such as the one Laura Leon attended.

²⁹⁸ Testimony of Dan Voorhees in the heirship case of Daisy Benton, deceased Paiute allottee No. 282, taken by John Anderson, Examiner of Inheritance, at Schurz, Nevada, on June 28, 1917. Document was a xerox copy in the possession of Mrs. Juanita Pontoon. It is unknown how the document was acquired.

²⁹⁹ Testimony of Maggie Sharp (Wilson), in the heirship case of Lulu Benton No. 285 and Mattie Benton No. 284, deceased Paiute allottees, taken by J. H. Anderson, Examiner of Inheritance, at Schurz, Nevada, on February 17, 1917. Document was a xerox copy in the possession of Mrs. Juanita Pontoon. It is unknown how the document was acquired.

³⁰⁰ Letter signed August 12, 1913 by Superintendent and S. D. Agent Walker River Agency, Schurz, Nevada. Document was a xerox copy in the possession of Mrs. Juanita Pontoon. It is unknown how the document was acquired.

³⁰¹ Document titled "Property Disposed of By Will" given to author by Mrs. Juanita Pontoon of Schurz, Nevada. Document was a xerox copy in the possession of Mrs. Juanita Pontoon. It is unknown how the document was acquired.

- When was the other child born and was the father Sam Leon?

Unfortunately, these questions did not produce any positive or substantial answers.

When questioned, Juanita stated her mother's name was Laura and no further discussion could prove otherwise. The 1934 Walker River Tribal records indicated that Laura Leon married Sullivan Thom, but no birth date was given for Laura nor was there indication that she was an unallotted tribal member who inherited the Benton family land allotment. Missing was approximately seventeen years of unknown written and oral family history that could answer the above three questions.

The discrepancies illustrated the inaccuracies of the documents, but by no means are they an indication that the author believes those individuals interviewed were fabricating a story or that they did not have a family member who married a Chinese immigrant. A researcher has to take many avenues to present a whole picture. No documentation should be viewed without serious consideration of possible errors or the possibility an oral interview might be slanted to create a more desirable family memory. Had only one aspect of investigation been used and taken at face value, an inaccurate characterization and description would have been portrayed. One must always remember that while working with Native Americans the oral history passed from generation to generation forms the basis for any later written history. This is especially true of the oral interviews conducted with the descendants of Paiute/Chinese intercultural marriages.

This first interview with Juanita was strictly based on questions. The time frame was hard to establish because Juanita lumped all of the experiences together. Juanita's interview will be reported as a question then her response will directly follow in a single line format.

Can you tell me about or describe your Chinese grandfather Sam Leon?

Sam Leon was born November 14, 1879 in Canton, China. He had a wife and three children whom he left behind. Sam also had four sisters and two brothers who lived in China. Sam was the only one who came to America to stay and work here the rest of his life. He sent money back to China for his family to use. There are letters asking for more money that Sam carried with him. His son sent one letter asking to come to America, but I don't think he came. I think he returned to China twice, but did not stay very long. His brother's son came here, but I don't think he stayed very long, at least Sam never said much about him.

Sam was a friendly, caring man who loved the People and the People loved him. He participated in sweats with other tribal men. There was no hostility toward Sam, because lots of tribal people had Chinese relatives. Sam helped a lot of the People. He brought them rice and vegetables.

Where did Sam live? What did he do for a living? Did he sell opium or liquor to the Paiutes?

Sam moved around a lot. He lived in Yerington, Tonopah, Carson City, Bishop, Bodie, and Schurz. He went where he could find work. Sam was a cook and ran a restaurant. He used to cook for us when he came and visited.

I don't think he sold either to the People. I remember finding opium bottles around the reservation and have kept quite a few of them. Opium and booze were a big problem here on the reservation and many Chinese sold both to the People; especially those who came in on the rail road crews. They always had the stuff.

Can you tell me how often Sam visited you? What did he do when he came to the reservation? Did you ever go and visit him?

Sam came and visited quite often. He came to help mom out each time she had a baby. He would just drop by and stay for a couple of weeks. While visiting he would constantly be cooking. There was eight of us so there was lots of food to make. He showed me how to do stir fry and make proper rice.

I never went to where Sam lived. I have a picture of him out in front of his restaurant and have gone there.

Can you tell me about your grandmother Daisy Benton? What about her mother and father?

Daisy's parents were Tom and Ida Benton. Both were born and raised on the reservation. Daisy was the second oldest daughter born on the reservation. She was a kind person, very hard working and since there was not any work on the reservation she moved to Yerington to find work when she was seventeen. It was hard to make a living on the reservation so the young people had to either go to Hawthorne, Yerington or Fallon.

I don't know much about my great grandparents. I do know that Tom killed Ida and himself. He was in a drunken rage.³⁰²

I think they probably tried to talk Daisy out of marrying the Chinaman. You know families are supposed to chose their kids' mates.

How did Sam and Daisy meet? Who married them or was it an "Indian custom" marriage? Why would Sam marry since he had a wife and children in China? What kind of marriage did they have? Where did they live? Were they divorced? How did they communicate?

Daisy and Sam met in Yerington while working on a ranch. They were married per "Indian custom" and lived in Yerington and Schurz. Daisy returned to the reservation so that her baby would be born on Indian land.

I don't know why Sam would marry Daisy since he had a wife and children in China. Sam talked about his Chinese family and said he could never bring them here because the white people would be mean to them.

My grandparents were not divorced. Daisy died and that ended the marriage. She was only about twenty-five when she died, some sort of disease my mom said. My mom stayed with her Paiute grandparents for a

³⁰² Forbes, *Nevada Indians Speak*, 175. Forbes stated,Tom Benton...: These are all med. men and can always be counted with the disturbing element. With the exception of Benton, who is a good worker, they never work, and are devoid of all sense of reason.

while, but Sam came and got her. He took her to San Francisco or Oakland and put her in a Chinese girl's school run by Presbyterian missionaries. I think he wanted her to be taught how to be Chinese. She stayed at the school until she was sixteen. She dressed like a Chinese girl, had those soft shoes and pretty dresses. She became a Presbyterian while at the school.

I think Daisy spoke English, I know Sam did as I remember talking to Sam and understanding him.

Let's talk about your Chinese/Paiute mother, Laura. What do you remember or what have you been told? When did she get married? What about her education? Why did she return to the reservation? What did she teach you?

My mother was educated in both a Chinese school and Indian School. She went to the Stewart Indian School for a while. She also went to college in Arizona to become a nurse.

She returned to the reservation because she inherited the Benton land allotments. She loved the People. The People called her the "pretty curly headed Indian girl." My mom would put pin curls in her hair. She never wore her hair straight like the other Indians.

Mom and dad were married per "Indian custom" on the reservation. We lived on reservation at the corner where the rail road tracks are now. My dad was Sullivan Thom and he was also of a mixed race. He was part Paiute and Irish. When they got married he already had a daughter from a previous marriage. His wife died. My dad was not Presbyterian. He practiced Indian religion and the peyote ceremonies. He would take Sam with him sometimes.

My mom taught us a lot of Chinese songs, how to speak Chinese, and how to cook. All of us girls are good cooks. We always have stir fry and rice. Our babies love rice.

As previously stated this was the first interview conducted and there was some questions that should of been explored further. Juanita did fill out the questionnaire and this helped tremendously in understanding some of the things she spoke about. She had

continual contact with her maternal grandfather until his death in Reno and attended his funeral there.

While Juanita stated she never had a problem as a child of being culturally mixed, she failed to mention some facts discovered through further research. Juanita's father Sullivan Thom was the Walker River Tribal chief so it is understandable that she would not have any problems mainly because of her father's respected status in the Paiute tribe. Even Corbett Mack spoke about Sullivan Thom in an interview with Michael Hittman. Thom and Mack were class mates beginning in elementary reservation day school.³⁰³ Edward Johnson's history of the Walker River Paiutes also referred to Sullivan Thom on several occasions.³⁰⁴

Today Juanita is known as the "master basket maker," a craft that she taught herself. She also does exquisite bead work with the predominate coloring being bright blues, reds and yellow. Juanita communicates with other tribal members of Paiute/Chinese heritage and quite often celebrates the Chinese holidays. Her positive attitude toward her Chinese grandfather differed from Mary and Jack Sam.

MARY AND JACK SAM

Mary and Jack Sam are the last surviving children of Ah Son³⁰⁵ and Sarah Sam who married around 1909 at the Walker River Reservation in Schurz, Nevada. Sarah Sam was acknowledged as the third child of Ed and Lettie Sam on the tribal census rolls

³⁰³ Hittman, *Corbett Mack*, 288.

³⁰⁴ In Johnson, *Walker River Paiutes* on page 174 there was a picture of Sullivan Thom with other members of the Schurz Athletic Club. On page 188-189 Sullivan Thom was listed as the Walker River Tribal chief in 1935.

³⁰⁵ Mary gave this way of spelling his name, Jack gave another -- Awesome.

beginning in 1897 and continued to be recognized until 1924. Sarah was an “allotted” tribal member, but her children were listed as “unallotted.”

Mary was born in 1919 on the Walker River Reservation and is the youngest of four children . She lived on the reservation during her childhood and left in her early teens to attend the Stewart Indian School in Carson City. She married Tom Sam when she was seventeen years old. Tom is an “allotted” member of the Fallon Paiute tribe and his family was listed on the Bureau of Indian Affairs tribal roll. Mary currently lives in Fallon with her husband on his tribal land. Mary and Tom have four children, three boys and a girl and none of them live on the reservation. The three boys have graduated from Brigham Young University and work in professional jobs.

Jack believes he is the eldest child of the family and was born in 1911.³⁰⁶ Jack is also known as “One Eyed Jack” because of his prowess card playing. He lives by himself on the Walker River Reservation on the family land allotments of his mother and grandparents. Apparently, Jack never married, but “had his share of women.” He remembers quite a bit more than Mary about his Chinese father. Jack has a belligerent attitude toward his father. He addressed him as “Chinaman John” all through the interview. Jack’s hostile and lack of compassionate feelings toward his father can be attributed to his grandfather Ed’s attitude toward the Chinese. It was very apparent that if his grandfather was given the chance he would have killed Jack’s father. Even after considerable questioning it remained unknown as to why Ed hated the Chinese so much.

