



DRIVEN OUT

THE FORGOTTEN WAR AGAINST
CHINESE AMERICANS



JEAN PFAELZER

DRIVEN OUT

THE
FORGOTTEN WAR AGAINST
CHINESE AMERICANS

JEAN PFAELZER

RANDOM HOUSE



NEW YORK

Copyright © 2007 by Jean Pfaelzer

All rights reserved.

Published in the United States by Random House, an imprint of The Random House Publishing Group, a division of Random House, Inc., New York.

RANDOM HOUSE and colophon are registered trademarks of Random House, Inc.

ISBN 978-1-4000-6134-1

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Pfaelzer, Jean.

Driven out : the forgotten war against
Chinese Americans / Jean Pfaelzer.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-1-4000-6134-1

1. Chinese Americans—California—History—19th century. 2. Chinese Americans—Crimes against—California—History—19th century. 3. Chinese Americans—Relocation—California—History—19th century. 4. Racism—California—History—19th century. 5. Violence—California—History—19th century. 6. Forced migration—California—History—19th century. 7. California—Race relations—History—19th century. 8. Ethnic neighborhoods—California—History—19th century. 9. California—History, Local. I. Title.

F870.C5P48 2007

979.400451—dc22 2006051031

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

www.atrandom.com

2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

FIRST EDITION

Designed by Stephanie Huntwork

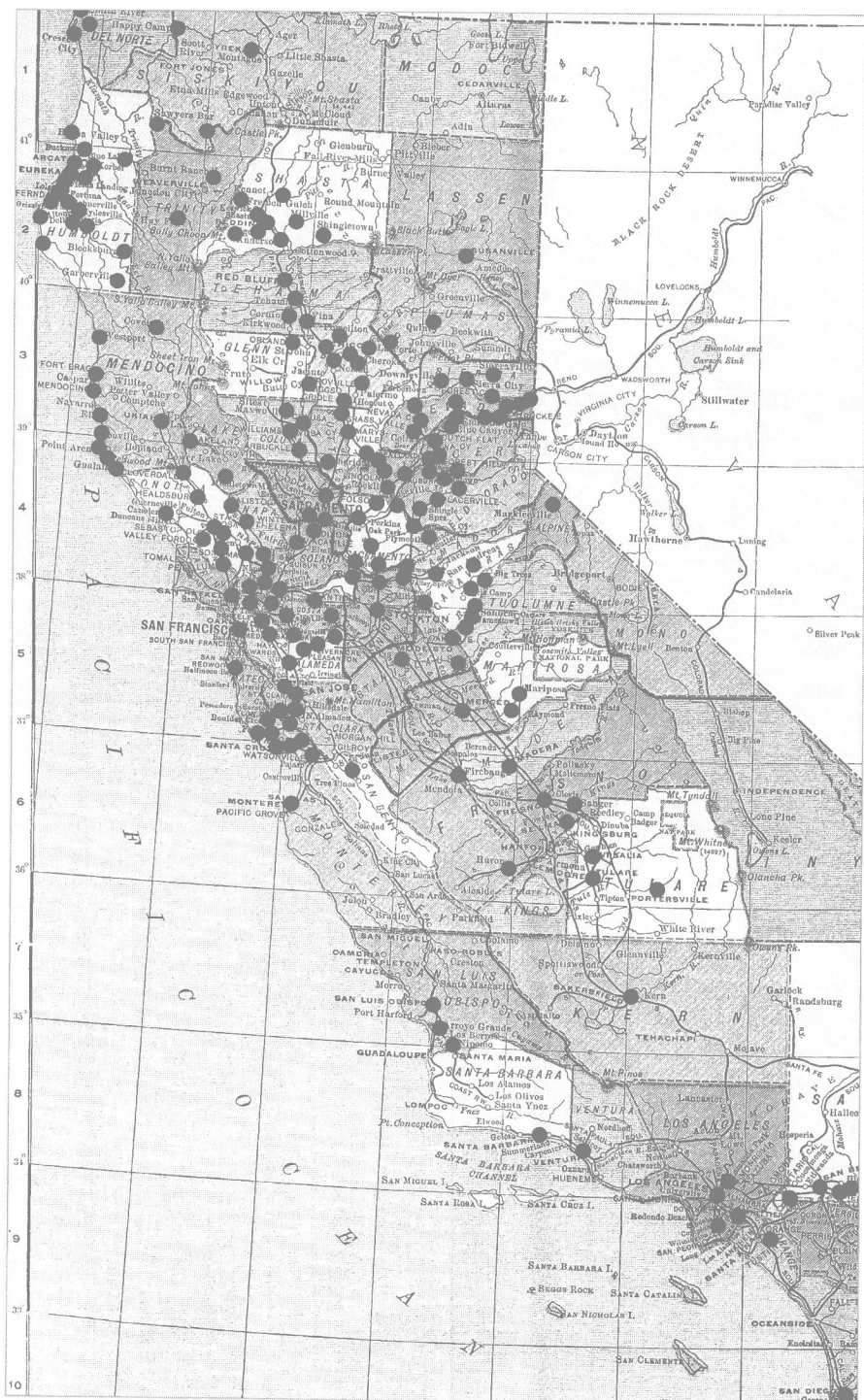
for

PETER PANUTHOS

SOPHIA PFAELZER PANUTHOS

JOHANNA PFAELZER

JONATHAN PANUTHOS



Roundups of Chinese Americans in California, 1849–1906.

There were more than two hundred such roundups.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- ii FRONTISPIECE: Chinese fisherman on north coast. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- ix Map: *The Driven Out of California*, 1849–1906. Prepared by author on map of California, *National Newspaper Directory and Gazette*, Pettingill and Co., 1900. Collection of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.
