

THE SOCIAL UNITY OF TUCSON'S
CHINESE COMMUNITY

by

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PREFACE

The story of an early Chinese immigrant to Tucson is a success story in the American tradition. He came here only seventy years ago, a poor laborer, ignorant of American ways, hardly able to make himself understood by the people among whom he had chosen to live. And yet in those seventy short years he has risen from a laborer to a successful business man whose son has earned his Phi Beta Kappa key in competition with the sons of the men who condemned him not too long ago as an ignorant "Chink." His story is one of patient struggle to overcome prejudice, to rise in social status, to find satisfactory economic accommodation. In coming here it was not his intention to try to win himself a place in American society. He came to America only to earn money, intending to return to his home in China and live out his years in the comfort and peace of an exalted position that his wealth would bring. Wars, political unrest and unforeseen social events have changed his plans. The man who intended to return to his home village and enjoy life with his family now finds his children not interested in leaving this country to live in what is to them a foreign land. And today the Chinese village is not the same as when the immigrant left it; life there under the present Communist regime

would not be the fulfillment of his dreams.

So he remains here. And though the dream of returning home may never quite leave him, it grows dim in his mind. He stays and enjoys his declining years with his children and grandchildren. For even if political conditions would permit his return, how could an old man be happy with his grandchildren so far away.

There are still problems. There are still the ignorant ones who look down from above. There is still the surrounding wall even though it has been pushed back. Is there still danger that the tide might turn as it turned before?

But even with the problems, things are not so bad here as they once were. With his family around him his final years are relatively happy. His story is a success story.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In studying Chinese in America other students have used two terms for the individuals of the group:

Sojourners are Chinese immigrants "who come for economic gain and return to China when their objectives are accomplished."¹

Chinese-Americans are Americans of Chinese descent and are citizens of the United States.²

The term Chinese-American as defined does not include the naturalized citizen. This seems to be a regrettable omission.

This writer has found that the term "Sojourner" must be limited to those who have returned to China. To use it in reference to an individual now residing in this country, it is necessary to know that the individual intends to return to China. Many who could once have been called sojourners have changed their minds due to the international situation as well as for personal reasons.

The term Chinese-American is used as defined but the writer prefers to say first, second or third generation Chinese. First generation Chinese are immigrants from China. Second generation Chinese are immigrants' children. Third

¹Loh, 1945, p. 8, as quoted by Lee, 1947, p. 9.

²Lee, 1947, p. 9.

generation Chinese are immigrants' children's children. The terms "Hong Sun Toi," China-born, and "Huchi-Toi," American-born are in certain cases even more useful. These are the terms used by one dialect group of Chinese.

"Chinese" is used in referring to individuals or to the group without reference to their citizenship, residence, or plans for future residence. In this paper "Chinese" includes all people of Chinese ancestry in America and when indicated, the people of China. This is the way the term is used by English-speaking Chinese. The apparent ambiguity of such a broad term is taken care of by the context in which it is used.

I

INTRODUCTIONThe Problem

This thesis was conceived as a study in social anthropology dealing principally with social organization. The Chinese Community of Tucson seemed to present an interesting problem because of the nature of the community. Its members are scattered throughout the city and surrounding area, but in spite of their dispersal they seemed to be a closely-knit group.

It was recognized as possible, however, that the group divided into a number of segments which had no more contact with each other than they had with other groups in Tucson society or with individuals in the society of the city as a whole. And a third possibility seemed to be that the individual Chinese families functioned as units and had no more contact with other Chinese families than with families in other ethnic groups. However, even from the first superficial inquiries this last possibility seemed remote.

The first question, then, that the study attempted to answer was: Do the Chinese in Tucson function as a unit, as a number of separate families, or do they divide into a

few functioning groups?

When the existence of group unity had been established or found lacking there remained the problem of explaining the condition found. The study was intended to answer this second question: What are the forces which tend to unite or divide the group?

The starting point for answering this question was Lowie's analysis of the principles of social organization or as he calls them the "principles of grouping."³ These he lists as sex, age, kinship, co-residence, voluntary association, and consciousness of kind. In reference to these it was hoped that the study would answer a third question: What are the principles of social organization in action in the Chinese group and which principles are more important?

In considering this last question and evaluating the principles of grouping Lowie's analysis was used because it seemed the clearest and most usable. However, only five of his principles are readily usable. In application consciousness of kind presents difficulties. These difficulties and the way they have been resolved are discussed in Chapter III, Principles of Grouping.

Stratification is also considered as a factor in the grouping of the Chinese though Lowie discusses it under a

³Lowie, 1948, p. 3 ff.

separate chapter heading and does not mention it as a principle of grouping.

After the study was begun it became obvious that the Tucson community, though sharing many similarities with Chinese groups in other parts of the country, was different in some respects.

The fact that they are dispersed throughout the city is in itself unusual since it is typical of the Chinese in America to live in small almost exclusively Chinese settlements within a city.

Since comparative data always adds to the value of a study, it was decided that some effort should be made to supply it. Rose Hum Lee's report on Butte, Montana,⁴ came to hand and many interesting comparisons were found. In many ways it is ideal for the purpose since it presents not only contrasts but many similarities. It was felt that a city like Butte would be better for comparison than a larger and otherwise less similar community. (Some incidental comparisons with West Coast cities are made.)

Both Butte and Tucson were frontier towns at the time of the first big Chinese immigrations; both attracted a number of Chinese in these early days. However, while the community in Tucson has grown steadily, that of Butte has declined. At

⁴Lee, 1947.

one time the Chinese populations were probably equal. Discussion of the difference in development of these communities brings the situation in Tucson into clearer focus.

Field Procedures

The technique of this study has been mainly the technique of the ethnologist rather than the historian. Though some documentary material has been used the bulk of the information was gathered from the members of the community through formal and informal interviews, questionnaires and observations. Whenever possible the student attended gatherings of members of the community and shared in their activities. In this way it was possible to observe members of the group and to learn much that would not be likely to become clear through interviews alone. Visits to homes and places of business presented additional opportunities for observation.

At formal interviews notes were taken. Information gathered through interviews, informal talks, or by observation was typed up as soon as possible afterwards. This was recognized as the ideal procedure but it was not always followed; a portion of the notes in the investigator's file are only brief jottings which were never expanded on the typewriter.

Preliminary Survey

In December, 1950, a preliminary survey was conducted to determine the advisability of making a study of the Tucson Chinese community. This survey consisted of interviews with eleven men and two women, and an observation of a social function which was attended by about 100 Chinese and five non-Chinese.

Though the interviewees in the preliminary survey were mostly men, during the course of the study a balance was reached; the student received his information from both men and women in approximately equal proportions.

The cooperation received during this survey and the problems presented by the information gathered led to the formulation of the problem and the plan for carrying out the study.

Use of the Language

When the study was begun it was hoped that funds would be available to hire a tutor in the Chinese language since it was recognized that attempting to learn the language of a group under study is an excellent way to establish rapport. When funds for this purpose were refused the student began working with a member of the community who agreed to help him with the language without charge. After a few meetings the

teacher became too busy to continue and a new one had to be found. Again after a number of weekly meetings the language work was interrupted. The student then attended a number of sessions of a Chinese language class which was being conducted for local Chinese children. However, since this class was conducted to teach Chinese writing to children who already had a basic knowledge of the spoken dialect it did not prove satisfactory for a beginner in the language. In all, little progress was made toward learning to speak the language, but material was gathered which when analyzed seems to be pertinent to the problems at hand.

The attempts proved valuable also in that the language teachers contributed much information about the Chinese-American culture and about the importance of the language as a unifying force for the community.

Questionnaires

After acquaintance with quite a number of Tucson's Chinese had been made it became evident that it would be possible to get certain specific data by use of a questionnaire. By this method it was possible to secure comparable data concerning a sample of the population, and to secure it in a readily usable form.

The questionnaire was planned to give information touching on a wide variety of aspects of the culture (see

Appendix II). A trial questionnaire was typed up and tried on a few members of the group to determine their reactions. Advice was sought concerning the reception that might be expected if such a questionnaire was circulated to a sample of the population.

It was recognized from the beginning that this method of getting information would be effective only on a selected portion of the group, since only those of a particular type of background would consent to answer a questionnaire. The questionnaires were designed to secure information about other members of the family of the person completing the form. Frequently these other members of the families could not be reached directly due to language difficulties or personal attitude.

It was also recognized that information gathered by the questionnaire method would necessarily be limited in its usefulness and could only supplement, not replace, information gathered by other means.

A supply of questionnaires was mimeographed and an effort made to have them distributed in quantity by one of the Chinese-American clubs. When this did not secure the desired results, it became necessary to make personal contact with every person who answered the questionnaire.

After eight of the questionnaires had been completed, the second part of the questionnaire was not circulated

further because resistance to it was found. This resistance was due to the fact that answering this section involved giving information on too many people outside the signer's family group, and to the obscurity of the reason for gathering such data (see Appendix II). Had it been possible to get enough accurate answers to this part of the questionnaire a good key to the extent and kinds of interaction within the group would have been provided.

Though only 22 questionnaires were answered, far less than was hoped for, the main part of the questionnaire proved successful and provided much valuable information which supplemented the information gathered by interview and observation. Of a total of 200 families listed in the Arizona Chinese Directory more than 10% were reached by the 22 questionnaires, a small but usable sample of the community.

Rose Hum Lee used two sets of questionnaires in attempting to secure her data on Butte, but she states that "The returns to them were poor and the great portion of essential data had to be secured through direct interviews."⁵ If the figure in Lee's appendix are totals as they appear to be, it would seem that she only secured five or six answered questionnaires.

⁵Lee, 1947, p. 18.

Limitations

Aside from any lesser shortcomings that this thesis may have there is one major limitation which the writer recognizes in particular.

The study is of the Chinese community as a whole, but it is one-sided in that the information comes largely from one segment of the group, the segment composed of those who are sufficiently "Americanized" to have the linguistic ability and the willingness to give information to the writer. This one-sidedness may be seen by examining the background of those who answered the questionnaire. All of the signers received all or part of their education in this country. Seventeen of the signers are Huchi Toi, three are Hong Sun Toi, and two were born on Pacific islands. Clearly there is another segment of the population that was not reached directly to any extent. It is an important part of the community, but the information about this group which is given in this report was furnished by the "Americanized" group, or derived from observations by the writer.

When the study was just beginning, a Chinese student said, concerning the uncontacted segment of the group, "You probably won't get much help from the older people. They don't like to give information to Americans. They know what the typical American attitude toward the Chinese is. It's what they read in the newspapers and that's not favorable."

Newspaper headlines no longer read, "The Chinese Must Go," as they did at the height of the anti-Chinese movement of the 1800's. But only a few months ago many papers in the country carried the story of a young Chinese in California who was informed by a vote of the neighborhood where he wanted to buy a house that he was not wanted because his presence there would result in a lowering of the property values.

In addition to the resistance in a general way which one is apt to meet in any group, the Chinese show a specialized resistance to giving information on any subject for which another person is thought of as being the appropriate spokesman. For example, if a question is asked of a Chinese of the older group concerning the Chinese Chamber of Commerce the interrogator will be referred to the president of the Chamber. A member of the group will refuse information which concerns others unless he is the appropriate one to speak for that group. This attitude applies to information about individuals as well.

"Go see Mr. Lee; he'll be glad to help you out on that. He knows all about that."

An Anglo dealing with Anglos is apt to get the impression that many people will talk about the personal affairs of their neighbors and friends regardless of how lacking they might be in information on the subject. Discussion of neighbors is

common enough within the Chinese group, one Chinese to another. But even an American-educated Huchi Toi might dodge a question by saying, "Ask me all the questions you want about me. I'll be glad to give you all the help I can on things that concern me personally, but I'm not in a position to speak for others. You'll have to ask them."

The latter situation, of course, is just a field difficulty peculiar to dealing with this group and it has been met by contact with many people, getting enough information from each to build up a picture of the group as a whole.

But the former condition, the resistance of the older Chinese to giving information to Anglos has not been successfully met. And it is the writer's conclusion that it could only be met through closer contact than has been possible under the conditions of this study, and that establishment of this contact would be greatly facilitated by a knowledge of a Chinese dialect. Lacking these the student must rely on information from the segment of the group with which rapport can be more easily established and accept the fact that his study is less than ideal.

II

HISTORY

The history of Chinese immigration and exclusion has been written and re-written many times. The pros and cons of its causes and effects and the moral issues involved have been presented by many able writers. For this reason and because such history is not the central theme of this paper, no attempt was made to add to the work already done along this line or even to provide a complete summary of it. Instead a brief picture, enough to provide the necessary background for the real concern of this study, is presented through quotations from a few of the works available. A number of tables giving statistical data on immigration and population are included in Appendix I.

Immigration and Exclusion

A few Chinese figured in California's early history.

Meany reported that in 1788 Chinese laborers were employed on the Pacific Coast and Bancroft maintained they were employed as shipbuilders in lower California from 1741 to 1746.⁶

But 1849 is the year that is popularly thought of as

⁶Lee, 1947, p. 21.

marking the beginning of large scale migration to the United States in spite of the fact that U. S. census figures indicate that it was in the decade of 1851 to 1860 that the first real increase in immigration occurred. The ten-year period from 1841 to 1850 saw only 35 Chinese land on United States shores, while in the following census period 61,397 entries are recorded. The following census periods show continued increase until the Exclusion Act stemmed the tide somewhat in 1882. (See Table 1, Appendix I.)

These immigrants were

. . . a part of a social movement to escape from Manchu domination as well as from population pressure, famines, and economic instability. Their primary aim was to seek economic betterment for themselves and for their families remaining in China. They responded to stories circulated by mining agents and shipping firms concerning easy, quick wealth and "work for all" in the new frontier of the United States.⁷

The Exclusion Act, however, suspended immigration of laborers for ten years and barred re-entry to some twenty thousand former residents of the United States then visiting in China, whose re-entry permits were declared void. In 1892, and again in 1902, the act was renewed for ten years respectively. Thus, suspension was converted into permanent exclusion.⁸

The reasons for the Exclusion Act are delineated by

⁷Lee, 1947, p. 22.

⁸Lee, 1947, p. 25. Her information is gained from United States Statutes.

Carey McWilliams⁹ who connects anti-Chinese movements with political and economic causes. It is clear that after the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1860 many Chinese laborers were thrown out of work and the anti-Chinese sentiment which had begun in the fifties¹⁰ grew rapidly from that time on. It was primarily laborers, labor organizations and politicians seeking the labor vote who pushed the movement.

This party will exhaust all peaceable means of attaining its ends, but it will not be denied justice, when it has the power to enforce it. It will encourage no riot or outrage, but, it will not volunteer to repress or arrest or prosecute the hungry and impatient, who manifest their hatred of the Chinaman by a crusade against John or those who employ him. . . .¹¹

Elizabeth Colman summarizes the period of exclusion:

From 1882 to 1924 a number of laws and bills were enacted that made Chinese immigration next to impossible and more and more difficult the existence of the Chinese residents already in this country. Through the passage of the Scott Bill about twenty thousand Chinese, temporarily absent from the United States, found themselves locked out when they wanted to return to their legal American residences. The Geary Act of 1892 continued the suspension of Chinese immigration and curtailed the civil rights of Chinese residents in the United States¹²

⁹McWilliams, 1946, p. 84.

¹⁰Hoy, 1942, p. 6.

¹¹Principles of Workingmen's Party, Oct. 5, 1876, as quoted by Coolidge, 1909, p. 109.

¹²Colman, 1946, p. 11.

Exclusion was not absolute. During the period certain classes were permitted to enter the country but none were permitted to become naturalized citizens until 1944, when a very small quota was set up. It is referred to by the Chinese as a "token quota." Rose Hum Lee states that:

The Amendment to the Exclusion Act of 1882 provides for a quota of 105 Chinese nationals and to whom it grants the privilege of entry and naturalization. Seventy-five per cent of this quota, or 79 persons, may be admitted annually from any country . . . outside the United States, and 25 per cent, or 26 persons, already residing in the United States, may (leave and) re-enter this country . . . for permanent residence and naturalization.¹³

At first most of the Chinese located on the West Coast. "In 1860 California was the state having the largest number of Chinese, with a Chinese population of 34,922."¹⁴

Later they moved inland.

In 1870 the Pacific States, which included California, Washington, and Oregon, had 52,841 Chinese, while the Mountain States had 9,990. This latter figure included 20 Chinese for Arizona. The remaining geographic divisions throughout the country had a sparse settlement of Chinese. Only 378 of them resided outside of the Pacific and Mountain regions.¹⁵

Rose Hum Lee summarizes Chinese population trends in

¹³Lee, 1947, p. 55.

¹⁴Lee, 1947, p. 58 and 59.

¹⁵Lee, 1947, p. 58 and 59. (These figures taken from U. S. Census.)

three periods:

1. Period of concentration; 1850 to 1880, when California and the Rocky Mountain states contained the major part of the Chinese population. The undeveloped mining frontier attracted many immigrants who were engaged in placer mining, wood cutting and railroad construction.
2. Period of dispersion; 1880 to 1910, during which the population was redistributed throughout the country. The Pacific and Mountain states lost population to cities located on the Atlantic seacoast. This dispersion began after the enactment of the Exclusion Act. The trend toward cities was well advanced at the end of the period; 53 per cent of the Chinese population resided in cities having a population of 25,000 and over.
3. Period of reconcentration; 1910 to 1940, when a trend toward concentration in metropolitan cities became evident. In 1910, 40 per cent of the Chinese population resided in them, and by 1940, 71 per cent of these were in cities with a population of 100,000 and over. The country's total Chinese population increased during the last two decades.¹⁶

The Chinese who came to this country in the early days of immigration were almost all men who came to work here. (See Tables 2 and 6, Appendix I.) If they had wives and families in China they left them there awaiting the day when the immigrants had made their fortunes in America and could return to the home village. When the exclusion acts were put into force it was impossible for Chinese except those of

¹⁶Lee, 1947, p. 54.

exempt classes, to bring in their wives. American-born Chinese men often went to China to marry but could not bring their wives back with them. Though immigration and naturalization are permitted now, American citizens are not permitted to bring their Chinese wives to this country on a quota-free basis unless the husband is a veteran of the armed services. This has resulted in American-born Chinese having wives and grown children in China whom they cannot bring to this country except within the token quota of 79 Chinese that are permitted to enter the country each year from foreign countries.