Mary began the interview session by stating “she really did not know her Chinese father that well.” She was a small child when he left or disappeared. Most of what Mary

³⁰⁶ This seems to be an accurate time frame. In Michael Hittman’s interview with Corbett Mack, Jack is listed as being a friend of Mack’s.

remembers came from her mother telling her stories or if she asked questions. This becomes quite obvious as she tells her story.

My father was named, Ah Son. He was a Chinese man who came from the beautiful and far away land of China. He had come to America when he was a single young man. His first residence in the United States was in Dayton, Nevada where he worked for his wealthy uncle in his restaurant. After his uncle died, dad moved to Hawthorne to work with another uncle who was a cook at the hotel.

Mom had gone to Hawthorne, too, for work. She worked in the same hotel as sort of a maid in the day and washed the bar floor at night. It was in Hawthorne that my parents met and fell in love.

Mom and dad were married per "Indian custom" by the tribal chief in spite of Gran Ed violently opposing the marriage. Gran Ed hated dad and wanted mom to marry Lester, a rancher that lived across the river. Chinamen were not very well liked by some of the People. After the marriage mom and dad moved back to Hawthorne and lived out behind the hotel. Mom left Hawthorne right before Jack was born and stayed with Gran Ed and Lettie. She wanted Jack to be born on Indian land. When Jack was a couple of weeks old mom returned to Hawthorne. She and dad lived there for a while and she came back to the reservation for the birth of Leo and then returned to Hawthorne.

Dad convinced mom to move to Fallon to work on the Bar K Ranch. Dad was going to be the cook and mom would clean and sew. Mom came back to the reservation to give birth to Harry and then went back to Fallon. Dad and the rancher's wife got into a fight, so he was let go. Lady said mom could stay, but she said no and they all moved back to the reservation.

At first they all lived with Gran Ed and Lettie, but Gran Ed hated dad so bad, they built a shack a little ways from their shack and moved into that. That's where I was born.

Don't remember much about dad. Just what mom told me. I think I remember mom crying, but don't know if that was cause dad was gone or Leo had died. Fell off a horse. Jack will tell you about that.

Mary stated she had said everything she needed to say. Jack took over the conversation. Unfortunately, the author was unable to ask Jack questions. He began telling one story after another about his childhood. Jack was visited on several occasions and while the majority of the stories were interesting, the one singled out for this thesis was the last interview done which presents another side of how bitter he was toward his Chinese father. Throughout the entire interview session Jack referred to his father as "Chinaman John." When asked why, Jack stipulated, "Well that's his name."

When I was five and I used to go help Gran Ed round up wild horses and herd the cattle to another area for grazing. Chinaman John never helped Gran Ed. He would just stay around the shack and do nothing. Sometimes he would help mom in the garden or take her to Aunt Lou's, but basically was not good for anything but making babies.

We never had nothing. We were poor. For a while the government gave us money. Mom was always doing something for money. She sold vegetables and sewing stuff. The Mormons gave her cloth and clothes. She finally joined their church and that damn Chinaman beat her. Man I hate him! Told Gran Ed and he brought the council over to have a talk with him. Did no good.

Sometimes at night Old Joe and Tom would come over and play cards with Chinaman John. Those guys smoked the gods awfulness stuff. Smelled up the entire shack really bad. Would take days to get the smell out. Mom would take us to Gran Lettie's shack to spend the night.

I never went away to school like Mary and Harry. I went to school up by the market and then quit when I was fifteen. No need for an education. White people would not let me become anything. Hell if they found out I was part Chinese, I would never get any where. So I decided I would learn how to farm. Gran Ed was a good farmer. Had lots of cattle and horses. He gave me two girl cows and a horse and that's how I began ranching. Now I have three hundred cattle and fifty horses and make lots of money being a farmer. I still take care of them; go round them up when it gets colder.

Chinaman John and I had lots of problems. I took care of mom best I could, but that made him mad. One day when I was at Gran Ed's, Harry came riding up, told me to get home quick. That damn Chinaman was drunk or something and he had taken a hoe to mom's garden. He was yelling in that funny language and mom was beating him with a stick, yelling too. Funny sight, but I knew it was trouble. I tried stopping him from tearing up all the vegetables, but he hit me. Knocked me to the ground! I was so mad I got up and grabbed the stick from mom and hit him hard. That old Chinaman fell to the ground and just laid there. Mom thought I'd killed him. Harry, mom, and I dragged him into the shack. He slept for a long time and when he woke up he beat the hell out of me. Man I hated that son-of-a-bitch! I couldn't take it anymore, so I went to Gran Ed's and asked to move in. Gran Ed wanted to kill that Chinaman!

Not long after that Leo, Harry, and I were helping Gran Ed find all the cattle before it got to cold. We had been out for about two days when Chinaman John showed up. He began yelling at Harry and Leo, telling them to go home, jumping up and down, and the boys started laughing at him. It was funny! He got real mad and ran toward Leo's horse waving his hands and yelling. Scared Leo's horse into jumping and Leo fell off hitting his head on a rock. Gran Ed came running. He knelt over Leo and told me and Harry to get help and meet at the shack. Got Jake and Melvin to come. Gran Ed carried Leo back on his horse. Leo was bleeding from the head. I knew something was wrong because Gran Ed looked sick. Had a hard time talking. He handed Leo down to Melvin. Gran Lettie came out and saw poor Leo and began wailing. Jake went and got mom. When she saw Leo she began crying. That's what Mary remembers. Gran Ed was so mad, said he was going to kill that Chinaman.

The Mormons buried Leo. Mom cried for days. Never saw Chinaman John again. We were better off. Harry and I took care of mom and then Mary helped her when she got older. Mom later married Jake and that made Gran Ed happy.

Harry went off to Indian school then to the Mormon college. Harry never came back to the land, lived in Utah with his pale wife and kids. Gave me all his land. Harry died five years ago. I'll out live them all! I'm 87 and healthy. I miss everyone. Not like the old days. Mary she lives up in Fallon. Has a nice shack, but not as good as mine.

After Jack finished his story he was joking around about being in a book. Said it would be nice if he sounded like an Indian Clint Eastwood.

This interview indicated the poverty of the Walker River Paiutes around the turn of the twentieth century which probably was a major factor in the high number of Chinese/Paiute marriages. Many of the Paiute women wanted to improve their living standards despite social prohibitions.

Interviewing the two siblings was quite interesting. The two lived in the same household most of their young life, but clearly have a different perspective about their Chinese father. One gets the feeling that Jack does know what happened to his father; however, he would not admit to knowing.

MARGIE DICK

Margie Dick is the granddaughter of Koo Chee, a Chinese immigrant, and Marry Milton, a Paiute woman. Margie sent an undated newspaper article to the author and stated this was about her mother when she was eighteen. After some extensive research the article was found in the April 2, 1884 *Walker Lake Bulletin*. The article's date alone, indicated that this could not be about her mother, but her grandmother. The questionnaire Margie filled out stated she was born in 1924, making the individual in the article fifty-five at the time of her birth. When meeting with Margie a discussion ensued and she admitted Marry Milton was her grandmother.

Since the Walker River Tribal Census rolls did not begin until 1897, Margie's grandmother was not listed as being or living on the Walker River Reservation. Margie's mother and father, Bill and Kay Bob were married in 1919 in Yerington and listed on the Walker River tribal roles beginning in 1920. Bill Bob had a notation next to his name "Yerington Paiute allotted." Margie's mother was not recognized as an "allotted" tribal member. Bill and Kay had six children and Margie is the second oldest.

Margie could not remember anything about her Paiute grandmother or her Chinese grandfather. The article was given to her by her grandmother's youngest sister, Sue Henry. Margie's recollections are based on what her aunt told her. According to Aunt Sue, Marry met the Chinese man when she was out gathering reeds for baskets. He was very nice to her, so Marry visited him quite often. He gave her some pretty things and before long Marry said she wanted to live with him. There seemed to be some problems, but according to Margie it was because Marry had a Paiute man who wanted to marry her. While the article probably presents a slanted view of what really happened it is interesting that the family had the article, never discarded it, and attributed this printed story to Marry. The article states:

A few weeks ago an ancient Chinaman living on the East Fork of the Walker River was attracted by the charms of a young Piute [*sic*] maiden. He is well supplied with worldly gear consisting primarily of articles of oriental pattern, and, by the judicious exhibition of beads gaudy silk handkerchiefs and gilt paper, was enabled to kindle an answering spark in the bosom of the young woman. Her affection for him ripened rapidly and in a few days she consented to become Mrs. Koo Chee according to form provided by Chinese law. The bride was taken to the home of her husband and the family would doubtless have been very happy had not her relatives felt injured at what they regarded as a *mesalliance* [*sic*]. Had they known in time they would probably have taken measures to prevent the marriage, but, as that is an accomplished fact, they are now endeavoring to take the squaw back to the tribe. She prefers to remaining with her lawful lord, but the braves are in dead earnest and threaten violence if she is not returned. The Chinese are determined to protect the rights of their countryman and an armed guard surrounds his house every night. No act of violence has yet been committed, but the feeling is very strong, and a serious disturbance is liable to occur at any time. Koo Chee will settle the trouble by removing with his copper-colored wife to a safe location as soon as he can settle his business and get his property into portable shape.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ *Walker Lake Bulletin*, April 2, 1884.

Questions for Margie evolved around the article. She was asked what town her grandmother eventually settled in. Margie indicated that her grandmother moved to Tonopah where her grandfather, Koo Chee, set up another business. She did not know what the business was, but from the brief news article, he undoubtedly was an established businessman selling Chinese goods and clothing. When asked if her grandmother ever returned to the Walker River Reservation, Margie was not sure because her Aunt Sue never told her. It would of been nice to interview Aunt Susie, but she passed away two years ago.