- xxiii Yoke Leen from Sonora. Courtesy of Tuolumne County Museum.
- xxiv Yoke Leen's mark. Courtesy of Tuolumne County Museum.
- I "Driven Out" Ideogram
- 5 "A Chinaman en Route for the Mines." *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, 1852, p. 279.
- 6 Chinese miner by creek, 1849. Courtesy of Tuolumne County Museum, TP 987/TP 3750.
- 9 Chinese gold miners in Tuolumne. Courtesy of Tuolumne County Museum, TP 16998.
- 11 "Pacific Chivalry," *Harper's Weekly*, August 7, 1869, p. 512.
- 12 "Chinese Sleeping Accommodations." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Sunday Magazine*, March 1881.
- 14 Sheriff Clay Stockton. Courtesy of Shasta County Historical Society, California State Parks.
- 20 Chinese immigrants viewed displacing white settlers and Indians. From *Wayside Scenes in California*, J. M. Hutchings C. Nahl Del., California State Library: California History Section Photograph Collection Chinese: Mines & Mining, Neg. # 25, 626.
- 28 Chinese slave rebellion on the Norway. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, June 1864, p. 834.
- 35 Grass Valley Chinatown. Searls Historical Library, Nevada County Historical Society.
- 41 Chinese man with queue. Photographer: Isaac Baber. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 48 Calle de los Negros. *Harper's Weekly*, August 19, 1883, p. 527.
- 50 Chinese corpses lying in Los Angeles jail yard. Los Angeles Public Library: Second Pacific National Bank Photo Collection, #940.
- 63 Orchard field-workers, Rancho Chico, Butte County. California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections and the Bidwell Mansion.
- 64 Chinese nanny and white child. Source unknown.
- 68 Chinese laundry at Chico Creek (burned). California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections and the Bidwell Mansion.

- 78 "The Chinese Agitation in San Francisco—A Meeting of the Workingmen's Party on the Sand Lots." From a sketch by H. A. Rodgers, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 20, 1880, p. 41.
- 82 Chinese Consul Fred Bee. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, #000660.
- 90 Chinese girl prostitute locked in San Francisco "crib." Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 93 "Chinese Girls Slave Building." House of prostitution in Mokelumne Hill mining town, California. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 95 "Rescued Chinese Slave Girls" from San Francisco. Library of Congress.
- 96 Chinese prostitute from Eureka, California. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 107 Chinese woman in Humboldt County. Beinecke Library, Yale University, V.P. 185-1878, Folder 6/21, Z00101701-C.
- 109 Chinese merchant's wife, Redding, California. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 109 Chinese merchant couple. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 110 Chinese couple, Nevada City. Searls Historical Library, Nevada County Historical Society.
- 117 "Mr. Charlie from Tuolumne" and "Mrs. Charlie from Tuolumne." Courtesy of Tuolumne County Museum, TP 9717.
- 122 Eureka's Chinatown, with view of Palace Stables. Humboldt County Historical Society.
- 122 Eureka's Chinatown, corner of Fourth Street and East Street. Humboldt County Historical Society.
- 124 Charles Moon. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 127 The *Crescent City*. Del Norte County Historical Society.
- 134 Casper Ricks, owner of Eureka Chinatown. Humboldt County Historical Society.
- 135 Vegetable peddler, Eureka, California. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 136 Advertisement for cigars "Made by White Labor." *Humboldt Times*, February 11, 1885.
- 157 Richard Sweasey. Beinecke Library, Yale University.
- 158 Placard for mass meeting to rid Crescent City of Chinese, January 1886. Del Norte County Historical Society.
- 159 Chinese merchant family Tsiau Han Yu, Crescent City. Del Norte County Historical Society.
- 165 "A Picture for Employers." J. Keppler, *Puck*, August 21, 1878, p. 16.
- 174 Charles McGlashan. Truckee Donner Historical Society.
- 189 Advertisement and placard for upcoming statewide anti-Chinese convention to be held in Sacramento. *Truckee Republican*, February 1886. Truckee Donner Historical Society.
- 210 "The Massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs." *Harper's Weekly*, September 26, 1885, p. 637.
- 212 Rock Springs Chinese Investigation Commission. Sweetwater County Historical Museum, Wyoming.
- 216 The anti-Chinese riot at Seattle, Washington Territory. W. P. Snyder, *Harper's Weekly*, March 6, 1886, p. 157.
- 218 Tacoma mayor Jacob Weisbach. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Negative 23498.
- 220 Committee of Fifteen, Tacoma. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Negative 1679.
- 239 San Jose's Chinatown before the fire. History San Jose Research Center.
- 239 White citizens observe the burning of Chinatown. History San Jose Research Center.
- 256 Marriage of Chinese man and Irish woman. *Harper's Weekly*, June 12, 1869, p. 384.
- 258 Chinese merchant's wife seated with opium pipe. Beinecke Library, Yale University, 2001 0701C 7/31, J.S. Mason BG U-S ex Deeks.
- 260 Lady Liberty consoling Chinese baby. Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, February 18, 1871, p. 149.

- 262 White child assaults Chinese child. In Henry T. Williams, ed., *Pacific Tourist* (1878), p. 265.
- 263 Searching Chinese immigrants for opium at San Francisco wharf. *Harper's Weekly* 16: 1882.
- 266 Chinese field-workers in Los Angeles, 1870s. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library.
- 268 Chinese laborer, Humboldt County. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 271 Chinese laborer with cane, Humboldt County. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 272 Chinese man in western clothing. Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 274 Chinese man standing next to chair, probably in Humboldt County. Source unknown.
- 276 State Senator Clay Taylor. Shasta County Library.
- 278 Chinese men in graveyard. Source unknown.
- 280 "The Wedding of the Chinese and the Coon." Sheet music, 1885-86. American Memory Collection, Library of Congress.
- 282 Placard for an anti-Chinese meeting called by Mayor Weisbach. Source unknown.
- 282 Anti-Chinese riots, Denver, 1880. From a sketch by N. B. Wilkins, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 20, 1880.
- 283 Chinese laundry workers. *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine*, March 1881.
- 284 Chinatown, Monterey, California. Undated. Courtesy University of California, Santa Cruz.
- 287 Boycott notice by Butte Tailors Union, Silverbow. National Archives and Records Administration.
- 289 Child's cap pistol, inscribed THE CHINESE MUST GO. Made by Ive, Blakeslee, & Co. of Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1884. Photograph by Chris Harns, courtesy House of Toys.
- 298 San Francisco Police Department Raiders Squad. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1905.17500, v.29-35-ALB, PHI-034434.
- 304 "The Question of the Hour." *The Wasp*, 1893.
- 332 United States Certificate of Residence for Fui Kui, a six-year-old boy. National Archives and Records Administration, #5379.
- 332 United States Certificate of Residence for Oo Dock, Portland.
- 334 United States Certificate of Residence for Yuen S. A. Conchu, a woman. National Archives and Records Administration, #19437.
- 339 Advertisement for "The Iron Chink."
- 339 Chinese salmon cannery workers, Fairham, Washington, 1905. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Social Issues File #Cb, UW Negative #9422.
- 344 Chinese cannery workers in the boxcars on Indian Island, Humboldt Bay. Photo by J. A. Meiser, Peter Palmquist Collection.
- 345 Chinese cannery workers being deported at Humboldt Bay. Photo by J. A. Meiser, Peter Palmquist Collection.

INTRODUCTION

THE CHINESE CALLED IT *PAI HUA*, OR *THE DRIVEN OUT*

At nine o'clock on the morning of November 3, 1885, steam whistles blew at the foundries and mills across Tacoma, to announce the start of the purge of all the Chinese people from the town. Saloons closed and police stood by as five hundred men, brandishing clubs and pistols, went from house to house in the downtown Chinese quarter and through the Chinese tenements along the city's wharf. Sensing the storm ahead, earlier in the week, about five hundred Chinese people had fled from Tacoma. Now the rest were given four hours to be ready to leave. They desperately stuffed years of life into sacks, shawls, and baskets hung from shoulder poles—bedding, clothing, pots, some food. At midday, the mob began to drag Chinese laborers from their homes, pillage their laundries, and throw their furniture into the streets. Chinese merchants pleaded with the mayor and the sheriff for an extra twenty-four hours to pack up their shops.

Early on that cold Tuesday afternoon, armed vigilantes corralled two hundred Chinese men and women at the docks. The governor of the Washington Territory, Watson C. Squire, ignored telegrams from Chinese across the Pacific Northwest urging him to intervene. The mayor and the sheriff hid out at city hall as the mob marched the Chinese through heavy rain to a

muddy railroad crossing nine miles from town. The merchants' wives, unable to walk on their tiny bound feet, were tossed into wagons.

Lake View Junction was a stop on the Northern Pacific Railroad, which had been built by Chinese laborers. A few of the evicted Chinese found damp shelter in abandoned storage sheds, in stables, or inside the small station house. Most huddled outside. During the cold and rainy night, two or three trains stopped at the station. People with cash paid six dollars to board the overnight train to Portland, Oregon. Others crammed onto a passing freight train. The rest began the hundred-mile trek south to the Chinatown in Portland, where they hoped to find sanctuary in a community that had just refused the town's orders to leave. For days they were seen following the tracks south. Others fled the country for Canada.

Two days later, Tacoma's Chinatown was destroyed by fire.

LUM MAY

Territory of Washington

County of King

June 3, 1886

Lum May being duly sworn on his oath saith:

I was born in Canton, China, and am a subject of the Chinese Empire. I am aged about 51 years. Have been in America about eleven years and have been doing business in Tacoma for ten years. My business there was that of keeping dry goods, provisions, medicines and general merchandize store.

On the third day of November I resided with my family in Tacoma on the corner of Railroad Street some little distance from Chinatown. At that time I would say there were eight hundred or nine hundred Chinese persons in and about Tacoma who . . . were forcibly expelled by the white people of Tacoma. Twenty days previously to the 3rd of November, a committee of white persons waited upon the Chinese at their residences and ordered them to leave the city before the 3rd of November. I do not know the names of [the] white persons but would recognize their faces. The Committee consisted of 15 or 20 persons . . . who notified the Chinese to leave.

I asked General Sprague and other citizens for protection for myself and the Chinese people. The General said he would see and do what he could. All

the Chinese after receiving notice to leave were frightened lest their houses should be blown up and destroyed. A rumour to that effect was in circulation. Many of them shut up their houses and tried to keep on the look out.

About half past 9 o'clock in the morning of November 3, 1885, a large crowd of citizens of Tacoma marched down to Chinatown and told all the Chinese that the whole Chinese population of Tacoma must leave town by half past one o'clock in the afternoon of that day. There must have been in the neighborhood of 1000 people in the crowd of white people though I cannot tell how many. They went to all the Chinese houses and establishments and notified the Chinese to leave. Where the doors were locked they broke forcibly into the houses smashing in doors and breaking in windows. Some of the crowd was armed with pistols, some with clubs. They acted in a rude boisterous and threatening manner, dragging and kicking the Chinese out of their houses.

My wife refused to go and some of the white persons dragged her out of the house. From the excitement, the fright and the losses we sustained through the riot she lost her reason, and has ever since been hopelessly insane. She threatens to kill people with a hatchet or any other weapon she can get hold of. The outrages I and my family suffered at the hands of the mob has utterly ruined me. I make no claim, however, for my wife's insanity or the anguish I have suffered. My wife was perfectly sane before the riot.

I saw my countrymen marched out of Tacoma on November 3rd. They presented a sad spectacle. Some had lost their trunks, some their blankets, some were crying for their things.

Armed white men were behind the Chinese, on horseback sternly urging them on. It was raining and blowing hard. On the 5th of November all the Chinese houses situated on the wharf were burnt down by incendiaries.

I sustained the following losses through the riot, to wit: 2 pieces silk crape trowsers female, 2 pieces black silk, 6 silk handkerchiefs, 2 crape jackets, 10 blue cotton shirts, 8 pieces black cotton trowsers, 12 Pairs Chinese Cotton Stockings, 2 Leather trunks (Chinese), wool great dress female, 4 flannel jackets, 3 pairs embroidered shoes, 1 dressing case, 6 white cotton shirts, 1 carpet bag, 2 white woolen blankets, 2 red woolen bed covers, 1 feather mattress, 1 spring bed, 2 tables, 6 chairs, 2 stoves, 4 pictures and frames, 1 large mirror, 2 woolen trowsers (male) and solvent debtors (Chinaman), 1 business and good will, loss of perishable goods, total \$45,532.

A few of the Chinese merchants I among them were suffered to remain

in Tacoma for two days in order to pack up our goods or what was left of them. On the 5th of November, after the burning of the Chinese houses on the wharf I left Tacoma for Victoria where I have since resided. . . . No Chinaman has been allowed to reside in Tacoma since November 3rd.

Mayor Weisbach appeared to be one of the leaders of the mob on the 3rd of November. I spoke to him and told him that Mr. Sprague had said the Chinese had a right to stay and would be protected. He answered me: "General Sprague has nothing to say. If he says anything we will hang him or kick him. You get out of here." I cried. He said I was a baby because I cried over the loss of my property. He said, "I told you before you must go, and I mean my word shall be kept good."

I desire to add to this that . . . it is ten years since we began business there.

Lum May¹

Tacoma's Chinese residents did not go quietly. On November 5, 1885, aided by China's consul in San Francisco, they compelled the U.S. attorney to arrest the mayor of Tacoma, the chief of police, two councilmen, a probate court judge, and the president of the YMCA. Then they filed seventeen civil claims against the U.S. government, for a total of \$103,365.

The Tacoma roundup was one of a hundred Chinese pogroms that raged across the Pacific Northwest in the late nineteenth century. In the winter of 1885–86, the raids and arson in Chinatowns reached Portland, and the Chinese refugees from Tacoma fled again—some to San Francisco, some back to rural hamlets in the Washington Territory closer to their old homes, some to the East Coast, and some to work on plantations in the South.

Word of the raids resounded in newspapers, in state capitals, in the boardrooms of railroad companies and lumber mills, in Congress, and across the Pacific Ocean. Defying protests from both Republicans and Democrats, President Grover Cleveland decided to accede to the refugees' demands for reparation, with the hope that this might cause China to revive trade talks with the United States. China's population of four hundred million people, he believed, could purchase America out of its deep economic depression, and China's government might open trade routes for a nation come lately to foreign expansion.

Congress was ambivalent. It understood that whichever party controlled California would likely control the House of Representatives, the

Senate, and the next presidency. The firestorm of roundups in California was compelling evidence of the sentiments in the golden state.

The violent raids were bannered in the press—in the local *Tacoma Register* and the *Eureka Times-Telephone*, and nationwide in *The New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*. Most Americans knew of the Chinese purges in California, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, Nevada, and Colorado. But before Congress complied with Cleveland's request, it wanted to know the economic value of a Chinese life.

In 1886, at the order of Congress, Governor Watson Squire desperately sought to track down the two hundred Chinese men and women who had been driven out of Tacoma so that they could bear witness to the public violence done against them in his name. Ultimately, he could locate only a few. Most were unable or unwilling to be found.

Lum May had fled to Victoria, Canada. He and his wife had legally entered the United States in 1874, before the Page Act of 1875 banned the entry of almost all Chinese women and before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882—the first immigration law to exclude people based on their race—banned the thousands of immigrants who crisscrossed the Pacific each year from reentering the United States.

Governor Squire found Lum May, but as a subject of the Chinese Empire, he was barred from testifying in a U.S. court. Through his written affidavit, Lum's is one of the Chinese voices that speaks across the silent years since being Driven Out.

TUCK NAN

Governor Squire also located Lum May's close friend and business partner, Tuck Nan. On the night of the purge, Tuck Nan had fled to Portland, where he had decided to remain despite the ongoing anti-Chinese violence in the area. It was there that Squire was compelled to listen to and record Tuck Nan's story.

Now fifty years old, Tuck Nan had come to the United States at age sixteen, arriving in San Francisco with the first wave of Chinese immigrants who came in the gold rush. Within two years of the discovery of gold on January 24, 1848, at a sawmill on the American River in California, more than 150,000 men—from the eastern United States and across the globe—

poured into San Francisco. Driven from their homelands by poverty and political repression, and now dreaming of gold, they quickly made their way to the creek beds of the Sierra Nevada. Arriving in 1852, Tuck Nan was one of seven hundred Chinese émigrés.² Within the next eighteen months, twenty thousand more Chinese miners entered California. And thousands more were waiting in China's port cities to board ships bound for San Francisco.³

Ten of the early Chinese immigrants were women, kidnapped to work as enslaved prostitutes in California. Soon the ships would also carry baby girls, seized in China for the same fate. Most did not survive. Some Chinese prostitutes, however, escaped from the locked "cribs" and brothels in San Francisco, only to be forced to return to their owners after the purges in Tacoma, Eureka, Antioch, and Truckee.

White Americans, many unemployed, spread onto lands stolen from indigenous Americans, "inherited" from Spain by Mexico in 1821, governed by "joint occupancy" with Britain, which had handed over its rights to the United States in 1846, and seized by the United States in the Mexican War in 1848. These white miners led the first purges of the Chinese, sparking a wave of violence that raged over the next four decades—north to Tacoma, south to Los Angeles, east to Wyoming and Colorado. After the Civil War, the new trade-union movement took up the anti-Chinese cause and the Knights of Labor spread the racist message through the Workingmen's Party. White boot makers, cigar rollers, cooks, and woodcutters who were competing with lower-paid Chinese workers joined in the brutality.

The Driven Out was spurred on by Irish and German immigrants fearful of job competition and by destitute, unemployed white migrants from the East Coast who felt betrayed by the false promises of new industry in eastern cities. When these men came to the American West, they were enraged to discover that the railroads and new land barons, such as Miller and Lux Co., which owned an empire in California as large as Belgium, had a stranglehold on land and timber along the Pacific coast.⁴ West Coast Jews, too, participated in the anti-Chinese violence: in San Francisco in the 1880s, the Anti-Coolie League met at B'nai B'rith on Friday nights, at the start of the Jewish Sabbath.

The roundups were also led by mayors and governors, judges and newspaper editors, wealthy timbermen and ranchers willing to betray their need for cheap labor in order to mark their common whiteness and stitch to-

gether the raw communities that were quickly emerging in the fields, at river junctions, in fishing ports and lumber towns.

The purges of the Chinese followed two other paths toward racial purity converging in the West. First, along the Pacific coast, the American military and armed irregulars were murdering Native Americans or forcing them off their traditional lands, making way for white settlement, agriculture, mining, and logging. In Northern California, native people were driven onto reservations, along the Klamath River, at Nome Lackee, at Round Valley, and at Hupa (now known as Hoopa). African Americans, too, were being dispossessed of the land on which they had worked. Both before and after the Civil War, ideas of racial inferiority and white purity moved West. By the 1880s, the southern Democrats had taken over California's governor's mansion, state legislature, and many county boards, and were eagerly implementing versions of the southern Black Codes, passed after the Civil War in order to restrict the new political freedom of emancipated slaves. Now the southerners were targeting the Chinese by implementing special taxes, "cubic air" ordinances limiting how many Chinese could inhabit one room, and city ordinances banned laundries built of wood.

Tuck Nan was a link in a global migratory chain of immigrants who came to California for gold yet remained tied to family, foods, tools, clothes, and ideas from their homeland. He had faced tremendous obstacles in leaving China. Indeed, for centuries Chinese émigrés who tried to return were punished as deserters by the Qing emperors.⁵ Political turbulence and famine were stretching China's cords of loyalty, but Tuck Nan's early emigration still betrayed affiliation and authority—to family, clan, and village.

Tuck Nan left his homeland amid the chaos of war and starvation. In the mid-nineteenth century, China, burdened with a population of four hundred million, faced waves of insurrections, invasions, and internal ethnic wars. In 1839, sensing this moment of vulnerability, Britain launched the Opium Wars, which sought to balance its compulsive purchase of Chinese tea and silk by forcing China to buy opium, grown in India but brokered and transported by England. In the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the war, Britain opened China's doors to the addictive drug and to the economic, military, shipping, and missionary presence of the West.

China's first treaty with the United States, the Treaty of Wanghsia, followed in 1844, and the British and Americans sailed in force into the southern ports of Canton, Shanghai, Ningbo, Amoy, and Foochow.⁶ By the early

1850s, Russia's army had invaded China's eastern border and seized Manchuria, leading the foreign efforts to carve up the Chinese Empire.

Many Chinese chose to sail to the United States; thousands of others fled or were kidnapped to work on plantations in Cuba or Mexico or in the deadly guano pits of Peru.

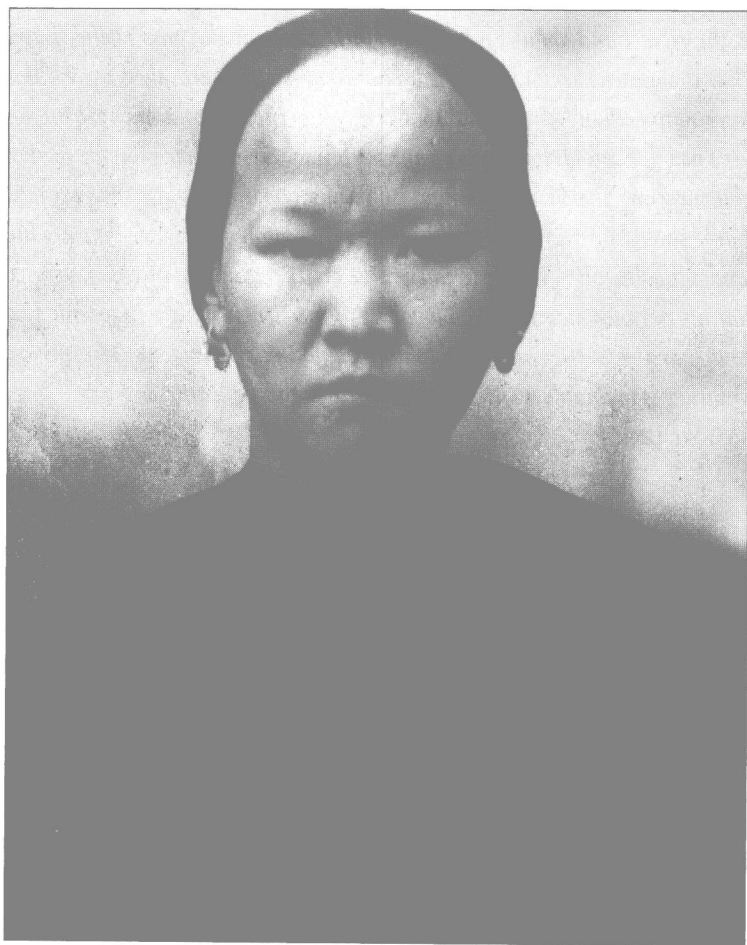
Tuck Nan never made it into the mines of the Sierra Nevada. He remained in San Francisco, where he watched his countrymen return from the gold fields and new mountain towns, quickly forced onto barges heading down the rushing western rivers. He stayed in San Francisco for thirteen years, likely working as a launderer, a waiter, a house servant, or a peddler, sending some of his small earnings back to China. In 1865, he moved north to Portland, where he opened a supply shop for miners leaving for the new gold fields. But violence followed him.

In 1876, Tuck Nan "removed" farther north to Tacoma, in the Washington Territory. There he went into partnership with Lum May. Nine years later he became one of the Driven Out when several hundred "angry and excited white persons" broke into his store and shoved his friends out the door. The mob told him, "'Oh the Chinese you must go—every one.'" Tuck Nan recounted that he "begged them to leave me remain a few days to settle our business," but the vigilantes said, "Take your goods and go. You had notice on the 9th October to leave before 1st of November—and the time is up. You've had time enough to get ready." Tuck Nan added, "They would listen to nothing but told us to be ready at 2 o'clock in the afternoon when they would carry away our goods." And just at two the mob returned, armed with weapons and clubs. "Some had poles and they used these to drive us like so many hogs, if any of us went slow or stopped. I was very much afraid."

In June 1886, Tuck Nan demanded fifteen thousand dollars in reparations from the U.S. government and signed his own affidavit in English.⁷

YOKE LEEN

Despite the roundups and the fears of enslaved prostitution, many Chinese women in America insisted that the local government protect their right to live where they chose. One Chinese woman refused to submit to sexual slavery. In 1910, Yoke Leen marched into the courthouse in Sonora and demanded that her deposition be taken and preserved in the county records:



Yoke Leen from Sonora

*State of California
Sonora, County of Tuolumne
21 day of February, 1910*

YOKE LEEN, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

I reside in the city of Sonora, State of California, and am the age of 36 years. That I am a native of the State of California, having been born in San Francisco, California. That I am about five feet tall and weigh about 110 pounds. That I have a scar on my face on the right side of the nose near the right eye and also a large scar on the right side of the mouth, also a small raised scar at the base of the index finger of the right hand and a small scar