All of these factors have resulted in an unbalanced sex ratio which in Arizona in 1940 was still almost two males to each female in spite of a steady trend toward a balancing of the ratio. (See Table 6, Appendix I.)

Tucson--The Background

General Considerations

In 1870 the U. S. Census found 20 Chinese in Arizona; it is not known how many of these were in Tucson. But according to the Arizona Daily Star of February 22, 1935, which devoted a section to Tucson's Chinese, those who were here in 1870 arrived during the 1860's. The Star states that they were from the district of Sun Yip, and that the Sun Yip

people departed when a large number of Chinese from the district of Toy San arrived. The Toy-Sanese were joined by people from a friendly district, San Wai. The fuller meaning of these statements can be seen by reviewing the origins of the Chinese who first came to Tucson from California.

There are 28 provinces in China, not including Tibet and Mongolia, "which are organized on a special basis owing to differences of religious and political background."¹⁷ Almost all of the Chinese in the United States are from Kwangtung, one of these 28 provinces. Kwangtung is in turn divided into 72 districts. But "it is probable that of the 12,000 Chinese in California in 1851, close to 10,000 of them were from the Kong Chow region."¹⁸ Kong Chow was then the name of a region that included six of the 72 districts in Kwangtung. "The majority of the rest of the Chinese in California came from three districts to the northeast of Kong Chow . . . collectively these three districts were, and still are, known as the Sam Yup or Three District region."¹⁹

It is likely that the Star's Sun Yip refers to what William Hoy calls Sam Yup since the Star states that there

¹⁷Wenley and Pope, 1944, p. 4.

¹⁸Hoy, 1942, p. 2.

¹⁹Hoy, 1942, p. 2.

were still about a dozen descendants of the Sun Yip people in Tucson in 1935, and since the two dialects that are spoken in Tucson today are known as the Sam Yup and the Sze Yup (William Hoy's spelling.) Yup and Yip are apparently cognates which can be translated as "district."

What the Star calls the Sun Wai district is probably the same as what Hoy refers to as the Sun Wui district. If this is true it would be expected that Sun Wui and Toyshan (Hoy's spelling) would be friendly enough to get along together in Tucson because they are two of the six districts included in the Kong Chow. (See section on Ning Yung under Voluntary Association.)

In spite of the confusion of Chinese place names, which are further complicated by changes made at various times, it is clear that today from the standpoint of origins we have two and possibly three groups of people in Tucson who speak mutually intelligible dialects and who originated from a number of neighboring districts in China which together make up only a very small part of that immense country.

Approximately 100 Chinese are said to have come to Tucson with the railroad in 1880 and remained in Tucson to work as prospectors, section hands, domestic servants, or proprietors of laundries or small stores.²⁰ In 1880 the Chinese

²⁰Arizona Daily Star, February 22, 1935.

population of Arizona was 1630 according to the U. S. Census.

An idea of the origins of the people who make up Tucson's Chinese population today can be gained from the questionnaires. The following figures were compiled as to the place of birth of the signers and their parents. Some of the questionnaires filled out did not give the birth place of the parents as this information was not known.

Of 22 signers 10 were born in Tucson, four on the West Coast, three in other parts of the United States, three in China, and two on Pacific islands.

Of the parents of the signers the following was learned. Five fathers were born in cities on the Pacific Coast and 12 in China. The place of birth was given for only 17.

One mother was born in Tucson, two on the Coast, 12 in China, and four in other places outside the continental U. S.

Though 12 parents of each sex were born in China only nine of these are husband and wife. There are six cases where only one parent was born in that country.

This means that seven of the 22 signers are third generation on at least one side of the family.

Today there is no Chinatown in Tucson. Even where the Chinese population is most concentrated, Chinese homes and businesses are interspersed with non-Chinese. However, there was once an area that was thought of as Chinatown, located in

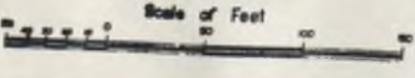
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6



Figure 1.
Section of Tucson
Including "Chinatown"
1883



the triangle of Main, Pennington and Pearl streets, and along both sides of Alameda. Figure 1 is a map of Tucson dated 1883, showing the old Chinatown which the Woman's Club and the City Hall, built in the second decade of this century, displaced.

The population still centers around South Meyer Street and Broadway and spreads out from there. This center is the location of the older Chinese homes and businesses. Since these were established the Chinese have spread out over some 50 square miles as the residential districts expanded and created new demands for grocery stores.

Very soon after their arrival, many of the immigrants turned to vegetable farming. In the late 1800's Chinese farms were the only source of fresh vegetables in the Tucson area. Some used horses and wagons to peddle their products but soon a number of Chinese started stores in Tucson. These were often run by relatives of the farmers. The opening of these stores about 1890 marked the beginning of the "grocery store" period for the Tucson Chinese.

Gradually, however, the farms disappeared. Some of the Chinese quit farming when the draining of Silver Lake ended irrigation in that area and "the acquisition of their lands by the promoters of the various irrigation schemes of Flowing Wells, Postvale, and other localities discouraged

the rest."²¹ Those Chinese who had been farmers then became grocery store operators also. In 1901 there were 41 groceries.²² Their early stores were small and poorly equipped compared to the average Chinese market today.

By 1935 there were 60 groceries;²³ in 1947 there were 80;²⁴ in 1950, 114.²⁵ This makes Tucson considerably different from Chinese communities outside of Arizona. (In Phoenix the pattern is essentially the same as in Tucson.) Rose Hum Lee, writing in Survey Graphic,²⁶ states that the occupations open to Chinese could be counted on the fingers of the hand. But these occupations do not include grocery stores catering to non-Chinese clientele. In her dissertation, however, she states that:

Another trend toward occupational accommodation has been for Chinese-Americans to engage in operating small grocery stores and living in areas where their businesses are situated.²⁷

but she does not state if this trend is nation-wide or localized. She does not mention grocery stores in her list of the occupations of Butte Chinese.

²¹Arizona Daily Star, February 22, 1935.

²²Getty, 1949, p. 146.

²³Getty, 1949, p. 146.

²⁴Getty, 1947.

²⁵Arizona Chinese Directory, 1950.

²⁶Lee, 1942, p. 419.

²⁷Lee, 1947, p. 348.

This writer is not familiar with the situation in this regard, except for Arizona as a whole where grocery stores are the most important activity and for the coast where some grocery stores serving non-Chinese exist. This occupation is not generally recognized as being typical of Chinese in America, however. In Tucson the Chinese feel to some extent that they are limited in the opportunities open to them, but this feeling is not shared by all and a number have found employment in businesses that are neither traditional for Chinese in the country as a whole nor for Tucson with its divergent pattern. One who has worked for three non-Chinese employers believes there are plenty of opportunities but that the Chinese "just prefer to work for Chinese, or don't try to get other jobs."

The occupations which Rose Hum Lee lists as typical of Chinese are represented in Tucson with the exception of the one that is perhaps thought of as most typical; there is no Chinese laundryman in Tucson though in earlier days there were quite a few (see page 45). Even as late as 1935 there were two, but since then even the last of these has disappeared.

The businesses listed in the Arizona Chinese Directory for 1950 include 114 groceries, one attorney, one Chinese store (Chinese merchandise), one drug store, one furniture store, one hardware store, two herbalists, two liquor stores, one rest home and eight restaurants. The numbers have



N-12,498

Photo by Tunney Wong

Grand Opening. The Chinese in Tucson have found
economic accommodation.

changed slightly since this directory was published but the pattern is the same.

Many second generation Chinese-Americans are following in the footsteps of their parents and becoming grocery store owners though others are finding their places in the economic system as wage-earners in non-Chinese owned businesses. Some of them spent some time as wage earners working for Anglos only to return later to the grocery business.

The younger store owners are apt to close their markets earlier than the older men and many young people seek employment in non-Chinese owned businesses because they say, "the Chinese expect their help to come early and stay till the customers stop coming at night."

For Chinese girls the favorite occupation in non-Chinese businesses is as teacher in the public schools. It is said that the first Chinese girl to become a teacher had to carry on quite a campaign before she persuaded the school authorities to give her a position. "They weren't going to let her teach. She'll tell you how she fought them." Since then, however, the field has opened up and many young women are taking advantage of this opportunity for a career.

The Chinese in Tucson have long followed a pattern of living in their places of business. Of the 22 households represented in the questionnaires, 15 live in the building

which houses the family business. The practice of living in the back of the store is thought of as typical of the group and though there is a trend away from this pattern, it is still the dominant one. Huchi Toi are often found living where they do business.

If the family lives in the building that houses the grocery store, the living quarters are a connecting apartment. Often the kitchen is the room which opens onto the store. The living quarters, whether connected to the grocery store or not, do not vary a great deal from the other middle class homes in Tucson except that they will invariably have some items of decoration that are Chinese. The items are frequently Chinese paintings or scrolls with Chinese writing and knick-knacks made in China. The impression that one gets on entering such an apartment is that of entering an American home of a person who has an interest in Chinese art or culture, perhaps a collector of Chinese objects. Rose Hum Lee writes that it was the practice in Butte, in the early days of Chinese settlement there, to order the furnishings from China but that later the homes became Americanized. A few homes in Tucson are furnished with objects from the old country. Some homes contain carved wooden chairs and chests imported from China. More often furniture is American-made but with a Chinese styling. One sees lamp shades with up-turned corners like a Chinese roof. Wall paper and upholstery may

show a Chinese flavor.

Religion

The only religious organization in Tucson that has an exclusively Chinese congregation is a Christian one, the Chinese Evangelical Church. Other Chinese who are actively religious in the sense that they belong to an organized church are members of one of the Christian sects which have predominantly Anglo congregations. One first generation Chinese who is well respected among the older members of the community said that "90% of the community have no religion, that they were followers of Confucius." And that "Confucianism is not a religion but a philosophy, a way of life." He also stated that the Chinese were eclectic in their religious beliefs; "If they like a particular tenet of Buddhism or Confucianism, or for that matter Christianity, they accept it."

This man's estimate of the lack of participation in organized religion is probably too high, but the fact is that the Chinese in Tucson do not feel the need of Oriental religions strongly enough to have any organization which is exclusively religious in purpose. There once was a temple in Tucson and is located on the 1883 map. It is referred to as a Joss House. Part of the activities of the Ying On are

religious in nature, but little was learned concerning this aspect of the Ying On except that there is such an aspect and that it is concerned with the revering of the memory of a culture hero. It is akin to ancestor worship but membership in the Ying On is not based on clan affiliation or other kinship ties. (See section on Ying On under section on Voluntary Association.)

The Chinese Evangelical Church which is popularly known as the Chinese Christian Church was first organized in Tucson in 1926. For the next two years services were held in a building at Mesilla and Main streets, after which the congregation met on South Meyer Street at the location now occupied by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. In 1931 the present building was built on South Main Street and Sunday services have been held there ever since. The first minister came from Canton specifically to conduct religious services and to teach the Chinese language to the children in Tucson. At present one of the local merchants acts as minister of the church.

The congregation is said to number between 35 and 50 people, mostly women, who do not speak English fluently. The church is independent of any larger organization and follows a generalized Christian doctrine. Occasionally a visiting missionary from the coast will conduct a program in the church. Such a service was conducted during the course of this study. The sermon was preached in a mixture of Chinese

and English so that it could be understood by speakers of either language. Movies were shown dramatizing Bible stories in a modern Chinatown setting and hymns were sung in the Chinese language. These visiting organizations, like the church here, are independent of any sect and are composed of and backed by Chinese merchants who feel that it is worthwhile to spread the Christian doctrine.

The signers of the questionnaires circulated divide 11 to 11 in answering the question, "Are you a member of any church?" Of the 11 who answered in the affirmative, six are Baptists, two Catholic, two members of the Chinese Christian Church, and one belongs to the Federated Church in California. Only four of these who claimed membership in a church said that they attended regularly.

Thirteen of the 18 fathers of signers are not members of any church. The five male parents who do belong to a church are divided between three or four churches. One is a Baptist, one a Presbyterian, two members of the Chinese Christian Church and one listed simply as a Protestant.²⁸

The fact that many of the parents of second generation Chinese do not participate in any organized religious activities has resulted in the children taking on various

²⁸Due to an oversight in the preparation of the questionnaire no data was gotten concerning the religion of the mothers of the signers.

religions depending upon what non-Chinese associations they happened to make and upon their personal preferences.

Brothers and sisters often belong to different churches even while they are living together in their parents' home. To cite one example, in a family of seven, the parents and three of the children do not belong to any church, one of the children is a Catholic and another is Baptist.

One second generation girl explained her joining the church by saying, "I just happened to get in with a group of people who showed me what a good thing religion is." A man remarked on his church membership, "I went to a parochial school for a time when I was a child, and when I was 18 I was baptized."

The study has disclosed no case of a second generation Chinese following an Oriental religion. Second generation Christians are, on the other hand, passing on their religion to the third generation. Butte is similar to Tucson in the trend toward adoption of Christianity by the second generation and in that there has been an established temple where an Oriental religion was practiced. This temple formerly had a place of importance in Butte's Chinese community life, but "now that the community has become small, the guardian of the Temple is likely to be the sole participant of the Temple, making offerings upon behalf of absent members."²⁹

²⁹Lee, 1947, p. 265.

Education

It is difficult for the student to estimate the average level of education for the population as a whole because he has been in closest contact with a group who were attending college. It is difficult to say to what extent his impression that the general level of education is high is influenced by this association. The questionnaires are of no help in this regard. The fact that 18 out of 22 signers were attending or had attended college must indicate the bias of the sample rather than the level of education for the group as a whole.

However, in spite of these considerations, it would seem that the Chinese still place their traditional value on education and that they strive to attain it whenever possible. The status of scholar in Chinese culture is one of prestige. For more than 2,000 years China has had a civil and military service program which selected government officials on the basis of scholarly attainments.³⁰

The 30 Chinese students listed in the University of Arizona Student Directory for 1951-52 comprise 2.0% of the Chinese population for the state while the 5000³¹ students registered comprise .66% of the total state population. The

³⁰Wenley and Pope, 1944, p. 40.

³¹Average for fall and spring semesters, 1951-52.

20 Chinese students whose home addresses were listed as Tucson comprise 2.84% of the estimated 700 Chinese population of the Tucson area while the approximate total of local students comprises 2.8% of the total population of the Tucson area. Most of the Chinese students work while they are going to school, generally in their father's businesses. A college student said, "It's rough working and going to school. There's no time to study." Since many of the stores stay open quite late at night a student is likely to put in a long day. This applies to both high school and college students and to a lesser extent to those in the grades.

Most of those included in the above figures are second generation Chinese; the educational level of the first generation is probably not so high. In terms of American education it would be expected that the level is quite low since in the case of 50% of the signers of the questionnaire both parents were born in China and in 66 2/3% at least one parent was born in China.

No specific question was asked concerning the level of education of the parents, but an indication of the situation can be gained by examining the figures for literacy. Six or 30% of those for whom information was received are completely illiterate, that is cannot read any language. In all cases these were the mothers of signers; in other words all of the fathers can read some language. Of the 18 couples,

ten mothers and three fathers cannot read English. But some can read both English and Chinese and a few can read Spanish as well. Of the parents and signers, all but one of the second generation are literate in English. The one mentioned, born on the West Coast, is the father of a signer. He can read Chinese.

The writer's impression is that every effort is made to give young people a college education. In contrast to their mothers, Tucson Chinese-American girls are receiving at least high school and often college education.

To date, approximately 16 per cent of the Butte-born Chinese-Americans have attended one or more years of college, and 8 per cent have obtained a bachelor's degree. When compared with the total education level of the United States for persons between 20 to 24 years, or 9.2 for one to three years of school years completed, the percentage for Butte-born Chinese-Americans is higher.³²

Economy and the Present Location

The map (figure 2) shows the geographical distribution of the businesses in the Tucson area as listed in the 1950 Arizona Chinese Directory. A similar map was plotted for residence addresses but was not included in this report as the pattern of distribution is essentially the same for businesses and homes.³³

³²Lee, 1947, p. 316.