The above are just three of the interesting interviews conducted with either children -- Mary and Jack Sam, or grandchildren -- Margie Dick and Juanita Pontoon of families who had a Chinese relative. As indicated each has a different personal perspective about their Chinese relative ranging from very positive to very negative. Each presents a view of how their Paiute families accepted the Chinese outsider ranging from acceptance to hatred. Each of the families interviewed appeared on the Walker River Tribal Census rolls. Of those interviewed only Jack Sam did not request the author to send Chinese history books for them to read more about their Chinese heritage. What is more important the interviews substantiate this thesis' hypothesis that Paiute women living on or near the Walker River Reservation either chose to interculturally marry or cohabited with Chinese immigrants, that the Paiute women generally benefited economically from the marriage, that the men cared for their wives as least early in the marriage, and that some aspects of Chinese culture was preserved in the descendants.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Chinese men and Paiute women were pawns of fate between 1860 and 1920 as a result of: (a) federal discriminatory legislation, most notably the 1875 Page Law and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and its supplements; (b) Nevada state laws, specifically the 1861 miscegenation law; (c) Euro-American social stigma, since both groups were classified at the lowest level of the social strata based upon pseudo-scientific beliefs of the late eighteenth through nineteenth centuries which regarded them as “inferior” to the “superior” whites; and (d) negative stereotypes retold in frontier newspaper articles and through oral stories that characterized the Paiutes as “savages” capable of the most heinous crimes and Chinese as “vile heathens” incapable of contributing to or assimilating into the American society. Despite family and community objections and prejudices, often based upon philosophical, religious, and cultural reasons, Chinese men and Walker River Reservation Paiute women married, often according to Native American traditions and raised a family.

As this thesis has demonstrated, there were different reasons for the union. The Chinese man, lonely because of federal immigration laws that prevented Chinese women from immigrating, turned to the Paiute woman because of federal, state, and local laws did not prevent him from marrying her. Miscegenation laws prohibited him from marrying and/or cohabiting with Euro-American women, so his choices were very limited: the few Chinese women, many of whom were prostitutes or married women, the

even fewer American born Chinese women, or women of color. Just how many Chinese men married Paiute women between 1860 and 1920 cannot be determined by existing government records. However, it was obvious that the Chinese male population was disproportionate to the Chinese female population as illustrated in Tables 3 and 5. In order to avoid confrontation with the Euro-American laws, Chinese men turned to Native American women for partners. Paiute women were appealing because they had many fine traits: hard work, thriftiness, and obedience. Moreover, Paiute women accepted polygamy so if a Chinese immigrant had left a wife at home in China, there was no moral condemnation. Some of the Paiute women were related to important tribal members, like the Bentons, and this may have been an additional incentive for Chinese merchants to marry women who could provide Paiute customers and workers for her husband.

Some of the Paiute women probably were intrigued by the hard working qualities of the Chinese men or were attracted by the economic and social advantages he could provide, especially if he was a merchant. Because of the economic depression which the Paiutes faced at this time, many of the young Paiute women searched for jobs in neighboring communities and in their new, strange place of employment, met and fell in love with a co-worker, who was Chinese. There was a positive side for the Paiute woman who married a Chinese: many of the men adopted her culture and provided her with food and clothing. Among those interviewed, the Paiute woman was able to bring her children home to the reservation to be raised.

Based upon the work of sociologist Reger Smith and the anthropological theories and work of Samuel Haven, Franz Boas, and Christy Turner, these unions were intercultural rather than interracial. The two groups formed common ground in basic beliefs, such as the importance of family, the use of herbal medicines, reverence for ancestors, and the appreciation of the forces of nature. Although only families with a

strong Paiute background and heritage were interviewed, the descendants all remarked that their parents or grandparents shared cultural traditions and these descendants continued the mixed cultures, including the inclusion of rice to their diet, the appreciation of plants and small vegetable gardens, and the celebration of Chinese festivals. Although no descendants of Chinese/Paiute marriages who identified with their Chinese father and Chinese traditions were interviewed, it is very probable that they shared this same cultural mixing.

These marriages undoubtedly encountered discrimination from many quarters. Euro-Americans discriminated against both groups politically, socially, and economically and any union of these two lowest strata of society probably were held in greater contempt. However, the Euro-Americans virtually forced these people of color together through their fear and lack of tolerance as expressed in local, state, and federal laws. Negative stereotyping of the Chinese and Native Americans in the frontier press augmented the feelings of prejudice and hatred and any report of the union of the two ethnic groups elicited even stronger feelings of disapproval and highlighted the fear that, according to prevailing pseudo-scientific theories, the amalgamation with or between peoples of color would lead to Euro-American biological and cultural deterioration.

This study was limited to Chinese intercultural marriages with Walker River Reservation Paiute women and only the descendants who are still connected with the reservation were interviewed. While there has been no previous studies in this area this thesis will serve as a precursor to future studies. More research is needed as there are many questions that remain unanswered, such as what beliefs, especially folklore and superstitions, were common to both the Chinese and Paiutes; how did those who identified with their Chinese heritage view the intercultural marriages, and how extensive numerically were these marriages? Furthermore, a future study should, also, look at the

relationship between Chinese men and other Native American women throughout Nevada, but undoubtedly the same or similar pattern would emerge.

APPENDIX A:

PAIUTE INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOM³⁰⁸

A young Paiute man desiring to marry would go to the tent of the fair one after the family had retired for the night and, stirring up the fire a little to see where the girl was lying, would lie down by her side. She would jump up and he would catch her by the belt. The mother of the girl would then get up and throw dirt in the man's face, and the girl would cry almost all night, he pulling her belt to make her stop crying. Just before daylight, he would have to leave the tent. The next night he would come in again before the fire went out and lie down by her, and she would jump up as before and he would catch her by the belt. The mother, again throwing dirt in his face, accompanied this by telling him to go away, but he would hold on to the girl, protecting his head as best he could from the storm of dirt, and staying until nearly daylight. The third night he stayed away and sent his friend to ask what was the matter, and the mother would reply that she didn't want him to come around any more; the old man would merely laugh but say nothing else.

On the fourth night the young man would come early but would find the girl gone. He would spend the night hunting around the camp for her, and being unsuccessful would watch from whence she came in the morning. On the fifth night he would go very

³⁰⁸ Told by Nachez, Chief Winnemucca's brother to John Wesley Powell May, 1873. Story written in Catherine S. and Don D Fowler's *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numa Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880*, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Number 14, Washington D.C., 1971.

early to her tent, and standing at the door, prevent her coming out. At bed time, the mother would tell them they had better go to bed and he would lie down by her side and stay all night. The next morning he would go out to hunt. If he failed to bring home game, the whole process must be repeated. But if successful in the hunt, he would lay the game down outside the tent and go in. The mother would then tell the girl to get some water and something to eat, which she would do, but the young man would partake very lightly, handing the remainder of the supper to the old man, who would pass it to the mother and she to the girl who would put it away and take care of it. they would then go to bed and were considered married.

The next night he would come to the tent, sit down by the fire, talk to the family; they all considered him married.

If the parents of the girl utterly refused to let the man marry her, the would-be husband enlists his friends, and would go in the evening to the tent of the girl's parents, seize the girl, carry her out and ravish her. Under these circumstances the girl never marries, but lives as a prostitute.

If two men want the same girl they both go and lay down by her side, but when she turns her face towards the one she likes best, the other quietly gets up and goes away, and tells his father and mother he will fight and die for the girl. The next night while the favored one is lying by the side of the girl, the rejected suitor comes in and jumps upon him and a fight takes place. Whichever one is whipped is rejected, and the winner takes the girl.

When a man marries into a family he marries all the girls, but his brother has the privilege of taking one of them whenever he sees fit. If any other man wants one he must fight the husband.

APPENDIX B:

NEVADA INDIAN MARRIAGES LEGALIZED³⁰⁹

An Act relating to marriages among Indians; permitting marriages in certain instances in accordance with tribal custom; requiring certificates of declaration of such marriages to be recorded; and other matters properly related thereto:

Approved March 29, 1943.

4072. INDIAN MARRIAGES LEGALIZED.

1. Marriages between Indians performed in accordance with tribal custom within closed Indian reservations and Indian colonies shall be of the same validity as marriages performed in any other manner provided for by the laws of this state; provided, however, that there is filed in the county in which the marriage takes place, within thirty days after the performance of the tribal marriage, a certificate declaring such marriage to have been performed.

4072.01. WHAT CERTIFICATE SHALL CONTAIN.

2. The certificate of declaration herein required to be filed shall give the names of the persons married, their ages, tribe, and place and date of marriage. Said certificate shall be signed by some official of the tribe, reservation, or colony.

4072.02. CERTIFICATE TO BE RECORDED.

3. Said certificate shall be filed with the recorder of the county in which the marriage was performed and by him recorded without change.

4. This act shall become effective immediately upon its passage and approval.

³⁰⁹ Nevada Compiled Laws Supplement: 1943-1949. (San Francisco: Bender Moss Company), 328-329.

This act was amended March 21, 1945 stipulating that the person signing the certification must be an official of the tribe of which one of the members being married must be from.

APPENDIX C :

QUESTIONNAIRE TO PAIUTE/CHINESE INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE AND
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS:

FAMILY HISTORY:

A: This is about YOU

- (01) Your Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (02) Your Spouse's Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (03) Present Address:
- (04) Are you on the Walker River Reservation Tribal Role? Is your spouse?
- (05) How many children do you have? Grandchildren?
- (06) What are your children's name, age, and occupation?
- (07) Are your children on the Walker River Reservation Tribal Role? Grandchildren?
- (08) What are your grandchildren's name, age, and occupation?
- (09) Are you a second -- third or fourth generation of a Paiute/Chinese intercultural marriage?
- (10) Is your spouse a second -- third or fourth generation of a Paiute/Chinese intercultural marriage?

B: This is YOUR Father and Mother's Information:

- (01) Father's Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (02) Mother's Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (03) Where do or did your parent's live:
- (04) Occupation of Father: Occupation of Mother:
- (05) Are your parents on the Walker Reservation Tribal Role?
- (06) Are your parents still alive? How often do you visit them?
- (07) Were your parents citizens? Yes-No Which one?
- (08) How many sisters do you have? Brothers?
- (09) Give their names and occupations:
- (10) List any brothers or sisters who have died:

C: This is YOUR Father's Parents Information:

- (01) Grandfather Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (02) Grandmother Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (03) Occupation of grandfather: Occupation of grandmother:
- (04) Where did your grandparents live:
- (05) Are your grandparents on the Walker River Reservation Tribal Roles?
- (06) Were your grandparents citizens? Yes-No Which one?
- (07) List children from the marriage and where born:

D: This is YOUR Mother's Parents Information:

- (01) Grandfather's Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (02) Grandmother's Name: a) Place of Birth:
b) Date of Birth:
- (03) Occupation of Grandfather: Occupation of Grandmother:
- (04) Where did your grandparent's live:
- (05) Are your grandparent's on the Walker River Reservation Tribal Roles?
- (06) Were your grandparent's citizens? Yes-No Which One?
- (07) List children from the marriage and where born:

About Your Chinese Relative:

01. a) Where did your Chinese relative come from in China?
b) Was he considered from a laborer or farming family in China?
c) Did he come to America as part of a contract laborer?
d) Where did he settle in the United States?
e) Did your Chinese relative move around a lot? List the cities where he lived:
f) What did your Chinese relative do for a living?
g) Did he ever return to China? When and Why?
02. a) How did your Chinese relative meet his Native American wife?
b) Why do you think your Native American relative would marry outside the tribe?
c) Do you know if after the Chinese relative and Native American relative were married were they shunned by the tribe or welcomed?
f) How were they married?
g) How long did the marriage last?
h) If there was a divorce, whose custom took precedence? If a divorce, explain why?

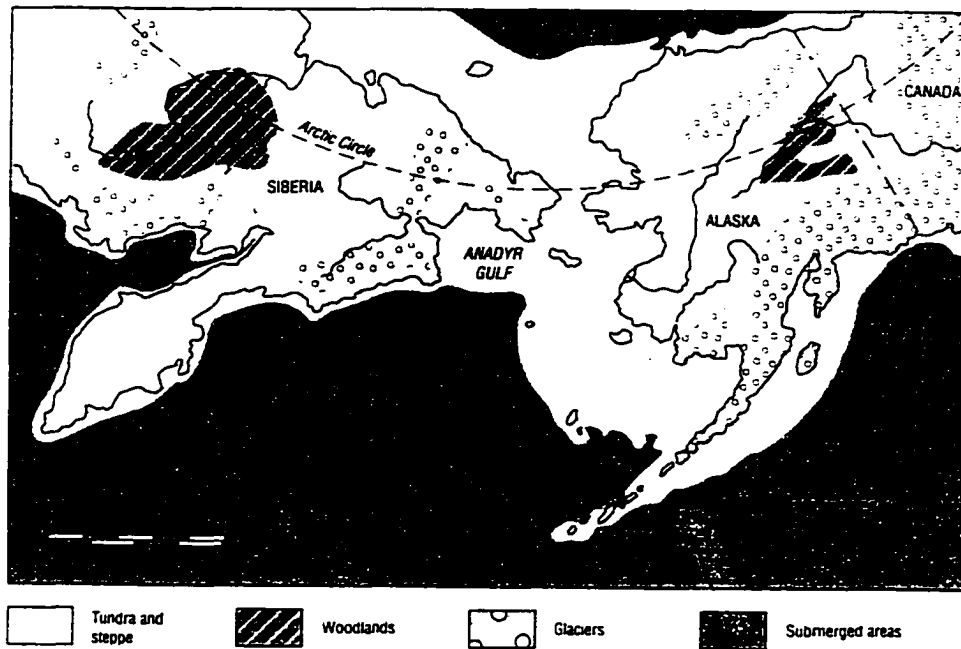
- i) How many children were there from the marriage? List them:
 - j) How would you describe the relationship between the Chinese relative and his Native American wife? Between his children? Between his grandchildren?
 - k) Whose traditional customs were followed during the marriage? If both, how was it done?
 - l) Where did they live? Reservation-Town-Private Property of another
 - m) Was your Chinese relative listed on the Walker River Reservation Tribal Roles? What Years?
 - n) Did your Chinese relative have a wife or children in China?
03. When, where, and how did your Chinese relative die?
04. Did the Chinese relative and his Native American wife trade goods with other Chinese? What kinds of goods were traded?
05. a) What kind of contact was there with other Chinese living in the area?
 b) Did the family know any other Chinese who were close to the family?
 c) Who were they and what did they do for a living?

Your Personal Recollections:

01. What types of Native American and Chinese customs and traditions were maintained in the home?(Food, Language, Holidays, Stories, Dress, Religion)
02. a) Can you describe how you were raised in a mixed cultural household? What advantages did you have?
 b) OR do you feel this mixed cultural household was a disadvantage to you?
 c) How have you passed this on to your children and grandchildren?
 d) What are some of your fondest memories of your Chinese relative?
03. a) How do you feel about the Chinese living in America today?
 b) Do you try to find anything out about your Chinese relative's home land?

APPENDIX D:

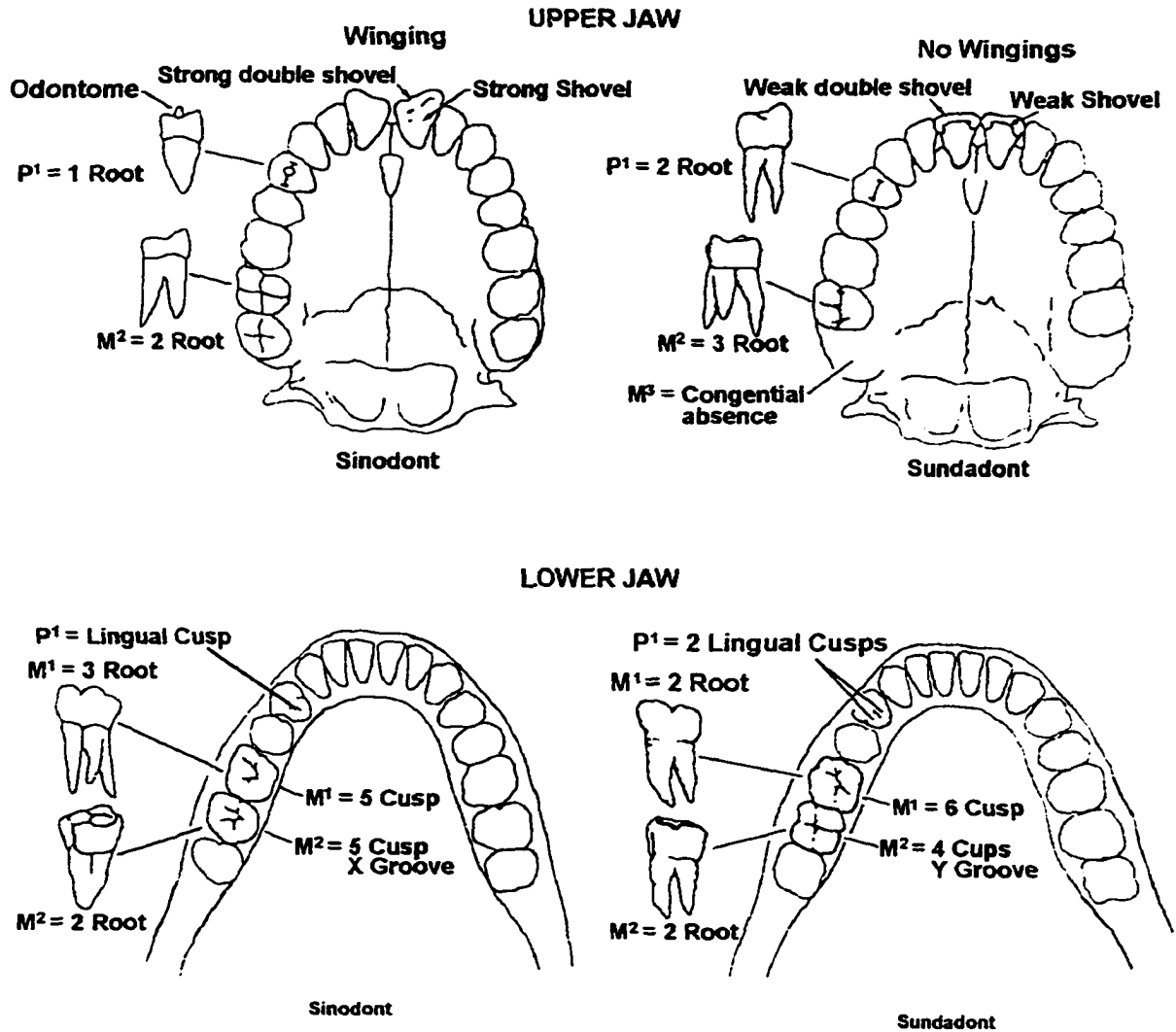
BERING STRAIT LAND BRIDGE



This map illustrates how early Asian Ice Age hunters traveled across a temporary land mass into an unknown area and established settlements based on Samuel Haven's theory which stipulated that *Homo sapiens* first evolved and survived as hunters in the Eastern hemisphere. During the Wisconsin glaciation geographical barriers changed forming a large travelable land mass between the Asian and North American continents. This provided the means for northern Asiatic or Dyukhtai hunters to venture across the Bering Strait, most likely following the large migrating herds, into North America at an unknown date and established isolated settlements in Alaska. The Dyukhtai hunters used fire to keep warm, ward off predators, and cook their food -- the first great steps toward civilization. These early Asian Ice Age hunters have been acknowledged by anthropologist as being ancestors of Native Americans.

APPENDIX E:

DENTAL MORPHOLOGY AND THE FIRST AMERICANS³¹⁰



Christy Turner compared the dental characteristics of the Sinodont (northern Asian and Native Americans) with the Sundadont (eastern Asian). The differences between the two sets of teeth are highlighted.

³¹⁰ Fagan, *People of the Earth*, 237.

APPENDIX F:

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEVADA'S FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATORS

The following short biographies were compiled from Andrew Marsh's *Letter's from Nevada Territory 1861-1862*. The men selected were the prime movers and shakers of a myriad of legislative endeavors that encompassed business, mining laws, marriage and divorce regulations, and other legalistic matters in Nevada's first Territorial Legislation that passed the 1861 Miscegenation Law. The purpose of these short biographies is to point out that the majority of the territorial legislatures were common business men, Atlantic coast born, who whole heartedly supported Northern Union politics, and basically did not harbor out right anti-Chinese sentiment, but did express on several occasions in debates that the Chinese were an inferior race and amalgamation with the Euro-Americans should not be permitted.