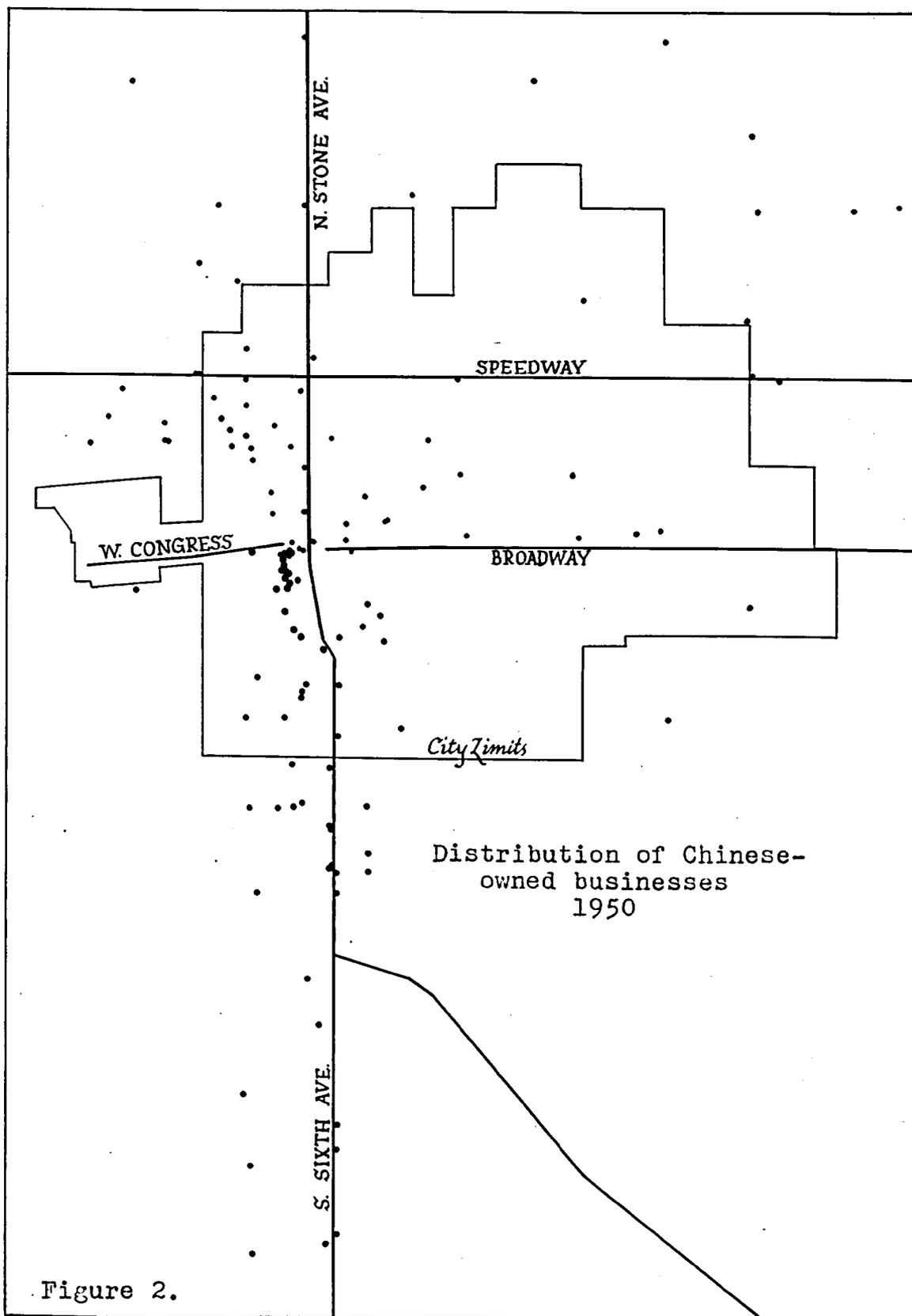


Figure 2.

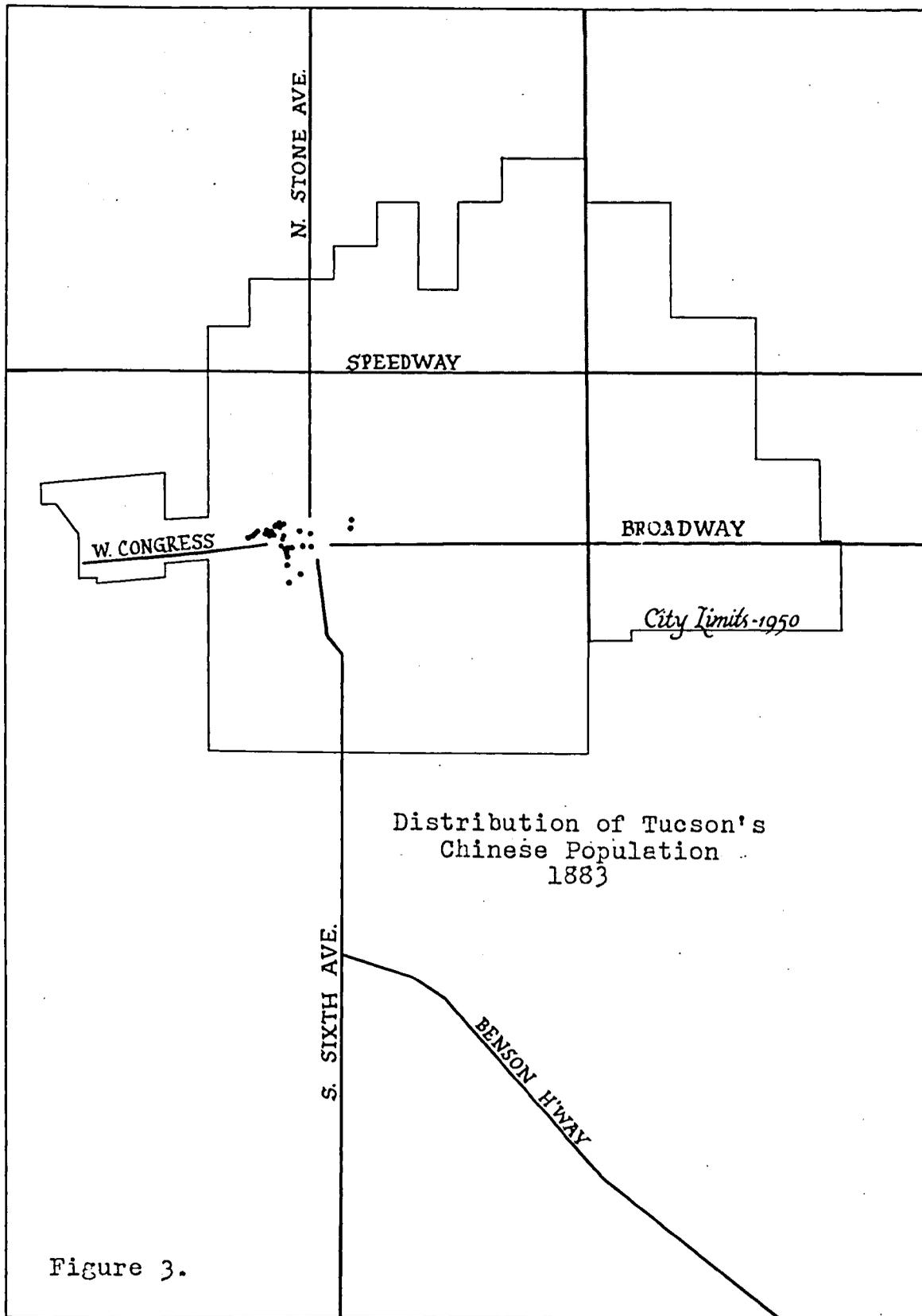


Figure 3.

Looked at from the standpoint of economic determinism the map shows very definitely how being in the grocery business has determined the geographical location of the present-day Chinese community. ✓

Figure 3 shows all of the Chinese residences and businesses recorded on the 1883 fire maps of Tucson. Shown also are some present-day streets so that the growth and change of the community may be seen.

Stores are located in residential areas and the development of new districts has led to the opening of new stores. For this reason the map of the Chinese businesses (and homes) reflects exactly the same pattern as the residential districts of the city as a whole. It seems almost too elementary to point out that the businesses are where the business is. In some cases it is known that they placed their markets in what were at the time poor areas, but which were expected to improve. One man who runs a successful market in an outlying residential district said, "They told me I was crazy when I built way out here but the property was cheap then and I could afford to buy. Look at it now." In other areas markets are still waiting out lean years looking forward to the time when increased population will make their locations "good spots."

The success of the Chinese in the grocery business is due in part to their practice of extending credit liberally.

"Some of the ranchers run up terrific bills. One has been doing business with us for 20 years. He buys all his groceries here and only pays once a year when he sells his calves." Huchi Toi who have grown up in their father's store often know a good portion of their customers by name and can converse with them on a personal basis when they shop.

Because they have been able to continue to do business successfully the population of the Tucson Chinese group has grown.

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
Chinese in Butte	----	----	280	281	240	148	88
Chinese in Silverbow County	710	584	391	319	262	155	92
Chinese in Tucson	159*	215	194	----	----	228	347
Chinese in Pima County	1153	299	254	285	284	250	390

Figure 4. Population Trends for the city of Butte, and Silverbow County, Montana; and for the city of Tucson, and Pima County, Arizona.³³

A comparison of the population trends for the Butte and

*This includes Japanese.

³³U. S. Census figures.

Tucson areas shows a marked contrast; in Butte the peak was probably in 1890 or before, as large numbers were attracted there by the opening of the mines. However, the population there shows a steady decrease since 1880 due to failure to make an economic adjustment as the town changed from a frontier mining camp to a permanent city. In Tucson there was a decrease between 1890 and 1900, but between 1900 and 1930 an increase began which has continued up to the present. The decrease between 1890 and 1900 precedes the time when grocery stores were important. In 1947 Lee reports a population of 48 for the city of Butte. At that time Getty estimated that the Chinese in Tucson numbered 600.³⁴

The situation in Butte and Tucson is reflected in the population figures for the states of Montana and Arizona also.

<u>State</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
Arizona	20	1630	1170	1419	1305	1137	1110	1449
Montana	1949	1754	2532	1739	1285	872	486	258

Figure 5. Trend of the Chinese Population for Arizona and Montana³⁵

³⁴Getty, 1947.

³⁵U. S. Census figures.

It would seem that the period of successful economic adjustment for Tucson Chinese coincides with the time that grocery stores have been the main stay of the group, economically. Failure in Butte is due to the fact that in Butte there arose a stiff competition between Chinese and other groups resulting in organized efforts by Anglo dominated trade unions to eliminate the Chinese competition.

In this regard Lee says:

Again it should be stressed that the number of Chinese competing with white labor was not as important a factor as the fact that they competed in fields which were generally considered to belong to the members of the dominant society.³⁶

In this regard the selection by Chinese of an economic activity that was not "considered to belong exclusively to the members of the dominant society," an activity which was not controlled by any strong organization such as a trade union, may in part explain their success in Tucson in contrast to the failure of the Chinese in Butte.

The difference can be seen by comparing the list of economic activities engaged in by members of the Butte group with that of the Tucson Chinese. The list for Butte coincides with that for Tucson in all but the one occupation that has come to be by far the most important in Tucson.

³⁶Lee, 1947, p. 124.

A summary of the occupations in Butte includes four types of activities according to Lee's classification:³⁷

1. Chinese Goods and Services, American Clientele:
Curio shops, noodle parlors (a Chinese restaurant specializing in one kind of food), tailor shops, laundries, herb doctors.
2. American Goods, Chinese Services, American Clientele:
Cafes or restaurants, truck farms, vendors, rooming houses.
3. Chinese Goods and Services, Chinese Clientele:
Chinese merchandise store and Chinese restaurant (Chinese food only).
4. Service Nature:
Miners, wood-choppers, railroad laborers, domestic servants (cooks and cleaners), and porters.

Those occupations that are known to have been engaged in by Tucson Chinese are underlined; however, the list of present-day activities does not include all of these, some having disappeared in Tucson. Getty gives these figures for Tucson Chinese.³⁸

<u>1901</u>	<u>1935</u>
41 Groceries	60 Groceries
1 Lodging House	9 Restaurants
4 Restaurants	2 Laundries
4 Stores	1 Truck Farm

³⁷Lee, 1947, p. 184.

³⁸Getty, 1949, p. 144.



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Photo by Tunney Wong

There are only eight restaurants, 114 groceries, yet the restaurant business is the second most popular.

He lists no truck farms for 1901 though he says that,
"Very early in the 1880's some of the Chinese developed
truck farms along the Santa Cruz" ³⁹

The 1950 Arizona Chinese Directory lists:

- 114 Groceries
- 1 Attorney
- 1 Chinese store
- 1 Drug store
- 1 Furniture store
- 1 Hardware store
- 2 Herbists
- 2 Liquor stores
- 1 Rest Home
- 8 Restaurants

³⁹Getty, 1949 p. 146.

III

PRINCIPLES OF GROUPINGTheoretical Considerations

The principles of social grouping recognized by Lowie must not be considered only as uniting forces for the community. Each of them has also a divisive effect. Age tends to unite the older and separate them from the younger, sex unites the male segment and separates it from the female, co-residence may act to unite those who live close to the center of the population and separate them from those who live on the outskirts of a settlement. Voluntary association obviously unites those who belong to the same sodalities but it is equally obvious that in certain cases the members of a sodality tend to be separated from the community as a whole. Kinship unites relatives but separates them from the rest of the world.

Even what Lowie calls consciousness of kind can be a divisive factor for the Tucson Chinese. A university-trained Chinese-American who speaks only English is likely to find more in common with an Anglo classmate than he will with an uneducated Chinese who speaks no English.

The principles of grouping, then, may tend to unite the

Tucson Chinese group, but on the other hand they also unite them with outsiders, and thus divide the group.

In the following sections the writer will attempt to show how Lowie's principles of grouping may be applied to the Tucson Chinese community. However, the sixth principle, consciousness of kind, is not easy to use. At first glance it seems clear enough, but as situations are analyzed with reference to this principle difficulties arise. Consciousness of kind as far as the Tucson Chinese are concerned is closely bound up with former co-residence in China, with kinship, with class and caste status, with voluntary association, and to a lesser extent with sex and age. The connection with former residence is clear when it is remembered that the first group of Chinese to arrive in Tucson left again when a larger number of immigrants from another district arrived. It seems that where a local group is organized on a kinship basis and shares certain features of culture such as dialect that are not shared with other local groups the three principles of kinship, co-residence, and consciousness of kind become closely interlocked and impossible to separate.

"When assimilation is achieved in the fullest degree, the groups become indistinguishable; hence, consciousness of kind embraces both." But, "Like-mindedness, or even accommodation . . . are seriously hampered, if the groups

brought into contact differ markedly in their outward appearance."⁴⁰

The physical differences that set Tucson Chinese off from other groups in Tucson are important in explaining why young people of the third generation who speak little or none of the parent language and have forgotten or never knew the culture traits that helped to set their parents off, are still likely to remain a very definite part of the Chinese group.

Consciousness of kind Lowie describes as a subtle matter of feeling, difficult to define but yet a very real phenomenon and an important factor in unifying groups.

That it is a subtle matter of feeling can be seen in these examples. A Chinese who has many friends in the Anglo community said, "There's still a barrier. It's hard to explain but I feel it."

This same person told me that he had not been in a non-Chinese home in about three months and that there were only two non-Chinese homes that he occasionally visited. In the course of a year he might visit a non-Chinese home on three or four occasions while in the same period he would visit at least 15 Chinese homes. In leisure time activities among

⁴⁰Lowie, 1948, p. 17.

the second generation group the rule certainly is to spend these hours with other Chinese; the more or less rare exception is to share in some recreation with non-Chinese. When they attend movies, go to a basket ball game, play games, have parties, dances, picnics or just visit, they do so with other Chinese.

At large Chinese gatherings either in Chinese homes or public places such as annual picnics or parties the number of non-Chinese attending would probably be between two and five per cent and some of these attend for business reasons. These non-Chinese are then accepted into the Chinese group on these occasions rather than Chinese entering into the non-Chinese group. There are other cases when Chinese attend functions where they are being accepted into the non-Chinese group.

The Chinese, due to the nature of their business, do come into regular and continued contact with members of all the ethnic groups in Tucson and the impersonal relations of the grocery market sometimes lead to more personal relations. But the older Chinese who have personal relations with non-Chinese are rare. One person told me that he doubted if his father had ever been in an Anglo home and that this would apply to a great many Hong Sun Toi.

Although there are exceptions, it may be said that generally aside from non-personal business relations the

Chinese associate with Chinese.

Lowie does not make clear that the first five of his principles may all be active forces in the organization of any social unit or that one or more of them may be absent. These five then can come into play in any combination, but the sixth principle, consciousness of kind, is to some extent a factor in the organization of all social groups.

Lowie recognized another social phenomenon, stratification, and this he seems to think is a result of consciousness of kind. This writer thinks consciousness of kind may be a result of stratification and the principles of grouping. For the present study the question will be left and Tucson's Chinese community will be explained as far as possible in terms of Lowie's first five principles and the stratification phenomenon, consciousness of kind being considered a result of these.

Sex

According to Lowie, "Sex is, indeed, in many societies a divisive factor of first-rate importance"; that is, it tends to bisect societies, though Lowie goes on to say that "by itself it rarely, if ever, splits a society into two antithetical halves."⁴¹ The division of society on the

⁴¹Lowie, 1948, p. 4.

basis of sex has had both positive and negative effects on the unity of the Tucson Chinese population.

The society from which the early Chinese immigrant originated was a man's society. American women of the 1800's had not yet gained the freedoms that they have today, but they were ahead of their Chinese sisters. Coolidge, writing of Chinese women in California in 1909, states, "The women like to live here, they say, because they have so much more freedom; they can go upon the streets alone and they do not have to live with a mother-in-law."⁴² However, Rose Hum Lee found that the situation was somewhat different in Butte, Montana. She states that, "women were seldom permitted to leave the house, until the 1911 Revolution in China brought about a change in women's behavior."⁴³ And she quotes from an interview with the oldest woman in Chinatown. "When I came to America as a bride, I never knew I would be coming to a prison. Until the Revolution, I was allowed out of the house but once a year. That was during New Year's when families exchanged New Year's calls and feasts."⁴⁴

Today in Tucson long after the Revolution the effect of this attitude toward women still makes itself apparent. Surely, the women are not forced to remain at home, but many

⁴²Coolidge, 1909, p. 437.

⁴³Lee, 1947, p. 252.

⁴⁴Lee, 1947, p. 252.

of them do. One second generation girl told me that her mother has only one friend and one relative with whom she exchanges visits and that these are infrequent. This woman remains at home most of the time and the social affairs that she attends are limited to the Fourth of July celebration and a few other occasions such as graduation parties for friends of the family. This applies to many first generation women. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that women do have an important voice in family affairs and may dominate their husbands even in financial matters. With the stores and the homes under one roof the woman may gain a voice in business matters if her personality demands it.

Second generation women, and first generation women of comparable age who associate with them, enjoy practically the same freedom that Anglo American women have. Of the 30 students registered in the University of the year 1951-52, 12 were women and 18 were men. Girls belong to the Sino-American Club and take a very active part in carrying out its activities. This year for the first time this organization has a girl for its president. Young women find jobs in the profession for which they have trained, especially as teachers in the public schools.

However, common practice still places restrictions on their activities. A woman running a business told me when asked if she belonged to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce,

"No. It is a man's organization. Women are not asked to join." Another woman who has natural qualities of leadership has turned to non-Chinese organizations to find opportunity to express them. She has, however, been instrumental in organizing Chinese groups within the Y. W. C. A. These are discussed under Voluntary Associations and include a teenage group and a group consisting mostly of married women. Most of the organizations are men's groups, as will be seen.