Only one of these men, J. W. Pugh, seemed to exhibit out right anti-Chinese hostility and introduced other legislative endeavors to hamper the Chinese in Nevada. On October 29, 1861, Pugh's first endeavor was initiated against the Chinese in an Act designed to prohibit the Chinese or Mongolian races from acquiring, holding, or transmitting real estate.³¹¹ Pugh on November 25, 1862 introduced a bill imposing a Capitation Tax of four dollars per month on all Chinese men³¹² in Nevada territory, or to

³¹¹ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 159-160.

³¹² There was no mention if this tax was to include Chinese women. The prime motive behind the tax was

come hereafter.³¹³ The bill was defeated on the grounds that it violated treaty stipulations and that it was unconstitutional by the decision of the Supreme Court of California upon a similar law.³¹⁴ In spite of chairing numerous committees, Pugh was never successful in any of his endeavors to further regulate the Chinese. He eventually faded into the legislative background.

First Territorial of Nevada Legislators who served on Committees that led to the subsequent passage of the 1861 Act to Prohibit Marriages and Cohabitation of whites with Indians, Chinese, Mulattos, and negroes [*sic*]:

Mark H. Bryan:

Bryan came to Carson City in November 1859. In 1860 he expressed an interest in the Chollar Company at Virginia City, but it is unknown if he pursued this beyond the interest point. Bryan was a member of the House of Representative from the sixth district of Virginia City. He participated on the following committees: Internal Improvements, Mining Affairs, and Election and Division of Towns and Counties. He served on the Committee of Conference regarding the Act to prevent certain marriages. There is no indication of what Bryan had feeling about or toward because his involvement in the legislative process was very limited. Two interesting notes: Bryan's son, Mark Jr. was the

to limit Chinese low wage employment in towns and in the mines, thus providing less job competition for the Euro-Americans seeking work and riches. This coincided with the first great mining boom in Nevada (1860-1880).

³¹³ Marsh, *Letters from Nevada Territory*, 499.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 515. Nevada in many ways mirrored California in their legislative endeavors. Yet, when California amended its miscegenation law, Nevada did not follow suit.

first white boy born in Virginia City and the “Lady Bryan” mine in the Flowery Mining district was named for his wife.³¹⁵

Ephraim Durham:

Durham served as a member of the House of Representatives from the sixth district of Virginia City. He served on the following committees: Trade and Manufactures, Expenditures of the House, Inter Affairs of Towns and Counties, and Ways and Means. Durham’s main agenda was to gain a water supply and fire protection for Carson City. He served on the committee debating the Act on the prohibition of certain marriages. From the comments he made on November 11, 1861, one can assume he believed in the superiority of the Euro-American race, but his rhetoric is aimed more at Native Americans and not the Chinese.³¹⁶

John Wilson Grier:

Grier was born in Guernsey County, Ohio in 1817. He came West in 1851 settling first in California then migrating to Nevada where he was employed as an agent for Wells, Fargo, and Company in Silver City. Grier was elected from the Silver City Fourth District to serve as a member of the territorial Council in 1861; he did not serve his full term and resigned from the office in 1862. Grier’s main legislative emphasis was on the prohibition of selling firearms and liquor to the Native Americans; proper recording of public documents; marriage and divorce laws in regards to legal age of marriage, distribution of property and guardianship of minor children in case of divorce; and the

³¹⁵ Ibid., 2, 42, 225, 326, 334, 353, 362, and 668.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 2, 10, 43, 49, 88, 91, 103-04, 142, 159, 182, 187, 195, 246, 274-75, 282, 342, 346, 357, and 391.

creation of Nevada's judicial districts. He was commonly referred to as "Uncle Johnny" because of his kind and considerate nature. Grier was a staunch Union man and as the *Gold Hill News* of September 26, 1864, said, he "hated Copperheads as the devil does holy water."³¹⁷

William Pierce Harrington, Jr.:

Harrington was born in Maine in 1826. He came to California by way of Panama in 1849. After engaging in business in Marysville Harrington came to Carson City in 1859. Harrington served as a member of the House of Representatives from the third district of Carson City. He was a member of the following committees: Trade and Manufactures, Expenditures of the House, and Election and Division of Towns and Counties. Harrington's agenda entailed the establishment of rules regarding the appointment and duties of guardianship, and regulate the process of settling a deceased estate. He voiced opinions on the construction of toll roads and bridges, interracial marriages, and rules to regulate the House. There was no indication of personal anti-Chinese feelings.³¹⁸

Ira M. Luther:

Luther was an elected member of the Council from the second district of Genoa. He served on the Standing Committee on Contingent Expenses. Luther had a diverse agenda that included stray [*sic*] animals, fencing, herding of livestock, and the

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 6, 16, 35, 42, 48, 81, 136, 177, 186, 206, 224, 229, 246, 261, 272, 277, 285, 298, 366, 493, 500, 504, 509, 608, 635, and 665.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 10, 17, 42, 129, 154, 226, 274, 282, 315, 326, 346-47, 350-53, 359, 367, 373-75, 592, 608, 631, and 667.

accumulation of sawdust around saw mills. Thomas Hannah introduced an Act to rename Douglas County in Luther's honor, but the attempt failed. There is not any indication that Luther had anti-Chinese feelings.³¹⁹

John H. Mills:

Mills became a resident of the Comstock in 1859 and formed part of a partnership in the extremely rich claim -- "Coppers-Mills." He served as a member of the House of Representative from the fifth district of Gold Hill during the 1861 and 1862 Territorial of Nevada legislative session. In 1862 Mills was Speaker of the House. He served on the following committees: Mining Affairs, Incorporations, and Judiciary. His agenda contained a myriad of issues. Mills supported acts relating to elections and filling vacancies, ways of supporting the poor, and prevention of selling liquor and firearms to Native Americans. Not only did Mills established rules for County Commissioners, Sheriffs, coroners, notaries, county assessors, county treasurers, but set forth an agenda of what their responsibilities were to the public. There was no indication that Mills had anti-Chinese feelings, nor that he supported anti-Chinese activities in the mines.³²⁰

William Osborn:

Osborn was an elected member of the 1861 House of Representative for the eighth district of Buckland. He served on the following committees: Federal Relations, Internal Improvements, Agriculture, and Internal Affairs of Towns and Counties. Osborn's

³¹⁹ Ibid., 2, 6, 33, 49, 59, 70, 73, 81, 89, 102, 107, 136, 235, 261, 269, 271, 305, 313, 330, 357, 366, 384-85, 411, 449, 467, 503-04, 538, 549, 589, and 597.

³²⁰ Ibid., 2, 10, 17, 27, 32, 36, 42, 49, 50-56, 63, 78, 83, 86, 92, 129, 142, 154, 163, 224, 226, 259, 243, 263, 282, 298, 303, 335, 338, 350, 353, 359, 376, 390-395, 412, and 667.

political agenda comprised of rules and regulations for Justice of the Peace, Constables, and apprentices and was highly supportive of all measures that concerned the establishment of public education. From the debate of November 11, 1861 one can assume that Osborn was not in favor of the Act as it had been written when he suggested the term “Indian” be removed. There is not any indication that Osborn possessed anti-Chinese sentiment.³²¹

Augustus W. Pray:

Pray was born in Vermont in 1820 and migrated to California in 1853 where he earned the title “Captain” from his sea faring business endeavors. He settled in 1860 Glenbrook, Lake Tahoe where he established a productive ranch and sawmill and also ran cattle near the Big Bend of the Carson River below Dayton. Pray served as a member of the 1861 and 1862 Councils of Legislative Assembly from the sixth district of Carson City after a protest over his seat was settled. He was a member of the 1861 and 1862 Councils of the Legislative Assembly. From all indications Pray was an extraordinarily religious man who supported legislation prohibiting intoxicating liquors to be sold to anyone and doing business on Sunday the Lord’s Day. He served on the committee regarding the prohibition of certain marriages, but really did not emanate hostile feelings toward the Chinese.³²²

³²¹ Ibid., 2, 10, 13, 17, 32, 38, 42-43, 50, 53-54, 64, 71-74, 86, 92-93, 108, 115-16, 123, 125, 131, 160, 172, 182, 187-88, 194, 210, 219, 230, 243, 247-49, 258, 264, 282, 288-90, 298, 302, 323, 326, 339, 362, 390, and 392.

³²² Ibid., 2, 6, 16, 49, 89, 122, 127, 158, 167, 177, 206, 224, 246, 329-30, 366, 384, 411, 467, 470, and 665.

Dr. John W. Pugh:

Councilman Pugh was from the first district of Aurora who served on the 1861 and 1862 Nevada Territorial Legislative Assembly. He was the elected president of the Council and served on several committees including the one that eventually enacted the 1861 Miscegenation Law. Pugh's legislative career was quite diverse. He strongly supported and voted for the following acts: to prevent ballot and voting fraud; the creation of a Board of Commissioners; established a set of weights and measures; appropriated funds for prison guards; and established a means of assessing and collecting territorial revenue which resembled the California act. Pugh was a major player in anti-Chinese laws, but there was no indication as to why. He supported the Miscegenation Law, tried to create enough legislative support to pass a Capitation Tax of four dollars per month on all Chinese in the territory and those which would subsequently come, and wanted a prohibitive act passed to prevent the Chinese from owning, holding, or acquiring real estate. In spite of Pugh's legislative efforts, only the Miscegenation Law was passed. Of the Council and House of Representative members, Pugh through his actions, seems to be the only one who had a staunch public anti-Chinese sentiment.³²³

Isaac Newton Roop:

Roop was elected provisional Governor of the proposed Territory of Nevada in 1859 and even had a county named after him that was later incorporated into Washoe County. From 1861 to 1862 he served as a Councilman for the ninth district from Honey Lake in the Nevada Territorial Legislature. While serving as Councilman he was assigned to collect all old records connected with the Nevada Territory and turn them over to the

³²³ Ibid., 2,6, 15, 30-35, 69, 77, 89, 101, 113, 122, 136, 158, 206, 216, 229, 297, 305, 329, 337, 357, 365, 384, 411, 418, 499, 510, 550, 640, and 654.

governor for publication of a territorial history. Roop's main agenda in the territorial legislature was to protect wildlife. Although Roop verbally read and served on the committee to prohibit cohabitation of whites with people of color, he did not demonstrate any anti-Chinese sentiment.³²⁴

William Morris Stewart:

Stewart was born in New York in 1827, spent his childhood in Ohio, briefly attended Yale, and went to California in 1850. Through his diligent study of the law and Stewart was admitted to practice in 1852. He served as the district attorney of Nevada County in 1852, California's acting Attorney General in 1854 and moved to Carson County, Utah Territory in 1860. Judge C. C. Goodwin stated that "he was one of the most extraordinary men who ever lifted his head above the level in California and Nevada: one of the most forceful personalities in the nation." Effie M. Mack said that "Stewart's participation in the organization of Nevada Territory and the contributions of his legal skill made him the most prominent member of the 1861 Territorial Council. His influence prevailed throughout its entire session, and as a member of more committees, he introduced more bills than any other member, all of which were adopted." One gets the feeling from both these characterizations, Stewart serving on the committee to pass the Miscegenation Act was a means of establishing a respected voice to convince others. There was no indication that Stewart possessed anti-Chinese sentiment nor really had a desire to be a part of the debates.³²⁵

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, 39, 42, 48, 77, 107, 147, 157, 201, 206, 224, 229, 235, 246, 251, 262, 271, 298, 321, 329, 337, 343, 387, 411, 446, 459, 468, 478, 515, 543, 550, 565, 592, 600, 608, 666, and 675.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, 6, 15, 29, 33, 40-42, 48, 51-52, 60-62, 69, 82, 89, 108, 127, 135, 141, 158, 167, 201, 205, 217, 224, 229, 261, 271, 277-79, 287, 305-07, 321, 330, 343, 357, 365, 368, 386, 665, and 675.

James H. Sturtevant:

Sturtevant was born in New York in 1828. He came to California in 1850 and moved to Carson City in 1857 where he established a ranch in Washoe Valley. Sturtevant served as a member of the 1861 and 1862 House of Representatives from the seventh district of Washoe Valley. He served on the following committees: Internal Improvements, Ways and Means, and Trade and Manufactures. His agenda varied from supporting an exemption of homestead value to thwart a forced sell, to establishing rules and regulations for not only the Board of Examiners, but the House and Assembly as well. Sturtevant did not support the act denying the Chinese land ownership or observance of the Lord's Day. From all indications he did not possess anti-Chinese sentiment. ³²⁶

John D. Winters:

Winters was born in Illinois in 1830. Along with his mother and two brothers he settled in Washoe Valley in 1857. By 1861 Winters had achieved financial success and resided in a fine home on the west side of Carson City. His home was the place where one of the 1861 legislative balls was held. He was one of the organizers of the Ophir Silver Mining Company and part owner of the Carson River Quartz Mill and the Aurora Mills, located above Dayton on the Carson River.

Winters served in the 1861 Legislative Assembly as a member of the House of Representatives from the third district in Carson City. Winters served on the following Committees: Ways and Means, Colleges and Schools and Incorporations. His prime legislative focus was on laws and acts regarding incorporation of business, establishing an

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, 10-11, 17, 31, 42-43, 55, 74, 83, 92-93, 105, 109, 131, 160, 209, 287, 290, 339, 362, 374-78, 396, 411, 419, 446-49, 450, 467, 471, 493, 530, 534, 550, 634-35, and 668.

age of majority for men at 21 and women at 18, and setting specific standards for mining surveys. Winters did not emanate anti-Chinese feelings.³²⁷

Colonel Samuel Youngs:

Youngs was born in New York in 1803 where he remained a resident until 1849. He obtained his title of “Colonel” while serving in the New York State Militia. Youngs was a member of the New York State Assembly in 1843-1844. He left for San Francisco in 1849 on a mission to seek golden riches and resided in California for eleven years before coming to Nevada. Youngs served in the 1861 Nevada Territorial House of Representatives, leading a list of seven candidates in Aurora, notwithstanding that Aurora was then the country seat of Mono County, California.

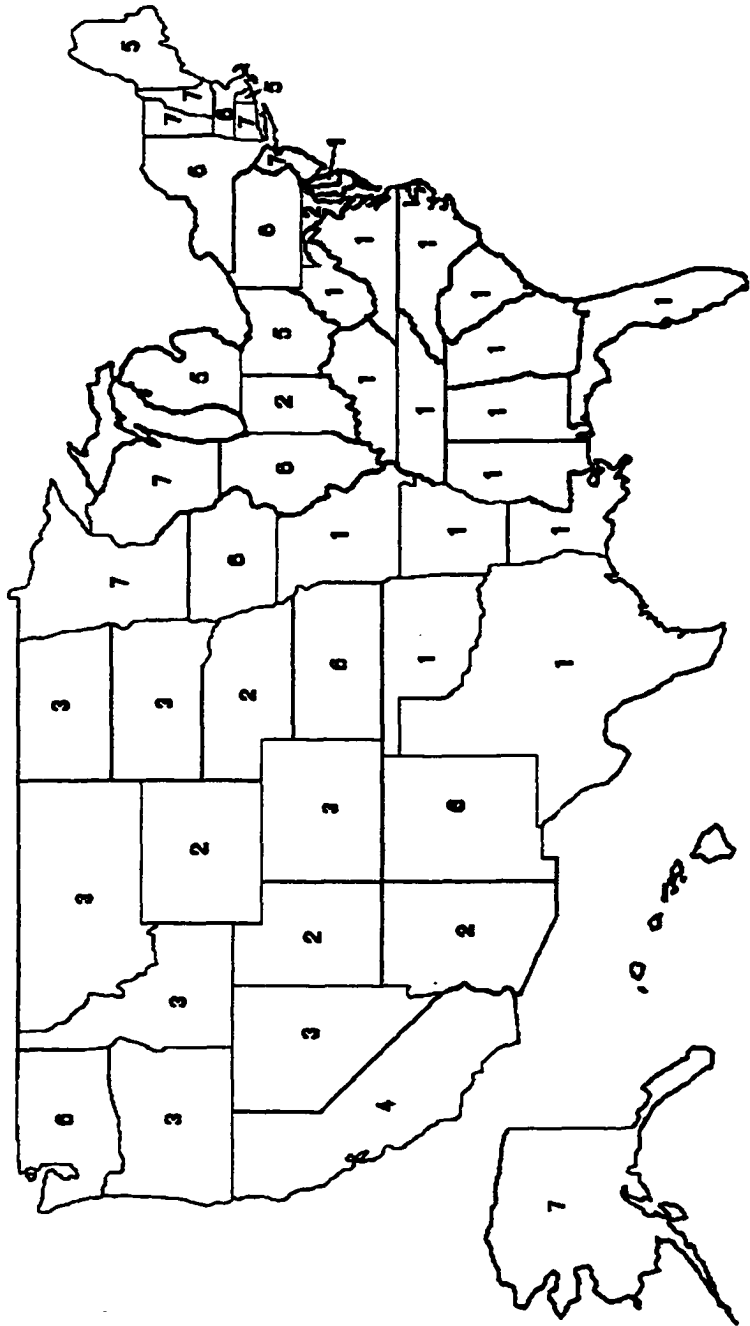
During the Nevada Territorial Legislation, Youngs served on the following committees: Federal Relations, Privileges and Elections, Militia and Indian Affairs, and the Judiciary. Youngs main focus was on acquiring an Act to prohibit business from being conducted on the Sabbath, to establish and locate a permanent seat of government for Nevada, and to settle the boundaries between Nevada and California. There was no indication that Youngs possessed public anti-Chinese sentiment and from the debate of November 11, 1861 Youngs basically tried to illustrate that the Act would be useless, hard to enforce, and would create a negative image of Nevada.³²⁸

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 451, 463, 490, 505, 535, 539, 575, 601, 656, and 698.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 10, 13, 17, 27, 38, 43, 55, 63, 66, 71, 78, 91, 103, 105, 117, 122, 129, 160, 165, 171, 195, 207-210, 225, 237, 246, 274, 303, 332, 347, 351, 375, and 667.

APPENDIX G:

REVOCATION OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE BANS



Revocation of Interracial Marriage Bans
Repealed: 1. Loving v. VA, 1967 2. 1960s, pre-Loving 3. 1950s
4. 1940s 5. 1880s 6. Pre-1880 7. No ban

APPENDIX H:

IMMIGRATION LAWS

The following is a brief description of the laws and treaties that greatly effected the Chinese immigrant.

The Burlingame Treaty 16 Statue 739 (July 28, 1868)

Article V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.....

Article VI. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. And reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence, an may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

Article VII. Citizens of the United States shall enjoy all the privileges of the public education institutions under the control of the government of China, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public education institutions under the control of the government of the United States, which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizen or subjects of the most favored nation.....

Page Law
18 Statue 477 (March 3, 1875)

Chapter 141. That in determining whether the immigration of any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country, in the United States, is free and voluntary... it shall be the duty of the consul-general or consul of the United States... to ascertain whether such immigration has entered into a contract or agreement for a term of service within the United States, for lewd or immoral purposes...

Section 3. That the importation into the United States of women for the purposes of prostitution is hereby forbidden...

Section 5. That is shall be unlawful for aliens of the following classes to immigrate into the United States, namely, persons who are undergoing a sentence for conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political or growing out of or the result of such political offenses, or whose sentence has been remitted on condition of their emigration, and women "imported for the purposes or prostitution...

Chinese Exclusion Act
22 Statue 58 (May 6, 1882)

Chapter 126. In the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof...

That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States...

Section 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and who shall produce to such master before going on board such vessel, and shall produce to the collector of the port in the United States at which such vessel shall arrive, the evidence hereinafter in this act required of his being one of the laborers in this section mentioned...

Section 6. Every Chinese person other than a laborer who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, shall be identified as son entitled by the Chinese Government [sic] in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate

issued under the authority of said government.. stating such right to come, and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation of profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States...

Section 7. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate or forge any such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in any such certificate, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned in a penitentiary for a term of not more than five years...

Section 15. That the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Scott Act

25 Statue 504 (October 1, 1888)

Chapter 1064. An act a supplement to an entitled "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved the sixth day of May eighteen hundred and eighty-two...

That from and after the passage of this act, it shall be unlawful for any Chinese laborer who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may not or hereafter be, a resident within the United States, and who shall have departed, or shall depart, therefrom, and shall not have returned before the passage of this act, to return to, or remain in, the United States.