Sex, then, does tend to divide the group into two segments, but except in the cases where women tend to move into the dominant group to find expression for their talents it has little negative effect on the unity of the Chinese group as a whole. The women's organizations which are exclusively Chinese have a positive effect but seven of the women signers of the questionnaires belong to non-Chinese organizations.

There is in a sense a division of labor according to sex in that it is the man who at least nominally is the proprietor of the family business, though rarely a woman may play as much or more part in its operation. Where the home is located in the rear of the store the women of the family tend the business with the men. And more often than not, even when the business is located away from the home, the women come to work when they can free themselves from household tasks.

Though there are two women who have started businesses

in Tucson and a few who have carried on the husband's business after his death, women of working age who have not married are more likely to remain in the father's business or find wage work than to go into business for themselves.

Age

Lowie states that, ". . . age may be accepted as a true creator of social units if it is understood (a) that 'age' may be only indirectly involved; and (b) that generally the age grouping occurs among members of the same sex."⁴⁵

As applied to Tucson Chinese the importance of age as a principle of social grouping is difficult to assess due to the fact that difference in degree of acculturation divides the group along approximately the same lines as age. Certainly age in itself is a factor in grouping. Chinese, as well as other people, are put into age groups all their lives, especially in school. And even the most acculturated of the society still retain at least a remnant of the old world respect for their elders. The contact situation has created a new type of grouping not found in a society which is not in an intensive process of acculturation which tends to overshadow the effects of age itself. This type of grouping

⁴⁵Lowie, 1948, p. 7.

can perhaps be looked at as an intensification of the process that divides the old from the young in any culture that is in the process of changing within itself. In Anglo society the older generation is considered "old-fashioned" by the younger, but in an immigrant group the older generation is considered not only old-fashioned but also "old-worldish." In Chinese society in America they are referred to as being "Chinafied" in contrast to the more "Americanized" younger generation. Thus the Hong Sun Toi are separated from the Huchi Toi. One second generation man said, "The only thing that holds them together is the fact that they are Chinese." Younger Hong Sun Toi may fall on either side of this division according to personality and personal associations. Persons who by birth belong to one group or the other straddle the line in their customs and attitudes.

This division of age groups can be carried to an extreme where the parents have not a full mastery of the English language and the children have not a complete grasp of Chinese. One young man who had volunteered to get certain information from his father reported back that he was unable to do so because he and his father found it impossible to communicate satisfactorily. The son speaks Chinese to a certain extent and his father speaks fair English. They have no difficulties in most daily affairs and the son was able to get from his father factual descriptions. But when they reached the point



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Photo courtesy Larry Lim
Sino-American Club basketball team.

of discussing the meanings of things, the philosophy behind certain Chinese culture traits, their communications broke down. It is very common for siblings to use English in conversation with each other and Chinese when speaking to their parents. This division is different from the type of grouping that is found between old and young Hong Sun Toi. The few younger men who belong to the Ying On association are referred to as being Chinafied; they are young men but Hong Sun Toi. They contrast with the Sino-American Club members who are both Hong Sun Toi and Huchi Toi.

Some indication of the existence of definite age grouping of the kind Lowie had in mind can be found in the Chinese dialect as used in Tucson. There are special greetings and forms of address which are used by the younger generation when talking to their elders. One American-born student told me after we had met an older man on the street, "It pays to know certain little phrases of courtesy. It helps in getting along with the older generation to be able to address them as they like to be addressed." The forms used are frequently kinship terms even though the person addressed may not actually be related to the speaker.

The old-world Chinese custom of reverence for age is carried over to this country. The ideal pattern in this regard was summed up by a Huchi Toi business man.

"I don't care who a man is, what race he belongs to or

if he's rich or poor; if he's older than I am I respect him. I might be better educated than he is but he's had more years of experience."

This ideal pattern becomes a source of culture conflict for some Huchi Toi who have been exposed to the American values, but respect for age is given recognition as the ideal pattern. Formally respect for elders is recognized by the continuance of the custom of giving banquets for men when they reach the age of sixty and each year thereafter with a special larger banquet each decade.

Age, then, is probably most important as a divisive factor in the Tucson Chinese group. Cultural differences which usually coincide with difference in age reinforce the division of the older from the younger people.

But in some respects the Chinese seem to have less division between the age groups than the surrounding Anglo society. At almost all Chinese social gatherings one will see people of all ages. An invitation to a banquet or party usually includes the entire family. A Chinese woman summed up the practice, "When you invite anyone to anything it is understood that you are inviting the family. They always bring the kids." One notable exception to this is the New Year's Eve party given by the Sino-American Club, but at other functions of this group where the community as a whole is invited, one is likely to see people ranging from babies to

grandmothers. Some of the club members and their age mates voice disapproval of this custom, while others think it is fine to have the entire family share in recreational activities.

Clique associations with few exceptions bring together people of approximately the same age.

Kinship

The importance placed on kinship by the Chinese is much greater than that found in the surrounding society. The Chinese arrived in this country with a strong clan system and that system soon made itself apparent in the formation of clan associations and the establishment of clan meeting houses in the larger Chinatowns, as well as in some of the places where only relatively few Chinese settled.

"The Chinese are family minded. They are very clannish. The Lee's help the Lee's, the Don's help the Don's and so on." This is the ideal pattern as stated by one of the older Huchi Toi. Another said, "All the Lee's stick together. If a Lee comes to town and is not acquainted with anyone here he will go see someone by the name of Lee and he will be taken care of, given a place to stay and money if he needs it."

All who share a common family name are recognized as being relatives. This is to say that all who share



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Photo Courtesy Larry Lim

"The Chinese are family minded. All who share a common name are recognized as being related."

the name are recognized as fellow clan members.

Though the members of the second generation sometimes answer a question in accordance with the kinship system of Anglo society and say that a person with the same name is not related to them, if they are questioned further they usually say, "Oh, he is a district cousin, but not a close relative." The term district cousin is applied to people who come from the same district as the speaker or his parents as well as to those who share the same family name. One Huchi Toi speaking of his father's age group said, "I think they call anyone who comes from within a hundred mile radius a cousin."

The wife and children take the husband's name and the children belong to the father's clan. The clan, then, is patrilineal. But kinship is recognized bilaterally and according to Rose Hum Lee even clan functions may be extended bilaterally in Butte, Montana. Since the community there is small not all clans are represented and some have only one or two representatives. Lee states that if a man had no clan members to help him he might appeal to the organization of his wife's clan and receive the necessary help.

The clan organization is a formal association with meeting hall and membership dues, with an elected leader and a board of elders who decide clan disputes and determine a course of unified action in matters that concern the clan.

These groups function especially in performing the proper funeral rites and in bearing the expense of sending the remains back to the home village for burial if the deceased had not provided funds for this purpose.

In Tucson there is no evidence of such clan organizations today, though one person said that they once existed and met at the homes of members rather than at a special meeting hall. There are three "Family Organizations" in Phoenix listed in the Arizona Chinese directory; none are listed for Tucson.⁴⁶ The other organizations have taken over the function of providing for the burial of members of the community though in Tucson as in the rest of the United States the custom of returning the remains of the deceased to China for final burial has died out.

The Tongs are said to have been a result of clan unity and might be considered a pseudo-kinship unit since they have taken over the form of a clan organization even to the veneration of an ancient hero who in a sense serves as an ancestor for the members of the group. (See Ying On, p.73.)

The organization of the village from which the immigrants came seems to have been on a clan basis and where more than one clan was represented in a village both village

⁴⁶Arizona Chinese Directory, 1950.

and clan exogamy were practiced. Chen and Shryock state that people of the same family name could not marry and the husband and wife had to be of the same generation.⁴⁷ And according to one person now living in Tucson who, though born in the United States, spent most of her life in China, this practice of exogamy was accompanied by district or at least province endogamy. According to her this practice is breaking down in the larger metropolitan centers in China today. In selecting a wife a modern Chinese in these centers may not consider the village from which she or her parents originated.

The old rules of endogamy and exogamy were carried over to this country with the immigrants and functioned in this country for some time. In Tucson today the selection of mates is on the basis of personal choice and seems to have no reference to the parents' place of origin. But some of the younger generation still feel that it would not be proper for a couple to marry if they had the same last name even if no traceable relationship existed. Others report that such marriages are taking place on the coast. Clan exogamy exists to some extent, then, though it is no longer universally accepted today.

The elementary and extended families are closely knit.

⁴⁷Chen and Shryock, 1932, p. 628.

Married sons and daughters, even though they establish their own household and business, still spend a great deal of time in the parents' house. In some cases these visits are daily affairs. "My wife is gone a lot during the day. She takes the kids and goes over to her mother's or to my mother's." Where parents are not in Tucson but two or more siblings are here, the same sort of frequent exchange of visits is carried on. Instead of the axiom that one often hears in some segments of Anglo-American society, "The best way to get along with relatives is to stay far from them," the Chinese-Americans say, "The family is important; we have great respect for our parents."

The Chinese come closer to their ideal than the investigator at first expected, but on the other hand there are definite cases where the unity of the family has been seen to be imperfect. Siblings do not necessarily get along just because they are siblings; a Chinese youth doesn't necessarily agree with everything his father says. Some Chinese youths feel the desire to break away from family controls. "I don't get along too well with my family. I think I'd like to go out to the coast." But to balance this there are the many young people raising their own families who have chosen to enter business here in their parents' town and keep in close contact with them.

As a unifying factor in Tucson kinship is important

since there are only 17 family names. This means that 200 households divide into 17 units making the average 11.8 households per unit. This means that any individual can consider more than 5% of the household groups in the community related to him on a unilateral basis. To this must be added the fact that since clan exogamy has been practiced, families of different clans become related through marriage. However, many Tucson Chinese marry persons from outside Tucson, and therefore not every marriage means a drawing together of the community since it may bring in a person who has no clan connections here. In this way ties are formed with Chinese communities elsewhere.

In recent marriages it is known that boys from clan groups which have only one or two households in Tucson married into clans that have 19 or more households.

Lowie⁴⁸ extends kinship to include race, but in this study race will be considered in the section on social stratification.

Kinship Terminology

Chen and Shryock have done an exhaustive study of the Chinese kinship system basing their work on the Confucian

⁴⁸Lowie, 1948, p. 7 ff.

Canons. The Erh ya, one work of the Canons, is a dictionary of terms used in the canonical writings; one section of it is devoted to relationship terms. They also included in their work a study of modern terminology and the changes that the system has undergone throughout the centuries. These authors list 270 terms in their main diagram of the kinship terminology, but in addition give in footnotes many colloquial terms. They state that, "Modern terminology is clearly based on the Erh ya, but is somewhat different. Some terms have been dropped or changed"49

This study is based on Mandarin, the official language of modern China, which is spoken in the northern districts. The authors state that, "Officially the use of relationship terms is the same (in both north and south China), but it is probable that wide variations would be found in colloquial usage." And they further say that "a study of the colloquial terminology of south China is very desirable."⁵⁰

It is this colloquial terminology originating in South China that one finds in Tucson.

The field work for this study included some recording of the kinship terms used by the Chinese in Tucson and the work done has shown that there are a number of correspondences

⁴⁹Chen and Shryock, 1932, p. 628.

⁵⁰Chen and Shryock, 1932, p. 625.

between the local terminology and that given by Chen and Shryock. (See figures 6, 7, and 8.)

The warning given by Chen and Shryock to their readers is applicable here. "Readers not familiar with Chinese should remember there are many homophones in that language For instance, words for 'father,' 'husband,' and 'wife' are all romanized 'Fu' but are in reality different terms."⁵¹

One of the regrettable features of the work by Chen and Shryock is the lack of any notation of the tones of the spoken terms. Without such notation a reader is left wondering if what appear to be homophones are not in reality distinguished by a difference in tone.

In classifying the system as they found it Chen and Shryock state that, "On the whole, it seems as if the Chinese system should be described as bifurcate collateral, but as Lowie (who has also done work on the system) says, the 'form is puzzling.'"⁵²

Kroeber has reviewed the work of Chen and Shryock and has drawn some further conclusions. He says that, "The Chinese system appears to consist of a 'classificatory,' that is, non-descriptive, base, which has been made over by

⁵¹Chen and Shryock, 1932, p. 631

⁵²Chen and Shryock, 1932, p. 626.

the additions into a 'descriptive' system."⁵³

The system in use in Tucson parallels that found by Chen and Shryock and can be classified as bifurcate collateral.

For the purposes of this study the most interesting fact in regard to the kinship terminology is that it still exists and is used. Kroeber points out in regard to the situation in China, "The Chinese obviously remain interested in kinship, whereas we (Anglo-Americans) want to refer to it as sketchily as possible."⁵⁴ What he says may be applied to the situation in Tucson; the very fact that the Chinese system remains in use shows that kinship remains important to the local Chinese in contrast to its lack of importance in the surrounding society. This would indicate that kinship must be considered important as a unifying factor in this study.

The Huchi Toi who were questioned could not give the complete list of kinship terms. This is to be expected since each of them has only a limited number of kin in Tucson and therefore has need of only a few of the total number of terms in the system. One Huchi Toi who was visited unexpectedly by a relative from out of town said, "I was

⁵³Kroeber, 1933, p. 151.

⁵⁴Kroeber, 1933, p. 156.

so embarrassed! I kept trying to get my mother aside so I could ask her what to call him." That she had to ask the term is significant in that it shows that she has a limited knowledge of the language. But on the other hand, the fact that she was embarrassed shows that the kinship terminology remains important.

Kinship Charts

In the three dialects terms for father and mother are different but in both Sam Yup and Se Yup the term for "both parents" is "fu mu" which is a combination of terms for father and mother as given by Chen and Shryock.

In the Se Yup the term "aku" is used for father's older sister and father's younger sister. In Chen and Shryock's recording "ku mu" is used in the same way. In the two dialects the terms are similar in that they both include the syllable "ku" and the system of terminology is the same in that there is only one term for both older and younger sister. There are other obvious similarities in the system. Neither dialect distinguishes the mother's older and younger sisters or mother's older and younger brother.

There are additional cognates but due to a difference in the alphabet used by Chen and Shryock and that used in this study it is impossible to tell just how close the terms

in the northern dialect are to those used in Tucson.

On page 100 a selection is given in phonetic symbols which was transcribed from Chinese calligraphy as read by the teacher in the Chinese language school. The selection was taken from a primer used in the school in 1950-51. In it are terms for father's father (du fu) and for father's mother (du mu). These terms do not agree with those given in the kinship charts. As might be expected the terms transcribed phonetically from the written terms come closer to those of the official language, Mandarin, as transcribed by Chen and Shryock. On the other hand the term for father is one of the colloquial terms heard in Tucson.

Mandarin dialect (Chen and Shryock, 1932)

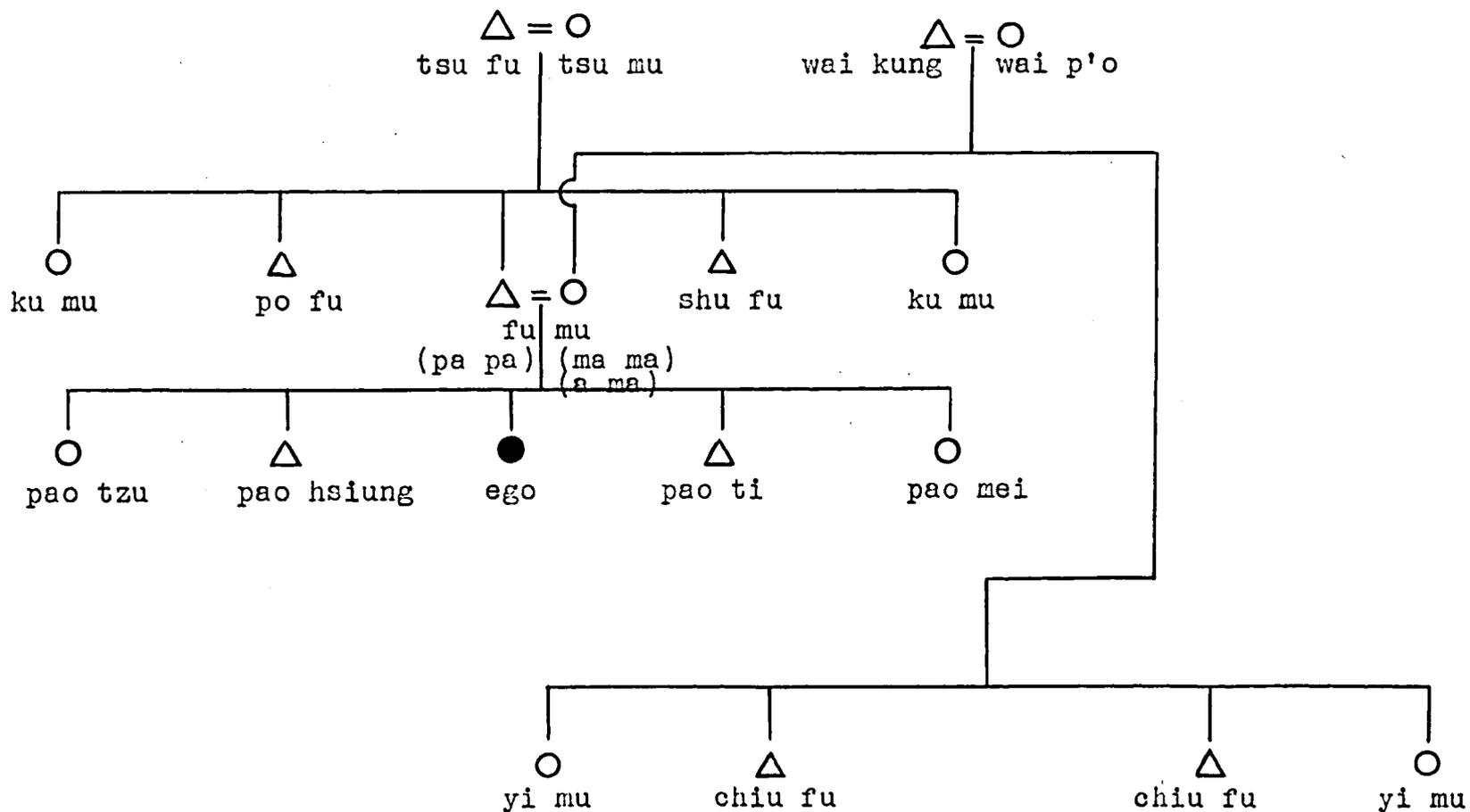


Figure 6.

Sam Yup (Third dialect)

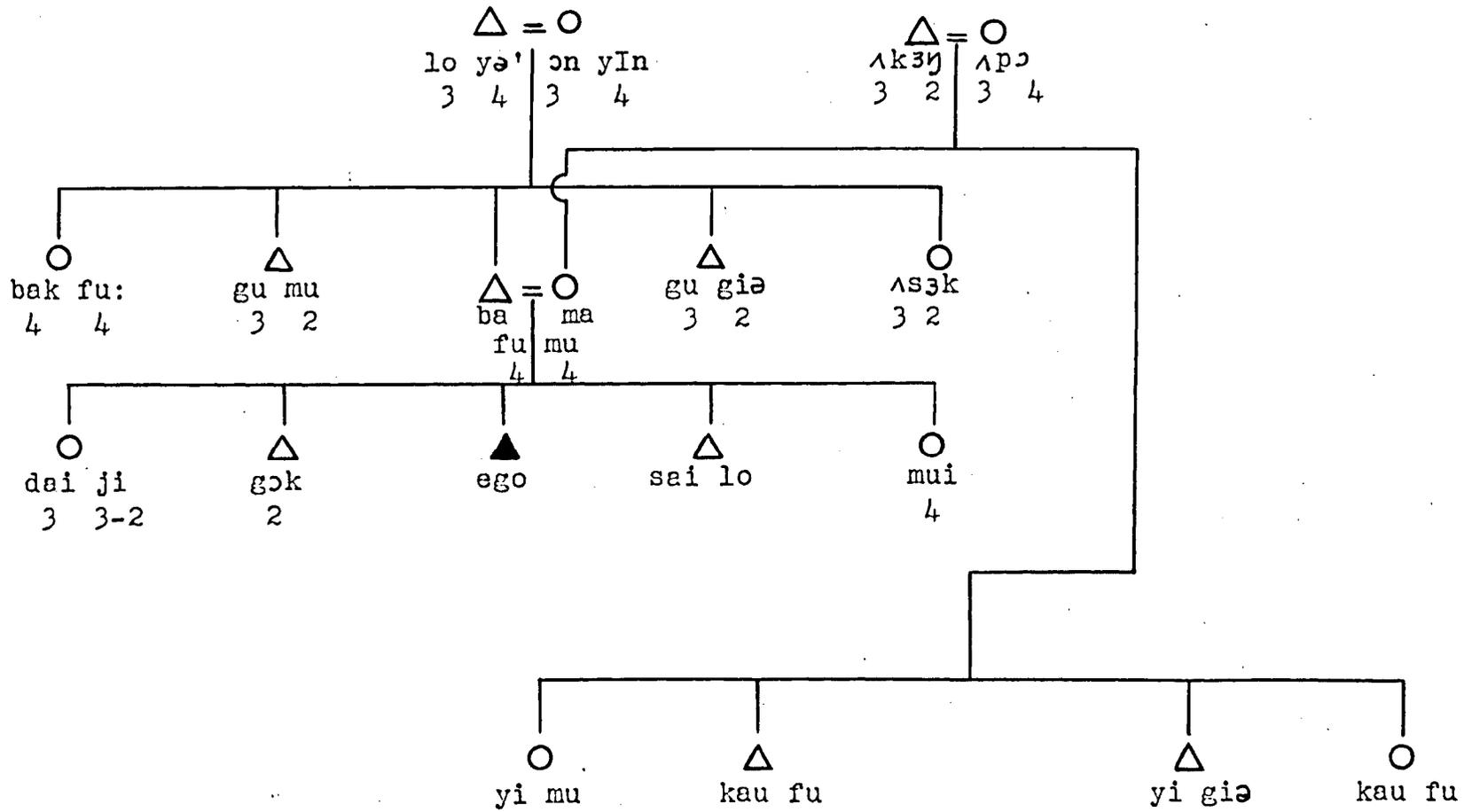


Figure 7.

Se Yup (Fourth dialect)

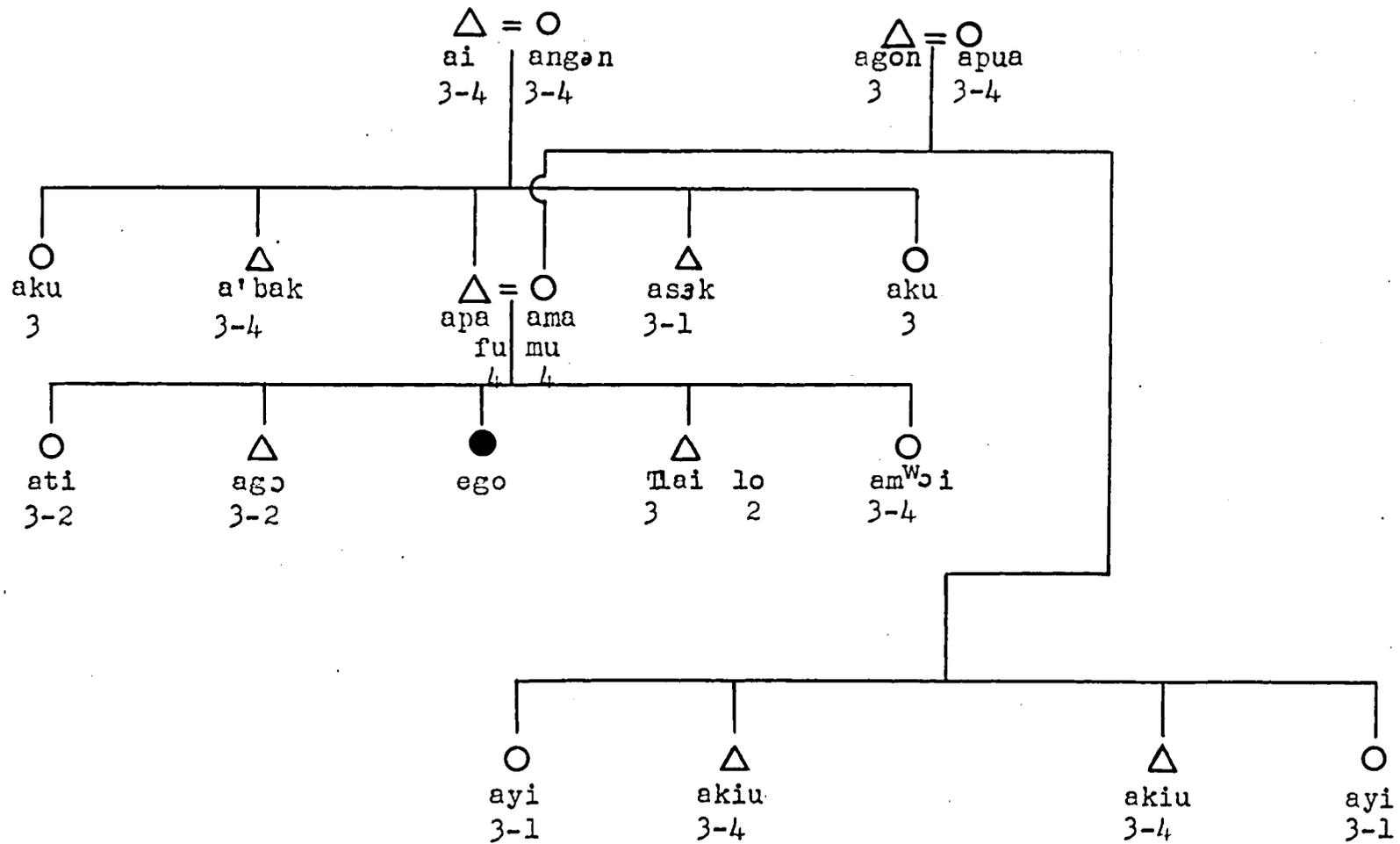


Figure 8.

Voluntary Association

In Tucson as well as all over America, the Chinese have a great number of what they call associations. These are what Lowie refers to as "sodalities." Under Associations the Arizona Chinese Directory lists seven in Tucson. There are several others that are not listed. In other cities there are additional ones as well as other branches of those represented in Tucson. The peculiar historical situation of Chinese settlement in this country has given rise to the need of these organizations.

All of the organizations assumed responsibility for seeing that members receive a proper burial even if they do not leave funds for that purpose. Most every Chinese organization which has been in existence for a long time includes this as one of its functions. According to Rose Hum Lee and William Hoy as well as verbal reports from local people it was formerly considered very important that the deceased be buried with proper rites and that their bodies be removed for burial or reburial in the home village in China. The custom is not followed as strictly as it once was though Hoy writing in 1942 said that the individual district organizations were responsible for the disinterment of the bones of the deceased for shipment to China for final burial, "which they do every

ten years."⁵⁵ The individual district organization in the case of the Tucson Chinese is the Ning Yung.

All the Associations at times extend financial help to members and many are effective in arbitrating disputes between individuals within the group.

Some of these groups have died out or become inactive as the changing situation removed the need for them. Others have changed their function in response to changing times. In this section each of the groups will be taken up in turn, their history sketched briefly, their present status and importance and functions discussed. Each will also be considered from the standpoint of importance as a uniting or divisive force for the community as a whole.

The Chinese Evangelical Church which is one of the local sodalities and listed in the directory as one of the Associations has been discussed under the section on religion. A second, the Chinese Language School, will be considered under the section on language.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was organized some 50 years ago to protect the Chinese merchants. A series of robberies led to the forming of the organization in order

⁵⁵Hoy, 1942, p. 20.

that the merchants could pool their funds to post rewards for the apprehension of the offenders and to secure legal advice in bringing them to justice. Apparently the official law-enforcing bodies could not be depended upon for protection unless they were offered a cash reward for doing their duties. Today and in recent years the practice of offering rewards has continued though there is probably less, if any, need for it today. The city and county law-enforcing officers apparently give the same attention to offenses against Chinese as they give to any offense. There is in fact an officer who has become known as a special friend to the Chinese in Tucson. It is this man whom the merchants call whenever--as they not infrequently do--have a bad check on their hands or are in other need of official help. Many of the Chinese merchants today also carry insurance to protect themselves against loss to thieves.

According to the man who was president of the Chamber at the time this study was initiated, the Chamber assumes the responsibility of caring for its members in time of family or business crisis. A member in need can turn to the Chamber for financial or other help. For their mutual protection the members exchange information on any bad accounts that they might have. This serves to prevent persons who have neglected to pay their bills at one store from receiving credit at another.

It is the Chamber of Commerce which sponsors the Chinese Language School, the annual Fourth of July picnic (see page 111), and which customarily acts as a collecting agent for fund drives such as Red Cross and Community Chest as well as drives which may be limited to the Chinese group.

In spite of the fact that at least two women have gone into business in Tucson there are no women in the Chamber. When asked if she was a member one of the women replied simply, "It's a man's organization. Women aren't asked to join."

Of all the organizations, active and inactive, in Tucson today, the Chamber of Commerce is probably the most important as a uniting factor for the Chinese community as a whole. This group includes an estimated 88% of the business men in the community. These men constitute well over sixty per cent of the heads of Chinese families in Tucson. The existence of a sodality which includes such a large proportion of the men of the community and meets at least once a month is a good indication of unity for the group, and is itself an important causal factor in this unity.

The 1950 census figures are not yet available for the Tucson Chinese population. The above figures are arrived at through an analysis of the Arizona Chinese Directory⁵⁶ and the figure for membership in the Chinese Chamber of

⁵⁶Arizona Chinese Directory, 1950.

Commerce for 1950 was furnished by the president of that group for that year. The directory lists 132 businesses (114 groceries). There were in 1950, 116 members of the Chamber of Commerce; these 116 are 88% of the listed businesses. The directory also lists 200 residences but not more than 172 of these are heads of households since 26 listed are listed as living at the Ying On and at least two known to the writer are listed who live with parents or other relatives. Therefore, the 116 members comprise perhaps 67 per cent of the heads of households.

The Ying On is officially known in English as Ying On, Laborers' and Merchants' Benevolent Association.

It originated in San Francisco and exists only in California and Arizona. Like many similar organizations, it was started to protect the small families from the big powerful ones.

On the coast some years ago the clans like Chan, Wong, and Lee, which are said to be the biggest in China and the world, were beginning to take advantage of their power. They were forcing members of the smaller families out of jobs so that they would be open to their own members. Then the small families decided to band together and force the large families to give them an even break. The small family Tongs were the result. Later the Tong wars began when the

small family organizations fell into the hands of men who used them for their own purposes and forgot why they had been organized. One of these wars began in Butte.

It was said to be the most bitter and longest Tong War (1922) in the memory of Tong history in this country. A truce was not agreed to until three years had elapsed. In Butte, all establishments and businesses ceased operation; men stayed behind barred doors. The families of the Chinatown sent their children to school under heavy guard and no visiting between them was permitted. The American superintendent of the Chinese Baptist Mission declared that for two years his sole contact with his church members was by home visits.⁵⁷

However in Butte neither of the Tongs are active today.

. . . the Bing Kung Tong does maintain its headquarters in Chinatown but its activities are relatively unimportant.⁵⁸

The Ying On is today a men's society comparable to any of the many secret fraternal organizations that exist in Anglo society. There are about 45 members in the group according to one man's estimate. These men are almost exclusively Hong Sun Toi and the majority are older men. There are however some members who are young in years though they are described as being old in ideas; that is, they are those few young men who retain the old world values and beliefs. They are referred to by the Americanized Huchi Toi as being very "Chinafied."

⁵⁷Private Document No. 12, Chinese Baptist Mission as quoted by Rose Hum Lee, 1947, p. 174.

⁵⁸Lee, 1947, p. 273.



N-12,502

Photo by the author

The Ying On Hall

The Tucson Ying On built its present quarters just after the war and they are said to have cost \$50,000. The exterior of the building combines American and Chinese architectural traditions. The facade is adorned with gilded concave gables and the windows decorated with scenes painted in the Chinese tradition.

The Ying On seems to be similar to an Anglo fraternal sodality in purpose and function; its building in many respects reminds one of a veterans' club or lodge hall. Like the meeting places of these organizations the Ying On has its bar and its game room where members may enjoy a friendly game of cards. There is a big kitchen for preparing banquets, and upstairs are offices for the officials of the group. Here sits the Chinese secretary, brush in hand, writing in Chinese characters the business of the organization.

The main room is a long formally-arranged meeting hall. In the center is a long table with chairs; at one end is an altar, richly carved and gilded, where joss is burned in reverence to the memory of a great man. It seems to be similar to ancestor worship, though the members of the group are not related on ordinary kinship basis. All around the hall are ribbons with Chinese writing. Some are names of donors who contributed to the furnishing of the hall; some are lists of the officers for past years.

In the hall at the top of the stairs are pictures of the Ying On members from Tucson and delegates from the Ying On in California grouped together with city officials of Tucson who were present at the formal opening of the new Ying On hall. Pictured also in the group are leaders of the Chinese community who are not members of Ying On.

Little is known first hand of the nature of the religious aspect of the Ying On's functions except the appearance of the physical paraphernalia. This consists of an elaborately carved altar with receptacles to hold burning joss, ribbons and books with Chinese writing, and vases of small flags. On one side of the altar is the American flag, on the other that of the Republic of China.

In the rear of its building the Ying On maintains a group of residences, bachelor quarters for members. There are 26 men listed in the Arizona Chinese directory who give as their address the street number of the Ying On.

The Ying On would seem to be a uniting force for the 45 or so men who are active members, but from the viewpoint of the Chinese Community as a whole it is a divisive force. The Americanized Huchi Toi do not approve of the organization. When questioned about it they will almost invariably answer, "I don't believe in that sort of thing." However, further questioning, which attempts to learn details of the nature of their disapproval or the nature of the organization's

functioning of which they disapprove, will generally elicit no further information.

The Sino-American Club grew out of what was in 1931 the Chinese Students Association. After having been disbanded during the war, it was reorganized in May, 1946, on a wider basis, open to all Chinese. The membership is still mainly students and people of high school and college age, but there are a few rather inactive older members. The younger Chinese-Americans say that this organization is the most active of all the Chinese-American associations and observations indicate that this boast comes near to being fact. It functions now as a social club, holding parties on Christmas, New Year's and other occasions. It also sponsors various community service projects though this part of their activities has become very minor in recent years.

The members of the group are proud of the fact that they are, as they put it, "highly Americanized."

Sino-American Club meetings draw from about ten to twenty members on a rough average. There is nothing Chinese about their meetings except the hour at which they start. They are usually scheduled for later than a comparable Anglo club meeting and they usually start much later than they are scheduled. Carl Glick⁵⁹ defines "Chinese time" as being a vague hour on some vaguely defined day. One has the

⁵⁹Glick, 1943, p. 74.



Photo courtesy Larry Lim

Football--The Sino-American Club is actively sports minded.

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feeling in reading his comments that he is not serious. But the most serious investigator would have to record that it is a culture trait of the Chinese in America to arrive at functions an hour or more later than the scheduled time and that Chinese gatherings are scheduled to start later than those of the dominant society. "Chinese time" does not apply to events that involve "Americans."

The explanation for the late hour of meetings lies partly in the fact that Chinese businesses remain open until late at night. If young Chinese in Tucson are to have any social life they must plan it around the necessity of being at the stores until late many nights.

In addition to their parties, dances and bowling league, the Sino-American club annually enters a team in the softball league sponsored by the city of Tucson. They have had runner-up championship teams in their class and they have had off years. They also have a basketball team.

In Butte, "No Chinese youth organizations have ever been organized for the second generation."⁶⁰

The Sino-American Club is important to the unity of the Chinese as a whole. Though its members are only a small part of the youth of the Chinese in Tucson, the community feels the effects of Sino-American activities. Their New

⁶⁰Lee, 1947, p. 281.



Photo courtesy Larry Lim

Sino-American Club clothing drive.

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Year's Eve dance, for example, is attended by a great majority of the youth of the community from high school age to young married couples.

Chung Mai means Chinese-American; the name is applied to a sodality for Chinese teen-age girls that meets at the Y. W. C. A. and is known as the "Y-Teens." This group of about 15 girls combines recreational and service functions. They sponsor dances and movies and have parties for their own group or for the Chinese community as a whole. For community services they make and distribute gifts of toys or scrap books to invalid children, collect food and other gifts for needy people at Christmas time and perform similar charitable acts on the basis of one such project a month.

Another group which met at the Y. W. C. A. was also known as Chung Mai. It was a small group and is temporarily disbanded. But according to their leader they will become active again in the near future. The members were married women for the most part and they combined their efforts to do service in whatever way they found appropriate at the time. They engaged in such projects as making bandages for use by the Red Cross and making garments for children in war-stricken areas.

When a change in the Exclusion Acts made it possible for Veterans to bring their Chinese brides into this country on

a non-quota basis there was an influx of new arrivals from China. This women's organization then became active in aiding the newcomers to adjust to life in Tucson. They held sessions to give advice on subjects ranging from baby care and hygiene to the proper way to wear American clothing. One of the women who participated in this effort said, "They did some funny things at first. You'd see them all dressed up with high heels and colored bobby socks. But they learned fast and some of them are showing up the American-born girls."

The Kuo Min Tang, Chinese Nationalist Party, was formed in this country prior to the revolution in China in 1911. The organization was very strong in the U. S. and played an important part in the planning and financing of the revolution. In more recent years (1931) the Kuo Min Tang was active in supporting China against Japan. Men from Tucson took part in a program for training pilots to serve in China. When the U. S. entered the war the Army took over this function. Later the Kuo Min Tang supported the Nationalist Government against the Communist movement. There is some reason to believe that this organization will become more active now that the United States is in direct conflict with the Chinese Communists.

In 1950 the Kuo Min Tang sent a letter to President Truman stating that they were all behind his support of the

Nationalist government on Formosa. The Chinese-American population of Tucson seems to be in sympathy with the Kuo Min Tang, though the actual membership at present is said to be quite small, and virtually inactive. There is a meeting hall belonging to the Kuo Min Tang on South Meyer.

The Chee Kung Tang, Chinese Masonic order, was prior to the revolution of 1911 a very influential group. However, at the time the revolution was being organized, the Chee Kung Tang was divided between backing one faction which favored a constitutional monarchy and backing the other faction which favored a republic. According to a local Chinese-American the organization lost prestige in 1911 as a consequence of its backing the losing side and soon after became inactive in Tucson. It still exists however and is listed in the Chinese directory with the name of its leader. Rose Hum Lee states that:

The Gee Kung Tong was a similar organization which supported a movement for an overthrow of the Manchu regime and its activities were centered in a building which was razed two years ago. It was replaced by the Kuomintang Party after 1911, but there is no evidence that a branch of this organization existed in Butte.⁶¹

⁶¹Lee, 1947, p. 273.

Anti-Communist League. In 1951 the Chinese organized a new sodality, its name translated to mean "against communists," and it is known as the Anti-Communist League. The five officers elected were also officers of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the formation of the league was written up in the local newspapers with a picture of the officers and a representative from the parent organization on the Coast.

The younger generation greeted the news of the forming of the league with a smile. "Now that their pictures have been in the paper they have accomplished their purpose," one Huchi Toi said. The head of the group readily admitted that this was in fact one of the main purposes of forming the league. It was the method chosen of making public the stand of the Chinese Community on the communist question.

Part of the desire to make a declaration of policy was to offset any tendencies on the part of non-Chinese in Tucson to associate the local Chinese with the Chinese Communists. That it was necessary to take a stand was demonstrated by the fact that at least one incident had occurred where local Chinese had been so associated.

In a north side grocery store a customer had filled her basket with groceries and then on coming to the check-out stand realized that she was in a Chinese store. She left the groceries she had selected and walked out of the store

saying she would not buy from Communists.

How much effect the Anti-Communist League has had is impossible to determine, but aside from this one incident, the Chinese questioned say that there has been no change in the attitude of Anglos toward Chinese since the start of the Korean war.

The Ning Yung Association has a branch in Tucson. The parent organization is one of the groups which make up the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in California. The Ning Yung is an association for natives of Toy San and is the most powerful of these district associations which make up the organization. Forty-six per cent of the total number of Chinese in California are from Toy San. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association is popularly known as the Chinese Six Companies; so wide-spread has the use of the term "Six Companies" become that it is placed in parentheses after the official name of the group.

The functions of the district associations are generally those outlined in the introduction to this section. As these are carried on by other groups in Tucson the Ning Yung has become inactive. It is potentially a powerful organization since all Toy Sanese are automatically members and practically all of Tucson Chinese are from Toy San.

A branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society has never existed in Butte. When a community problem needed solution, the Chinese Temple functioned in its stead until its demolition in 1945.⁶²

Co-residence

Much of the material on co-residence has been presented in the discussion of the principles of grouping; therefore, only a few words need be added here.

Co-residence is one of the most interesting factors in the social organization of Tucson's Chinese community. The community is scattered over 50 square miles and intermingled with many racial and ethnic groups and at first glance the co-residence principle would seem to have a completely negative effect on the group unity.

In Tucson today there is not a street with a block of Chinese residences unmixed with residences of members of some other ethnic group. Chinese are found living among Anglos, Mexican, Negroes, Papagos, and Yaquis. (See map 2, p. 38). If the co-residence principle operates at all it would be expected to unite individual Chinese families with non-Chinese, rather than unify the group. The automobile is partly responsible for making it possible for unity to exist in a

⁶²Lee, 1947.

scattered community.

Looked at from the point of view of former residence the co-residence principle is seen to be very much in action as a uniting force. As was stated in the introduction there are in China, 28 provinces; only one of these is strongly represented in the United States. In this province, Kwangtung, there are 72 districts, but immigrants to America came from only a few of these. William Hoy says that these immigrants came from about 15 districts "with a sprinkling from six others . . ." and that " . . . twenty-one districts in Kwangtung province supplied ninety-nine per cent of all the Chinese immigrants to America."⁶³ The great majority of Tucson's Chinese are from only one of these districts. Here is precisely what Lowie wrote about in his discussion of consciousness of kind--a group of people who feel a unity due to a common place of origin.

That the Chinese in America do feel this unity is clearly shown by the existence of such organizations as the Ning Yung.

Even considered completely from the view point of residence in Tucson without regard to former residence the co-residence principle has a positive effect on unity. The effect of residence in Tucson is without a doubt less important than the effect of former residence in Toy San, but

⁶³Hoy, 1942, p. 6.

nevertheless it has an effect. It can be seen in such things as the rivalry that has grown up between Phoenix youth and the Tucson Sino-American Club. These two groups have vied with each other for leadership in sports and social activities. There is a traditional baseball game between the two groups and there have been girls' volley ball contests. The rivalry is extended to the more general field of trying to show the other up as a less active and less successful club. Though residence in Tucson then has an extremely minor role in uniting the community, it does have some effect.

IV

THE CHINESE IN TUCSON SOCIETY--SOCIAL STRATIFICATIONGeneral Considerations

Stratification and the prejudices that usually accompany it are important in binding together those who are on the same level in a stratified society. The Chinese feel the stratification of Tucson Society and one of them stated his opinion of the order in which the dominant society ranked the minority groups as: Anglo, Jewish, Chinese, Mexican, Indian, and Negro.⁶⁴

In answering the questionnaires eight signers felt that prejudice is limited to newcomers to Tucson, two did not qualify their positive answers and ten said there was no prejudice but then went on to qualify their answers.

One young man who has many Anglo friends stated that he felt out of place at a dance attended by Anglos. "I don't like to ask a girl (Anglo) to dance because I'm afraid she might refuse or even if she doesn't I'm afraid it might embarrass her. I don't like to place her in a position which

⁶⁴Getty ranks the ethnic groups in Tucson as Anglo, Mexican, Chinese, Negro, Papago, Yaqui. Getty, 1949, p. 576.



N-12, 505

Photo courtesy Larry Lim

Sino-American Club square dance. Chinese associate
with Chinese.

might be embarrassing."

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Chinese, though a minority group themselves, sometimes adopt the prejudices of the dominant group toward other minorities.

Evidence of anti-Semitism tendencies were noted on a number of occasions. The form which expression of the prejudice took seemed to indicate that the attitudes expressed were taken over from the dominant ethnic group. Lesser evidence of prejudice toward other groups was also noted.

A summary of the attitude of the members of the community toward marriage with non-Chinese is that such marriages are not to be desired. "I guess such marriages are all right if both parties recognize the problems involved and are willing to make the sacrifices," one Chinese said. And many who express such a feeling will add that an interracial marriage is "Not for me . . . too many problems involved." This attitude is a recognition of the caste system in Tucson society. There are, however, ten interracial marriages in Tucson that have come to the attention of this writer. These marriages show that the caste line can be crossed even though the crossing of it is illegal under existing state laws.

Many Chinese have bridged the gap between the Chinese and Anglo groups and have succeeded in establishing many successful relations with the dominant group in addition to the business relations.

Outstanding examples are cases of Chinese who while remaining very active as leaders in Chinese society have also established themselves as leaders of segments of the dominant society. A first generation Chinese, who is active in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and has often held office in that organization, is at present Commander of the local American Legion Post. It is said that his is the only case of a Chinese Commander of a predominantly Anglo Post. He came here when he was of high school age without a knowledge of the English language and without financial resources, yet he has risen to a well-to-do economic status in addition to becoming a leader in both societies.

Another case similarly involves a Hong Sun Toi who after receiving an American education became one of the first professionals to successfully practice in Tucson. In addition to his profession, however, he is the owner of a grocery store that is run for him by a kinsman. This man is past president of the local chapter of the Rotary Club and the only Chinese member of that group.

One Chinese woman has become prominent not only as an organizer of Chinese women's and girls' groups, but is also a very active officer in an Anglo-dominated Y. W. C. A. She is also active in Catholic Church work.

Other examples of Chinese entering into the activities of the Anglo society are found in those who are making their

living working in Anglo dominated institutions. For example, there is a Chinese on the teaching staff of the University; there are at least five Chinese teaching in the public schools; one is a teller in a bank; and approximately twelve are working in defense plants. Aside from the division of a few men from the rest of the group as the "big wheels," or leaders of the community there is no ranking of classes within the Chinese group in Tucson.

Lee states that:

The dominant society has stereotyped the Chinese into four main categories, representing two extreme social classes; the upper and the lower. The four rigid divisions are: restaurant worker, laundry-man, student and official. A minor group composed of merchants and professionals such as herb doctors, curio dealers, clerks, Chinese teachers, have no distinctive social classification."⁶⁵

The apparent lack of ranking in Tucson is perhaps due to the fact that the majority of the Chinese in this city are in the group which she states "have no distinctive social classification."

As a group the Chinese are considered good citizens from the point of view of the city officials interviewed. "We've got a good bunch here," one said, "never giving any trouble." Another expressed the same general opinion. "There are a few bad apples in any group but in the Chinese here

⁶⁵Lee, 1947, p. 27.

it's a very small percentage." For the country as a whole the Chinese have a low percentage of law breakers as is indicated by the low number of arrests for Federal offenses (see Table 9, Appendix I).

If a class or caste system is to exist it is necessary that the members of the strata be identifiable; the Chinese are set apart on the basis of cultural as well as physical differences. The majority of the Chinese in Tucson continue to practice culture traits that are different from those of the rest of the Tucson society. There is a good deal of variation among households groups in the particular traits of Chinese culture retained and in the details of their practice.

In 1950 there were two "herbists" listed in the Chinese Directory; since then one of them has retired. The other one carries on most of his business with the Chinese group. Some younger Chinese said that their parents still believed in this type of curing but that the non-Chinese doctor was consulted in any case of serious illness. Western style drugs and medicine are far more important to the Chinese in Tucson. There is one Chinese Medical Doctor practicing in Tucson. He is on the staff of a local hospital. Rose Hum Lee states that, "Outside of the Western coastal Chinatowns, Butte appears to be the only city where herbalism is widely

practiced."⁶⁶

There is one Chinese store in Tucson that furnishes the Chinese community with imported foods, seasonings, and miscellaneous items. This store is operated by a Chinese man who speaks English well enough to deal with non-Chinese customers, but most of his business is with Chinese. Here seems to be the only mercantile establishment where an abacus is used for calculations. In all other places that have been observed this ancient calculator has been replaced by the Western style adding machine.

In their food habits the Chinese vary from the rest of Tucson society. Of 22 persons who answered the questionnaire 18 regularly eat Chinese-style cooking. The most common practice is to reserve this type of cooking for the main meal of the day. Only two of the signers do not cook food in the Chinese style and two do so only irregularly. Generally when Chinese food is eaten chopsticks are used; even tiny tots of the third generation are learning to eat with the Oriental utensils as well as with knife, fork and spoon. One Hong Sun Toi who, because of his age, associates mostly with Huchi Toi was highly indignant because one of his younger friends ordered dinner for a group in a Chinese restaurant without specifying that it was for Chinese. "Of all the stupid things, eating Chinese food with a knife and fork." On the other hand a Huchi Toi woman who spent most of her life

⁶⁶Lee, 1947, p. 205

in the Orient said, "Even in Hongkong we didn't use chopsticks." She said that she uses them only occasionally now.

In the following sections of the report a sample of other cultural differences which serve to set off the Chinese as a group will be considered.

Cultural Differences

Language

The Chinese language plays a part in the unifying of the community. This was recognized by a Chinese student when she said of her group of friends, "We like to get together and speak in Chinese. It's fun to go to the movies and be able to make comments that will not be understood by the people around if they should happen to overhear." She went on to try to express the in-group feeling that she experienced when she was with a group and speaking Chinese.

A Huchi Toi who does not speak Chinese reported that the older Hong Sun Toi have no respect at all for Chinese who can't speak the language. But almost all of the Chinese in Tucson are able to communicate to some extent in one or more of the Chinese dialects (89% of the 61 people for whom information was gained on the questionnaires). It was pointed out in the section on Age that members of different generations may find their communication unsatisfactory in

some cases. But the fact that there is a sharing of a language that is not shared by other groups in the city must draw the generations together. Those members of the community who speak only Chinese or at most only very little of another language are very obviously bound to the Chinese group. Of the 39 parents mentioned in the questionnaires, two could speak no English; several more were reported as being able to speak only a little. If the sample is a valid one only 5.1% of the population speak no English and about 13% have a very limited command of that language. On the other hand some indication of the extent of communication between Chinese and other groups is indicated by this data from the questionnaires. About 95% can speak some English and about 80% can speak Spanish. From this it would seem that communication with English speakers is only slightly higher than with Spanish speakers. Observation of the contacts of the group and the location of the densest area of population bears out this conclusion. Language then is not an important barrier to interaction with these groups.

Though there are two dialects spoken in Tucson the divisive effect of this difference is slight. These are known as the Third and Fourth dialects but this seems to be a misnomer caused by an inaccurate translation of Se Yup and Sam Yup. William Hoy's discussion of the terms indicates that the terms refer to the areas in which the dialects are

spoken--the Sam Yup, Three District area, and Se Yup, the Four District area. The words can be literally translated as third and fourth, however. At any rate the dialects are known in English as the Third and Fourth dialects. The accompanying comparison of the numbers in the two dialects gives an indication of the closeness of the two.

The dialects are mutually intelligible and most people have some knowledge of both dialects. That communication between the groups is good is shown by the fact that many younger Chinese mix the two in what is jokingly referred to as the Seventh dialect, the sum of the Third and Fourth.

Some indication of the nature of the dialects was gained through the field work done. To an English speaker existence of tones as suprasegmental phonemes⁶⁷ is the most striking feature and the most difficult to master. Each word has its particular tone which is essential to easy understanding even when there is no danger of confusion with a similar sound. The student eventually managed to distinguish four pitch tones plus a rising tone. A good example of phonemic difference based on tone alone is: "mái³" meaning "to buy," and "mái⁴" meaning "to sell." In the texts the tones are numbered with the number 1 indicating the highest tone, and an arrow the rising tone.

Other features which make the language contrast sharply

⁶⁷Bloch and Trager, 1942, p.

with English are its monosyllabic character and the presence of the glottal stop.

At various times a Chinese Language School has been in existence in Tucson to teach children to read and write Chinese. Some years ago it was conducted in connection with the Chinese Christian Church and taught by the minister. Classes were discontinued in the late thirties due to the lack of a teacher and have been held only sporadically since. During the school year of 1950-51 classes were conducted under the auspices of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Children were divided into two groups--one for the very young children and one for those about nine or ten and older. The older group was composed of students ranging from grade school age to those in high school.

The older group was taught by a lady who had recently come from China and the fact that she spoke only a minimum of English forced the children to communicate in Chinese. The students who attended already had a grasp of the spoken language and the work of the class was concentrated on reading from Chinese primers and learning to make the characters with both pencil and brush.

Classes were held each evening starting around 5:30 or 6:00 and ending about 7:00 or 7:30 p.m. Some children persuaded their parents to let them go on alternate days

instead of every day, the parents consenting because they felt attendance at the language school every day was too much for young children who were also attending public school. Discipline in the classes seemed poor but according to one parent his children were learning quite rapidly.

The classes were held in San Jose Mission; the Catholic Church, however, had no connection with the school beyond providing the class rooms. In all there were perhaps 60 students taught by two ladies who were compensated for their work by the small monthly fee paid by each student.

The students learned to read by repeating in unison after the teacher as she read from the primers. For writing they copied the characters from the blackboard. They not only had to learn to reproduce the appearance of the characters but also to make each stroke in its prescribed order.

The texts, pages 100 and 101 include one of the stories that the students read. It was learned by all from tiny tots to high school students. The books from which the students worked were small paper bound pamphlets, printed in China and apparently intended for use by small children.

Similar classes are held in many Chinese communities in the United States and apparently have various results. A great many of the second generation Chinese now of college age attended Chinese language school for various periods of

time. But many who attended failed to gain a reading knowledge of the language. Many grown students now say regretfully, "We didn't learn anything in Chinese school; we just played around." Some were more successful. One second generation girl who attended classes in California for 10 years reads and writes well. She enjoys reading the works of Confucius and others and exchanges letters written in Chinese with relatives in the Orient. No classes are being held in Tucson this year. The reasons given are that one of the teachers has left town and that the class rooms at San Jose are not available.

The existence of a Chinese language school, though sporadic, shows that some members of the community are interested in preserving their culture and not in complete assimilation.

The following selections are transcribed from selections read in the Chinese language school.

Key to Phonetic Symbols

a	as in <u>f</u> ather	m	as in <u>m</u> ake
b	" <u>b</u> at	n	" <u>n</u> o
č	" <u>ch</u> icken	o	" <u>o</u>
d	" <u>d</u> og	p	" <u>p</u> ush
e	" <u>g</u> ay	s	" <u>s</u> ee
ə	" <u>y</u> es	š	" <u>sh</u> all
ɛ	" <u>a</u> t	t	" <u>t</u> ug
ɔ	" <u>g</u> ood	ʈ	-- lateral alveolar spirant
f	" <u>f</u> ood	u	as in <u>so</u> on
g	" <u>g</u> o	ʌ	" <u>so</u> n
h	" <u>h</u> ello	ɔ	" <u>ou</u> ght
i	" <u>s</u> ee	w	" <u>w</u> alk
I	" <u>s</u> ick	ŋ	" <u>si</u> ng
j	" <u>j</u> udge	:	-- quantity
k	" <u>k</u> ing	ʔ	-- glottal stop
l	" <u>l</u> ong	˘	-- diphthongization

Superscripts indicate tones, 1 being the highest and 4 being the lowest. A rising tone is indicated by an arrow placed after the superscript.

3 2
la ba

The Bugle

2 3 3 2 3 3 3 2 2 3 3 3 3 2
wa da da wa da da la ba wa da da cui ɔ Tleo
(bugle sound) blow destination small

2 3 2 2 3 3 2 2 3
san ha san seŋ Tleo ba' ma' pao lɔi
hill bottom hill top small white horse gallop come

2 2 3 3 2 4 3 3 2 2 3 3 2 3 3
ba pao lɔi heŋ go cui la ba wa da da wa da da
gallop come hear me blow bugle (sound)

3 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
la ba wa da da cui ɔ ai si ha si
blow destination big tree bottom tree

seŋ 2 wu a 2 3 ba 2 3 2
top Tleo small dark bird fly come fly lɔi heŋ
fly come hear

4 2 3 2
go cui la ba
me blow

(Bugle sound). It reaches the bottom of a hill. On top (of the hill) is a white horse. (The bugler says) come gallop, hear me blow the bugle. (The) sounds (of) the bugle reaches the bottom of a big tree. In the tree top is a small, dark bird. Fly here, fly here, and hear me blow the bugle.

Comparison of numbers in the
Third and Fourth Cantonese dialects

<u>English</u>	<u>Chinese Written Character</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	
		<u>Third dialect</u>	<u>Fourth dialect</u>
one	一	2 yɛt	1 yɪt
two	二	4 yi	4 gi
three	三	2 sam	4 Tɛm
four	四	3 se	4 Ti
five	五	4 ↗ ŋi	2 n:
six	六	4 lɜk	4 lɜk
seven	七	1 ɕɛt	2 tət
eight	八	3 bat	4 bat
nine	九	4-3 gau	2 giu
ten	十	4 sɛp	4 sɪp
eleven	十一	3 2 sɛp yɛt	4 1 sɪp yɪt
twelve	十二	4 4 sɛp yi	4 4 sɪp gi
thirteen	十三	4 2 sɛp sam	4 4 sɪp Tɛm

<u>English</u>	<u>Chinese Written Character</u>	<u>Cantonese</u>	
		<u>Third dialect</u>	<u>Fourth dialect</u>
fourteen	十四	⁴ sɿp ³ se	⁴ sɿp ⁴ ŋi
fifteen	十五	⁴ sɿp ⁴ ŋi	⁴ sɿp ² n:
sixteen	十六	⁴ sɿp ⁴ lɛk	⁴ sɿp ⁴ lok
seventeen	十七	⁴ sɿp ¹ cɿt	⁴ sɿp ² tət
eighteen	十八	⁴ sɿp ³ bət	⁴ sɿp ⁴ bət
nineteen	十九	⁴ sɿp ⁴⁻³ gəu	⁴ sɿp ² giu
twenty	二十	⁴ i ⁴ sɿp (s may become voiced)	⁴ gi ⁴ sɿp
one hundred	一百	² yɿt ⁴ bət	¹ yɿt ⁴ bət
five hundred	五百	⁴ ŋi ⁴ bət	¹ n ⁴ bət
one thousand		² yɿt ² cɿn	¹ yɿt ⁴ tən

Crisis Rites

The birth of a baby is celebrated with a gwa tau (hair cut) party given when he is one month old. These gatherings are spoken of by the English-speaking second generation as hair-cutting parties. The party is given for the family and close friends of the parents. When the baby is shown to all at such a traditional banquet the guests bring presents for the baby, but it is the father who receives the most of the congratulations. Often at a gwa tau in Tucson it is still the custom to have red-dyed eggs which are given to the guests.

Graduation from either high school or college is a time for celebration. Many parties are held each year when school has let out. Even though the students may not be of great financial means the party will be a big one if it is at all possible because to the Chinese graduation from school is an occasion worthy of great celebration. Occasionally a number of graduating students will get together and give a party at a public hall or hotel. There may be several hundred people present, most of them Chinese but including a few non-Chinese. These are the school chums of the graduating students and a few of the wholesalers or their employees who sell goods to the Chinese merchants.

If the party is held at a hotel with a pool there will be swimming, games, and dancing, planned, followed by a buffet supper. These parties are not only for the students and their friends of the same age group, but like most Chinese parties they are attended by people of all ages.

Weddings⁶⁸ are frequently announced by sending out small cakes to members of the community in addition to printed announcements. These are made by the bride's family and distributed by the bride or her close friends. The ingredients are paid for by the groom. Sometimes other food and drink are distributed, too. The written invitations may take either the typical American form or follow the Chinese tradition in which case they are written in gold characters on red paper.

A bride may send her groom a billfold with a coin in it to express her wish that he may always be prosperous.

The weddings usually take place in one of the Christian churches as the Chinese Evangelical Church does not have a minister with the legal power to perform marriages. The costumes, following the American tradition, are usually a white bridal gown and a dark suit or dress clothes for the groom.

⁶⁸Much of the information in this section is drawn from a survey of wedding customs made by M. M. Gardner in 1951 on the suggestion of the writer.

After the wedding a banquet may be given; the guests including sometimes only clan members, but in other cases friends of other clans and national backgrounds may be invited. The food served may include typical old-world Chinese dishes or those of the American buffet dinner. The groom is toasted by each of his male friends. And the banquet is usually ended by a speech made by a close friend of the couple who wishes them happiness for all assembled.

After the feasting of the banquet proper the bride serves tea to her guests. She carries it by individual cups to her elders and, bowing her head to show her respect, offers it to them with both hands. To the rest of the guests she serves the tea by setting a tray of cups in the middle of the table. The married guests, after sipping their tea, give the bride a gift of money wrapped in red paper. The amount may vary from a dollar up, according to the means of the donor and his relation to the bride or groom.

The groom in turn often gives a substantial donation to a chosen cause, usually to a church or charitable organization.

According to custom the bride is expected to go to serve tea to her parents-in-law on the third morning after the wedding. This custom persists in California, but it is more often omitted than followed in Tucson. In one case a similar gesture was made to the mother-in-law of the bride immediately after the wedding, not on the traditional

Sam Ju or third morning. In places where the ceremony is observed at the older customary time the parents and relatives of the couple may not visit them until after the Sam Ju.

Though not as rare today as in the past, divorces are still not common in Chinese communities. During the course of the study only two divorces came to light in Tucson. As far as is known this is the total for all the Chinese community. There can be no doubt that Chinese marriages are more stable than those of the country as a whole.

In marriage as in other Chinese customs the trend is toward accepting the customs of America, though a few young men have recently married girls from China chosen for them by their parents. Members of the second generation are overwhelmingly for making their own choice. Of those answering the questionnaire 100% said they did or would make their own choice. In the cases of parents of those answering the questionnaire, nine marriages had been arranged, eight were of their own choosing and on five questionnaires the answers were either missing or unclear.

In contrast to the younger set's ideas on marriage a first generation woman married perhaps 40 years ago to a second generation man from the coast in an arranged marriage said simply, "I don't believe in this love stuff."

In Butte

All but two of the marriages contracted by Chinese-Americans were intra-racial. The two exceptions were those of Butte-born Chinese girls who married Caucasians.

There were five divorces within the Chinese-American generation, as compared to only one for the parents' generation. These divorces have all been granted in the United States. In the parents' generation, one divorce occurred between a China-born husband and an American-born wife.⁶⁹

Where marriages have been contracted (by Huchi Toi) personal choice seems to be the rule rather than the exception.⁷⁰

At Funerals American customs have been adopted with only a few incidentals of the Chinese customs remaining. Occasionally in Tucson some one may give a Chinese eulogy in addition to that of the Anglo speaking minister, and it is generally the practice to give each person attending the ceremonies a small coin wrapped in white paper and a very small piece of candy. One explanation of this custom is that the gifts are intended to wish the receiver prosperity and to sweeten his life again after the sorrow of the funeral ceremony. It is customary to wrap these in white paper because white is the color associated with death and funerals in contrast to the western traditional color, black.

Calendrical Celebrations

According to Rose Hum Lee⁷¹ it is the Chinese New Year's that receives the most attention in Butte even though the Chinese have been encouraged to celebrate the Western holiday since the solar calendar was adopted by the Central Government of China after the Revolution of 1911.⁷² But in Tucson Chinese New Year's may go by without notice.

Carl Glick⁷³ describes the elaborate celebration that takes place in Chinatown in New York. Rose Hum Lee says that it is the most important of the holidays that the Chinese in Butte celebrate. Local Chinese say that it is a big day in San Francisco. But when a young Chinese-American in Tucson was asked what he did on this day of days for the Chinese he said, "Oh yeah. Chinese New Year's . . . it was last week, wasn't it?" A first generation Chinese man, a young business man with a family said, "What was the holiday the other day? It was the founding of the Republic, wasn't it? I heard someone on the radio . . . talking about the Revolution in China."

To some Chinese in Tucson then, Chinese New Year's

⁷¹Lee, 1947, p. 274.

⁷²Lee, 1947, p. 280.

⁷³Glick, 1941, p. 219 ff.

means nothing. And as a community holiday, a time for big celebration, it has ceased to exist. But it is not forgotten by all; it has become a day for quiet family gatherings. Many who still celebrate the day do so with a special banquet meal at which, generally, only family members are present. In some homes traditional dishes are served at these meals; chai, an all vegetable dish symbolizes the desire to preserve life since it contains no meat. However, be'cham gai, boiled chicken is also traditionally served, as is go or tai, a gelatin dish.

Some families preserve also the custom of giving la'i si, a bit of money wrapped in red paper which is given by the parents to their unmarried children. In some cases other adult relatives will give a child la'i si. In some homes a center-piece of oranges and tangerines decorates the table on this day. This is possibly all that is left of the custom of giving an orange or tangerine to each of one's friends and relatives to wish them good luck in the coming year.

Western New Year's is celebrated by the young people who have an annual New Year's Eve ball. This ball given on the holiday of the dominant society rather than on the day which was traditionally celebrated by their parents is a thoroughly American affair, except for a Chinese flavor to

the decorations. The dance is semi-formal usually held at a downtown hotel. There are a great many small house parties after the dance and some of the celebrators go from one home to another. At one they may stay long enough to eat a bowl of chuk, a thick rice and chicken soup, then go on to another where the custom of Chinese food may be by-passed in favor of an American style buffet supper. In one case that is known, menudo, a traditional Mexican dish, is served.

It is supposed to be traditional for Chinese to pay all their debts on or before New Year's Day because if this is not done the debtor will have no money in the coming year. Carl Glick⁷⁴ writing about New York's Chinatown speaks of loans being paid off on New Year's day and then taken again on the day after. But when a Chinese merchant in Tucson was asked about this he replied, "My accounts payable run into the thousands. It would be impossible for me to pay all my debts for New Year's." He was aware of the old custom but did not think it could be followed under modern business conditions.

The day that is traditionally the biggest celebration for Tucson Chinese is the Fourth of July. On this day the Chinese Chamber of Commerce gives an all day party or picnic

⁷⁴Glick, 1941, p. 219 ff.

and all the Chinese in the community are invited. In 1951 the party was given at the Shrine Club and started shortly after noon. The main celebration was preceded by a baseball game. The Chinese boys divided themselves into two teams and played in the morning before coming to the picnic.

Shortly after noon a few of the guests began to arrive and went in swimming if they wished. The older folks arranged themselves along the pool in the shade to watch the fun and sip a bottled soda pop or eat a piece of watermelon. These refreshments were said to be donated by the wholesalers in town. Inside the building a number of card games and a mahjong game were started early in the day and continued until the party was almost over.

The Sino-Americans conducted a bingo game and gave the proceeds to the Chamber of Commerce and a group of them put on a mock vaudeville show called the "Cantonese Follies." The sense of humor of the Chinese as a group is wonderful, as anybody who saw the huskiest of the teenage boys dressed in matching costumes doing a cancan will testify. At about 7:00 p.m. dinner was served buffet style. The menu included fried chicken, potato salad, lettuce, rolls and olives served on paper plates.

The group then divided, the older generation attending a Chinese motion picture shown out-of-doors while the younger danced to recorded music.

The movie employed Chinese actors and a Cantonese dialect while the plot seemed to follow that of a Hollywood love story fitted to the Chinese situation.

In the dancing one fact seemed note-worthy as it contrasted with the pattern of urban middle-class Anglo society. In the latter group there seems to be a marked tendency for pairing off of couples who dance together for most of the evening and exchange dances with a limited number of other couples. However, the Chinese pattern would seem to be a virtual lack of pairing off in couples. Rather the girls remained a group and the boys, a group, and a particular boy would dance with practically all the girls present in the course of the evening.

This gathering like most Chinese gatherings was attended by entire families. That is all age groups were represented from babies in arms to grandmothers. During the whole day children of all ages ran about playing.

The man in charge of serving the food estimated that a total of 600 people were served, and probably 95% of these were Chinese. Even allowing for incorrect estimates the writer feels sure that a majority of the Chinese in Tucson were present.

In Butte, the "July Fourth has been observed . . . , as the Chinese community has annually prepared a float for

the event."⁷⁵

Graduation parties which come at the end of the school year in the spring are described under crisis rites.

Double Ten, the tenth day of the tenth month is the anniversary of the beginning of the revolution of 1911. The memory of this event may receive some attention in Tucson though there is no traditional celebration. One year the Sino-American Club gave a movie to raise funds on that day.

Double Seven is the anniversary of the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war which began on December 7, 1937. It, like Double Ten, is not observed in any traditional way though it is the day likely to be chosen for a fund-raising drive or other events that might be planned for this time of year. In the large city Chinatowns these are days of celebration, but not in Tucson.

For Butte, Lee lists:

Faithfully observed festivals: New Year, Ching Ming, Dragon Boat, Moon, and Winter Solstice. These have social significance and value to the inhabitants who also utilize the occasion for a social gathering. Their lives are guided by

⁷⁵Lee, 1947, p. 280.

the lunar calendar, which is placed where it may be readily seen. New world calendars are used for business transactions and to denote connections with business firms.⁷⁶

As far as the writer has determined, these days mentioned by Lee go unnoticed by Tucson Chinese with the exception of Chinese New Year's.

⁷⁶Lee, 1947, p. 274.

V

SUMMARYThe Problem

This study was planned to answer the following questions:

1. Do the Chinese in Tucson function as a group or as a number of separate families or do they divide into a number of distinguishable functioning units?
2. What are the forces that tend to unite or divide the group?
3. What are the principles of social organization in action and which are most important?

The principles of organization considered were those of Lowie: sex, age, kinship, co-residence, voluntary association, and consciousness of kind. Stratification was also considered though Lowie does not list it with his principles of grouping. but considers it in a separate chapter.

The sixth of Lowie's principles, consciousness of kind, was found to be interrelated with the other principles. For this reason this principle proved difficult to use in analyzing the unity of the group.

Rose Hum Lee's study of Butte, Montana, was used for

comparative data to a great extent. Many similarities and differences between the communities were discovered.

Field Procedures

The bulk of the information about the Tucson Chinese was gained through interviews with members of the community and through observation. At formal interviews notes were taken and usually expanded on the typewriter soon afterward. Information gained through informal conversations and through observation was also typed and filed.

A preliminary survey consisting of thirteen interviews was conducted before the problem was finally formulated.

An attempt was made to learn to use the language of the group, but due to lack of time and money it was unsuccessful. Aside from a few phrases no speaking knowledge of the language was gained. The field work done on the language proved useful since language was found to be important as a unifying factor for the group.

A set of questionnaires was used after the student became well enough acquainted to be convinced of the feasibility of such a method. The returns were disappointing since only 22 completed questionnaires were received. These however came from 22 separate households and gave information on approximately 10% of the Chinese homes in Tucson.

Limitations

Unfortunately the greatest part of the data gathered came from second-generation people, many of them college students. This has resulted in a bias to the study which could be corrected by securing more information from first generation immigrants.

History

Immigration and Exclusion

This report does not attempt to summarize the many works available on the history of Chinese in America or the history of Chinese exclusion. However, some knowledge of history is essential to understanding the situation in Tucson.

The large immigration of Chinese to America began about a century ago. In the decade 1851 to 1860, 61,397 Chinese entered the United States. The gold rush in California, Manchu oppression in China, and propaganda of the steamship companies who imported the Chinese as laborers were largely responsible for their coming.

In 1882 the Exclusion Act virtually ended legal entry of Chinese laborers to this country. Chinese competition with Caucasian labor caused labor organizations and politicians seeking the labor vote to promote the Exclusion Acts.

Certain classes were admitted during the period of exclusion. The legislation resulted in an extremely unbalanced sex ratio in America's Chinatowns. There has been a tendency toward balancing of this ratio, however. In 1910 the ratio was 19.7 males per female; in 1940 it was 2:1.

Tucson--The Background

Chinese first came to Tucson in 1880 at the time the railroad was built. Those who remained were from Toy San. Today the population is made up mostly of Toy Sanese and their descendants. The district of Toy San is one of the 72 districts in Kwangtung, which is one of China's 28 provinces.

The present population is scattered over an area of 50 square miles due to their depending on the grocery business for a livelihood. They frequently live in quarters adjoining their places of business. Of 132 businesses listed in the 1950 Arizona Chinese directory, 114 are grocery stores. The next most important is the restaurant business of which only eight are listed. Many Huchi Toi are entering into other types of work such as defense work, pharmacy, photography, and school teaching, but many are also opening their own groceries as their fathers did.

Religion

There is no Oriental religious organization in Tucson and most of the older generation do not participate in any group religious activities. Half of the Huchi Toi questioned had joined Anglo-dominated Christian Churches.

There is a Chinese Christian Church with a congregation of about 50 people, most of whom are first generation women.

Education

Most of the first generation Chinese men in Tucson have at least enough education to be literate in Chinese or English or both. Many can read Spanish. The literacy of first generation women is lower. The questionnaires circulated revealed that of a sample of 39 first generation people six were illiterate; all of these were women. Ten women and three men could not read English.

Almost all second generation Chinese are receiving high school educations and a large proportion are going on to college.

Economy and present location

The Chinese in Tucson have made a successful economic accommodation. This may be due to their entering a business which did not place them in competition with organized

non-Chinese labor. Tucson and Butte, Montana, had almost equal Chinese populations at one time, but in Butte the Chinese have failed to make a successful economic adjustment and in 1947 the Chinese population had dwindled to 48. In Tucson the Chinese population has been increasing in recent decades. The figures for the states of Arizona and Montana also show trends similar to Tucson and Butte.

Principles of Grouping

The Chinese tend to associate with other Chinese rather than with other ethnic and racial groups. Each of the principles of grouping has a uniting and divisive effect on the group.

Sex

Chinese women now enjoy a more favored position in their society than they did prior to the Chinese Revolution of 1911. But among the Hong Sun Toi the women tend to remain home and defer to their husbands. Many exert a strong influence in business, home, and social life.

Among the Huchi Toi the women hold approximately the same position as is held by Anglo-American women. They are receiving college educations, entering business and professions as well as taking wage work in Anglo or Chinese

businesses. A favorite profession is teaching in the public schools.

Age

The division of the Chinese society into age groups is reinforced by the cultural differences between Hong Sun Toi and Huchi Toi. These groups are spoken of as being "Chinafied," and "Americanized," respectively. The line between the groups is not sharp, however, since there are Chinafied Huchi Toi and Americanized Hong Sun Toi.

The cleavage between the groups may be emphasized by the fact that the first generation have a limited knowledge of English and the Huchi Toi a limited knowledge of Chinese.

Formally the age groupings are recognized by special forms of address and by banquets for elderly men. The traditional Oriental respect for age is preserved in this country to some extent.

Kinship

The recognition of clan affiliation persists in Tucson but there are no "Family Associations" listed in the Arizona Chinese Directory for this city. Three are listed in the Phoenix section and they are said to be important in other cities also. They were active in Butte when the Chinese

population was larger than it has been in recent years.

Survival of clan exogamy is seen in the attitude of present-day Chinese who do not favor marriages between people who share a common family name even if there is no traceable kinship relation between them. There is some indication of a trend toward ignoring this rule of exogamy and accepting the practice of Anglo-American society.

There is an ideal pattern of close family unity which is approached in practice and in a tendency for extended families to remain a group in contrast to the dominant society which emphasizes the nuclear family.

Kinship Terminology

The systems of kinship terminology found in the two dialects of Chinese spoken in Tucson parallel those of Mandarin, the official language of China, as reported by Chen and Shryock. The system is bifurcate collateral. Cognates can be found in all three dialects, Mandarin, Sam Yup and Se Yup. Though Chinese speaking Huchi Toi may have a limited knowledge of the kinship terminology they learn and use the terms for the relatives with whom they come in contact in Tucson.

Voluntary Association

There are 10 sodalities with exclusively Chinese membership in Tucson. The active of these are the Chinese Chamber

of Commerce, the Chinese Evangelical Church, the Ying On, the Sino-American Club, and the Chung Mai, Y-Teens. Those which are more or less inactive are the Kuo Min Tang, the Chee Kung Tang, the Anti-Communist League, and the Ning Yung Association.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce includes 88% of the listed businesses which indicates its importance as a unifying factor for the Chinese group. Many of its functions have been taken over by the Anglo dominated organizations including the various branches of the city and state governments.

The Ying On Association is a men's fraternal organization and is similar in function to Anglo fraternal groups. It also has a religious aspect which seems to resemble ancestor worship. It is a small family Tong.

The Sino-American Club is now a social club though it once included community service in its functions. The membership is mainly made up of young people of high school and college age. There are also older members.

The Chung Mai - Y-Teens is a Y. W. C. A. group of young Chinese girls. It functions as both a social and service group. There was until very recently a group of married women who also met at the Y. W. C. A. and was also known as Chung Mai. This group is temporarily disbanded.

Inactive organizations

The Kuo Min Tang is the Chinese Nationalists Party organization; the Chee Kung Tang, the Chinese Free Masons. The Anti-Communist League was recently formed. Its purpose is to declare the stand of the local Chinese on the Communist question. The Ning Yung association is affiliated with an active group with headquarters in California. All immigrants from the district of Toy San are automatically members.

Co-residence

Co-residence is most important when considered from the point of view of former residence in Toy San district. The fact that they share a common place of origin is much more important in uniting Tucson Chinese than residence in Tucson. Locally the Chinese are too scattered to be united by the principle. Co-residence does not unite them to the other ethnic groups among whom they live. The other unifying factors offset the divisive influence of geographical dispersion.

Stratification

The caste system has decided effect in uniting the Chinese group. Both dominant and minority societies express adversity to crossing the caste line in marriage. However,

the long existence of an unbalanced sex ratio has encouraged interracial marriages. When Chinese do marry with members of other races their spouses are accepted into the Chinese society to a great extent. Young Chinese feel that interracial marriages "Seem to work all right," but that "They are not practical -- too many problems involved."

Prejudice on the part of the dominant society forces the minority to draw together.

Cultural Differences

The Chinese have taken over much of the dominant culture, but many of the original traits are still retained, especially by the Hong Sun Toi. Even the third generation children are, for example, learning to speak the language and to eat Chinese food with chopsticks. The crisis rites have become highly Americanized, and the most important calendrical ceremonies are those of the dominant group.

VI

IN CONCLUSION

The Chinese in Tucson function as a group and think of themselves as a group. The order in which the causes of their unity are ranked can vary with the viewpoint because causes and effects are closely intertwined. The caste system dictates the maintenance of group unity and the caste system depends on race and cultural differences to identify the group. But the caste system does not prevent close contact with other ethnic groups; it is not rigid enough to preclude intermarriage. Some members of the Chinese minority become dissociated from other Chinese and enter almost completely into the dominant society. Or a member of the group may become a leader of a segment of the dominant society and still remain very much a part of his own group. Non-Chinese may be accepted into the group and contact with their own group become minor.

The unique history of the Tucson community has made it possible for the Chinese to make a better economic adjustment than many groups have been able to make. Economic accommodation has enabled them to take on many of the characteristics of middle and upper middle class Anglos thus raising themselves in the eyes of the dominant society.

They have taken over many traits of the larger group,

their entire culture changing as a result of the contact. The wedding ceremony may be thought of as typifying the change that has taken place in Tucson. The over-all pattern is American but the details may be traced to old world customs. The wrapping of the gifts has changed from red, the traditional color for good luck, to the American color white even though white is the color of mourning in China. But in each white-wrapped gift there will be enclosed a little red in memory of the old custom. In the center of Chinese culture in America, the West Coast, older patterns have changed less, but even there the change has been great.

Change does not mean that the Chinese culture is soon to disappear. There is a strong determination to preserve it and even the second generation makes a decided effort to pass on the old way to its children. Time may gradually erase the cultural differences that mark off the group; the physical differences will be far slower to go. In both the dominant and the minority groups there is a strong feeling against intermarriage.

So for the present the Chinese group remains united by the principles of grouping with emphasis on kinship, voluntary association, and previous co-residence, each of these having a divisive as well as a uniting effect.

The Chinese have come a long way toward being accepted on equal terms with the dominant group; the progress has

been more marked than in many places in the country. Still, there is a long way to go before the feeling of uneasiness that some experience in close contact situations will be completely gone. The change that must be made must occur in the dominant group. Fortunately there are indications that it is, though slowly.

Doi gen

APPENDIX I
Table 1

CHINESE ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES,
 BY DECADES, FROM 1820 to 1949⁷⁷

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1820 to 1830	3
1831 to 1840	8
1841 to 1850	35
1851 to 1860	41,397
1861 to 1870	64,301
1871 to 1880	123,201
1881 to 1890	61,711
1891 to 1900	14,799
1901 to 1910	20,605
1911 to 1920	21,278
1921 to 1930	29,907
1931 to 1940	4,928
Total	<u>382,173</u>
1941 to 1949	15,429

⁷⁷Eighth Census of the United States, 1860; Census Abstract, 1942, p. 124; Census Abstract, 1950, p. 99.

Table 2

THE MALE AND FEMALE CHINESE POPULATION, THE NUMBER MALES PER
100 FEMALES, NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN, FROM
1860 to 1940⁷⁸

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Males per 100 Females</u>
1940	77,504	57,389	20,115	285.3
Native	40,262	25,702	14,560	176.5
Foreign-born	37,242	31,687	5,555	570.4
1930	74,954	59,802	15,152	394.7
Native	30,868	20,693	10,175	203.4
Foreign-born	44,086	39,109	4,977	785.8
1920	61,639	53,891	7,748	695.5
Native	18,532	13,318	5,214	255.4
Foreign-born	43,107	40,573	2,534	1,601.1
1910	71,531	66,856	4,675	1,430.1
Native	14,935	11,921	3,014	395.5
Foreign-born	56,596	54,935	1,661	3,307.3
1900	89,863	85,341	4,522	1,887.2
Native	9,010	6,657	2,353	282.9
Foreign-born	80,853	78,684	2,169	3,627.7
1890	107,488	103,620	3,868	2,678.9
1880	105,465	100,686	4,779	2,106.8
1870	63,199	58,633	4,556	1,284.1
1860	34,933	33,149	1,784	1,858.1

⁷⁸ Sixteenth Census of the United States,
Vol. II, p. 19.

Table 3

CHINESE IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES BY NUMBER
AND PERCENTAGE AND THE INCREASE OR DECREASE
FROM 1850 to 1940⁷⁹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Increase or Decrease</u>	<u>Percentage of Increase</u>
1850	758
1860	34,933	34,175	97.8
1870	63,199	28,266	80.9
1880	105,465	42,266	66.9
1890	107,488	2,010	1.9
1900	89,863	- 17,625	-16.4
1910	71,531	- 18,332	- 20.4
1920	61,639	- 9,892	-13.8
1930	74,594	13,315	21.6
1940	77,504	2,550	3.4

⁷⁹Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944, 1945, p. 17. A minus sign (-) denotes a decrease.

Table 4PopulationSilverbow County, Montana and Pima County, Arizona ⁸⁰

	<u>1930</u>		<u>1940</u>	
<u>Total</u> <u>(all races)</u>				
Silverbow.	56,969		53,207	
Pima.	55,676		72,838	
 <u>Chinese</u>				
<u>Silverbow</u>				
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>	<u>Native-born</u>
Total.	155	92	47	45
Male.	125	79	43	36
Female.	30	13	4	9
 <u>Pima</u>				
Total.	250	390	185	205
Male.	182	269	141	128
Female.	68	121	44	77

⁸⁰Sixteenth Census, Vol II, pp. 504, 526, 370, 376.

Table 5

Chinese Population for cities of
Butte, Montana and Tucson, Arizona⁸¹

<u>Butte</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Native- born</u>	<u>Foreign- born</u>
Total.	148	88	44	44
Male	119	76	35	41
Female	29	12	9	3
 <u>Tucson</u>				
Total.	228	347	188	159
Male	162	239	118	121
Female	66	108	70	38

Total population for Tucson area, 1950 -- 69,388

⁸¹Sixteenth Census, Vol II, pp. 376, 526.

Table 6

Chinese in Arizona for 1910 to 1940 by decades and showing the total, the number of males and females, and the number of males per females ⁸²

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>
1940	1449	753	696
Males.	965 (2)*	445 (1.4)	520 (2.9)
Females.	484	308	176
1930	1110	492	618
Males.	845 (3.2)	324 (1.9)	521 (5.4)
Females.	265	168	97
1920	1137	411	726
Males.	936 (5.5)	297 (2.6)	666 (11.1)
Females.	174	114	60
1910	1305	287	1018
Males.	1242 (19.7)	246 (6)	996 (45.1)
Females.	63	41	22

*Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of males per female.

⁸²Sixteenth Census, Vol II, p. 348.

Table 7

Population Trends for the city of Butte, and
Silverbow County, Montana; and for the city of Tucson,
and Pima County, Arizona.⁸³

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
Chinese in Butte	----	----	280	281	240	148	88
Chinese in Silverbow County	710	584	391	319	262	155	92
Chinese in Tucson	159*	215	194	----	----	228	347
Chinese in Pima County	1153	299	254	285	284	250	390

Table 8

Trend of the Chinese Population for
Arizona and Montana.⁸³

<u>State</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
Arizona	20	1630	1170	1419	1305	1137	1110	1449
Montana	1949	1754	2532	1739	1285	872	486	258

⁸³U. S. Census figures.

Table 9

Number of Apprehensions and Indictments of Chinese
by United States Government from 1920-1929⁸⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Crime</u>	<u>Average Length Commitments</u>	<u>Average Fines</u>
1920	6	Harrison Drug Act, Licquor without permit	None. (Two cases dismissed)	\$141.00
1921	8	Harrison Drug Act	4 cases, 30-60 days	52.00
1922	8	Harrison Drug Act	60 days (impri- soned until paid)	81.00
1923	1	Harrison Act	18 months	517.00
1924	1	Harrison Act	None	100.00
1925	19	Harrison Act	60-100 cays. 1 case dismissed	99.50
1926	1	Bribe of U. S. Narcotic Agent	One week	200.00
1927	3	1-Harrison 2-National Prohibi- tion Act	None	95.00
1928	8	Harrison Act	None. 1 case dismissed	102.00
1929	2	Harrison Act	30 days	75.00
Total	55	-----	-----	-----

⁸⁴Lee, 1947, p. 175

APPENDIX II--QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____ Address _____ Phone _____

Birth date _____ Birth place _____ If not born in U. S.
when did you come to U. S.? _____ Where have you lived
besides Tucson? _____ When did you come to
Tucson? _____ What grade school did you attend? _____
_____ What high school? _____ College _____
_____ Are you attending school now? _____ If so what
grade or year are you in? _____ Place of business or
employment _____ Employer _____ Do you
work full time? _____ Are you related to your employer? _____
What is the relation? _____ Have you ever worked
for an employer who was not Chinese? _____ Give employer's
name and type of work done _____

Father's name _____ Home address _____
Place of business or employment _____

Type of business _____ Employer _____

Father's birth place _____ When did he come to
U. S.? _____ Where in U. S. has he lived besides Tucson?
_____ Mother's maiden name _____

Mother's birth place _____ When did she come to
U. S.? _____ Where in U. S. has she lived besides Tucson?
_____ Does your father speak English? _____
How well? Little ___ Fair ___ Well ___ Does he read English? _____
Does he speak Chinese? _____ What dialect? _____ Does he

read Chinese?_____ What other languages does he speak?_____

_____ Read _____ Does your mother speak English?_____ How well? Little___ Fair___ Well___ Does she read English?_____ Does she speak Chinese?_____ What dialect? _____ Does she read Chinese?_____ What other languages does she speak?_____ Read _____

_____ Was your parents' marriage arranged by their families or of their own choosing?_____ When you marry do you expect your marriage to be arranged by your family?_____ List the other people living at your home, and their relation to you (if not related write not related)_____

List your other relatives who live in Tucson giving relation to you _____

List the organizations to which you belong.

Organization	Do you attend regularly?	When did you last attend?
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Are you a member of any church?_____ What church?_____

Do you attend regularly?_____ When did you last attend?_____

Is your father a member of any church?_____ What church?_____

Does he attend regularly?_____ When (approximately) did he last attend?_____ Does any member of your family attend church?_____ Who?_____ What church?_____

Does he or she attend regularly?_____ Is your home in the same building as your business or your father's business? _____ Do you speak Chinese?_____ Do you use that language in your home?_____ Is English used in your home?_____ By whom?_____ What other languages do you speak?_____ Read_____ Do you eat Chinese-style cooking in your home?_____ At what meals?_____ Do you use chopsticks?_____ regularly?_____ occasionally?_____ Who in your family are citizens of U. S.? Father?_____ Mother?_____ Others_____

List the automobiles owned by members of your family giving owner, make, model and year_____

Have any members of your family returned to China after being in the U. S.?

Name of person	Date (approx.) of departure	Date of return
	for China	

Do you think there is any prejudice against Chinese in Tucson? In what way? Explain briefly.

If you have not already attended college do you expect to?____
 If you are now in school what do you hope to do when your education is completed?

The second part of the questionnaire, the circulation of which was discontinued after eight had been answered, listed 20 names and addresses selected from the 1950 Arizona Chinese Directory. The signer was asked to give the following information about these 20 people.

1. Do you know him?
2. Do you know others in his family?
3. Have you been to his home?
 - a. Approximate number of times.
 - b. When? Approximate date of last visit.
 - c. Why? Business or social.
4. Has he been to your home?
 - a. Approximate number of times.
 - b. Why? Business or social.
 - c. When did you last see him? Approximate date.
 - d. Occasion or place.
5. How many times have you seen him in the last year?
6. How well do you know him?

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