Section 2. That no certificates of identity provided for in the fourth and fifth sections of the act to which this is a supplement shall hereafter be issued; and every certificate heretofore issued in pursuance thereof, is hereby declared void and of not effect, and the Chinese laborer claiming admission by virtue thereof shall not be permitted to enter the United States...

Geary Act

27 Statue 25 (May 5, 1892)

Chapter 60. That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of ten years from the passage of this act...

Section 5. That after the passage of this act on an application to any judge or court of the United States in the first instance for a writ of habeas corpus, by a Chinese person seeking to land in the United States, to whom that privilege has been denied, no bail shall be allowed, and such application shall be heard and determined promptly without unnecessary delay.

Section 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States, at the time of the passage of this act, and who are entitled to remain in the United States, to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts, within one year after the passage of this act, for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese laborer, within the limits of the United States, who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or who, after one year from the passage hereof, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested, by any United States custom official, collector of internal revenue or his deputies, United States Marshall or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of the court, and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act; and if upon hearing, it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost. Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases, the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court. And any Chinese person other than a Chinese laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right may apply for and receive the same without charge...

Section 8. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in such certificate, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars or imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not more than five years...

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Anderson, Karen. *The Vancouver Chinese: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Arkush, R. David and Leo O. Lee, ed. *Land Without Giants*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Nevada 1540-1888*. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890.
- Bandon, Alexandra. *Chinese Americans*. Canada: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994.
- Barth, Gunther. *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- BeDunnah, Gary P. "A History of the Chinese in Nevada: 1855-1904." Master Thesis University of Nevada, Reno, 1966. Reprinted San Francisco: R and E Research, 1973.
- Beesley, David. "From Chinese to Chinese American: Chinese Women and Families in a Sierra Nevada Town." *California History*, 67 (Fall 1988): 168-179.
- Blackburn, George M. and Sherman L. Richards. "The Chinese of Virginia City, Nevada: 1870." *Amerasia*, 7 (Spring 1980): 51-72.
- Bonnifield, M. S. and TAW. Heady compilers. *The Compiled Laws of the State of Nevada Embracing Statues of 1861 to 1873 Inclusive* published under authority of law. 2 Volumes. Carson City: State Printer, 1873.
- Bowers, Michael W. *The Nevada State Constitution: A Reference Guide*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993.

- Brownstone, David M. *The Chinese American Heritage*. New York: Oxford, 1988.
- Bushnell, Eleanore. *The Nevada Constitution: Origin and Growth*. Third Edition. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1972.
- Cain, Ella M. *The Story of Early Mono County: Its Settlers, Indians, Ghost Towns*. San Francisco: Rearon Publishers, Incorporated, 1961.
- Canfield, Gae Whitney. *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.
- Carter, Gregg Lee. "Social Demography of the Chinese in Nevada, 1870-1880." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1975): 72-89.
- Cather, Helen V. "The History of San Francisco's Chinatown." Master Thesis University of California, 1932.
- Chan, Anthony B. *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983.
- Chan, Loren B. "The Chinese in Nevada: An Historical Survey, 1856-1970." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 25 (Winter 1982): 266-314.
- Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretative History*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991.
- _____. *Asian Californians*. San Francisco: MTL/Boyd and Fraser, 1991.
- _____. *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.
- Chan, Sucheng, Douglas Henry Daniels, Mario T. Garcia, and Terry P. Wilson, eds. *Peoples of Color in the American West*. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1994.
- Chung, Sue Fawn. "Destination: Nevada, The Silver Mountain," *Origins and Destinations* Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California and UCLA Asian American Studies Center, (1994): 111-139. Xerox given to author by Professor.

- _____. "Savoring History: The Story of Missy Wah and the Nevada Frontier," In *Nevada: Readings and Perspectives*, pp. 252-256. Edited by Green, Michael S. and Gary E. Elliott. Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1997.
- _____. "Their Changing World: Chinese Women on the Comstock, 1860-1910" In *Comstock Women: The Making of a Mining Community*, pp. 203-228. Edited by Ronald M. James and C. Elizabeth Raymond. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1997.
- Coolidge, Mary Roberts. *Chinese Immigration*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- Daniels, Roger. *Anti-Chinese Violence in North America*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- _____. *Asian Americans: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.
- _____. *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988.
- _____. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1990.
- de Coppens, Peter Roche. *Ideal Man in Classical Sociology*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.
- Driggs, Don W. *The Constitution of the State of Nevada: A Commentary*. Reno: The University of Nevada Press, 1961.
- Drury, Wells. *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*. New York: Farrar and Rinhart, Incorporated, 1936.
- Earl, Phillip I. "The Bridgeport Murders." *Nevada Magazine*, 37 (Fall 1977): 22-3.
- _____. "Nevada's Miscegenation Laws and the Marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Bridges." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 37 (Spring 1994): 1-17.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. *Folktales of China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996.

- Elliot, Russell. *History of Nevada*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973.
- Evans, James Leroy. "The Indian Savage, The Mexican Bandit, The Chinese Heathen -- Three Popular Stereotypes." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1967.
- Fagan, Brian M. *People of the Earth: An Introduction to World Prehistory*. Seventh Edition. New York: HarperCollins Incorporated, 1992.
- Ferber, Abby L. "Exploring the Social Construction of Race: Sociology and the Study of Interracial Relationships." In *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, pp. 155-167. Edited by Namoi Zack. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 1995.
- Foner, Philip S. and Daniel Rosenberg, eds. *Racism, Dissent, and Asian Americans from 1850 to the Present: A Documentary History*. Westport : Greenwood Press, 1993.
- Folkes, John Gregg. *Nevada's Newspapers: A Bibliography*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1964.
- Fong, Colleen and Judy Yung. "In Search of the Right Spouse: Interracial Marriage among Chinese and Japanese Americans." *Amerasia Journal*, 21 (Winter 1995-96): 77-97.
- Forbes, Jack D., ed. *Nevada Indians Speak*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1967.
- Gibson, Reverend Otis, A. M. *The Chinese in America*. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1877.
- Green, Michael S. and Gary E. Elliott, eds. *Nevada: Readings and Perspectives*. Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1997.
- Henz, Linnie M. "The History of Chinese Immigration and Exclusion in the United States." Master Thesis, University of Southern California, 1940.
- Hermann, Ruth. *The Paiutes of Pyramid Lake*. San Jose: Harlan-Young Press, 1993.
- Hing, Bill Ong. *Making and Remaking Asian America Through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

- _____. *To Be An American: Culture Pluralism and the Rhetoric of Assimilation*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Hirata, Lucy Cheng. "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 5 (1979): 3-29.
- Hittman, Michael. *Corbett Mack: The Life of a Northern Paiute*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- Ho, Man Keung. *Building a Successful Intermarriage between Religious, Social Classes, Ethnic Groups or Races*. St. Meinrad: St. Meinrad Archabbey, 1984.
- Hulse, James W. *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.
- _____. *The Nevada Adventure: A History*. Revised Edition. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1969.
- Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada (Reno). *Numa: A Northern Paiute History*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Printing Service, 1976.
- Issel, William and Robert W. Cherny. *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, California : University of California Press, 1986.
- Jacobson, Cardell K., ed. *American Families: Issues of Race and Ethnicity*. New York: Garland Publishing, Incorporated, 1995.
- Jaimes, M. Annenette. "Some Kind of Indian: On Race, Eugenics, and Mixed-Bloods." In *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, pp. 133-153. Ed. Naomi Zack. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 1990.
- Jaschok, Maria and Suzanne Miers. *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*. Hong Kong: University Press, 1994.
- Johnson, Edward C. *Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Printing Service, 1975.
- Johnson, Walton R. and D. Michael Warren, eds. *Inside the Mixed Marriage: Accounts of Changing Attitudes, Patterns, and Perceptions of*

- Cross-Cultural and Interracial Marriages*. Maryland: University Press of America, Incorporated, 1994.
- Kelly, J. Wells. *First Directory of Nevada Territory*. Los Gatos: The Talisman Press, 1962.
- Kitchen, Deborah Lynn. "Interracial Marriage in the United States, 1900-1980." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1993.
- Lansing, Gerritt. "Chinese Immigration: A Sociological Study." *Popular Science Monthly*, 20 (1882): 721-735.
- Larson, Burnell, ed. *Know Your Nevada Indians*. Carson City: State of Nevada, Department of Education, Revised Edition 1972.
- Lee, Bill Lann. "Yung Wing and the Americanization of China." *Amerasia Journal*, 1 (March 1971): 25-32.
- Lee, Rose Hum. *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- Lillard, Richard G. *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, First printing 1942, Second printing 1949.
- Lowe, Sharon. "Pipe Dreams and Reality: Opium in Cornstock Society, 1860-1887." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 36 (Fall 1993): 178-193.
- Mack, Effier Mona. *Nevada: A History of the State from the Earliest Times Through the Civil War*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.
- Magnaghi, Russel M. "Virginia City's Chinese Community: 1860-1880." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 24 (Fall 1981): 130-157.
- Marsh, Andrew J. *Letters From Nevada Territory, 1861-1862*. Carson City: Legislative Council Bureau State of Nevada, 1862.
- Marsh, Andrew J., Samuel L. Clemens, and Amos Bowman. *Reports of the 1863 Constitutional Convention of the Territory of Nevada*. Carson City: Legislative Counsel Bureau State of Nevada, 1864. Copyright 1972 by State of Nevada.
- Mathews, Mary McNair. *Ten Years in Nevada; or Life on the Pacific Coast*. New York: Buffalo Press, 1880.

- McClain, Charles J. *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- McLeod, Alexander. *Pigtails and Gold Dust*. Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1947.
- McCunn, Ruthanne Lum. *Thousand Pieces of Gold*. San Francisco: Design Enterprises of San Francisco, 1981.
- Miller, Stuart Creighton. *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Okihiro, Gary Y. *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Ostrander, Gilman M. *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough, 1859-1964*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Park, Willard Z. "Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin." *American Anthropologist*, 40 (Fall 1938): 622-638.
- Pascoe, Peggy. "Gender System in Conflict: The Marriages of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939." In *Unequal Sister: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*. pp. 139-156. Edited by Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- _____. "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of "Race" in Twentieth-Century America." *The Journal of American History*, 83 (June 1996): 44-69.
- Patterson, Edna B., Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, eds. *Nevada's Northwest Frontier*. Reno: University of Nevada Press and The Northeast Nevada Historical Society, 1969.
- Peffer, George Anthony. "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women Under the Page Law." *American Ethnic History* 6 (1986): 28-46.
- Pontoon, Juanita. Interviewed by Ruth Kretzler Billhimer, February 1998 at Schurz, Nevada. Interview 01, hand notes kept.

- Quinn, Larry D. "Chink Chink Chinaman." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58 (April 1967): 81-86.
- Richards, Kent David. "Growth and Development of Government in the Far West: The Oregon Provisional Government, Jefferson Territory, Provisional and Territorial Nevada." Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation. University of Wisconsin, 1966.
- Richardson, Albert D. *Beyond the Mississippi*. Hartford, 1867.
- Riggs, Fred W. *Pressure on Congress: A study of the Reale of Chinese Exclusions*. New York, 1950.
- Rohe, Randall E. "After the Gold Rush: Chinese Mining in the Far West, 1850-1890." *Montana*, 32 (Autumn 1982): 2-19.
- Romano, Dugan. *Intercultural Marriage: Promises & Pitfalls*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, Incorporated, 1988.
- Rusco, Elmer R. *Minority Groups in Nevada*. Reno: University of Nevada, 1966.
- Rusco, Mary K. "Counting the Lovelock Chinese." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 24 (Winter 1981): 319-328.
- Salyer, Lucy E. *Laws Harsh as Paper Tigers: Chinese Immigration and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Laws*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Sandmeyer, Elmer. *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.
- Saxton, Alexander. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Scott, Lalla. *Karnee: A Paiute Narrative*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966.
- Scrugham, James G., ed. *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land*. New York: The American Historical Society, Incorporated, 1935.
- Shepperson, Wilbur S. *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and their Interpreters*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970.

- Smith, Reger C. *Two Cultures, One Marriage*. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1996.
- Song, Young I. and Eugene C. Kim, eds. *American Mosaic*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1993.
- State of Nevada. *Constitution of the State of Nevada*, issued by Department of Education, State of Nevada. Byron F. Stetler, Superintendent of Public Instruction. Carson City: State Printing Office, 1959.
- State of Nevada. *Journal of the Assembly*, Nevada State Legislature, Twenty-fifth and Forty-ninth Sessions, 1911 and 1959.
- State of Nevada. *Journal of the Senate*, Nevada State Legislature, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-ninth and Forty-ninth Sessions, 1911, 1919, and 1959.
- Stewart, Omer C. "Northern Paiute Bands." *Anthropological Records*, Number 3 Berkley: University of California Press, 1939: 127-149.
- Sung, Betty Lee. *Chinese American Intermarriages*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1990.
- Takaki, Ronald. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.
- _____. *From Different Shores*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- _____. *Stranger from A Different Shore*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1989.
- _____. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1993.
- _____. *Journey to Gold Mountain*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994.
- Tsai, Shih-Shan Henry. *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983.
- _____. *The Chinese Experience in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

- _____. "Chinese Immigration, 1848-1882." In *Peoples of Color in the American West*. Edited by Sucheng Chan, Douglas Henry Daniels, Mario T. Garcia, and Terry P. Wilson. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1994.
- Turner, Christy. "Advances in the Dental Search for Native American Origins." *Acta Anthropegenetica*, 8 (Fall 1984): 23-78.
- Underhill, Ruth. *The Northern Paiute Indians of California and Nevada: Indian Life and Customs*. Washington D. C. : United States Department of the Interior, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1941.
- United States Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1860.
- _____. *Ninth Census of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870.
- _____. *Tenth Census of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880.
- _____. *Eleventh Census of the Untied States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890.
- _____. *Twelfth Census of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.
- _____. *Thirteenth Census of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910.
- _____. *Fourteenth Census of the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920.
- United States Bureau of Indian Affairs Walker River Tribal Census Records, 1897-1920.
- United States Code Annotated, *Title 13 Census*. St. Paul: West Publishing Company.
- Waldorf, John Taylor. *A Kid on the Comstock: Reminiscences of a Virginia City Childhood*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1968.
- Wegars, Priscilla, ed. *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese*. New York: Baywood Publishing Company, 1993.

- Whiting, Beatrice. *Paiute Sorcery*. New York: The Viking Fund Incorporated Publications in Anthropology, Number 15, 1950.
- Ying-Hui Wu, Dana and Jeffrey Dao-Sheng Tung. *Coming to America: The Chinese American Experience*. Brookfield, Connecticut: The Milbrook Press, 1993.
- Zack, Naomi, ed. *American Mixed Races: The Culture of Microdiversti*y. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated, 1995.
- Zanjani, Sally. "Paiute Revenge: Grisly crime brought the threat of Massacre." *American West*, 21 (July-August 1984): 52-6.
- Zo, Kil Young. *Chinese Immigration into the United States, 1850-1880*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.

VITA
Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Ruth Kretzler Billhimer

Local Address:

5811 DuVal Drive
Las Vegas, Nevada 89115

E-mail Address:

billhim@nevada.edu

Degrees:

Associates of Art , General Education, 1993
Community College of Southern Nevada

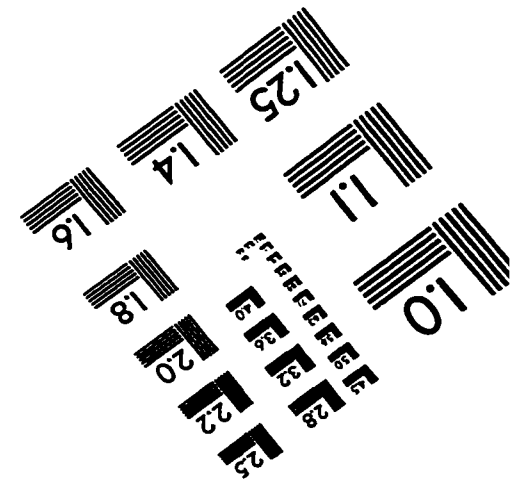
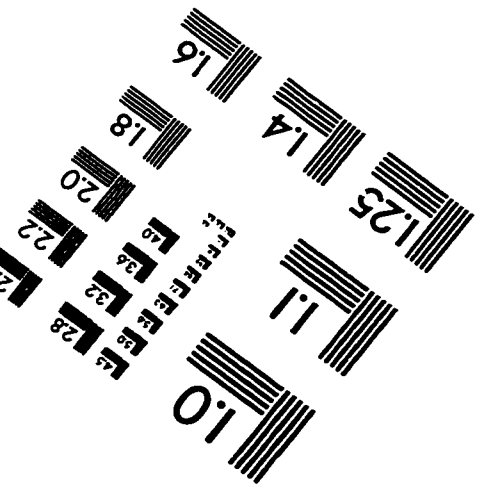
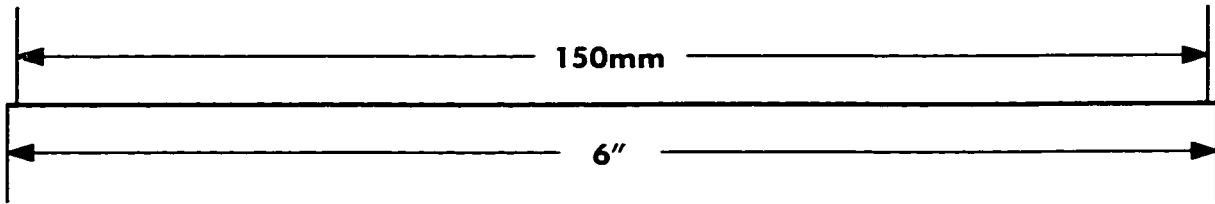
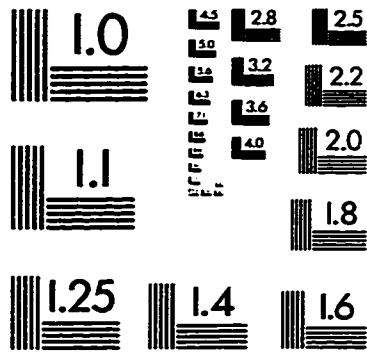
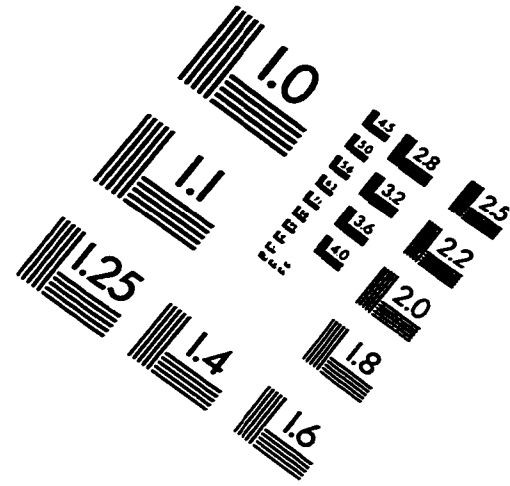
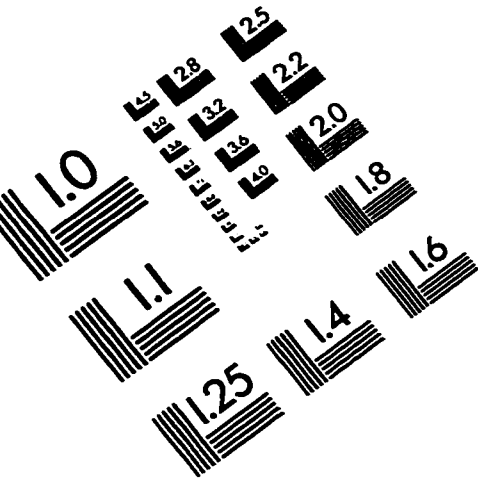
Bachelor of Arts, History, 1995
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Thesis: Pawns of Fate: Chinese/Paiute Intercultural Marriages, 1860-1920, Walker River
Reservation Schurz, Nevada

Thesis Examination Committee:

Chairperson, Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Ph.D.
Committee Member, Dr. Willard H. Rollings, Ph.D.
Committee Member, Dr. Joanne Goodwin, Ph.D.
Graduate Faculty Representative, Dr. P. Jane Hafen, Ph.D.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved