

“WIPE OUT THE PLAGUE SPOTS”: THE EXPULSION OF CHINESE FROM  
HUMBOLDT COUNTY

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## ABSTRACT

### Wipe Out The Plague Spots: The Expulsion of the Chinese From Humboldt County

Ronald J. Perry

For the vast majority of Americans the history of Northwest California is little understood, much less appreciated. Likewise, for the vast majority of individuals in Humboldt County, our nation's history seems distant; residing in far away places. There is little thought of how local history connects to the larger story of America. However, Eureka's past accurately represents the nearly all the trends and movements in American History since 1850. In particular, Humboldt County's treatment of the Chinese reflects the nation's ugly reaction to Chinese immigration in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Humboldt County's expulsion of the Chinese in 1885 and its ensuing ban on Asian residents reflected a larger reality that made racism a basic building block of American society. This study will examine the root causes of the expulsion, its connection to the larger Anti-Chinese Movement, and the enduring legacy of the expulsion.

Standard historical works such as Alexander Saxton's *Indispensable Enemy* and Lynwood Carranco's *A Study in Prejudice*, as well as period accounts, provide the basis for this research. Period accounts include the autobiography of Reverend Huntington, an interview from eyewitness Sam Kelsey, and contemporary newspapers and maps. These sources, in combination with recent scholarship will show that, though geographically

isolated and still a frontier community, Eureka's actions served as the catalyst for the forced removal of Chinese communities throughout the west.

Despite the significance and power of this moment in Humboldt County history, no educational materials currently exist that put the event into a national context. The final segment of this project will fill this void. Educational materials focused on the expulsion of the Chinese community will serve as a powerful hook and a key for understanding a larger story in American history. Through an examination of historical documents and by writing reflective responses students will explore the changing perception of what it is to be an American as well as attitudes toward immigration. The culminating activity will ask students to analyze Eureka's place in the national story through the design of historical markers.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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In the process of crafting this project, many individuals have stepped forward to offer important assistance. Principal among these historians has been Dee McBroome. Her knowledge and guidance has been invaluable. The willingness of historians Daniel Cornford and Jean Pfaelzer to respond to questions helped bring clarity to this topic. The suggestions and assistance of local historians Ray Raphael and Jerry Rohde was extremely helpful as well. I would like to acknowledge and thank Joan Berman and Eddie Butler at the Humboldt Room at the Humboldt State Library. Their knowledge of the material and the available resources was immensely helpful. Finally, I must thank Julie Perry and Megan Burns for their input.

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## INTRODUCTION

The allure of the Gold Rush in California and the demand for a vast army of cheap labor to build the Transcontinental Railroad attracted millions of immigrants from all over the world to the West. Among this tidal wave of immigrants were more than a hundred thousand Chinese who came to California to seek the mythical promise of the United States. The construction of the American West relied upon this cheap supply of labor.<sup>1</sup>

Geographically positioned on a safe harbor surrounded by towering Redwoods, Eureka emerged as a frontier outpost supplying the Trinity River miners. Later Eureka became the supply center for the lumber needed to construct a new region of the United States. Economic opportunity in Eureka lured thousands of immigrants, including the Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

By 1874, a China Town emerged in Eureka. (See Appendix K) As the labor market tightened, a growing resentment based upon racial lines emerged, as cheap Chinese labor seemed to undercut wages and took jobs from white Americans. Period newspaper accounts from Humboldt County document the growing racially based attacks on the Chinese.

Nearly every Chinese immigrant came to the United States with the help of a consortium of Chinese merchants called the “Six Companies.” In return for their passage

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<sup>1</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1939) pp 12-13 Sandmeyer provides a detailed breakdown of immigration by year.

<sup>2</sup> Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region 1850 to 1875* (Los Angeles: California State Historical Association, 1929) pp 63, 67-70.



to the United States Chinese laborers agreed to conditions of employment in which a specific portion of their income went to the company. In the eyes of most Americans Chinese workers essentially entered the United States as indentured servants for the Six Companies. In return the Six Companies provided familiar traditional conditions and a level of protection for the Chinese community. The Six Companies served as the government within Chinatown and as advocate for Chinese outside of Chinatown.<sup>3</sup> In order to protect their investment, the Six Companies employed secret societies of “highbinders” or “tongs”. These groups were responsible for maintaining traditional standards and policing the Chinese in the United States. Initially tongs operated in concert with the Six Companies but by the 1880s many broke away and formed smaller secret societies. Competition for influence and economic advantage within the Chinese community led to violence confrontations between rival tongs.<sup>4</sup>

In the early days of 1885, two rival tongs battled for influence and control in Eureka. Gunfights between these two groups became common. The escalating violence combined with the disdain for the “moral vices” of the Chinese by the white community brought the simmering pot of resentment to a boil.<sup>5</sup>

On February 6, 1885, as gun shots were again exchanged between Eureka’s rival tongs, a stray bullet struck and killed city councilman David Kendall. The collective outrage of the citizens and city officials of Eureka resulted in the expulsion of the entire

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<sup>3</sup> Shih Shan Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) p 50. Told from the Chinese perspective, Tsai’s work is an excellent source for in depth examination of Chinese cultural traditions and how they evolved over time for immigrants.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers Ltd., 1947) pp 228-229.

<sup>5</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country* (Belmont: Star Publications, 1986) p 43.

Chinese population of Eureka. Following these events in Eureka, a rash of anti-Chinese violence and expulsions swept through the west.

This study seeks to connect Eureka's treatment of the Chinese with a larger American story. In order to determine Eureka's place in the anti-Chinese movement one must consider the following questions: How do historians explain the events that took place in February 1885? What root causes led to Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese? Was Eureka's removal of the Chinese unique? What impact did the expulsion of the Chinese in Eureka have on the larger Anti-Chinese movement? Why did the laws barring Asian residents from Humboldt County endure for such a long time?

This study will show Eureka's expulsion as far from an isolated event. Though still very much a frontier community, attitudes, and legislation from throughout the West and the rest of the nation shaped events in Eureka. More significantly, this study will provide evidence that Eureka's expulsion served as both a catalyst and model for anti-Chinese action in Tacoma, Washington and in other communities in the West. In the final examination, this study will discuss the legacy and importance of Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese.

In order to understand the significance of Eureka's action against the Chinese it is imperative to first examine the details of the expulsion as seen by local historians and primary source documents.

## THE EXPULSION OF EUREKA'S CHINESE

Andrew Genzoli and Lynwood Carranco, both respected Humboldt County historians, published collections of historical vignettes that include scholarship focused on retelling the local story of the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka. Rich with firsthand accounts, the work of Genzoli and Carranco serves as a proper starting point for understanding the actions of Eureka residents in February 1885.

Both historians allow various period newspaper accounts to describe the tensions of the citizens on the streets of Eureka in February, 1885. Carranco focuses on a Daily Times Telephone editorial from February 5, 1885, entitled “Wipe Out The Plague Spots”, to paint a picture of a community ready to explode.

Under the present conditions of things there is not only a danger from a moral point of view, but continual danger to life and property. It will not do for our citizens to longer permit such life-taking demonstrations as the one witnessed in the Chinese quarter, and one of the principal streets of the city, last Saturday night.<sup>6</sup>

A day earlier, just outside the office of the Humboldt Times at Fourth and F streets, a gunfight between rival Chinese “tongs” had resulted in at least one death. The Humboldt Times reported, “Some ten or twelve shots were fired... We don't know the extent of the damage, but we saw one Chinaman laid out with a bullet through his lung.

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<sup>6</sup> *Daily Times Telephone*, February 5, 1885. (Microfiche Newspaper Collection, Humboldt State University.) This article is also quoted in Lynwood Carranco's, *Redwood Country* on page 46. Interestingly, “Wipe Out The Plague Spots” is not quoted extensively in Genzoli's work, *Redwood Bonanza*. Genzoli does not see predictions of action against the Chinese as prophetic, but as “obvious.”

Dr. Davis took the ball out of his back. He is a gone Chinaman.”<sup>7</sup> Period accounts reveal the shooting on February 1, 1885 to be part of a pattern of escalating violence amongst the Chinese in Eureka rather than an isolated incident.

Though the Six Companies had at one time used the tongs to keep order and promote traditional practices within the Chinese community, by the 1880s many Chinese secret societies broke away from the control of the Six Companies to form their own tongs. Although most tongs were peaceful, others were willing to use force to secure economic advantage. This was especially true of tongs tied to gambling, opium, and prostitution.<sup>8</sup> In Eureka, rival tongs used terror in their struggle to assert their influence and collect tribute from the Chinese.<sup>9</sup> Eyewitness Sam Kelsey provides a first hand account of this struggle.

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<sup>7</sup> *Humboldt Times*, February 1, 1885. (Microfiche Newspaper Archives, Humboldt State University.); Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza* (Eureka, Schooner Features, 1967) p 41; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country* (Belmont, Star Publications, 1986) p 46. Genzoli, who once served as historian for the Eureka's *Times-Standard*, published “Expulsion: The Story of the Chinese” in *Redwood Bonanza* in 1967. Carranco, a Professor Emeritus of English at College of Redwoods, first published “A Study in Prejudice” in 1973 in the *Journal of the West* and later in 1986 he included this work in *Redwood Country*. The *Humboldt Times* descriptions of this incident are quoted in both Genzoli and Carranco as part of extensive chronology of events. Since Genzoli's work does not include footnotes or a bibliography, determining what sources Genzoli has referenced is dependant upon his mention of source in the text of his article. Often it is difficult to determine where Genzoli's words end and quotations of newspaper accounts begin. As a result, Genzoli's work is not unlike a scrapbook of newspaper articles from Humboldt's past. Genzoli's words serve more or less as the transition between each source. This reflects the fact that the target audience for Genzoli's work were the readers of the *Times-Standard* newspaper. On the other hand, Carranco has carefully footnoted and cited his extensive list of sources in this bibliography. Unlike Genzoli, Carranco's work is easily read by historians.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, pp 228-229; Shih-Shan Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America*, pp 53-54.

<sup>9</sup> Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 41; Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45; Stanford Lyman, *Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1974) p 42; and Shih Shan Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America*, p 51-54 Carranco identifies the rival tongs in Eureka as the representative enforcement arms of two of the Six Companies. However, the scholarship of Tsai and Lyman reveal that the six companies did not control all tongs and it is likely that the six companies did not directly control the rival tongs in Eureka. In fact, Lyman refers to these organizations as “secret societies”. Tongs could be based upon regional alliances, clan connections, or occupation. Tsai cites a survey of a prominent Chinese scholar from 1903

They had been fighting among themselves. I don't know what for. But there were two tongs and each one had a flagpole alongside of the street and the great game was to go chop the other tong's flagpole down... They got these bulldog revolvers... They started fighting and for about two weeks from that time the rioting started. They had been fighting pretty steadily every evening.<sup>10</sup>

Evidence presented in Genzoli and Carranco show that the increased level of violence between the rival highbinders was mirrored by the escalating animosity toward the Chinese by Eureka's white population. By the time Eureka read "Wipe Out the Plague Spots" the growing animosity had reached a breaking point. Prophetically the Daily Times Telephone editorial continued:

It is only a wonder...that some innocent pedestrian was not made to bite the dust. Such a result is liable to come at any time, as long as the representatives of two conflicting Chinese companies are allowed to live in such close proximity. If ever such an event does occur – if ever an offending white man is offered up on the alter of paganism, we fear it will be goodbye to Chinatown.<sup>11</sup>

The next day the prediction made in the Daily Times Telephone came to fruition. As rival "highbinders" once again faced off in the streets of Eureka stray bullets struck down well-respected city councilman David Kendall and wounded a boy. (See Appendix L) Under the headline, "Horrible Tragedy – DAVID KENDALL KILLED – Shot Dead

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that found that within San Francisco's Chinatown "10 public Chinese Organizations (including the Six Companies), 2 trade organizations, 9 benevolent organizations, 24 clan organizations, 9 combined clan (blood ties) organizations, 25 secret societies, and 5 cultural societies." Tsai states that Tongs controlled illegal activities such as prostitution, gambling, and opium within Chinatowns. Among the many tongs, those involved in illegal activities were primarily responsible for violence. However, US officials seldom successfully prosecuted Chinese criminals. Lyman describes how officials were easily bribed and, consequently, left the Chinese community to govern themselves. Because there is no existing account of the Chinese expulsion from Eureka from the Chinese perspective it may never be certain of the root of the conflict between the tongs in Eureka in 1885.

<sup>10</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe (Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University) p 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Times Telephone*, February 5, 1885.

by a Chinese Highbinder”, the Weekly Times Telephone reported the incident in this way:

At five minutes past six o'clock last evening another riot broke out among the Chinamen...on the north side of Fourth Street below Ricks' stable, when firing commenced. Some nine or ten shots were fired in quick succession...Just at this time David Kendall, one of Eureka's best citizens, and a member of tee [sic] City Council, ...on his way home from dinner, was shot dead by one of the Chinese Highbinders.<sup>12</sup>

The response to the violence was swift. According to the Weekly Times Telephone, Eureka was “A Blaze With Excitement” as idle loggers and lumbermen laid off for the winter gathered at the edge of Chinatown and clamored for action. When police officers apprehended a Chinese man who was suspected to have fired the bullet that killed Kendall “the cry was raised by a now thoroughly frenzied crowd to hang him. . . .By this time several hundred men had gathered around the corner of Fourth and F, some yelling to burn them out; others to hang them all, etc.”<sup>13</sup> Sam Kelsey remembered, “Well every able bodied man started for that place and when they got there the whole thing was in turmoil. There was screaming, clamoring for killing, to drive them in the bay and all that.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. (Microfiche Newspaper Collection, Humboldt State University.) While Genzoli offers readers almost the entire article from the *Weekly Times Telephone*, Carranco has paraphrased the article extensively in this account.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe, p 5. Although Martha Roscoe conducted this interview with Sam Kelsey in 1961, prior to the publication of their historical works, only Carranco sites it as part of his research. With no citations included in his work, it is impossible to know if Genzoli conducted any interviews with eyewitnesses. On the other hand, Carranco cites 11 personal interviews, including one with Genzoli.

Considering the height of the emotion and the depth of rage at that moment, what prevented a violent conflagration in Eureka? Carranco asserts that with the confirmation of Kendall's death, the situation would have spiraled completely out of control had community leaders not called for a meeting at Eureka's Centennial Hall. Had it not been for moral opposition from respected leaders like Reverend Huntington or the demand for moderation from authority figures like Sheriff Brown, in all likelihood the removal of the Chinese from Eureka would have been punctuated by violence.<sup>15</sup>

In less than twenty minutes approximately 600 men assembled and very quickly 15 civic leaders were appointed to a "citizens' committee" to craft and direct Eureka's response. Because the Chinese historically did not cooperate with criminal investigations, the leaders felt that their options were limited.

The audience was tremendously excited and if any direct clue to the culprits had been known they would have inevitably swung them to the nearest lamp-post. The utter impossibility of identifying the guilty parties proved however an unsurmountable [sic] impediment to their punishment.<sup>16</sup>

Civic leaders addressed the assembly, pointing out "the evils of the incident" and the "hoarding of vicious Chinese in the very heart of our city" and presented rash potential solutions such as looting and burning Chinatown or massacring all Chinese men.<sup>17</sup> Sheriff Brown advised caution.

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<sup>15</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 47. Genzoli's work features an image of Sheriff Brown with the caption stating in part, "he would tolerate no rough play." Genzoli's account conveys the facts without in-depth analysis as it consists almost entirely of the reprinting of period newspapers. *The Weekly Times Telephone* acknowledged the influence of Sheriff Brown and District Attorney George W. Hunter. Although "sympathizing with the indignation of the audience", they "counseled moderation."

<sup>16</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

Sheriff Brown got up and he said, 'Before there was anything done, I want you to understand that I am the Sheriff of Humboldt County, sworn to uphold the law and I will do so to the end.' And then he says, 'That if anybody starts anything violating the law,' he said, 'they've got to reckon with me and my deputies.' And he sat down.<sup>18</sup>

Ultimately, the Citizens' Committee decided that the Chinese must leave Eureka within 24 hours. At this point, Reverend Huntington challenged the vigilante impulse with moral logic. "The rank and file of the people in Chinatown are as innocent of the death of Mr. Kendel [sic] as I am...If the Chinamen have no character, white men ought to have some. By enforcing this resolution you become the outlaws and are amenable as such to the courts of justice."<sup>19</sup>

Representatives from each opposing Chinese clan were sent to instruct the approximately 200 Chinese in Eureka that they would board a steamer for San Francisco the very next day. Despite the resolution made in Centennial Hall, there was a distinct possibility of violence on the evening of February 6<sup>th</sup>. The editors of the Weekly Times Telephone urged restraint, but at the same time endorsed the resolution. "We trust that

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<sup>18</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe, p 5. In a 2003 *North Coast Journal* article, Jean Pfaelzer, who is currently crafting what is touted to be the "definitive" history of the removal of the Chinese throughout the West, has hinted that Sheriff Brown may have purposely indicated that the individual who fired the weapon that killed Kendall could not be identified. The implication is that a plan to remove the Chinese was already in place. Pfaelzer asserts that if the culprit had been identified the impetus to remove the Chinese would have abated.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Andrew Huntington, *Memoir of the Life of C.A. Huntington* (Biographical files, Humboldt County Historical Society) p 225. The outrage over Huntington's opposition to the expulsion of the Chinese was so great that he was threatened to be hung for sympathizing with the Chinese. Further, Carranco reports that Huntington was hung in effigy. The price that Huntington paid for his moral stand could be measured in dollars as well. Five months after Chinese were removed Huntington stepped down from his post as Reverend due to a lack of contributions in the collection plate.



wise counsels will prevail to-day and that no extreme measures will be resorted to. This would only involve the loss of life and property. But the Chinese must go.”<sup>20</sup>

Historian Lynwood Carranco concludes that the sheriff would have been powerless had the mob determined to respond with violence. “If the mayor and some of the aldermen and some other citizens had not called the meeting to order, and by reason and argument succeeded in diverting the energies of the multitude into peaceful channels, much blood would have been shed and much property would have destroyed.”<sup>21</sup>

The night of February 6<sup>th</sup> was free of violence. However, the construction of a scaffold with “HANGING PARAPHENALIA” just outside of Chinatown sent an ominous message.<sup>22</sup> Affixed to the gallows was a sign that read, “Any Chinaman seen on the street after three o’clock today will be hung in these gallows.” In the shadow of the hangman’s noose, Eureka’s Chinese hurriedly packed their belongings and moved toward the docks where the steamships Humboldt and City of Chester prepared to embark. One young Chinese man, CharlieWay Lum, visiting the Huntington home on his way to the docks was thought to be evading the decision of the Citizens Committee by taking refuge in Reverend Huntington’s home. A mob quickly descended upon the Huntington home, burst in and dragged CharlieWay Lum to the gallows and put him in the noose. With the police unwilling to step in, the enraged crowd may have hung CharlieWay, if it had not

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<sup>20</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>21</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p48. This opinion echoes the sentiment C.G. Stafford whose letter to the editor appeared in the *Weekly Times Telephone* on February 14, 1885.

<sup>22</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

been for Methodist Minister Rich stepping in at the last moment and demanding his release.<sup>23</sup>

With a violent outcome still a real possibility, the Chinese moved with caution. Newspaper accounts stressed the willingness of the Chinese to comply with the edict. “The movement seemed to be performed in perfect good nature...In fact, they seemed anxious for sailing hour to come (and we do not blame them)...”<sup>24</sup>

The Citizens Committee extended the scope of its decision by ordering citizens to round up Chinese working on farms, ranches, and railroads well outside of town. Still, some Chinese attempted to avoid exile by leaving the city. However, they were quickly apprehended and brought back to Eureka. The spectacle of 210 souls gathering all their earthly belongings and hastily making their way to the docks brought out hundreds of onlookers. “Every dray and wagon in the city” were put into service to expedite the removal.<sup>25</sup> Over 150 tons of belongings would be loaded for transport.<sup>26</sup>

The steamers, *Humboldt* and *City of Chester*, held over in Humboldt Bay by bad weather stood by to take the Chinese to San Francisco. According to Ray Wang, director of Humboldt State University’s Department of World Languages and Culture, the fact that two ships were conveniently at the ready may be evidence that a plans to remove the Chinese may have been in place even before Kendall’s death. “Some people with ulterior motives were waiting for a good moment to kick the Chinese out. If Kendall had not been

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<sup>23</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 226. The Huntington Memoir provides an essential alternative perspective to the bias of newspapers of the time. While Carranco has quoted important passages from Huntington’s Memoirs, Genzoli has not. Consequently there is no mention of Charlie Lum Way in Genzoli’s account.

<sup>24</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>25</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 226.

<sup>26</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 49-54; Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50.

killed, it would have been something else. People were waiting for a spark to kick up this fire.”<sup>27</sup> After a one day delay due to fog, the steamers carrying Eureka’s Chinese left Humboldt Bay on February 7, 1885. They arrived in San Francisco on February 9th. Authorities in San Francisco were primarily concerned with the identification of members of the rival Tongs and those who had participated in the shootings in Eureka. However, because the offending parties could not be identified, the exiled Chinese quickly melted into San Francisco’s Chinatown.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, at one o’clock in the afternoon on February 7th, the Citizens’ Committee read their resolution to crowd of “not less than 600” at Centennial Hall in Eureka. The following resolution was accepted without dissent.

1<sup>st</sup> That all Chinamen be expelled from the city and that none be allowed to return.

2<sup>nd</sup> That a committee be appointed to act for one year, whose duty shall be to warn all Chinamen who may attempt to come to this place to leave, and to use all reasonable means to prevent their remaining. If the warning is disregarded, to call a mass meeting of citizens to whom the case will be referred for proper action.

3<sup>rd</sup> That a notice be issued to all property owners through the daily papers requesting them not to lease or rent any property to Chinese.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Keith, Easthouse. “The Chinese Expulsion: Looking Back on a Dark Episode”, *The North Coast Journal*, February 27, 2003. <<http://www.northcoastjournal.com/022703/cover0227.html>> (February 27, 2005) In email correspondence, Jean Pfaelzer agrees with Ray Wang’s assertion stating, “I do think it was organized, deliberate, tied to the labor movement. This was a small town. All these guys knew each other. I think they were waiting for the right moment.” Jean Pfaelzer, Personal Interview with author (February 18, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 50.

<sup>29</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. These three parts of the resolution are quoted in Carranco on page 51 and in Genzoli on page 48. Genzoli has chosen to include the fourth part of the Citizens’ Committee resolution which states that all men without “visible means of support” must leave the city. It is difficult to connect this clause with the Chinese.

Later that same day, Eureka's mayor spoke of Kendall's death to Eureka's City Council and at its next meeting; the Council adopted the Citizens' Committee resolution. By this time the flood gates of anti-Chinese action had been opened on the North Coast. In Arcata, on February 7th, a meeting of citizens issued an ultimatum calling for all Chinese leave Arcata. Within a week, citizens in Del Norte County just north of Humboldt held an anti-Chinese parade demanding that "The Chinese Must Go." Over the next year, with only a few notable exceptions, Chinese attempting to remain in Humboldt County were systematically gathered up and forced out.<sup>30</sup>

In a letter to the editor, entitled "Our Justification", C.G. Stafford acknowledged that, "it cannot be contended that the proceedings of our citizens in sending the Chinamen away, was strictly legal." However, he also contends that the Chinese community was fortunate that city leaders had directed the anger of the mob into a non-violent resolution because otherwise "much blood would have been spilled." Stafford "emphatically" states

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<sup>30</sup>Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, pp 55-57. The most legendary exception to the expulsion of the Chinese was Charley Moon. Charley was cook and caretaker for Charley Bair in the Redwood Valley approximately twenty-five miles north east of Eureka. When a group of citizens arrived at the Bair Ranch with the intention of removing Charley Moon, Charley Bair met them at the edge of the property with his rifle. Bair instructed the group that he had no intention of allowing Charley to be removed. Bair's reputation made the threat of violence credible and wisely the citizens returned to Eureka empty handed. Moon remained in Humboldt County for the remainder of his life. He married a Chalula Indian woman and raised a large family. Today the Moon name is very common in Humboldt County. On the other hand, the Chalula tribe no longer officially exists. The decimation of the Chalula and the Wilcut Tribes in Humboldt County reflect the willingness of the white settlers to use race based violence in order to secure land and economic advantage. Carranco points out that contrary to the popular Humboldt County myth, Charley Moon was not the only Chinese individual to remain in Humboldt County. At least three other men remained on the Klamath River in the remote eastern portion of Humboldt County, a full three-day ride from Eureka. Carranco writes that Billy Bow, a Mr. Fong, and John Cook were "good citizens" who worked as farmers and miners. Each also married a Native American woman. Not only did the geography of Humboldt County make it extremely difficult to collect the few remaining Chinese, but also until the 1850s this area was considered a separate county, Trinity County. With these Chinese out of sight they were indeed out of mind. However, for the 69 years following the Eureka's expulsion when a Chinese face appeared in one of Humboldt's coastal community, they were promptly run out of town. Numerous examples of this legacy can be found in Carranco's work.

that the Chinese are to “blame” for the situation. Stafford concludes that “if any suit is brought against the city,...I shall have small anxiety as to the verdict.”<sup>31</sup> Clearly some citizens of Eureka realized that the basic rights of the Chinese had been violated. Despite this fact, the Citizen’s Committee resolution served as Humboldt County’s “unwritten law” for the next 69 years.<sup>32</sup>

An article from The San Francisco Call quoted in Genzoli’s work provides a snapshot of the first reaction outside of Humboldt to the expulsion. While the tone of the article is not one of shock at the actions taken in Eureka, it does provide readers with the perspective of the Chinese. The article points out sympathetically that some had been forced to leave a city in which they had done business for 14 years. More importantly, The San Francisco Call contacted Chinese representative, Colonel Bee for comment. Bee stated that after the “excitement dies down” the Chinese consulate will “seek redress in the courts...Somebody will have to pay for the injury done to them.”<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, it did not take long for the Chinese to sue the City of Eureka for damages of \$132,820 in Federal Court. However, the case was dismissed on the grounds that no Chinese property had been destroyed. The fact that the suit was thrown out is an indication of the depth and general acceptance of racial bias against the Chinese in the United States. Further, it provides proof of the correctness of C.G. Stafford’s assessment

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<sup>31</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. The perspective C.G. Stafford is particularly important because it would become conventional thought in Humboldt County. To better understand this perspective, one should examine the Huntington’s Memoir to read a thoughtful critique of actions of Eureka residents.

<sup>32</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p. 51; and Keith Easthouse. *The North Coast Journal*, (February 27, 2003) The legacy of this unwritten law is still evident to this day. When both Jean Pfaelzer and Ray Wang arrived in Humboldt in the 1980s they were dumbfounded by the fact that there were so few Asians. When they investigated the cause, their study led them back to Eureka’s expulsion.

<sup>33</sup> *San Francisco Call*, as quoted by the *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885; Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50.

of the situation immediately following the event. Finally, it also provides some insight into the motivation of Eureka's residents who chose this course of action. The citizens of Eureka expelled the Chinese in part because they knew that they would get away with it.

Genzoli and Carranco provide the most detailed and complete story of actions taken in Eureka in 1885. While these historians provide readers with a clear reporting of the sequence of events that unfolded in the first weekend in February in 1885, there is little analysis and connection to the larger story. Expulsion: The Story of the Chinese and A Study in Prejudice provides the reader with little understanding as to the national forces that shaped attitudes toward the Chinese and conditions in which they lived in the West.

At the other end of the spectrum, Alexander Saxton's The Indispensable Enemy and Elmer Sandmeyer's The Anti-Chinese Movement are definitive works explaining the entirety of the anti-Chinese experience in California. The works of Saxton and Sandmeyer each provide important evidence and analysis of the causes of anti-Chinese sentiment, the actions taken against the Chinese, as well as the legacy the of anti-Chinese movement. From these works one can gain an important perspective of Eureka's place in the larger anti-Chinese movement.

In The Indispensable Enemy, Saxton puts Eureka at the center of a ripple of forced removal and violence that impacted communities throughout the West. Although Saxton relates the story of Eureka's expulsion in just two paragraphs, he lists Eureka as the first "precedent" for a wave of violent and forceful action taken against the Chinese after 1885. For Saxton, the act of expulsion in Eureka was far less important than its wider

impact. The removal of Chinese from Eureka was much more than an isolated act by a frontier community. Saxton notes that “Tacoma put into effect their own version of the Eureka program.” The removal of the Chinese from Eureka was the first significant use of force sanctioned by the local governmental authorities that led to a cascade of similar actions against in the Chinese throughout the West. For Saxton, Eureka was the first blow that opened the “floodgates” of anti-Chinese action.<sup>34</sup> In The Anti-Chinese Movement In California, Elmer Sandmeyer lists thirty-one other California communities that took forceful action against their Chinese inhabitants following the actions in Eureka.<sup>35</sup> Shih-Shan Tsai, in The Chinese Experience in America, documented at least fifty-five cities in the West took forceful action against their Chinese communities.<sup>36</sup> (See Appendix M) Clearly, the events that took place in Eureka in 1885 were not unique.

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<sup>34</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (London. University of California Press, 1971) pp 207-212.

<sup>35</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 97. Sandmeyer lists the following localities as sites of anti-Chinese acts in 1885: “Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Hollister, Merced, Yuba City, Petaluma, Redding, Anderson, Truckee, Lincoln, Sacramento, San Buenaventura, Napa, Gold Run, Sonoma, Vallejo, Placerville, Santa Rosa, Chico, Wheatland, Carson, Auburn, Nevada City, Dixon, and Los Angeles.” Conspicuously missing from this list is Eureka. For some, this fact may cast a shadow of doubt on Sandmeyer’s work as it relates to Eureka. Sandmeyer may have overlooked Eureka because there was a six-month lag between it (February) and the next significant attack at Rock Springs, Wyoming (September). Moreover, in Saxton’s work (201) he states that Eureka’s action generated little interest throughout California because of an impending railroad strike. Nevertheless, on the whole Sandmeyer’s research is comprehensive and incredibly in depth. In particular, he has selected incredible quotations from the period that illuminate his work.

<sup>36</sup> Shih-Shan Henry Tsai. *The Chinese Experience in America*, p 68. Included in Tsai’s work is an excellent map showing the geographic locations of each of the attacks. (See Appendix M.) However, the key element missing from the graphic is the date of each act. Moreover, Tsai does not mention many of the locations identified by Sandmeyer. Specifically, Tsai did not include the following cities: Santa Cruz, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Yuba City, San Buenaventura, Vallejo, Wheatland, and Carson.

## ROOT CAUSES OF THE EXPLUSION

Why did Eureka expel its Chinese residents in 1885? The death of Councilman Kendall was simply one piece of a complex puzzle. The expulsion of the Chinese was not sparked solely in local events. While deeply-rooted, racially based ideology created a backdrop which allowed escalating tensions to boil over, economic downturns drove labor organizations to seek scapegoats. In order to understand the root causes of the actions taken by Eureka residents in 1885, one must examine the national ideological landscape, the perceived economic threat provided by the Chinese, as well as the local forces that brought anti-Chinese sentiment to a boil. Currently there is no single analysis of Eureka's expulsion in these terms.

Although Genzoli spends barely three paragraphs describing national animosity toward Chinese immigration and its connection to the racial tension in Humboldt County, he does acknowledge the fact that growing animosity toward the Chinese existed throughout the West. Genzoli wrote, "Throughout California and the Nation, the anti-Chinese mood swept wide swaths, leaving in its wake uncertainty, political opportunists, and hatred. It reached deep into the California legislature, into the halls of the Nation's great domed capitol in Washington, and to the very White House itself."<sup>37</sup> However, Genzoli does not elaborate or explain this statement. To understand the impact of this sweeping "anti-Chinese mood" researchers must look beyond the writings of local historians.

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<sup>37</sup>Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 33.



In 1845, John L. O'Sullivan first used the term "Manifest Destiny" to describe the American perception of westward expansion. "Our manifest destiny [is] to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."<sup>38</sup> For O'Sullivan, Manifest Destiny was defined by territorial acquisition and economic development from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Implicit in this statement is the fact that all obstacles, from the hundreds of Native American nations residing in both territories claimed and unclaimed, to Mexico who occupied much of the land to the southwest, to Great Britain who claimed the Oregon territory, would not impede the American tide. In one sentence O'Sullivan had succeeded in defining a fundamental driving force in American history.<sup>39</sup> From the time the first American Colonies had driven out the indigenous population and defined their western boundaries as the western edge of the continent, Americans had embraced the concept of Manifest Destiny. The abundance and good fortune of America was seen as proof that Americans were the

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<sup>38</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (London, Harvard Press, 1981) p 219. Interestingly, O'Sullivan not only saw the annexation of Mexican territory in the Southwest as part of his vision, but also the annexation of Canada. Horsman illustrates that not long after O'Sullivan coined the phrase, the scope of Manifest Destiny was already global. On page 291, Horsman quotes a writer from *De Bow's Review* predicting that the process of supplanting "inferior" races Americans in the West would continue on a global scale, "in Mexico, South America, Asia and the Pacific." Considering how quickly the US expanded beyond the Continent following the close of the frontier, this rationale was not only common but also put into action. Therein lies the key problem with Horsman's book, it does not go beyond the conquest of the Continental United States. Clearly the deeply rooted attachment to the notion of the superiority of all that is American that is at the core of Manifest Destiny continues to drive America to this day. Considering the quality of Horsman's work, one would hope he would consider writing the second volume to this ongoing story.

<sup>39</sup> The other is the belief in the Enlightenment ideals that serve as the basis of the founding documents. However, the only way that these often contradictory forces could coexist was through a compromising the literal definition of "all men".

“chosen people”.<sup>40</sup> In O’Sullivan’s mind God had provided the North American continent for “yearly multiplying millions” of white Americans.

While O’Sullivan coined the term, John Gast’s famous painting, “Westward Progress”, is the metaphorical image of Manifest Destiny.<sup>41</sup> (See Appendix N) Central to “Westward Progress” is an oversized angelic female spirit with a porcelain white face sweeping forward from the East. With the light of democracy and civilization at her back, she is stringing telegraph wire as railroads and immigrants follow. Fleeing or being crushed by this irresistible force are elements of the wild western frontier: wildlife and American Indians. In her wake are white farmers cultivating the land, and burgeoning towns. “Westward Progress” illustrates the connection between race and economic development.

The early history of Humboldt County is the embodiment of “Westward Progress”. Within fifteen years of the first white settlements around Humboldt Bay, Native populations were either killed or driven from desirable areas, the forests were being harvested by armies of newly arrived immigrants, and the foundations of the modern American society were in place. Nevertheless, Eureka was still very much a frontier community, even in 1885.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, p 3.

<sup>41</sup> John Gast, “Westward Progress”, 1871. “Westward Progress” can be viewed online in many locations. The largest and clearest online image found while researching this topic is at <http://www2.volstate.edu/socialscience/FinalDocs/TheWest/gast.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> An excellent source for a detailed account of early Humboldt County history is Owen C. Coy’s *The Humboldt Bay Region 1850 to 1875*. Although the only mention of Chinese in his work is an account of a “Chinaman killed by Indians”, the details of this work are remarkable. Once again, to get the flavor of Humboldt County history through the examination of the interesting incidents recorded in short essays turn to Andrew Genzoli and Lynwood Carranco. Historians Ray Raphael and Jerry Rohde are currently working on a work compiling all available sources in order to provide a more complete objective account.

In the name of fulfilling the special purpose of the United States, Americans had justified the enslavement of Africans and the decimation of Native American cultures. In other words, Manifest Destiny is inextricably tied to a fundamental building block of American society, racism. This is the very argument convincingly put forth by Reginald Horsman, in *Race and Manifest Destiny*. Horsman's work shows that the perceived Anglo-Saxon superiority was an element in every aspect of the United States expansion and economic development. Alexander Saxton extends Horsman's thoughts by defining an American Paradox of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. "By the mid-fifties it had become not only possible but easy for an American, from the North or South, to assert that he believed in the Declaration of Independence, in the teachings of Christianity, and in the inferiority of colored races."<sup>43</sup> For American's in the 19<sup>th</sup> century liberty and justice were the domains of Anglo-Saxon Americans. Long standing negative stereotypes of the Chinese only served to exacerbate tensions.<sup>44</sup> Historian Stanford Lyman summed it up this way: "As a

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<sup>43</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 27. Abraham Lincoln not only embodied this paradox but sheds further light on the ideological backdrop under which the expulsion of the Chinese occurred. On February 22, 1861, while on his way to the White House, Lincoln gave a speech in Independence Hall in which he said, "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence." <<http://showcase.netis.net/creative/lincoln/speeches/philadel.htm>> He concluded his comments with the hope that "God Almighty" stood with him. Despite his deserved reputation as the "Great Emancipator" at the time Lincoln gave this speech he did not believe that "all men were created equal." In a speech given during the fourth debate with Douglas in 1858, Lincoln stated that, "There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." <[http://www.civilwarhistory.com/\\_lincoln/Abraham%20Lincoln%20on%20Race.htm](http://www.civilwarhistory.com/_lincoln/Abraham%20Lincoln%20on%20Race.htm)> For white laborers in it was an easy jump from the perceived inferiority of Africans to the belief that the Chinese were inferior as well.

<sup>44</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press) p 216. Morgan points out that the 1842 Encyclopedia Britannica described the Chinese in the following way, "The Chinese is cold, cunning, and distrustful, always ready to take advantage of those he has to deal with, extremely covetous and deceitful, quarrelsome, vindictive, but timid and dastardly."

racially distinct, culturally different immigrant group the Chinese seemed to challenge the potential domination of America by a steady white Anglo-Saxon advance.”<sup>45</sup> In other words, the fruits of conquest were reserved for white Americans.

With these beliefs at the core of the ideological setting in the United States, it is little wonder that the Chinese faced such hostility in the West. Perhaps Lincoln summed up the popular American view of the West when he stated, “The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people.”<sup>46</sup> In the eyes of Californians, the Chinese certainly were not white and, because they were beholden to the organization that had brought them to the US, they were not free either. Many excellent historians point out that much of this perception of the Chinese was the product of the circumstances of their immigration.<sup>47</sup>

Beginning during the Gold Rush, young men sought to escape the overpopulation and poverty of China and seek their fortune in the United States. An organization of Chinese merchants in San Francisco and the Kwantung Province in China known as the Six Companies, worked with the approval of the Chinese government to bring gangs of

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<sup>45</sup> Stanford Lyman, *Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1974) p 54. Stanford Lyman tells the complete story of the Chinese in America. *Chinese Americans* contains an excellent chapter summarizing the anti-Chinese movement. This work connects the anti-Chinese movement to the status and condition of the Chinese in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>46</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “Speech on Kansas Nebraska Act”, October 16, 1854. <<http://www.ku.edu/carrie/docs/texts/kansas.html>> (February 22, 2005) Douglas was much more explicit regarding his view of America. He stated, “In my opinion this government of ours is founded on the white basis. It was made by the white man, for the benefit of the white man, to be administered by white men, in such manner as they should determine.” Stephan Douglas, Springfield Illinois Speech, July 17, 1858. <<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=508>> (March 27, 2005)

<sup>47</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, p 215. Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* pp 12-13; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 37; Hubert Bancroft, *The Works of Herbert Howe Bancroft—History of California 1860-1890* (San Francisco: San Francisco History Co., 1890) pp 335-342; and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, pp 7-8 These are just a few of the excellent sources which point out the role of the Six Companies and its connection to the rising anti-Chinese sentiment.

labor to California. In return for their passage to the United States, Chinese laborers agreed to pay the company 2.5% of their wages as well as a forty-dollar deduction to pay for the cost of the passage to the United States.<sup>48</sup> The Six Companies served as agent, consul, and law enforcement body for the Chinese in America. They arranged employment; negotiated contracts with American employers; represented Chinese interests in the workplace as well as foreigners in a strange land; and enforced laws within the Chinese community. Because individuals with as little as three hundred dollars could contemplate retirement in China, most sojourners hoped make their fortune and then return to China. As a result nearly every Chinese immigrant arriving in the United States was male. Unlike European immigration patterns, very few women and virtually no families made the trip. The few women that did come most often came against their will, and served as prostitutes. Touted as a “Benevolent Society”, the Six Companies did provide Chinese labor with a measure of support and a traditional cultural structure. However, through the importation of labor they grew rich.<sup>49</sup>

Chinese immigrants gathered in Chinatowns isolated from the larger population.

This was really no different than the Polish in Chicago, the Irish in Boston, or the Italians

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<sup>48</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound*, p 215.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, pp 12-13; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 37; Hubert Bancroft, *Works*, pp 335-342; and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, pp 7-8 Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *An Illustrated History of The Chinese in America* (San Francisco: Design Enterprises, 1979) pp 15-17 The best source for a work such as this, was that of Murray Morgan. In his effort to convey the history of a region rather than of the Chinese in general, he has been direct and concise; only providing information pertinent to the story. Sandmeyer's work is very detailed in his explanation of Chinese immigration and its connection to of anti-Chinese sentiment. He provides census data and raw immigration statistics showing the growth of the Chinese population in California. According to tables included in Sandmeyer's work 299,167 Chinese immigrants arrived through San Francisco in the 30 years between 1852 and 1882. Humboldt's Chinese population went from 39 in 1870 to 241 in 1880. *An Illustrated History of The Chinese in America* by Ruthanne Lum McCunn features many images of Chinese immigration and life in America including one of Lalu Nathoy who was sold into slavery as a child.

in New York. Because most planned to return to China, there was little motivation to adopt the “habits” and culture of the US. As a result, the Chinese did not make a concerted effort to weave themselves seamlessly into American society in the same way as those previously downtrodden groups. This simple fact was the source of a great deal of animosity towards the Chinese.

Although *Race and Manifest Destiny* does not specifically address the details of the Anti-Chinese movement, when discussing Chinese immigration Horsman concludes that American “enthusiasm was reserved for the idea of populating the North American continent with a homogeneous American people.”<sup>50</sup> Not only did the Chinese not have Anglo-Saxon features, but the emotional and physical distance fostered by separateness of a Chinatown inhabited by individuals immersed in what as seen as a “foreign” culture fanned the flames of mistrust and misunderstanding. Elmer Sandmeyer quotes an official declaration of the California State Senate that sums up the basis for animosity toward the Chinese.

During their entire settlement in California they have never adapted themselves to our habits, modes of dress, or our educational system, have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens or to perform the duties of citizenship, never discovered the difference between right and wrong, never cease the worship of their idol gods, or advanced a step beyond the musty traditions of their native hive. Impregnable to all influences of our Anglo-Saxon life, they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, p 92.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted in Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 39.

Reverend Huntington's *Memoir* reflects this popular statewide perception of the Chinese to Eureka, "Chinatown was a public offence and the occupants of it were victims of popular hatred." Huntington describes Eureka's Chinese as "clannish, huddled together in small tenements." Chinatown itself was located in a low swampy area. The gulch that ran through this area had been blocked off for street improvement leaving it without drainage. Consequently, garbage and sewage collected. The stench generated by the "fetid swamp" created general disdain amongst Eureka's residents.<sup>52</sup> The vindictive contempt fostered by the stench was still evident in *Humboldt Times* retrospective written 45 years after the incident. The author stated that the "odor...would contaminate a Saint, but John Chinaman thrived on it."<sup>53</sup>

Although Huntington states that the Chinese were seen as a threat to the public morals, their questionable habits were confined to Eureka's China Town. The use of opium, whiskey, and gambling "were known only among themselves...They were never seen loitering about the saloons, or drinking at the bar of a saloon. An yet they were hated as enemies of society and a danger to the morality of a great Christian city."<sup>54</sup> In other words, Eureka's Chinatown was an island of language, religion and traditions far removed from the popular vision of the American West. Not only did this foster resentment but it also served as the rationale for legislation aimed at discouraging further

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<sup>52</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 40; Huntington, *Memoir*, pp 220-221; and *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931. In particular the *Humboldt Times* article reveals the vindictive contempt fostered by the sewage problems in a retrospective written 45 years after the incident.

<sup>53</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931. Despite the poor conditions of the buildings in Chinatown, their owner C.J. Ricks made a great deal of profit from each. Purchased by Ricks for "\$20 to \$50" the houses rented from "\$6 to \$8" each month.

<sup>54</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 221.

Chinese immigration and forcing the Chinese to adopt the prevailing American culture. Perhaps the most obvious symbolic legislative assault on traditional Chinese culture was San Francisco's "Queue Ordinance" of 1873 that required individuals arrested to have their single braid of hair cut off if they were sent to jail.<sup>55</sup> However, historians agree that the most important piece anti-Chinese legislation was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In fact Selig Perlman stated, "The Exclusion Law passed by Congress in 1882, was doubtless the most important single factor in the history of American labor."<sup>56</sup>

The fact that the Six Companies employed tongs to protect the Chinese from physical attacks and to administer justice within the Chinese community aroused many American's suspicions. These sentiments were compounded when dozens of secret societies formed independent tongs. These tongs often competed for power and influence amongst the Chinese. While the vast majority of tongs were benevolent and peaceful, some were willing to utilize violence and intimidation to accomplish their goals. For most Americans, tongs were simply gangs of "hatchet-men" that posed a critical threat. The highbinders negatively influenced the perception of the Chinese by white Americans in two important ways. First, there was little motivation for the Chinese to participate in

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<sup>55</sup> Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Illustrated History of the Chinese*, p 77. McCunn's work would be an excellent starting point for research focused on the Chinese in California, especially for young readers. This work is linear and very visual. Among the other laws mention by McCunn are: The Sidewalk Ordinance (1870) which made it unlawful to carry loads on the sidewalk using the traditional Chinese method of a pole, the Cubic Air Ordinance (1871) which required 500 cubic feet of air for each occupant living in any dwelling, and the Laundry Ordinance (1873, 1876) which created a high license fee for any Chinese using wagons to transport laundry. Although these laws would eventually be deemed unconstitutional, they are representative of the daily challenges faced by the Chinese because of their race.

<sup>56</sup> Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*.(New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1950) p 62; Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gates* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) Andrew Gyory's *Closing the Gates*, is focused on the Chinese Exclusion Act. His analysis is considered the most complete treatment of the Exclusion Act. However, his history effectively comes to an end in 1882. What is missing is the how the mindset that led to the Exclusion Act resulted in decisive action on the part of the citizens throughout the west.



legal system in the US. There was a common perception that the Chinese were living outside the law, because they notoriously did not testify truthfully in court. [See Appendices O and P]<sup>57</sup> Second, when rival gangs of highbinders began to battle for dominance, the frustration of the white community transformed into a call for action. (See appendix Q)<sup>58</sup> After a feud between rival companies in Los Angeles, the first “large scale mob attacks on the Chinese” took place in 1871. When authorities attempted to step in on the second day of the conflict two police officers were wounded and a civilian bystander was killed. In the riot that ensued, 18 were killed and many houses were burned. Fourteen years later a similar spark would spur action in Eureka.<sup>59</sup>

Published in 1939, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, by Elmer Sandmeyer, is considered by most to be the “first modern account” of the sweeping effort against Chinese immigrants in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Sandmeyer departed from the lingering shadow of racial hatred present in many early histories of the Chinese, such as the account by labor historian Selig Perlman, by recognizing the role race played in the

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<sup>57</sup> *The Wasp* v. 2, August 1877-July 1878, “Impossible Occurrences” American Memory, Library of Congress. <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 2, 2005) The Library of Congress has a large collection of *The Wasp* at its American Memory site. The Wasp was the embodied the most racist views of the Chinese. This particular cartoon illustrates the fact that the court system was often frustrated by the lack of cooperation and conflicting testimony. Language barriers and the lack of status as a non-citizen, also contributed to lack of participation by the Chinese in the criminal justice system. The perception that the Chinese were defying the American system of justice resulted in a great deal of animosity as is reflected in *The Wasp*.

<sup>58</sup> Harper’s Weekly, Vol. 30, 1886. “The Chinese Highbinders in San Francisco.” American Memory, Library of Congress, <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 8, 2005)

<sup>59</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986) p 48; Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, pp 48-53. Alexander McLeod in *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, tells a very detailed and interesting account of the “China War in Trinity County” that took place in Weaverville in 1850 between rival groups from Hong Kong and Canton. White spectators goaded the rival factions into battle and would not support the sheriff’s attempt to stop the conflict. An unspecified number of Chinese died and a white man, who had begun to fire a revolver at the Chinese doing battle, was killed by another white spectator.

struggle.<sup>60</sup> In his conclusion Sandmeyer wrote, “Diverse motives entered into the opposition of Californians to the Chinese. Fundamental to all of them was the antagonism of race, reinforced by economic competition.”<sup>61</sup> In other words, two powerful forces marching lock step, conspired against the Chinese: racism and Manifest Destiny.

The fact that they kept to themselves, adhered to traditional customs, and maintained an independent society structure was a root source of the belief that the Chinese were a threat. The Chinese were seen as a threat because, in the eyes of the citizens of Eureka and the West, they could never truly be American.

The first Chinese who arrived in the United States came to seek their fortune in the gold fields of California. In Pigtails And Gold Dust, Alexander McLeod provides important insights to the Chinese experience in the Gold Rush. McLeod notes that while Governor Burnett stated that immigrants from the “Golden Orient...were welcome guests,” white miners were quick to defend their exclusive access to the best claims against ever increasing numbers of Chinese. In 1850 a state tax had been placed on foreign miners, and in 1852 several mining districts drove out the Chinese. Because the Chinese offered no resistance, no violence occurred. Later that same year, white miners

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<sup>60</sup> Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1950) p 62. As late as 1950, Perlman described the Chinese Exclusion Act in the following way: “The anti-Chinese agitation in California, culminating as it did in the Exclusion Law passed by Congress in 1882, was doubtless the most important single factor in the history of American labor, for without it the entire country might have been overrun by Mongolian labor and the labor movement might have become a conflict of races instead of one of classes.” Perlman’s words are proof that the roots that Sinophobia ran long and deep. In fact, the 1890 account by acclaimed historian by Hubert Bancroft, when anti-Chinese agitation was still fresh, is much more objective than Perlman’s account. In Humboldt County local accounts were clearly anti-Chinese. On November 1, 1931, the *Humboldt Times* ran an article reflecting upon the removal of the Chinese from Humboldt County 45 years before. The article is ripe with racial slurs that reveal the foundation of racism in local accounts.

<sup>61</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 109. Sandmeyer’s work is a definitive work in the effort to understand the origins of the anti-Chinese sentiment and its ramifications. When combined with the research of Alexander Saxton, a very clear and complete picture emerges.

convinced the California legislature to pass a three-dollar a month Foreign Miners Tax. Tax collectors kept a portion of the tax for themselves as payment. This created a pattern of institutionalized abuse. Eager to collect as much as possible, tax collectors forced all Chinese in the gold fields, even if they were not mining, to pay the tax. Chinese not paying were “horsewhipped, shot down, or run out of camp.”<sup>62</sup> The diary of one tax collector illustrates the cold disregard for the humanity of the Chinese: “I was sorry to stab the poor creature; but the law makes it necessary to collect the tax; and that’s where I get my profit.”<sup>63</sup> Eureka’s important connection as supplier to the gold miners in the Northwest mines undoubtedly made its citizens aware of the pattern of abuse inflicted upon Chinese.

As the profitability of individual miners waned in the mid 1850s, economic growth slowed, the labor market tightened, and hostility towards the Chinese intensified. Because of the willingness of the Chinese to accept lower wages than whites and to live in squalid conditions, white workers perceived the Chinese as unfair. To make matters worse, the Chinese were often assailed for sending much of their earnings back to China, thus draining away a portion of the prosperity of the United States. Moreover, the connection of the Chinese to the Six Companies made Americans see the Chinese as nothing more than slaves. Indeed, many of the women imported to serve as prostitutes

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<sup>62</sup> Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, pp 64-68 McLeod’s work provides an excellent counterpart to the Elmer Sandmeyer’s scholarship. Written only eight years apart, they reflect the scholarship of that era on the Chinese. McLeod’s work provides a detailed look into the culture of the Chinese in California as well.

<sup>63</sup> Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Illustrated History of the Chinese*, p 27.

came involuntarily.<sup>64</sup> Chinese men who contracted with the Six Companies which not only arranged their labor, but also took a percentage of their wages. As a result, the common Americans viewed the Chinese as the virtual slaves of the Six Companies. For poor immigrants, particularly the Irish, this was alarming and efforts to organize labor soon unfolded. In order to best examine this story and how it relates to Eureka, one must turn to the most extensive and detailed account of labor and its connection to the anti-Chinese movement found in Alexander Saxton's, Indispensable Enemy.

The vast army of poor European immigrants that had poured into the United States had deeply resented the thought of extending slavery to the territories prior to the Civil War. In their minds, slave labor in the territories was an unfair threat to their economic future. Saxton illustrates this fact through a quote from David Wilmot when he proposed the so called "Wilmot Proviso" which sought to outlaw slavery in the territories: "I would preserve to free white labor a fair country, a rich inheritance, where the sons of toil of my own race and my own color can live without the disgrace which association with Negro slavery brings upon free labor."<sup>65</sup> In the election of 1860, the Republican Party attempted to secure the support of poor immigrants by presenting themselves as the "Party of Free White Working Man". On the other hand, abolition was also a threat, especially for the Irish. When the Emancipation Proclamation made abolition a clear outcome of the Civil War there was an angry, violent reaction. Saxton points out that the thought of competing with millions of newly freed slaves was the threat at the heart of the New York draft riots. The Irish, who had finally escaped some of

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<sup>64</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works*, p 336.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 34.

the worst aspects of their downtrodden past by 1864, were determined to hang on to the hard won economic gains. Saxton concludes that the leap from violent agitation against potential African competition to the Chinese was natural.<sup>66</sup> In California this “agitation” would manifest itself in the rise of the labor movement. The most significant union to emerge was the Workingman’s Party led by an Irishman, Denis Kearney.

By the close of the Civil War the Chinese had moved beyond laundry and other service jobs in urban centers and had made inroads in industries such as shoemaking and cigar manufacturing. “Anticoolie” clubs organized boycotts of businesses employing Chinese labor. Most significantly, cigar makers employing only white labor placed labels on their product stating, “The Cigars contained herein are made by WHITEMEN...”<sup>67</sup> However, with the close of the Civil War, there was a sense that it was only a matter of time before the pace of the economy would slow. A tightening job market motivated poor white labors to take action against potential competitors. Sandmeyer and Saxton identify 1867 as the year in which anti-Chinese sentiment manifest itself in an organized anti-Chinese effort by labor. Organized labor benefited from the fact that evenly matched political parties California battled for the votes of both urban labor and miners by adopting the one issue both groups agreed upon: the Chinese were a moral and economic threat. Though the depression of 1873 set unions back a great deal, by 1877 labor was ready to reassert itself.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, pp 28-30.

<sup>67</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 74. Interestingly, next to the *Weekly Times Telephone* article from February 2, 1886, which documents the first anniversary of Eureka’s Expulsion, is an ad for “White Labor brands of Cigars.” Clearly this ad campaign must have been successful otherwise it would not have persisted until 1886.

The Workingman's Party rose to prominence in 1877. Though the Workingman's Party advocated an eight-hour day, compulsory education, and the direct election of the president, the core of its platform was built upon the idea that the Chinese were a threat to white labor. Denis Kearney, the leader of the Workingman's Party, seized on upon the ideological bias of California and boldly proclaimed in the "sandlots" of San Francisco that, "The Chinese Must Go." For Kearney and the Workingman's Party, the Chinese simply offered unfair competition that could be used as a tool by large industrialists to deny the working class the promise of Manifest Destiny. Sandmeyer offers Kearney's "Manifesto" as evidence of the uncompromising stance of the Workingman's Party.

We have made no secret of our intentions. We make none. Before you and before the world we declare that the Chinaman must leave our shores. We declare that white men, and women, and boys, and girls, cannot live as the people of the great republic should and compete with the single Chinese coolie in the labor market. We declare that we cannot hope to drive the Chainman away by working cheaper than he does. None but an enemy would expect it of us; none but an idiot could hope for success; none but a degraded coward and slave would make the effort. To an American, death is preferable to life on a par with the Chinaman.<sup>68</sup>

Saxton's work paints a picture of rival labor leaders in a virtual contest to put forth the most virulent anti-Chinese rhetoric in the sandlots of San Francisco. With no clear advantage for any political party at that time, the power of labor was bolstered as each party sought to win the approval of the working class. Politicians saw an opportunity to win the support of the miners and the unionized urban vote by simply supporting the one issue they all agreed upon: the Chinese menace. By 1877, politicians

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<sup>68</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 65.

presented the Chinese as one of the principle problems facing California. A series of anti-Chinese legislation resulted. Most significantly, the California Constitutional Convention of 1879 illustrated the power that the labor unions held at that time. Article XIX of the new constitution stated that it was unlawful to for the state to employ “any Chinese or Mongolian” on state contracts.<sup>69</sup> Saxton points out that some delegates crafted the anti-Chinese portions knowing that the Supreme Court would overturn them. Saxton further states that politicians were motivated by more than the desire to satisfy their constituents.

There was a further meaning inherent in these clauses precisely because they would be invalidated. A plea for private violence with the implication that the authorities, being themselves hampered, would condone and welcome such assistance, Article XIX place the state government in the traditional stance of the anticoolie clubs—at the threshold between legal and illegal means.<sup>70</sup>

Eureka was not insulated from the impact of the labor movement in California. In fact, unions would hold significant sway in Humboldt County. Much of Eureka would believe Kearney and embrace the ideals the Workingman’s Party. Moreover, the examples set through the treatment of Chinese in the gold diggings illustrated that communities could take aggressive action against the Chinese without concern for the law. Finally, as Saxton points out, the Constitution of 1879 sent the message that the individuals at the highest levels of power within the state condoned action against the Chinese. In order to understand the cumulative impact of these forces on Humboldt County we must turn again to local sources.

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<sup>69</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 128-129.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

As early as 1875, only a year after the establishment of a Chinatown in Eureka, an incident foreshadowing the removal of the Chinese took place. A Humboldt Times article from January 29, 1875 condemned the attack as “A Disgraceful Affair.” A drunken white man entered a Chinese home and “staggered against and otherwise abused” its resident. In the struggle that ensued the white man was shot in the abdomen. In “the almost riot that followed” the shooting in the Chinese quarter of town, “a lot of men” set out to do “harm to the Chinese inhabitants of the city... The cry could be heard, ... ‘Cut the throat of every Chinaman’.” The mob moved into Chinatown throwing rocks through windows while many Chinese unaware of the threat, continued their celebration of the Chinese New Year. One Chinese man was hit in the mouth with a rock that knocked out his front teeth. However, the City Marshall “exercised his authority and prevented the mob from doing any personal injury.”<sup>71</sup>

Attacks against Chinese immigrants in Northern California were not unique in 1875. Chinese had been assailed throughout the mining camps and in small frontier enclaves. What is interesting about the report of the particular incident, is the tone in which it was reported. In the article, the Chinese portion of the city was referred to as “beautiful, ...one becoming to a city proverbial for the peace and quiet maintained within its bounds.” Rather than blaming the Chinese, the article called for action against the riotous mob stating, “We would say arrest every one who took part in the session, and

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<sup>71</sup> As quoted in Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, pp 34-35. Apparently receiving a blow to the face with a rock large enough to knock loose your front teeth is not a “personal injury”.



hold them amendable for what they have done." <sup>72</sup> More importantly, the Humboldt Times article made a general statement regarding the future of the Chinese in Eureka.

It will be a lesson that will be remembered for some time to come. The Chinese are here and cannot be removed. Never, not one single instance can be cited where they have been instigators of any outbreak... They are here and here they are allowed to stay until some means are devised and adopted by the higher tribunal. Compelling them to quit the Country. We have laws and they are so made as to protect the rights of Chinamen as well as any other nationality. The whole affair is the most disgraceful that ever occurred here...<sup>73</sup>

The reference to this incident as the “most disgraceful” event ever to take place in Eureka is surprising. Just 15 years earlier, the Indian Island Massacre had taken place within sight of Eureka. Historians Ray Raphael and Jerry Rohde have documented dozens of other atrocities against Native Americans that had taken place in Humboldt County prior to 1875.<sup>74</sup> Forced removal of Native Americans were an essential factor in the formation of Humboldt County. These events served as a precedent for action in 1885. These facts serve as evidence that Horsman’s theories linking race and Manifest Destiny applied to Humboldt County.

This incident illustrates a town already divided over the presence of the Chinese. Clearly, there were significant members of the Eureka community ready to translate visceral hatred of the Chinese into action. On the other hand, the general perception of the Chinese as a menace had not permeated all of Eureka. In 1875, established voices such as the writers at the Humboldt Times, had not been swayed solely by the race-based

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> *Humboldt Times*, (January 29, 1875) in Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 35.

<sup>74</sup> Ray Raphael, personal interview by author. (December 1, 2004)

rhetoric of Manifest Destiny. At this time in Eureka the Chinese could “not be removed” because the law was seen as a higher authority than a mob’s perceived threat of the Chinese. The door remained open for future action against the Chinese when “some means is devised and adopted by a higher tribunal.” Ten years later, Eureka would indeed turn to a higher tribunal, the “Committee of 15”, and demand that the Chinese leave the city. In order to understand the local factors that transformed Eureka between 1875 and 1885 and set the stage for the expulsion of the Chinese, one must examine the works of Saxton, Cornford, and Carranco.

Alexander Saxton identifies the conditions that set the stage for Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese in 1885 and then in subsequent communities throughout the West. First, Eureka was remote and had minimal law enforcement capabilities. If a critical mass of individuals took action, law enforcement would be powerless to stop them and there would be no way they could call for help. Eureka was so geographically isolated, its citizens enjoyed little mobility in or out of the community. With overland travel extremely slow and arduous, most outsiders arrived by steamer, which made it easy to informally monitor changes in the community. In addition, it resulted in little turnover within the power structure. Simply put, business leaders had significant influence in Humboldt. Saxton points out that this fact is compounded by demands of business and community leaders. “Local business people felt themselves at a disadvantage in relation to larger entrepreneurs who employed Chinese gang labor.”<sup>75</sup> Under the weight of the collective voice of workers and business leaders, the entire community would feel a great

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<sup>75</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, pp 211-212.

deal of pressure to align their opinion with the majority. Faced with a population united by their common disdain, the relatively small Chinese population had little choice but to capitulate.<sup>76</sup>

Second, and most importantly in Saxton's opinion, is the fact that Eureka's dominant industry was lumber. Workers in the lumber industry were closely connected to the labor movement, particularly the Knights of Labor. The Knights of Labor, a national organization in the labor movement, proved attractive to semiskilled workers. Saxton explains:

“Unprotected by sharply defined skills, they had characteristically found their defense against Chinese competition in those lines of status and prestige passed down from earlier mining camps and railroad construction gangs. But in the mid-eighties such traditional lines were dissolving, the chief reductive agents being increased pressure from the white unemployed and diminishing availability (and rising cost) of Chinese Labor.”<sup>77</sup>

The key result of these economic conditions was that the differences in wages for white and Chinese workers were diminishing. Poor workers who defined their social status based in part on their position relative to the Chinese felt deeply threatened and offended by these conditions.<sup>78</sup> Over time, escalating racial animosity towards the Chinese, moral concerns, financial pressures, and the popular arguments of the labor unions would erode community support for the Chinese. In the long run, these were same

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<sup>76</sup> It is important to note that because San Francisco did not fit this criteria, anti-Chinese sentiment did not manifest itself in the removal of the Chinese. There were simply too many Chinese and too many powerful industries dependant on Chinese labor to expel the Chinese from San Francisco.

<sup>77</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 211.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

factors that led to the longstanding exclusion of all Asian residents from Humboldt County.

In Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire, Daniel Cornford provides the most thorough account of the actions and impact of the labor movement in Humboldt County. Established in 1878, the Humboldt County Workingman's party immediately publicly expressed its goals through a series of resolutions. Cornford reports that among these resolutions was a demand that "all legal means should be used to halt the immigration of the Chinese 'and other inferior races who cannot amalgamate with us.'" <sup>79</sup> The events that followed provide concrete evidence that the vast majority of Humboldt County approved of the anti-Chinese sentiments of the Workingman's Party.

Sensing an emerging rival political force, Humboldt County Democrats and Republicans joined together to oppose the Workingman's party in an election to select delegates to the California Constitutional Convention. Nevertheless, the Workingman's party triumphed.<sup>80</sup> This outcome illustrates Humboldt County's connection to the larger anti-Chinese movement. Eureka embraced the ideology of Anglo-European racial superiority and felt compelled to support labor forces that promised to protect the position of white Americans. Clearly Eureka was not sitting on the sidelines unconnected to statewide events.

Though the 1880s would mark the height of anti-Chinese action in Humboldt County, Cornford provides statistics from 1880 that show nearly all Chinese in Humboldt

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<sup>79</sup> Daniel Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) pp 42-43.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. Cornford states that his source, a Garberville newspaper, is unclear as to the exact cause for the removal of the Chinese.

County worked in jobs that did not threaten white labor. At the time only six Chinese worked in the lumber industry. However, newspapers in Eureka increasingly decried the moral shortcomings of the Chinese and complained of a lack of economic opportunity. In March 1880, the small town of Garberville expelled all of its Chinese residents. When lumber companies openly considered hiring gangs of Chinese workers in the early 1880s, a significant rise in the anti-Chinese sentiment resulted. Cornford selects a quote from the Democratic Standard that carried an implied threat: “The impending crisis has arrived, some of millowners threaten the poor white man who is eking out a miserable existence at a mere pittance...such a course would be suicidal on the part of the millowners.”<sup>81</sup> Only Fay’s Shingle Mill would not heed the warning and attempted to hire a significant number of Chinese for cheaper wages. A strike forced the mill to reconsider.

By this time, anti-Chinese thoughts and actions were not merely a local issue. Under pressure from the western states, Congress considered halting Chinese immigration through the Chinese Exclusion Act. Carranco provides proof that the citizens of Eureka felt compelled to make their opinion heard in this national debate. In a meeting held March 9, 1882, the citizens of Eureka passed a resolution urging Congress to adopt the Asian Exclusion Act. “We have anxiously watched hordes of Mongolian Paupers flooding our shores; we have seen our civilization almost subverted and our children driven from all avenues of honorable labor by aliens, foreign to our tongue, religion, customs, and social relations...”<sup>82</sup> This resolution shows that the city of Eureka had embraced the most inflammatory images of the Chinese. While the passage of the

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<sup>81</sup> Daniel Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, p 58.

<sup>82</sup> As quoted in Lywood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45.

Chinese Exclusion Act did not alleviate tension in Eureka, it did provide a level of implicit consent for further action against the Chinese.

To make matters worse, in 1883 two rival groups of highbinders from San Francisco arrived in Eureka and before long “riots, murders, and assaults become commonplace.”<sup>83</sup> No available histories fully explain the source of this conflict. However, most violent rivalries were based upon longstanding regional animosity from China or competition between tongs attempting to control illegal activities.<sup>84</sup> Whatever the cause, armed conflicts between these groups in Eureka served to heighten tensions and underscored the arguments being made by labor leaders and other anti-Chinese leadership.

Cornford’s scholarship shows that this was a time of increasingly active and dynamic labor forces in Eureka. Daniel Cronin, a leading figure in the International Workers Association, helped found the Humboldt County Lumberman’s Union that later merged into the Knights of Labor. With Cronin serving as Master Workman, the Knights grew rapidly despite a severe economic depression. Other groups, like the Greenback Labor Party faded in part, Cornford asserts, due to the fact that they did not have an anti-Chinese plank in their platform. While Cornford states that the Knights took a clear anti-Chinese stance, Saxton places the Knights at the center of anti-Chinese actions of the mid 1880s throughout the West.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, Cornford presents Cronin only in context of his actions taken on behalf of workers and does not mention any anti-Chinese agitation on

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<sup>83</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45.

<sup>84</sup> Shih-Shan Tsai, *The Chinese in America*, p 53-54.

<sup>85</sup> Daniel Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, pp 74-79; Daniel Cornford, Personal Interview with author, March 7, 2005; Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 211.

his part. The fact that Cronin would later serve as a leading agitator against the Chinese in Washington State suggests that he likely was also an active voice against the Chinese in Eureka.

The complex combination of factors conspiring against the Chinese transformed simmering resentment to a boil. By 1884 Carranco's account of the events in Eureka in 1884 read like a countdown to an explosion. An economic downturn in the East would constrain the California economy and force employers to take even tougher stands on labor.<sup>86</sup> On May 3, 1884 the Weekly Times Telephone reported, "Too many laborers – starvation wages!"<sup>87</sup> On August 24, a gun battle erupted between the rival Tongs. Those arrested by Sheriff Brown were released, causing even greater outrage. Again on August 26, shots rang out between the rival Chinese Tongs and, again, arrests produce no results. The Daily Times Telephone warned of possible "genuine riot...anytime". A "riot" does indeed take place on September 23 in Chinatown. Carranco provides a quotation from the Daily Times Telephone that reveals the mood of the community in the final months of 1884.

One thing was appraised of, however, and that is that the Chinese are become an intolerable nuisance to our people, and if some means cannot be devised to make them behave, they should be make to leave.<sup>88</sup>

Implied in these words is the fact that Eureka was ready to act on Kearney's slogan, "The Chinese Must Go." Further, it is additional evidence that the events of February many not have been completely spontaneous as the article clearly illustrates that

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<sup>86</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 190.

<sup>87</sup> *Weekly Times-Telephone*, May 3, 1884.

<sup>88</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45.

public discussion had been initiated regarding the possibility of making the Chinese “leave.” Finally, when shots are fired again in December, a bullet passed through the home of a white man.<sup>89</sup>

By the end of 1884 the situation in Eureka had nearly come to a head. The Chinese were perceived as a threat to economic position of white Americans. Citizens of Eureka believed that Chinese were a moral liability for the community. Mill owners had demonstrated that they were willing to consider employing Chinese labor. Chinese residents had not integrated themselves into the community by adopting American customs. Labor parties with anti-Chinese platforms held sway over large segments of the population. Rival tongs were creating a public menace through the constant battles. Precedents for anti-Chinese action had already been established within the national law, state law, and in Humboldt County. In Eureka, all that was needed was a spark.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.



## THE EUREKA PROGRAM AND THE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT

In *The Indispensable Enemy*, Alexander Saxton presents the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka as the catalyst for a wave of violence and forced removal in the West. Despite Eureka's isolation, the details of the events of February 1885 spread throughout the west. For the first time, the entire population of a Chinatown in an important town had been driven out with the consent of the local government. A precedent had been established in Eureka. The door was now open for other frontier communities that believed the Chinese threatened their moral fabric and livelihood to take action. In his chapter entitled, "Eureka and Rock Springs," Saxton describes the cascade of events that followed the action in Eureka. Moreover, he presents evidence that even in 1885, people realized the role Eureka had played in the larger anti-Chinese movement. Saxton quotes the *San Francisco Call* from November 22, 1885 as evidence.

The ball that was set in motion in at Eureka seems to be moving with accelerated speed. After years of apathy the people of almost every city and town on the Pacific Coast have simultaneously resolved to expel the Chinese laborers, in order to get a chance to give the wages now being diverted by Chinese into the hands of our own needy citizens.<sup>90</sup>

In November 1885, citizens of Tacoma, Washington, "put into effect their own version of the Eureka program" by swiftly, and without the use of violence, removing its entire Chinese population.<sup>91</sup> The tactics used by officials in Tacoma would later become

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<sup>90</sup> *San Francisco Morning Call*, November 22, 1885. As quoted in Saxton, p 201.

<sup>91</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 205.

known as the “Tacoma Method.” However, the “Tacoma Method” was nothing more than a facsimile of the “Eureka Program”. Historical evidence clearly reveals that events in Tacoma were directly influenced by Eureka’s expulsion. At least two influential individuals were present at both events. The first had the ear of the anti-Chinese mayor. The second was a power player within the Knights of Labor.

William Christie, “a member of the Tacoma school board and a political associate” of Tacoma’s mayor Robert Weisbach, happened to be in Eureka and witnessed firsthand the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka.

Christie was impressed with the simplicity and effectiveness of the Eureka solution. Returning a few days after the dispersion, Christie met with Mayor Weisbach and a small group of anti-Chinese in a room above the Weisbach store. No records were kept of what was said, but rumors spread through town that direct action was contemplated against Tacoma’s Chinese<sup>92</sup>

Just two weeks after the events in Eureka, Mayor Weisbach called a meeting to consider methods to solve the “Chinese Problem.” About half of the Tacoma’s 1,800 eligible voters attended. In a meeting very reminiscent of the gathering at Centennial Hall, it was not a matter if the Chinese would go, but rather how they “should be persuaded to go.” After a passionate plea by Mayor Weisbach in which he asked the assembly to “rid ourselves of this curse”, a resolution was adopted “excluding” the Chinese from Tacoma. Without the same violent spark that ignited forceful action in Eureka, Tacoma’s “Better Element”, led by Reverend Thompson, redirected Tacoma’s attention to what they

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<sup>92</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, p 222. Morgan provided a rare gift to those interested in the history of Puget Sound. His work weaves the intriguing details of the local community and places them in the context of the national landscape. Exquisitely researched, Murray has provided this study with a clear link to the Eureka’s expulsion.

considered more pressing moral problems. Instead of removing the Chinese, authorities focused on gambling and saloons.<sup>93</sup>

Labor interests and followers of Mayor Weisbach attacked the “Better Element” as “unsexed and emasculated.” Like Eureka, Tacoma had numerous influential unions such as the International Workingman’s Association, which constantly beat the drum for the removal of the Chinese. These elements were brought together under the umbrella of the Tacoma Anti-Chinese League which elected Mayor Weisbach as its president. Feeling pressured, the city council passed an ordinance requiring residences to have at least 500 cubic feet of air for each occupant.<sup>94</sup> This ordinance, which mirrored anti-Chinese legislation passed in San Francisco in 1871, provoked action against Tacoma’s densely populated Chinatown because of community health concerns.<sup>95</sup>

By September 1885, anti-Chinese sentiment in western states reached a destructive apex. Just as anti-Chinese action in Washington was sparked by events in Eureka, violence in Washington occurred within days after murderous attacks in Rock Springs, Wyoming. With the Knights of Labor meeting hall serving as a rallying point for action, a conflict between Chinese and white miners in Rock Springs had escalated into a riot in which twenty-eight Chinese were killed.<sup>96</sup> Following the attack against Chinese

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<sup>93</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, pp 223-224. Murray provides examples of the rhetoric at the meeting included a call to “ship them 250 miles to the west”. Weisenbach stated that while not calling for violence “it behooves us to rid ourselves of this curse”. Unlike the steadfast moral stand taken by Reverend Huntington, two reverends mentioned in Murray’s account, while not agreeing that the Chinese should be dumped into the sea, supported the idea of segregating the Chinese.

<sup>94</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, pp 225-226

<sup>95</sup> Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Illustrated History of the Chinese*. p 77.

<sup>96</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 211; Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement*, p 97.

miners in Rock Springs on September 2, 1885 violent attacks against Chinese erupted in the hop fields and mines of Washington's Squak Valley. Chinese workers fled.<sup>97</sup>

That same day a local chapter of the Knights of Labor, a powerful voice in the anti-Chinese movement, was organized in Tacoma. There to present the charter to Tacoma and Mayor Weisbach was Dan Cronin.

A small, husky, Irishman with an arm crippled from an accident in the woods, Cronin had been present at Eureka when the Chinese were chased out; a few months later the national sent him to Washington Territory to organize.<sup>98</sup>

Without the immediate spark of violence as had been the case in Eureka, anti-Chinese leadership had to convince the working class that the threat was real. Murray Morgan's description of Cronin provides insight into the leadership qualities that translated hatred of the Chinese and economic fears into action.

Cronin had a well of bitterness, a gift for words, and a knack for arousing anger. His rhetoric, heavy with implied threats of things to come, ran counter to the Knights' claim that they were opposed to violence. From Tacoma Cronin moved on to the Seattle, where he played a pivotal role in the first anti-Chinese rally there.<sup>99</sup>

Cronin's role in Seattle's anti-Chinese activity extends the ripple of Eureka's influence in the anti-Chinese movement. The fact that Cronin immediately leapt into the anti-Chinese tempest is an indication that he had been sent by the Knights to Washington not only to organize workers but to facilitate the removal of the Chinese. The fact that Cronin had been sent from Eureka to Washington by the Knights is an indication that he

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<sup>97</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound*. p 228. The violence in the Squak Valley pitted white and Indian hop workers together against the Chinese. Increased wages paid to Chinese workers sparked the attacks.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

had likely orchestrated similar activities in Humboldt County. Moreover, the fact that the Knights were also at the center of action in Rock Springs is an indication of planned anti-Chinese agitation by the Knights of Labor.

The actions of the Knights of Labor serve as further evidence that the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka was part of a larger organized plan of agitation as Ray Wang and Jean Pfaelzer suggested in the North Coast Journal in 2003.<sup>100</sup> When asked about the possibility of a conspiracy, Pfaelzer responded, “I do think it was organized, deliberate, tied to the labor movement. This was a small town. All these guys knew each other. I think they were waiting for the right moment.”<sup>101</sup> Pfaelzer’s comments are supported by a Humboldt Times article written in 1931 which stated that even prior to David Kendall’s death, “The situation had reached the point where it was only a matter of time when the Chinese residents were due for drastic treatment.”<sup>102</sup> Because a friend of Frank McGowen, a central player in Eureka’s expulsion, wrote the article this statement is especially credible. Finally, Cronin’s instigation of anti-Chinese actions in multiple cities is evidence of wider agitation by the Knights of Labor.

On September 28, 1885, Cronin organized the meeting of “The Anti-Chinese Congress” at Yesler Hall in Tacoma. The assembly resolved that the Chinese had arrived illegally and were given to thirty days to leave. Further, they would not be held “responsible for any acts of violence which may arise from noncompliance of these

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<sup>100</sup> Keith Easthouse. *The North Coast Journal*, (February 27, 2003)

<sup>101</sup> Jean Pfaelzer, Personal interview with author. February 18, 2005.

<sup>102</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931. Subject Files, Chinese. Humboldt Country Historical Society.

resolutions”<sup>103</sup> On November 3rd, when thirty days had past, Cronin’s Committee of Nine and some 500 anti-Chinese supporters raided Tacoma’s Chinatown to remove 200 individuals who had not complied with the order to leave. Those in the crowd included the mayor, a judge, and the sheriff.<sup>104</sup> As in Eureka, Tacoma officials obviously supported the call to remove the Chinese. Although some Chinese barricaded themselves in their homes, by the next day they were all gone. The white mob ordered the Chinese to pack their belongings and marched them to railroad boxcars that took them to Portland.<sup>105</sup>

With knowledge of what had unfolded in Tacoma, the Chinese in Seattle agreed to leave eventually. Frustrated by a month of delays anti-Chinese forces called for the enforcement of the ordinance requiring 500 cubic feet of air for each inhabitant. A day later inspections revealed violations throughout Seattle’s Chinatown. Just as had unfolded in Eureka, some 350 Chinese were ordered to board a steamship for San Francisco. Although a judge informed the Chinese that they had the right to remain and be protected if they chose to stay, the threat to their safety was too great. Though the ship was filled to its capacity with Chinese, it was not large enough to remove all of Seattle’s Chinese residents. When the remaining Chinese were escorted to their homes by the Home Guard, a riot broke out. Although all the casualties were among the anti-Chinese contingent, the Chinese, for good reason, did not feel safe. Less than a week later, the rest of the Chinese boarded a steamer for San Francisco. It would be six years before Chinese would return

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<sup>103</sup> Todd Matthews, “A Media Frenzy, Conspiracy Theories, And Stereotyping A Community”.  
<<http://www.wahmee.com/chapsix.html>>(February 20, 2005)

<sup>104</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, p 240.

<sup>105</sup> Todd Matthews, <<http://www.wahmee.com/chapsix.html>>

to the Puget Sound area. It would be 69 years before Asians would be allowed to return to Eureka.

The legacy of the anti-Chinese movement endured longest in Eureka. It was not until the close of World War II that the invisible wall created by Humboldt County's unwritten law came down and Asians were grudgingly allowed back into Humboldt County. Just as Eureka was a leader in the effort to remove the Chinese in 1885, Humboldt County held the overtly racist line against all Asians. Why did Humboldt County hold on to its ban on Asian residents for so long? The answer rests in the factors that caused Eureka to expel the Chinese in the first place.

Longstanding racial hatred of the Chinese did not fade with time. The depth of the hatred and fear of the Chinese in Humboldt County is reflected in a Humboldt Times article which proudly retells of the story the removal of the Chinese more than 45 years earlier under the headline "Humboldt County One of Few Where Chinese Do Not Live." This article is an important retrospective told by a friend of Frank McGowan, a member of the Committee of 15 and key player in the removal of the Chinese in 1885. According to the author, McGowan "delights" in relating, "humorous incidents of that stirring time." One such story reveals the chilling maliciousness and disregard for the humanity of the Chinese.

It is now almost 45 years since the last of the Chinamen left here and the younger generation have during all that time been denied the thrill of throwing rocks at the China houses. That was a favorite pastime in the early days. There was some irresistible force that impelled the blue blooded youth to pelt the 'Chinese' houses from a safe distance and then delight in listening to the jargon of the irate Chinks as

they came running to the street in the hope of catching the guilty parties.<sup>106</sup>

More than forty-five years after the event, McGowen's comments reflected Humboldt's lingering pride over its role in the anti-Chinese movement. The removal the Chinese in 1885 put Eureka on the map. The Humboldt Times article continues, "One who claims to know says that in the Chinese territory across the sea every man, woman and child knows that Eureka is a bad place for Chinamen."<sup>107</sup> The citizens of Humboldt County were neither ashamed of the "unwritten law" nor were they worried about negative ramifications. The historical record is proof that the Humboldt's unwritten law held clout.

The same factors cited by Saxton as causes of the expulsion in Eureka also contributed to enforcement of the unwritten law for the next 69 years. Because Eureka remained a remote, tightly knit community, racial hatred continued to resonate. Because local authorities and business leaders vocally supported and enforced the "unwritten law", it was credible in the eyes of the common citizens. Because unions remained an important force, there was constant vigilance to defend workers from the threat of cheap Chinese Labor. The results of these factors were a series of dark episodes in local history. While other communities pulled away from the overtly racist policies of the anti-Chinese period, the twisted shadow of 1885 extended well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century for Humboldt County.

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<sup>106</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*



Though few current residents of Humboldt County can relate to the story of the Chinese expulsion, it remains one of the most important events in local history. More significantly, it is an important part of the history of the West. At the time, Eureka did not hide its disdain for the Chinese. The Humboldt County business directory for 1890 proudly boasted, “THE ONLY COUNTY IN THE STATE CONTAINING NO CHINAMEN.” (See Appendix R)<sup>108</sup> Eureka’s actions in 1885 had a profound impact upon the West. However, it would be difficult to argue with the assertion that the community most impacted by the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was Eureka.

Humboldt County’s unwritten law was not just talk. It was vigorously enforced. On February 6, 1886, the first anniversary of Eureka’s expulsion, Eureka held its largest meeting up to that date to commemorate the death of Councilman Kendall and reaffirm its resolution denying Asian residency. Influential individuals from throughout the county were in attendance including Isaac Minor and Mr. Falk. More than 300 people made the trek from Arcata to attend. At the rally Judge Hayes stated, “the cry in the past has been, ‘The Chinese Must Go,’ but now it is ‘The Chinese Must Never Return.’”<sup>109</sup>

Collectively the more than 600 assembled approved a resolution that included the statement, “Resolved that we now pledge our honors that we will not either indirectly patronize any person who in anywise deals or trades in goods or merchandise manufactured by Chinese.”<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Humboldt County History and Business Directory, 1890. In the *North Coast Journal* article, The Chinese Expulsion, Ray Wang is seen holding this source.

<sup>109</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*. p 53-54.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* p 53-54.

Towns around the county followed the example set by Eureka. Rohnerville and Ferndale had ordered their Chinese to leave in January 1886 even before the rally in Eureka took place. In March 1886, Crescent City took action to “remove all Mongolians in our Midst.” Just one week after the rally in Eureka influential citizens in Arcata met and crafted a resolution that stated their intentions in no uncertain terms.

1. We, the Citizens of Arcata and vicinity, wish the total expulsion of the Chinese from our midst.
2. We endorse the efforts of Eureka to exclude all Chinese settlements in the city and environs.<sup>111</sup>

Because the courts ruled that expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka did not result in injuries or property damage, the lawsuit against Eureka was dismissed in early 1886. Without any legal means to resist, the remaining Chinese living around Humboldt Bay had all left by April 30, 1886.<sup>112</sup>

The resolve of anti-Chinese forces in Humboldt was first tested in October 1886. The Cutting Packing Company, a fish cannery, attempted to hire fifteen Chinese for the canning season. While the Chinese were allowed to finish the season, they were forced to leave upon its conclusion. The next serious test took place in September 1906 when another cannery attempted to hire Chinese and Japanese workers. The headlines of the Humboldt Times read, “THE CHINESE MUST GO!” With an implicit threat of violence, the cannery relented and the Chinese were sent by rail to Eureka where they stayed on Gunther Island (Indian Island) and were then forced to leave on October 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p 54

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p 55

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p 59-60.

Local newspapers listed the names of those anti-Chinese activists so that citizens could support their businesses. Another newspaper wrote that the Chinese will leave, “satisfied the county is a fine place, but no place for a Chinaman, and such is the report they will carry to their friends.” Indeed, Humboldt County’s reputation grew throughout the Chinese community in the West and in China. Prominent citizens of Humboldt were determined to abide by the unwritten law. Humboldt’s reputation made Chinese fearful of attempting to obtain a job in Humboldt County. The Humboldt Standard summarized the situation in 1909, “It can truthfully be said that the county stands as a unit on the Chinese exclusion and there is no doubt but that our people will work harmoniously together in their stand to prevent them becoming residents of this county.”<sup>114</sup> Until 1954 the list of quick and decisive anti-Chinese actions illustrates that this was very much the case.

In 1909 a Japanese Store on Fifth and E Streets was dynamited. Though the city offered a reward, no arrests were ever made. The store never reopened. The Japanese merchants left. When the Heartsook Inn in southern Humboldt burned down in 1926, the owners attempted to hire Chinese labor to clear up the debris. The Sheriff arrived and literally ran the Chinese out of the county. Later in the same year the Sheriff escorted Asians hired to work in a cannery in Shelter Cove out of the Humboldt. In 1930, when the Japanese Ambassador to the United States attempted to visit Humboldt County’s redwoods, citizens from Eureka escorted him through Humboldt County without allowing him to stop. In 1941 when a Chinese minister was scheduled to speak on KIEM

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid. p 58-60.

radio, the remote broadcasting lines mysteriously went dead, and the service was cancelled.<sup>115</sup>

In 1941, aspects of the unwritten law were formalized when the City of Eureka revised its charter. In a section strikingly similar to the revisions made to the California Constitution during the height of the anti-Chinese movement, the Eureka City Council approved the following statement.

Sec. 190 No Chinese shall ever be employed, either directly or indirectly on any work of the city, or in the performance of any contract or sub-contract of the city, except in punishment of a crime. Nor shall any provisions, supplies, materials, or articles of Chinese manufacture or production ever be use or purchased by or furnished to the city.<sup>116</sup>

Although these provisions were patently unconstitutional after the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943, they were not removed from Eureka's charter until 1959.

It would be nearly 10 years after the close of the World War II that Humboldt's unwritten law was grudgingly set aside. In 1954 Ben Chin arrived and established a business in Eureka. Though the mayor approved Chin's business request, many citizens expressed their anger through taunts and threats. "After I opened the restaurant... for about three weeks, I had lot of obscene calls, abusive calls. They'd call every 10 minutes and say, 'Get out of town we don't want your kind.'"<sup>117</sup>

However, by this time Eureka was a modern community. Local sentiment could no longer override state and national law. Improved transportation methods connected Eureka seamlessly with communities outside of Humboldt. The changing times had

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p 62

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. p 65

<sup>117</sup> Heather Shelton. "Chins Victory." *Times Standard*. 9 January 2000.

finally caught up with Humboldt County. Yet, Humboldt was slow to change. The long shadow of Eureka's expulsion resulted in continued discrimination for Asians. To this day, there are few Asian residents in Humboldt County.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Sandmeyer was correct when he pointed out that the Chinese were neither the first nor the last immigrant population to face discriminatory policies in the United States. “A generation before the agitation against the Chinese it was said of the Irish that ‘they do more work for less money than the native workingman, and live on a lower standard, thereby decreasing wages.’”<sup>118</sup> Since the time that Sandmeyer wrote these words California has reverberated with similar arguments regarding the immigration of laborers from Mexico. This effort was punctuated with the passage of Proposition 187 in 1994, which sought to deny education and health care benefits to illegal aliens. Under the leadership of Governor Wilson, much of blame for the difficulties facing the state were directed toward thousands of Mexicans who had been lured to California by the promise of economic opportunities not available in Mexico. Of course, the vast majority took jobs that American citizens did not want and were paid a rate that Americans would not tolerate. Although overturned by the Supreme Court in 1998, the passage of Proposition 187 by a huge majority indicated that the basic American fears and bias that had led to the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka and dozens of other communities throughout California in 1885, were still present more than 100 years later.

Whether it has been the indigenous population, the Africans, the Irish, Southern Europeans, Eastern Europeans, or the Chinese, popular American sentiment and political rhetoric has placed the blame for problems facing the United States on the doorstep of

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<sup>118</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 38.

those who did not fulfill the ideal of what was considered American. Those groups that could chose to adopt the prevailing American culture and could “melt” into the homogeneous population slowly moved out of the spotlight of distrust and recrimination. Historically the United States does not want “huddled masses yearning to breathe free” to immigrate unless they both embrace and embody the “American Ideal.” Consequently, these circumstances have historically denied access to the mythical “American Dream” to large segments of society. Although great strides were made in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century to move closer to the literal ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the legacy of three centuries of policies built upon the perception of Anglo-Saxon superiority is clearly still present today.

Proof can be found even here in remote Northern California. Historian Jean Pfaelzer, astonished by the fact that there were no Asian students in her classes at Humboldt State, began her still unpublished study of Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese because its legacy was so evident more than 100 years later.<sup>119</sup> Humboldt’s long-standing “unwritten law” denying Asians residence illustrates the voracity of these assertions as well as Humboldt’s connection to the larger American story.

What occurred in Eureka in February 1885 was historically significant. Eureka was the first sizable community to expel its entire Chinese population without the use of violence and with the consent of city officials.<sup>120</sup> Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese did directly influence the removal of the Chinese from Tacoma and Seattle. Moreover, it

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<sup>119</sup> Keith Easthouse, *North Coast Journal*, February 27, 2003.

<sup>120</sup> Daniel Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, p 42. Eureka was not the first community to remove its Chinese citizens. It wasn’t even the first in Humboldt County. However, it was the first for a sizeable, geographically significant town.

served as a catalyst and precedent for dozens of actions against the Chinese throughout the West. Humboldt did enforce an unwritten law excluding Asians for more than 69 years. Yet it is not entirely unique.

Chinese had endured violent attacks and expulsions in smaller communities prior to events in Eureka. At least thirty-one other California communities took forceful action against their Chinese inhabitants following the actions in Eureka.<sup>121</sup> In total, at least fifty-five cities in the West attacked their Chinese communities.<sup>122</sup> Despite being geographically remote, Eureka was as influenced and impacted by the same values and ideology fostered by a century of territorial expansion as every other town in the West.

Eureka's Expulsion is a compelling story. It provides powerful lessons about core American values, the nature of Manifest Destiny, frontier life, and the economic development of the United States. Its impact is still being felt to this day. The fact that it is not entirely unique only strengthens the case that it should be included as part of the curriculum in local Humboldt County schools. When it is included as part of the curriculum, however, it must not be examined as an isolated local event, but rather a piece of the larger national story.

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<sup>121</sup>Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 97.

<sup>122</sup> Shih-Shan Henry Tsai. *The Chinese Experience in America*, p 68.



## LESSON PLAN

### Introduction

The expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka and the subsequent “unwritten law” denying Asians residence in Humboldt county were much more than interesting moments in local history. These events were significant episodes in the history of the settlement of the West. Yet the vast majority of individuals in Humboldt County have little knowledge of these events much less any sense of their connection to the national story. In fact, when three classes of juniors at Eureka High School were questioned about Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese in 1885 only one student had any idea that Asians had once been forbidden in Humboldt County. Considering the compelling nature of the story of Chinese in Humboldt and the fact that it is intimately connected to the history of entire West, a learning opportunity has clearly been overlooked. The primary objective of this lesson is to provide students with the opportunity to analyze the history of an interesting local event and its connection it to the larger story of America.

While this lesson has been crafted with Humboldt County high school students in mind, students in many grade levels throughout the United States would benefit from the examination of Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese.<sup>123</sup> Eureka’s expulsion is not just part of local history. The motivation of the citizens of Eureka reflected the indelible impact of Manifest Destiny and the fundamental belief in the superiority of white Americans. For

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<sup>123</sup> Modifications can be made to this lesson to fit the study of local history required in the third grade standards or the examination of 19<sup>th</sup> Century events required by eighth grade standards.

this reason this lesson focuses on the theme “Racism is a fundamental building block of American society.”

The actions taken in 1885 against the Chinese in Eureka had an impact far beyond the city limits of Eureka. Asians were denied residence in all of Humboldt County for 69 years following Eureka’s expulsion. Moreover, many communities in the West followed Eureka’s lead in taking action against the Chinese. Students throughout the Western United States would be able to build the connection between Eureka’s expulsion and their own local history. In fact, the inspiration for the content of this lesson was found in recent actions taken in Tacoma, Washington.

As a community, Tacoma has taken the first steps towards acknowledging a dark chapter in the city’s history: its banishment of Chinese residents in September 1885. Approved by Tacoma’s City Council in November of 1993, The Chinese Reconciliation Project will create a Chinese commemorative park near the site that was once Tacoma’s Little Canton.<sup>124</sup> This historic park will educate the community about the treatment of the Chinese in 1885. Considering the fact that Eureka was the epicenter of anti-Chinese action in 1885, there should be a similar monument placed in a historic park in Eureka. After examining the details of Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese students will be asked to design an outdoor historical display commemorating the events of February 1885. Designs produced by the students will be presented to members of Eureka’s City Council.

In this seven-day lesson, students will examine in detail the events that took place in Eureka in February 1885 and resulted in the forced removal of the Chinese. This lesson

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<sup>124</sup> The Chinese Reconciliation Project Foundation. Tacoma, Washington. <<http://www.crpftacoma.org/index.htm>> (March 21, 2005)

is the culminating piece for a larger unit on Manifest Destiny in an 11<sup>th</sup> grade class. In addition, it will serve as an introduction to a unit on immigration. As such, it addresses both the California teaching standards for history and social science and the national standards as described in Appendix A.

Students at Eureka High will be motivated to examine an interesting and important historic event that occurred within a mile of their school. Because Eureka's expulsion is intimately connected to broader events and themes in American History, the study of this incident will allow students to better understand the broader story of the United States. The timeline for this lesson is as follows:

Day One: In this lesson, students will examine the story of the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka in February 1885 and the foundation of Humboldt County's "unwritten law" denying Asians residence. Using newspaper accounts and other documents in order to reveal events and attitudes in Humboldt County, students will begin to uncover Eureka's role in the anti-Chinese movement.

Day Two: In lesson two, students will attempt to understand the fundamental causes of the actions against the Chinese. This lesson will serve as a review for the role of race and Manifest Destiny in American Society as students will be asked to apply their knowledge from previous lessons. Students will consider the power and role of labor and the anti-Chinese movement in California in 1885.

Day Three: Lesson two asks students to analyze Eureka's connection to the expulsion of the Chinese from Tacoma and Seattle. Students will examine the wave of anti-Chinese action throughout the Western United States. Finally, students will take a

close look at the legacy of the anti-Chinese actions in Humboldt County in 1885.

Specifically, evidence will be presented demonstrating the 69-year exclusion of Asians from Humboldt County.

Days Four and Five: Students will design their own historic monument commemorating Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese. In small groups, students will design the structure of the outdoor display, determine the best location for the historic park, and determine the content to be placed on the display.

Day Six: Students will present their designs to one another and select a design that will be submitted to Eureka's City Council.

Day Seven: Students will take a short objective exam demonstrating content knowledge of the topic. The project selected by the class will present to the City Council. Following this lesson, the instructor will begin a unit on immigration.

#### Prior Content Knowledge and Skills:

Because this lesson is intended to serve as the culminating activity for a larger unit, much of the prior knowledge required to complete the activities included in this lesson will have been covered in earlier in the school year. Students prepared for this lesson will have a grasp of the following content and concepts: Manifest Destiny and its role in westward expansion, the destruction of Native American nations and their removal to reservations, and the causes of the geographic expansion of the United States. In addition, students should have an understanding of the geography of Humboldt Bay and County.

In terms of the skills required for this lesson, students should be capable of reading and interpreting primary source maps, images, and documents, and be capable taking notes. In the final activity, students will utilize the computer lab to create a design for historical markers. Students with previous experience using Photoshop or Publisher will be at an advantage. For this reason students in previous lessons, will have completed tasks developing these skills. However, for classes not processing skills in these software sets or for teachers without access to these tools, these lessons can be completed with pencil and paper and with old-fashioned cutting and pasting.

#### Discussion of Content Hook

On the overhead when students enter the classroom the Sanborn Map from 1886 will be displayed. (See Appendix L.) The instructor should place Chinatown in the center of the screen. Using the “Think Pair Share” model, first have students respond to the following questions individually: “Describe the document on the screen. What can we learn from this document?” The instructor will allow students one to two minutes to respond in writing, then one minute to discuss these questions with a neighboring student. At this point open the class discussion with the question, “What is this document?” During the discussion make sure that students note the existence of Chinatown and that it is labeled “VACANT”.

At this point, place the image of “4<sup>th</sup> and E” on the overhead. (See Appendix K) Discuss the image on the screen with the students. Point out that at one time Eureka had a thriving Chinatown. However, when the Sanborn Map was updated in 1886, Chinatown

was vacant. Ask the students, “Does anyone know why Eureka’s Chinatown was vacant in 1886?” In the ensuing discussion, without giving away too many of the details, tell the students that the Chinese had been driven out. Explain to the students the purpose of this lesson is to discover why the Chinese had been driven out of Chinatown. Further, explain to the students that they will explore the legacy of the Chinese expulsion from Eureka. At this point place the cover page from “The Humboldt County Business Guide for 1890” on the screen. (See Appendix R.) Tell the students to return to their written response. Ask students to reflect upon the importance of this document. Ask the students, “What conclusions can we draw from this document?” Again use the “Think Pair Share” model and allow students to briefly discuss the question with a neighbor. In a class discussion ask the following question: “How many Chinese students attend Eureka High? How many Chinese live in Humboldt County today?” Obviously, students will not know the exact numbers, however they will recognize that there are very few Chinese in Humboldt County today. Explain to students that for many years, Asians were not permitted to live in Humboldt County and the fact that there are so few Chinese residents here today is an indication of the importance of those events that took place more than one hundred years ago.

### Lesson Content

Day One: The Eureka Program: The Expulsion of the Chinese

Hook: (10-12 minutes) See above.

Establish Goals and Expectations for Culminating Project: (10 minutes)

Distribute Student Handout #1 to all the students before initiating the discussion. (See Appendix B) Read through and discuss the expectations for the next few days with the students. It is important that students understand the ultimate goal for this project so that each can make the most of individual lessons.

Activity/Discussion: (30 minutes)

The format for this portion of the lesson will be replicated for each of the lessons for this topic. Students will complete a series of tasks and respond to questions that progressively require more thought. Initial tasks require students to report the facts. The final assignment requires thoughtful analysis.

Students will be lead through the material, but will not be simply told what happened. The backbone of these lessons will be primary documents. Document based questions will guide students toward a more complete understanding of topic and provide an organizational structure for culminating project.

First, supply student with excerpts from the “The Eureka Program: The Expulsion of the Chinese From Humboldt County.” (See Appendix C) Project the excerpts on the overhead and read through the story of Eureka’s expulsion with the students. Pause periodically to discuss the content of the story. Allow students time to read the excerpts and to respond to the assignment for this reading. When discussing the locations of the events relative to Chinatown, display an overhead featuring the labeled Sanborn Map. This will provide students with geographic reference and a better mental picture of the events. (See Appendix L.) Remember the task for this lesson is, “Students will create a time line of events for Eureka’s

expulsion. Select 7 important quotations that might be used in your display.” With ten minutes remaining, transition to the closure activity.

Closure: (5-10 minutes)

On the overhead place the theme for the lesson, “Racism is a fundamental building block of American society.” (See Appendix D.) Ask students to consider this question in relation to the events about which they have just read. Pose the questions, “What role do you think race played in federal state and local decision making in the 1800s? What role do you think it played in Eureka?” This will be an opportunity to very briefly review content covered in previous units such as the issue of slavery and the decimation of Native cultures. Moreover, it will provide the foundation for a connection between local history and the larger story of America. Finally, remind students of the homework and its connection to overall expected outcomes.

Evaluation:

Student tasks are explained in the student handout distributed during lesson one. Beginning on day one, students will create a timeline of events associated with Eureka’s expulsion. In addition, students will select primary source quotations they find particularly powerful. All assignments are intended to serve as potential building blocks for the ultimate project the design of historical markers to be placed in Eureka. All homework will be checked during class on day four while the students are engaged in the design of the historical markers.

Materials:



1. Unlabeled Sanborn Map Overhead (See Appendix S.)
2. Photo of 4<sup>th</sup> and E- Chinatown Overhead (See Appendix K.)
3. 1890 Business Directory cover page Overhead (See Appendix R.)
4. Instruction Handout #1 (See Appendix B.)
5. The Eureka Program: Student Handout #2 (See Appendix C.)
6. Lesson Theme Overhead (See Appendix D.)
7. Labeled Sanborn Map Handout (See Appendix L.)

Day Two: What were the fundamental causes of the anti-Chinese actions?

Hook: (5 minutes)

When students enter the room, hand out copies of the “Race and Manifest Destiny”, Student Handout #3, found in Appendix E. Ask the students to read the opening paragraphs and then respond to the questions in writing. Utilize the “Think-Pair-Share” model, and allow students two minutes to discuss their responses with a peer. Place the Lesson Theme Overhead on the overhead. (See Appendix D.) Open up the topic for discussion. Ask students to explain the connection between Manifest Destiny and the theme. This pattern will be repeated during the continued exploration of this topic.

Activity: (35 minutes)

Explain that this lesson is designed to help students understand the fundamental causes of the actions against the Chinese and its connection to Humboldt County. This lesson will serve as a review for the role of race in American society and Manifest Destiny as students will be asked to apply their knowledge from previous lessons. In addition, students will look at the power and

role of labor in California in 1885. Instruct students to examine the next portion of Appendix E.

When the students reach the section focused on Manifest Destiny, project John Gast's "Westward Progress" on the overhead. (See Appendix N) Examination of this image will provide students the opportunity to review the concept of Manifest Destiny and will connect students with the closure activity from the previous lesson. Students will first break down the image and discuss its meaning in writing by answering the questions found in the handout. Next, students will be allowed one minute to discuss the image with a neighboring student. Finally, the teacher will lead a discussion focused upon the image. The instructor will conclude the discussion with the question, "What does this image teach us about Eureka's Chinese Expulsion?"

The instructor will continue this process of analysis using the student handout until there is eight minutes remaining in the class period. At this point move to the closure activity.

Closure Activity: (10 minutes)

Once again, place the theme on the overhead projector. (See Appendix D.) The instructor will pose the question, "What do you feel were the three most compelling pieces of historical evidence that explain the causes of anti-Chinese action and specifically Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese?" Allow students two minutes to create their list. At this point have a few students share with the class the pieces of evidence they feel are especially interesting. For each response,

require students to explain the significance. With a minute remaining, remind students of the homework for this evening.

Evaluation:

Student tasks for day two focus on developing an understanding of the causes of the anti-Chinese action. As homework students are asked to complete Student Handout #3. (See Appendix E) In addition students are asked to summarize the causes of the anti-Chinese movement, and specifically the removal of the Chinese from Eureka using at least three pieces of evidence.

Materials:

1. Race and Manifest Destiny: Student Handout #3 (See Appendix E.)
2. Lesson Theme Overhead (See Appendix D.)

Day Three: What was Eureka's place in the anti-Chinese Movement?

Hook: (5 Minutes)

Begin class with an overhead of Tsai map of anti-Chinese riots. (See Appendix M.) Ask the students to respond in writing to the prompt, "What conclusions can we make from this map?" Next allow students one minute to confer with a neighbor for a moment, and then begin the discussion. The instructor should stress that the events that occurred in Eureka were not an isolated incident. Explain that the focus of this class will be to determine Eureka's place in the larger anti-Chinese movement and the legacy of the anti-Chinese movement in Eureka.

Activity: (40 Minutes)

Provide the students with a copy of Appendix F. Before starting the reading, remind the students that the assignment for today's lesson is to write a summary of Eureka's connection to the anti-Chinese movement. Following the pattern established in the previous two lessons, students will examine documents and read narrative that will allow them to answer the primary question for this day. With eight minutes remaining transition to the closure activity.

Closure: (10 Minutes)

Again, closure will focus on analysis of the evidence. Like the previous lesson, the instructor will pose the question, "What do you feel were the three most compelling pieces of historical evidence that explain Eureka's place in the anti-Chinese Movement?" Allow students two minutes to create their list. At this point have a few students share with the class the pieces of evidence they feel are especially interesting. For each response require students to explain the significance. With a minute remaining in the class remind students of the homework for this evening.

Evaluation:

Again, the tasks completed by the students are intended to provide students with the content knowledge needed to complete the project assignment for days four and five. The task for day three is to write a 300-word summary describing Eureka's connection to the anti-Chinese events in the West. In addition, students will add events discussed in today's lesson, especially those

illustrating the legacy of anti-Chinese action in Humboldt County to their timeline.

Materials:

1. Tsai Map of anti-Chinese Riots overhead (See Appendix M.)
2. Student Handout #4 (See Appendix F.)

#### Days Four and Five: Creation of Historical Markers

For this activity secure the computer lab for these two days. If a computer lab is unavailable, print out appropriate images and web pages to be used as overheads. In addition, instructors should secure the art supplies necessary to complete the task.

Hook: (10 Minutes)

Before beginning work take students to the website for Tacoma's Chinese Reconciliation Project. This site can be found at [www.crpftacoma.org/index.htm](http://www.crpftacoma.org/index.htm). Allow students three minutes to explore the site. Next ask the students consider the questions, "What is the purpose of historical markers?" and "Who is the intended audience of the markers in Tacoma?" During the discussion display the plans for the historical park in Tacoma. After a brief discussion begin the activity.

Activity A: (10 Minutes)

At this point, launch a brainstorming session focused on the question, "What kind of historical markers would best educate the community?" Before beginning, remind students that the best ideas will be shared with members of Eureka's City Council. First, allow students three minutes to sketch our their

initial ideas individually. Next launch a discussion of the different type of options available and ask students to determine what kind of historical markers would fit best in the Eureka landscape. After five or six minutes, stop the conversation and ask the student to search the Internet for other examples of historical parks and markers to see other examples from around the country. Allow students to point out excellent examples to the class for three or four minutes and then transition to the next portion of the lesson.

#### Activity B:

On the board or on the overhead Place the focus question for this lesson, “*What happened to Eureka’s Chinese community in 1885?*” Under the question is the statement; “*Your job is to design a historical park or a series of markers that will educate visitors about the Expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka in 1885?*” (See Appendix G.) At this point place students in heterogeneous groups of four. Students working in groups will have the ability to divide the responsibilities. One student may focus on one segment of content while another works on the overall design of the historic markers. With several distinctive aspects to the story, the design of the historical markers, and the presentation to consider there are ample opportunities to delegate the workload. Next pass out rubric for the task. (See Appendix H.) Spend a few minutes answering questions regarding the expectations. Then allow students to begin work on the project. For the remainder of the period, allow student groups to work while the instructor checks off the homework from the previous three days.

On day five, allow students work for the entire period. Simply remind students of the expectations of the assignment at the beginning and the end of the period.

Materials:

1. Assignment Overhead (See Appendix G.)
2. Project Evaluation Rubric (See Appendix H.)

#### Day Six: Student Team Presentations

Hook: (5-10 Minutes)

When students enter the classroom, announce the starting time for presentations. Depending upon the number of presentations for that class period, allow students five or ten minutes to make final preparations. Announce that student groups will be selected to present in random order. Remind students that will find the criteria on which they will be evaluated in the presentation rubric.

Activities: (40 Minutes)

Presentations/ Select Representative Presentation. Before presentations begin, announce that the class will select the single presentation to share with the Eureka City Council members. Once again, remind students of the qualities of an excellent presentation. Student groups will each present to the class for five to six minutes. Allow other students to ask questions following each presentation. Following the final presentation, lead a brief discussion in which students only focus on the aspects of the presentations they found impressive. This “compliment session” is intended to focus students of the exceptional aspects of the

presentations. Finally, instruct students to indicate which presentation they feel should represent the class to the Eureka's City Council by placing the names of one group on a scrap of paper. The teacher will tally the votes privately and announce the group selected at the close of class. While the teacher tallies the votes, allow students to begin preparing for the exam that will take place the following day.

Closure: ( 5 Minutes)

Review for exam. In the final minutes of class, guide students through a brief review of the content covered over the course of the previous three days.

Simply pose potential test questions

Day Seven: Objective Exam/ Invite city council member to class

Depending upon the City Council member's schedule, either have the presentation in the first or second half of the class period. The first half is preferable.

Allow the group selected the previous day to present to the City Council member. In the time that follows, moderate a discussion focused on the historical story and the importance and acknowledging it through historical markers.

Suggest that the City Council pursue marking historical locations in the future.

Following the departure of the City Council member, administer the exam. (See Appendix I.) Project the image "Many Headed But Soulless" in order to insure that there is a clear image for students to refer to as they complete their exam.



(See Appendix J) Allow students to work on the exam for the remainder of the period.

Materials:

1. Eureka Program Objective Exam (See Appendix I.)
2. “Many Headed But Soulless” Overhead (See Appendix J.)

### Evaluation

The primary method of evaluation for this lesson is found in the final project The rubric for the final project clearly delineates the priorities for the presentation. (See Appendix H.) A premium is placed on the historical narrative, which is worth half of the total score. The other areas evaluated include the overall design of the historical markers, the quality of the presentation made to class, and the level of teamwork demonstrated during the time spent working together.

The tasks for each lesson are intended to build content knowledge in order to ensure success when the student teams present their project. These tasks will not be collected but rather will be checked off during day four.

The final aspect of evaluation will be an objective exam. This brief exam will ensure that all students are responsible for the content. (See Appendix I.) A clear understanding of the content is important, as this lesson will serve as the foundation for future lessons.

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## APPENDIX A

### Standards Addressed

*California State Standard Addressed:*

11.2 Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

1. Know the effects of industrialization on living and working conditions, including the portrayal of working conditions and food safety in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*.
2. Describe the changing landscape, including the growth of cities linked by industry and trade, and the development of cities divided according to race, ethnicity, and class.
3. Trace the effect of the Americanization movement.

**Rationale:**

This lesson will satisfy California State Standard 11.2 through a focused study of the experience of Chinese immigrants in the Western United States. Though 11.2 specifically asks teachers to examine the conditions for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, the examination of the case of the Chinese will provide students with a specific parallel story that will provide a foundation for understanding the larger national story that will follow in subsequent units of study. Moreover, the motivation to understand the details of a local compelling piece of history will strengthen a student's understanding of the entire standard.

This lesson asks students to understand the impact of the labor movement in California and anti-Chinese sentiment. By doing so, students accomplish many of the goals set in parts 1-3 of 11.2. The labor movement in California reflected conditions in the work place as well as the fears of the workers. Consequently, for students to truly understand the perceived threat of the Chinese to white laborers, students must first understand the working conditions for this time and place. Additionally, this lesson



provides details as the racial and cultural divide that existed in the city of Eureka and other communities throughout the United States.

The events that occurred in Eureka serve as an excellent case study for the power of Americanization. The instrument of Americanization in the West was the labor unions. As their power grew, so did their power to sway elected officials to adopt their anti-Chinese rhetoric. In Eureka and later in subsequent communities that adopted the Eureka Program for the removal of the Chinese, local governments adopted a policy of enforced Americanization.

*National Standards Addressed:*

Era 4  
Expansion and Reform (1801-1861)

Standard 2: How the industrial revolution, increasing immigration, the rapid expansion of slavery, and the westward movement changed the lives of Americans and led toward regional tensions

Era 6  
The Development of the Industrial United States (1870-1900)

Standard 2: Massive immigration after 1870 and how new social patterns, conflicts, and ideas of national unity developed amid growing cultural diversity

Standard 3: The rise of the American labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes

Rationale:

Through the examination of Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese, students will examine issues of immigration, westward expansion, Manifest Destiny, racial bias, and the rise of labor unions. The value of this one case study is that it touches on so many

areas while providing a fascinating and compelling story. Consequently, students are motivated and the standards are addressed.

Students will demonstrate understanding of Era 4 standard 2 through their examination of the causes of Eureka's expulsion. Students must grasp westward expansion and the concept of Manifest Destiny in order to complete the final tasks of the project.

An understanding of Era 6 standards 2 and 3 are integral parts of this lesson. The connection of the Knights of Labor to the wave of anti-Chinese actions is clearly illustrated in the cases of Eureka and Tacoma. Moreover, the case of Eureka shows the differences in the immigration experience of Europeans and Asians. While Southern and Eastern Europeans eventually assimilated into American culture, Chinese laborers, who intended to return to China, had little motivation to adopt prevailing American customs. Moreover, racial attitudes cast a huge inescapable shadow of suspicion and mistrust. Humboldt County's unwritten law is evidence that will allow students to gain a more complete understanding of the role of race in American society.

## APPENDIX B

### Student Instructions

Student Handout #1  
The Eureka Historical Marker Project

The expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka in 1885 and the subsequent “unwritten law” denying Asians residence in Humboldt county are much more than interesting moments in local history. These events are significant episodes



in the history of the settlement of the West. Yet the vast majority of individuals in Humboldt County have little knowledge of these events much less any sense of their connection to the national story.<sup>125</sup>

Over the next seven days students will examine the details of Eureka’s expulsion, its legacy, and how it directly led to a similar events in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington.



As a community Tacoma has taken the first steps towards acknowledging a dark chapter in the city’s history, its banishment of Chinese residents in 1885. Approved by Tacoma’s City Council in November of 1993, The Chinese Reconciliation Project will create a Chinese commemorative park near the site that was once Tacoma’s Little Canton. This historic park will educate the community about the treatment of the Chinese in 1885.<sup>126</sup> Considering the fact that Eureka was the epicenter of anti-Chinese action in 1885, there should be a similar monument placed in a historic park in Eureka. After examining the details of Eureka’s expulsion of the Chinese you will be asked to design an outdoor historical display commemorating the events of February 1885.

<sup>125</sup> Keith Easthouse. *The North Coast Journal*,

<<http://www.northcoastjournal.com/022703/cover0227.html>> (February 27, 2005) Image taken at intersection of 4<sup>th</sup> and E near the spot where Councilman Kendall was shot.

<sup>126</sup> The Chinese Reconciliation Project Foundation. Tacoma, Washington. <<http://www.crpftacoma.org/index.htm>> (March 21, 2005) The image on the left is a poster announcing an anti-Chinese meeting in Tacoma.

*Time Line of study:*

Day One: *What happened in Eureka and Humboldt County?* Students will examine the details of Eureka's Expulsion of the Chinese in 1885 using period accounts. Classwork/Homework: students will create a time line of events for Eureka's expulsion. Select 7 important quotations that might be used in your display.

Day Two: *What were the root causes of Eureka's expulsion?* Students will attempt to understand the fundamental causes of the actions against the Chinese. Homework/Classwork: Complete handout Appendix E. Utilizing at least three pieces of evidence, summarize the causes of the anti-Chinese movement, and specifically the removal of the Chinese from Eureka.

Day Three: *What connection did Eureka have to the larger anti-Chinese movement?* Students will examine Eureka's connection to the expulsion of the Chinese from Tacoma and Seattle. Students will examine the wave anti-Chinese action throughout the Western United States. Homework/Classwork: Write a 300 word summary describing Eureka's Connection to the anti-Chinese Movement. Add events discussed in today's lesson to your timeline.

Day Four and Five: Students will begin to design their own historic monument commemorating Eureka's expulsion of the Chinese. Students will design both the structure of the outdoor display, determine the best location for the historic park, and determine the content to be placed on the display. All homework will be checked during the lesson on day four.

Day Six: Students will present their designs to one another and select a design that will be submitted to Eureka's City Council.

Day Seven: Students will take a short objective exam. The project selected by the class will present to the City Council.

## APPENDIX C

### The Eureka Program

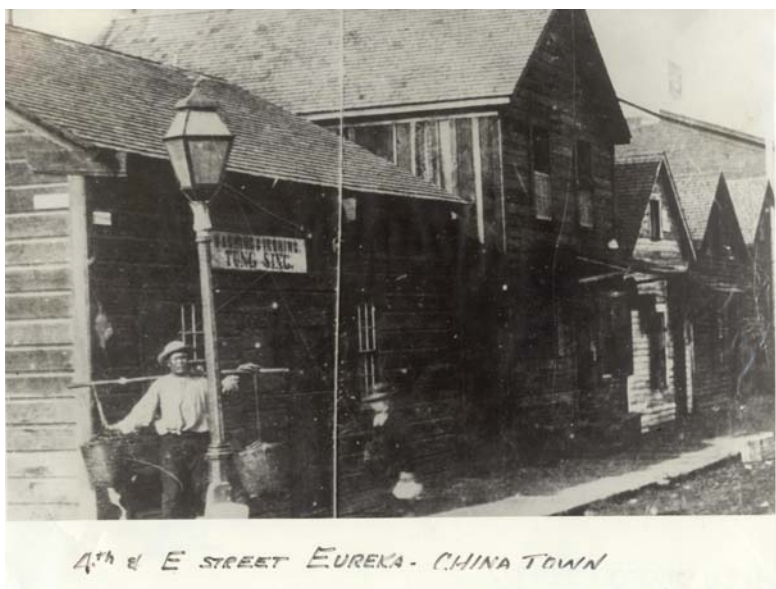
## Student Handout #2

## The Eureka Program: The Expulsion of the Chinese From Humboldt County

The people of Eureka were tense in February 1885. A *Daily Times Telephone* editorial from February 5, 1885, entitled “Wipe Out The Plague Spots”, depicts Eureka as a community ready to explode.

Under the present conditions of things there is not only a danger from a moral point of view, but continual danger to life and property. It will not do for our citizens to longer permit such life-taking demonstrations as the one witnessed in the Chinese quarter, and one of the principal streets of the city, last Saturday night.<sup>127</sup>

A day earlier, just outside the office of the *Humboldt Times* at Fourth and F streets, a gunfight between rival Chinese “tongs” had resulted in at least one death. The *Humboldt Times* reported, “Some ten or twelve shots were fired... We don’t know the extent of the damage, but we saw one Chinaman laid out with a bullet through his lung.



Dr. Davis took the ball out of his back. He is a gone Chinaman.”<sup>128</sup> Period accounts reveal the shooting on February 1, 1885 to be part of a pattern of escalating violence among the Chinese in Eureka rather than an isolated incident.

<sup>127</sup> *Daily Times Telephone*, February 5, 1885.

<sup>128</sup> *Humboldt Times*, February 1, 1885; Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza* (Eureka, Schooner Features, 1967) p 41; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country* (Belmont, Star Publications, 1986) p 46.

Eyewitness Sam Kelsey provides a first hand account of this struggle.

They had been fighting among themselves. I don't know what for. But there were two tongs and each one had a flagpole alongside of the street and the great game was to go chop the other tong's flagpole down... They got these bulldog revolvers... They started fighting and for about two weeks from that time the rioting started. They had been fighting pretty steadily every evening.<sup>129</sup>

Historical evidence shows that the increased level of violence between the rival Chinese groups was mirrored by the escalating animosity toward the Chinese by Eureka's white population. By the time Eureka read "Wipe Out the Plague Spots" the growing animosity had reached a breaking point. Prophetically, the *Daily Times Telephone* editorial continued:

It is only a wonder...that some innocent pedestrian was not made to bite the dust. Such a result is liable to come at any time, as long as the representatives of two conflicting Chinese companies are allowed to live in such close proximity. If ever such an event does occur – if ever an offending white man is offered up on the alter of paganism, we fear it will be goodbye to Chinatown.<sup>130</sup>

The next day the prediction made in the Daily Times Telephone came to fruition. As rival "highbinders" once again faced off in the streets of Eureka, stray bullets struck down well-respected city councilman David Kendall and wounded a boy. Under the headline, "Horrible Tragedy – DAVID KENDALL KILLED – Shot Dead by a Chinese Highbinder", the Weekly Times Telephone reported the incident in this way:

At five minutes past six o'clock last evening another riot broke out among the Chinamen...on the north side of Fourth Street below Ricks' stable, when firing commenced. Some nine or ten shots were fired in quick succession...Just at this time David Kendall, one of Eureka's best citizens, and a member of tee [sic] City

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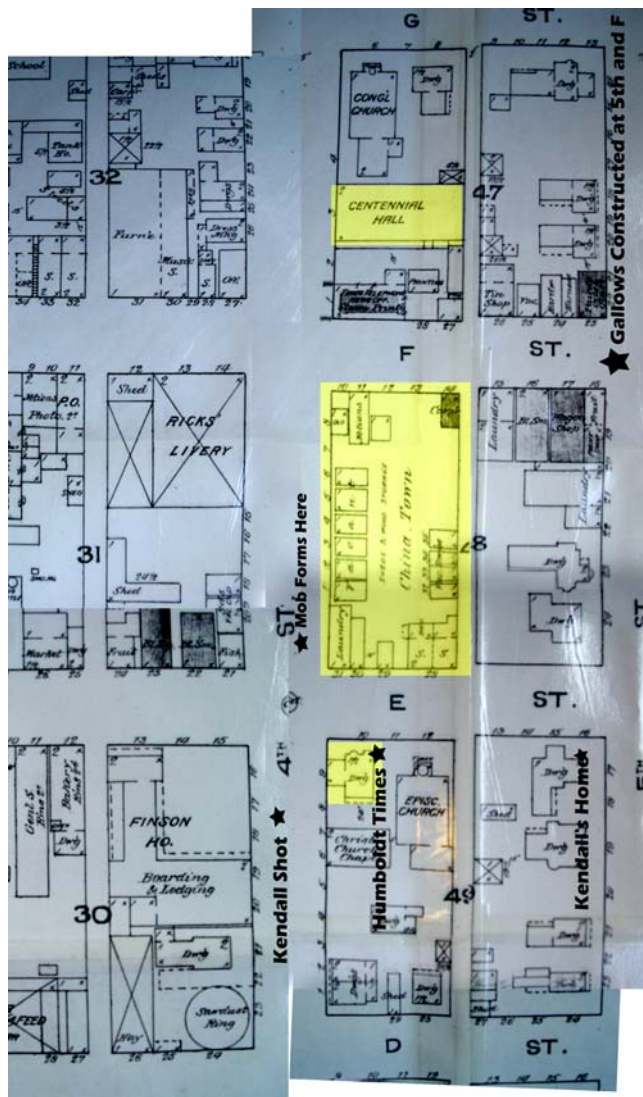
<sup>129</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe (Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University) p 5.

<sup>130</sup> *Daily Times Telephone*, February 5, 1885.



Council, ...on his way home from dinner, was shot dead by one of the Chinese Highbinders.<sup>131</sup>

The response to the violence was swift. According to the *Weekly Times Telephone*, Eureka was “A Blaze With Excitement” as idle loggers and lumbermen laid off for the winter gathered at the edge of Chinatown and clamored for action. When police officers apprehended a Chinese man who was suspected to have fired the bullet that killed Kendall “the cry was raised by a now thoroughly frenzied crowd to hang him. . . .By this time several hundred men had gathered around the corner of Fourth and F, some yelling to burn them out; others to hang them all, etc.”<sup>132</sup> Sam Kelsey remembered, “Well every able bodied man started for that place and when they got there the whole thing was in turmoil. There was screaming, clamoring for killing, to drive them in the bay and all that.”<sup>133</sup>



<sup>131</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. While Genzoli offers readers almost the entire article from the *Weekly Times Telephone*, Carranco has paraphrased the article extensively in this account.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe, p 5.

Considering the height of the emotion and the depth of rage at that moment, what prevented a violent conflagration in Eureka? With the confirmation of Kendall's death, the situation would have spiraled completely out of control had community leaders not called for a meeting at Eureka's Centennial Hall. Had it not been for moral opposition from respected leaders like Reverend Huntington or the demand for moderation from authority figures like Sheriff Brown, in all likelihood the removal of the Chinese from Eureka would have been punctuated by violence.<sup>134</sup>

In less than twenty minutes, approximately 600 men assembled and very quickly 15 civic leaders were appointed to a "citizens' committee" to craft and direct Eureka's response. Because the Chinese historically did not cooperate with criminal investigations, the leaders felt that their options were limited.

The audience was tremendously excited and if any direct clue to the culprits had been known they would have inevitably swung them to the nearest lamp-post. The utter impossibility of identifying the guilty parties proved however an unsurmountable [sic] impediment to their punishment.<sup>135</sup>

Civic leaders addressed the assembly, pointing out "the evils of the incident" and the "hoarding of vicious Chinese in the very heart of our city" and presented rash potential solutions such as looting and burning Chinatown or massacring all Chinese men.<sup>136</sup> Sheriff Brown advised caution.

Sheriff Brown got up and he said, 'Before there was anything done, I want you to understand that I am the Sheriff of Humboldt County, sworn to uphold the law and I will do so to the end.' And then he says, 'That if anybody

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<sup>134</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 47. Genzoli's work features an image of Sheriff Brown with the caption stating in part, "he would tolerate no rough play." Genzoli's account conveys the facts without in-depth analysis as it consists almost entirely of the reprinting of period newspapers. *The Weekly Times Telephone* acknowledged the influence of Sheriff Brown and District Attorney George W. Hunter. Although "sympathizing with the indignation of the audience", they "counseled moderation."

<sup>135</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

starts anything violating the law,' he said, 'they've got to reckon with me and my deputies.' And he sat down.<sup>137</sup>

Ultimately, the Citizens' Committee decided that the Chinese must leave Eureka within 24 hours. At this point, Reverend Huntington challenged the vigilante impulse with moral logic. "The rank and file of the people in Chinatown are as innocent of the death of Mr. Kendel [sic] as I am...If the Chinamen have no character, white men ought to have some. By enforcing this resolution you become the outlaws and are amenable as such to the courts of justice."<sup>138</sup>

Representatives from each opposing Chinese clan were sent to instruct the approximately 200 Chinese in Eureka that they would board a steamer for San Francisco the very next day. Despite the resolution made in Centennial Hall, there was a distinct possibility of violence on the evening of February 6<sup>th</sup>. The editors of the *Weekly Times Telephone* urged restraint, but at the same time endorsed the resolution. "We trust that wise counsels will prevail to-day and that no extreme measures will be resorted to. This would only involve the loss of life and property. But the Chinese must go."<sup>139</sup>

Historian Lynwood Carranco concludes that the sheriff would have been powerless had the mob determined to respond with violence. "If the mayor and some of the aldermen and some other citizens had not called the meeting to order, and by reason and argument succeeded in diverting the energies of the multitude into peaceful channels, much blood would have been shed and much property would have destroyed."<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Sam Kelsey, Interview by Martha Roscoe, p 5. In a 2003 *North Coast Journal* article, Jean Pfaelzer, who is currently crafting what is touted to be the "definitive" history of the removal of the Chinese throughout the West, has hinted that Sheriff Brown may have purposely indicated that the individual who fired the weapon that killed Kendall could not be identified. The implication is that a plan to remove the Chinese was already in place. Pfaelzer asserts that if the culprit had been identified the impetus to remove the Chinese would have abated.

<sup>138</sup> Charles Andrew Huntington, *Memoir of the Life of C.A. Huntington* (Biographical files, Humboldt County Historical Society) p 225. The outrage over Huntington's opposition to the expulsion of the Chinese was so great that he was threatened to be hung for sympathizing with the Chinese. Further, Carranco reports that Huntington was hung in effigy. The price that Huntington paid for his moral stand could be measured in dollars as well. Five months after Chinese were removed Huntington stepped down from his post as Reverend due to a lack of contributions in the collection plate.

<sup>139</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>140</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 48. This opinion echoes the sentiment C.G. Stafford whose letter to the editor appeared in the *Weekly Times Telephone* on February 14, 1885.

The night of February 6<sup>th</sup> was free of violence. However, the construction of a scaffold with “HANGING PARAPHENALIA” just outside of Chinatown sent an ominous message.<sup>141</sup> Affixed to the gallows was a sign that read, “Any Chinaman seen on the street after three o’clock today will be hung in these gallows.” In the shadow of the hangman’s noose, Eureka’s Chinese hurriedly packed their belongings and moved toward the docks where the steamships Humboldt and City of Chester prepared to embark. One young Chinese man, CharlieWay Lum, visiting the Huntington home on his way to the docks was thought to be evading the decision of the Citizens Committee by taking refuge in Reverend Huntington’s home. A mob quickly descended upon the Huntington home, burst in and dragged CharlieWay Lum to the gallows and put him in the noose. With the police unwilling to step in, the enraged crowd may have hung CharlieWay, if it had not been for Methodist Minister Rich stepping in at the last moment and demanding his release.<sup>142</sup>

With a violent outcome still a real possibility, the Chinese moved with caution. Newspaper accounts stressed the willingness of the Chinese to comply with the edict. “The movement seemed to be performed in perfect good nature...In fact, they seemed anxious for sailing hour to come (and we do not blame them)...”<sup>143</sup>

The Citizens Committee extended the scope of its decision by ordering citizens to round up Chinese working on farms, ranches, and railroads well outside of town. Still, some Chinese attempted to avoid exile by leaving the city. However, they were quickly apprehended and brought back to Eureka. The spectacle of 210 souls gathering all their earthly belongings and hastily making their way to the docks brought out hundreds of onlookers. “Every dray and wagon in the city” were put into service to expedite the removal.<sup>144</sup> Over 150 tons of belongings would be loaded for transport.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>142</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 226. The Huntington Memoir provides an essential alternative perspective to the bias of newspapers of the time. While Carranco has quoted important passages from Huntington’s Memoirs, Genzoli has not. Consequently there is no mention of Charlie Lum Way in Genzoli’s account.

<sup>143</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885.

<sup>144</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 226.

<sup>145</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 49-54; Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50.

The steamers, *Humboldt* and *City of Chester*, held over in Humboldt Bay by bad weather stood by to take the Chinese to San Francisco. After a one day delay due to fog, the steamers carrying Eureka's Chinese left Humboldt Bay on February 7, 1885. They arrived in San Francisco on February 9th. Authorities in San Francisco were primarily concerned with the identification of members of the rival tongs and those who had participated in the shootings in Eureka. However, because the offending parties could not be identified, the exiled Chinese quickly melted into San Francisco's Chinatown.<sup>146</sup>

Meanwhile, at one o'clock in the afternoon on February 7th, the Citizens' Committee read their resolution to crowd of "not less than 600" at Centennial Hall in Eureka. The following resolution was accepted without dissent.

1<sup>st</sup> That all Chinamen be expelled from the city and that none be allowed to return.

2<sup>nd</sup> That a committee be appointed to act for one year, whose duty shall be to warn all Chinamen who may attempt to come to this place to leave, and to use all reasonable means to prevent their remaining. If the warning is disregarded, to call a mass meeting of citizens to whom the case will be referred for proper action.

3<sup>rd</sup> That a notice be issued to all property owners through the daily papers requesting them not to lease or rent any property to Chinese.<sup>147</sup>

Later that same day, Eureka's mayor spoke of Kendall's death to Eureka's City Council and at its next meeting; the Council adopted the Citizens' Committee resolution. By this time the flood gates of anti-Chinese action had been opened on the North Coast. In Arcata, on February 7th, a meeting of citizens issued an ultimatum calling for all Chinese leave Arcata. Within a week, citizens in Del Norte County just north of Humboldt held an anti-Chinese parade demanding that "The Chinese Must Go." Over

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<sup>146</sup> Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50; and Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 50.

<sup>147</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. These three parts of the resolution are quoted in Carranco on page 51 and in Genzoli on page 48.

the next year, with only a few notable exceptions, Chinese attempting to remain in Humboldt County were systematically gathered up and forced out.<sup>148</sup>

In a letter to the editor, entitled “Our Justification”, C.G. Stafford acknowledged that, “it cannot be contended that the proceedings of our citizens in sending the Chinamen away, was strictly legal.” However, he also contends that the Chinese community was fortunate that city leaders had directed the anger of the mob into a non-violent resolution because otherwise “much blood would have been spilled.” Stafford “emphatically” states that the Chinese are to “blame” for the situation. Stafford concludes that “if any suit is brought against the city,...I shall have small anxiety as to the verdict.”<sup>149</sup> Clearly some citizens of Eureka realized that the basic rights of the Chinese had been violated. Despite this fact, the Citizen’s Committee resolution served as Humboldt County’s “unwritten law” for the next 69 years.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, pp 55-57. The most legendary exception to the expulsion of the Chinese was Charley Moon. Charley was cook and caretaker for Charley Bair in the Redwood Valley approximately twenty-five miles north east of Eureka. When a group of citizens arrived at the Bair Ranch with the intention of removing Charley Moon, Charley Bair met them at the edge of the property with his rifle. Bair instructed the group that he had no intention of allowing Charley to be removed. Bair’s reputation made the threat of violence credible and wisely the citizens returned to Eureka empty handed. Moon remained in Humboldt County for the remainder of his life. He married a Chalula Indian woman and raised a large family. Today the Moon name is very common in Humboldt County. On the other hand, the Chalula tribe no longer officially exists. The decimation of the Chalula and the Wilcut Tribes in Humboldt County reflect the willingness of the white settlers to use race based violence in order to secure land and economic advantage. Carranco points out that contrary to the popular Humboldt County myth, Charley Moon was not the only Chinese individual to remain in Humboldt County. At least three other men remained on the Klamath River in the remote eastern portion of Humboldt County, a full three-day ride from Eureka. Carranco writes that Billy Bow, a Mr. Fong, and John Cook were “good citizens” who worked as farmers and miners. Each also married a Native American woman. Not only did the geography of Humboldt County make it extremely difficult to collect the few remaining Chinese, but until the 1850s this area was considered a separate county, Trinity County. With these Chinese out of sight they were indeed out of mind. However, for the 69 years following the Eureka’s expulsion when a Chinese face appeared in one of Humboldt’s coastal community, they were promptly run out of town. Numerous examples of this legacy can be found in Carranco’s work.

<sup>149</sup> *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885. The perspective C.G. Stafford is particularly important because it would become conventional thought in Humboldt County. To better understand this perspective, one should examine the Huntington’s Memoir to read a thoughtful critique of actions of Eureka residents.

<sup>150</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p. 51; and Keith Easthouse. *The North Coast Journal*, (February 27, 2003) The legacy of this unwritten law is still evident to this day. When both Jean Pfaelzer and Ray Wang arrived in Humboldt in the 1980s they were dumbfounded by the fact that there were so few Asians. When they investigated the cause, their study led them back to Eureka’s expulsion.

An article from *The San Francisco Call* quoted in Genzoli's work provides a snapshot of the first reaction outside of Humboldt to the expulsion. While the tone of the article is not one of shock at the actions taken in Eureka, it does provide readers with the perspective of the Chinese. The article points out sympathetically that some had been forced to leave a city in which they had done business for 14 years. More importantly, *The San Francisco Call* contacted Chinese representative, Colonel Bee for comment. Bee stated that after the "excitement dies down" the Chinese consulate will "seek redress in the courts...Somebody will have to pay for the injury done to them."<sup>151</sup>

Indeed, it did not take long for the Chinese to sue the City of Eureka for damages of \$132,820 in Federal Court. However, the case was dismissed on the grounds that no Chinese property had been destroyed. The fact that the suit was thrown out is an indication of the depth and general acceptance of racial bias against the Chinese in the United States. Further, it provides proof of the correctness of C.G. Stafford's assessment of the situation immediately following the event. Finally, it also provides some insight into the motivation of Eureka's residents who chose this course of action. The citizens of Eureka expelled the Chinese in part because they knew that they would get away with it.

In *The Indispensable Enemy*, Alexander Saxton puts Eureka at the center of a ripple of forced removal and violence that impacted communities throughout the West. Although Saxton relates the story of Eureka's expulsion in just two paragraphs, he lists Eureka as the first "precedent" for a wave of violent and forceful action taken against the Chinese after 1885. For Saxton, the act of expulsion in Eureka was far less important than its wider impact. The removal of Chinese from Eureka was much more than an isolated act by a frontier community. Saxton notes that "Tacoma put into effect their own version of the Eureka program."<sup>152</sup> The removal of the Chinese from Eureka was the first significant use of force sanctioned by the local governmental authorities that led to a cascade of similar actions against in the Chinese throughout the West. For Saxton,

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<sup>151</sup> *San Francisco Call*, as quoted by the *Weekly Times Telephone*, February 14, 1885; Andrew Genzoli, *Redwood Bonanza*, p 50.

<sup>152</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (London: University of California Press, 1971) pp 207-212.

Eureka was the first blow that opened the “floodgates” of anti-Chinese action.<sup>153</sup> In *The Anti-Chinese Movement In California*, Elmer Sandmeyer lists thirty-one other California communities that took forceful action against their Chinese inhabitants following the actions in Eureka.<sup>154</sup> Shih-Shan Tsai, in *The Chinese Experience in America*, documented at least fifty-five cities in the West took forceful action against their Chinese communities.<sup>155</sup> Clearly, the events that took place in Eureka in 1885 were not unique.



Used with permission of Indian University Press.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 97. Sandmeyer lists the following localities as sites of anti-Chinese acts in 1885: “Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Hollister, Merced, Yuba City, Petaluma, Redding, Anderson, Truckee, Lincoln, Sacramento, San Buenaventura, Napa, Gold Run, Sonoma, Vallejo, Placerville, Santa Rosa, Chico, Wheatland, Carson, Auburn, Nevada City, Dixon, and Los Angeles.” Conspicuously missing from this list is Eureka. For some, this fact may cast a shadow of doubt on Sandmeyer’s work as it relates to Eureka. Sandmeyer may have overlooked Eureka because there was a six-month lag between it (February) and the next significant attack at Rock Springs Wyoming (September). Moreover, in Saxton’s work (201) he states that Eureka’s action generated little interest throughout California because of an impending railroad strike.

<sup>155</sup> Shih-Shan Henry Tsai. *The Chinese Experience in America*, p 68. Included in Tsai’s work is an excellent map showing the geographic locations of each of the attacks. However, Tsai does not mention many of the locations identified by Sandmeyer. Specifically, Tsai did not include the following cities: Santa Cruz, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Yuba City, San Buenaventura, Vallejo, Wheatland, and Carson.



## APPENDIX D

### Theme Overhead

Lesson Theme  
Overhead Transparency

**“Racism is a Fundamental Building Block of  
American Society.”**

## APPENDIX E

### Race and Manifest Destiny

## Student Handout #3

## RACE AND MANIFEST DESTINY

In 1845, John L. O’Sullivan first used the term “Manifest Destiny” to describe the American perception of westward expansion.

*“Our manifest destiny [is] to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.”<sup>156</sup>*

For O’Sullivan, Manifest Destiny was defined by territorial acquisition and economic development from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Implicit in this statement is the fact that all obstacles--from the hundreds of Native American nations residing in both territories claimed and unclaimed, to Mexico which occupied much of the land to the southwest, to Great Britain who claimed the Oregon territory--would not impede the American tide. In one sentence, O’Sullivan had defined a fundamental driving force in American history.<sup>157</sup> The abundance and good fortune of America was seen as proof that Americans were the “chosen people”.<sup>158</sup>

Within fifteen years of the first white settlements around Humboldt Bay, native populations were either killed or driven from desirable areas, the forests were harvested by armies of newly arrived immigrants, and the foundations of the modern American society were in place.

*Document Analysis Questions*

1. For O’Sullivan who were the “multiplying millions?”
2. How did the pattern of settlement of Humboldt County reflect a belief in Manifest Destiny?

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<sup>156</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (London, Harvard Press, 1981) p 219.

<sup>157</sup> The other is the belief in the Enlightenment ideals that serve as the basis of the founding documents. However, the only way that these often contradictory forces could coexist was through a compromising the literal definition of “all men”.

<sup>158</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, p 3.

Westward Progress by John Gast, 1871.



Although Lincoln was referring to the extension of slavery to the territories, this statement made in 1854 illustrates important attitudes, *“The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people.”*<sup>159</sup>

#### *Document Analysis Questions*

1. What and whom is advancing? What is in retreat?
2. What is the significance of light and dark in Gast’s painting?
3. What does Gast present as elements of civilization in his painting?
4. How does this painting represent Manifest Destiny and the Lincoln’s statement?

<sup>159</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “Speech on Kansas Nebraska Act”, October 16, 1854. <<http://www.ku.edu/carrie/docs/texts/kansas.html>> (February 22, 2005) Stephen Douglas was much more explicit regarding his view of America. He stated, “In my opinion this government of ours is founded on the white basis. It was made by the white man, for the benefit of the white man, to be administered by white men, in such manner as they should determine.” Stephan Douglas, Springfield Illinois Speech, July 17, 1858. <<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=508>> (March 27, 2005)

An official declaration from the California State Senate presents how racial animosity translated to the Chinese in California.

During their entire settlement in California they have never adapted themselves to our habits, modes of dress, or our educational system, have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens or to perform the duties of citizenship, never discovered the difference between right and wrong, never ceased the worship of their idol gods, or advanced a step beyond the musty traditions of their native hive. Impregnable to all influences of our Anglo-Saxon life, they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time.<sup>160</sup>

#### *Document Analysis Questions*

1. What were the primary arguments against the Chinese?
2. What factors contributed to the bias against the Chinese?

These same factors impacted the Chinese in Eureka as well. Reverend Huntington's *Memoir* reflects this popular statewide perception of the Chinese to Eureka, "Chinatown was a public offence and the occupants of it were victims of popular hatred." Huntington describes Eureka's Chinese as "clannish, huddled together in small tenements." Chinatown itself was located in a low swampy area. The gulch that ran through this area had been blocked off for street improvement, leaving it without drainage. Consequently, garbage and sewage collected. The stench generated by the "fetid swamp" created general disdain amongst Eureka's residents.<sup>161</sup> The vindictive contempt fostered by the stench was still evident in a *Humboldt Times* retrospective written 45 years after the incident. The author stated that the "odor... would contaminate a Saint, but John Chinaman thrived on it."<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Quoted in Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 39.

<sup>161</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 40; Huntington, *Memoir*, pp 220-221; and *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931. In particular the *Humboldt Times* article reveals the vindictive contempt fostered by the sewage problems in a retrospective written 45 years after the incident.

<sup>162</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931. Despite the poor conditions of the buildings in Chinatown, their owner C.J. Ricks made a great deal of profit from each. Purchased by Ricks for "\$20 to \$50" the houses rented from "\$6 to \$8" each month.

Although Huntington states that the Chinese were seen as a threat to the public morals, their questionable habits were confined to Eureka's Chinatown. The use of opium, whiskey, and gambling "were known only among themselves...They were never seen loitering about the saloons, or drinking at the bar of a saloon. And yet they were hated as enemies of society and a danger to the morality of a great Christian city."<sup>163</sup>

### *Document Analysis Questions*

1. How did the separateness of Chinatown contribute to tension in Eureka?

Concern over the economic impact of the Chinese on the opportunities of white Americans to achieve what they perceived as their Manifest Destiny began during the Gold Rush.<sup>164</sup> In 1850 a state tax had been placed on foreign miners, and in 1852 several mining districts drove out the Chinese. Because the Chinese offered no resistance, no violence occurred. Later that same year, white miners convinced the California legislature to pass a three-dollar a month Foreign Miners Tax. Tax collectors kept a portion of the tax for themselves as payment. This created a pattern of institutionalized abuse. Eager to collect as much as possible, tax collectors forced all Chinese in the gold fields, even if they were not mining, to pay the tax. Chinese not paying were "horsewhipped, shot down, or run out of camp."<sup>165</sup> The diary of one tax collector



Fear over the economic impact of the Chinese on White immigrants in the West led to both violent attacks and restrictive legislation. The image above represents the fear and anger of Whites in the West.

<sup>163</sup> Huntington, *Memoir*, p 221.

<sup>164</sup> *Harper's Weekly*. "Decorating China": From Harper's Weekly: Harper's Weekly, Vol. 25. American Memory, Library of Congress. < <http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 2, 2005)

<sup>165</sup> Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust*, pp 64-68 McCleod's work provides an excellent counterpart to the Elmer Sandmeyer's scholarship. Written only eight years apart, they reflect the

illustrates the cold disregard for the humanity of the Chinese: “I was sorry to stab the poor creature; but the law makes it necessary to collect the tax; and that’s where I get my profit.”<sup>166</sup>

By the close of the Civil War the Chinese had moved beyond laundry and other service jobs in urban centers and had made inroads in industries such as shoemaking and cigar manufacturing. “Anticoolie” clubs organized boycotts of businesses employing Chinese labor. Most significantly, cigar makers employing only white labor placed labels on their product stating, “The Cigars contained herein are made by WHITEMEN...”<sup>167</sup>

The Workingman’s Party rose to prominence in California in 1877. Though the Workingman’s Party advocated an eight-hour day, compulsory education, and the direct election of the president, the core of its platform was built upon the idea that the Chinese were a threat to white labor. Denis Kearney, the leader of the Workingman’s Party, seized on upon the ideological bias of California and boldly proclaimed in the “sandlots” of San Francisco that, “The Chinese Must Go.” For Kearney and the Workingman’s Party, the Chinese simply offered unfair competition that could be used as a tool by large industrialists to deny the working class the promise of Manifest Destiny. Sandmeyer offers Kearney’s “Manifesto” as evidence of the uncompromising stance of the Workingman’s Party.

We have made no secret of our intentions. We make none. Before you and before the world we declare that the Chinaman must leave our shores. We declare that white men, and women, and boys, and girls, cannot live as the people of the great republic should and compete with the single Chinese coolie in the labor market. We declare that we cannot hope to drive the Chainman away by working cheaper than he does. None but an enemy would expect it of us; none but an idiot could hope for success; none but a

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scholarship of that era on the Chinese. McCleod’s work provides a detailed look into the culture of the Chinese in California as well.

<sup>166</sup> Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Illustrated History of the Chinese*, p 27.

<sup>167</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 74. Interestingly, next to the *Weekly Times Telephone* article from February 2, 1886, which documents the first anniversary of Eureka’s Expulsion, is an ad for “White Labor brands of Cigars.” Clearly this ad campaign must have been successful otherwise it would not have persisted until 1886.



degraded coward and slave would make the effort. To an American, death is preferable to life on a par with the Chinaman.<sup>168</sup>

*Document Analysis Questions*

1. In the minds of white Californians in the 1800s why did the Chinese pose an economic threat?
2. What actions were taken against the Chinese?

By 1877, politicians presented the Chinese as one of the principle problems facing California. A series of anti-Chinese legislation resulted. Most significantly, the California Constitutional Convention of 1879 illustrated the power that the labor unions held at that time. Article XIX of the new constitution stated that it was unlawful to for the state to employ “any Chinese or Mongolian” on state contracts.<sup>169</sup>

*Document Analysis Questions*

1. Historians have argued that California politicians approved this amendment knowing that the supreme court would overturn it. Its ultimate significance was that it gave tacit permission to communities to take action against Chinese without fear that the state would hold them accountable. What impact would this factor have had in Eureka?”

Though the 1880s would mark the height of anti-Chinese action in Humboldt County, statistics from 1880 that show nearly all Chinese in Humboldt County worked in jobs that did not threaten white labor. At the time only six Chinese worked in the lumber industry. However, newspapers in Eureka increasingly decried the moral shortcomings of the Chinese and complained of a lack of economic opportunity. In March 1880, the small town of Garberville expelled all of its Chinese residents. When lumber companies openly considered hiring gangs of Chinese workers in the early 1880s, a significant rise in the anti-Chinese sentiment resulted. A quote from the *Democratic Standard* that carried an implied threat: “The impending crisis has arrived, some of millowners threaten the poor white man who is eking out a miserable existence at a mere pittance...such a course

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<sup>168</sup> Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, p 65.

<sup>169</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 128-129.

would be suicidal on the part of the millowners.”<sup>170</sup> Only Fay’s Shingle Mill would not heed the warning and attempted to hire a significant number of Chinese for cheaper wages. A strike forced the mill to reconsider.

To make matters worse, in 1883 two rival groups of highbinders from San Francisco arrived in Eureka and before long “riots, murders, and assaults become commonplace.”<sup>171</sup> No available histories fully explain the source of this conflict. However, most violent rivalries were based upon longstanding regional animosity from China or competition between tongs attempting to control illegal activities.<sup>172</sup> Whatever the cause, armed conflicts between these groups in Eureka served to heighten tensions and underscored the arguments being made by labor leaders and other anti-Chinese leadership.

On May 3, 1884 the *Weekly Times Telephone* reported, “Too many laborers – starvation wages!”<sup>173</sup> On August 24, a gun battle erupted between the rival Tongs. Those arrested by Sheriff Brown were released, causing even greater outrage. Again on August 26, shots rang out between the rival Chinese Tongs and, again, arrests produce no results. *The Daily Times Telephone* warned of possible “genuine riot...anytime”. A “riot” does indeed take place on September 23 in Chinatown. Carranco provides a quotation from the *Daily Times Telephone* that reveals the mood of the community in the final months of 1884.

One thing was appraised of, however, and that is that the Chinese are become an intolerable nuisance to our people, and if some means cannot be devised to make them behave, they should be make to leave.<sup>174</sup>

### *Document Analysis Questions*

1. How did the anti-Chinese movement impact Eureka?

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<sup>170</sup> Daniel Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, p 58.

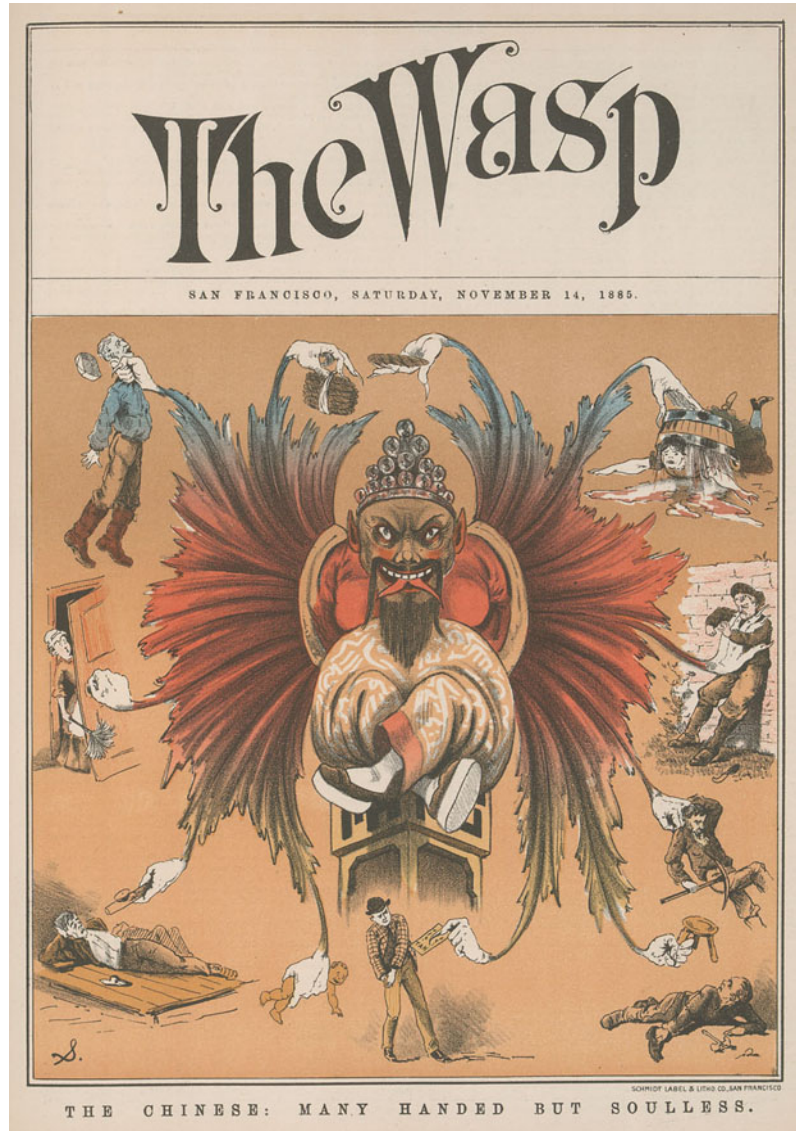
<sup>171</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45.

<sup>172</sup> Shih-Shan Tsai, *The Chinese in America*, p 53-54.

<sup>173</sup> *Weekly Times-Telephone*, May 3, 1884.

<sup>174</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 45; *Wasp, The*. "The Chinese : Many Handed But Soulless" [cover]: From *The Wasp*: v. 15, July - Dec. 1885. American Memory, Library of Congress. <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 2, 2005)

2. What anti-Chinese arguments were most important in Eureka? Why?
3. Examine the anti-Chinese image from *The WASP* in 1885. How does it summarize the anti-Chinese arguments?



Student Handout #4  
Day Three Part Two

THE “EUREKA PROGRAM” AND THE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT

In *The Indispensable Enemy*, Alexander Saxton presents the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka as the catalyst for a wave of violence and forced removal in the West. Despite Eureka’s isolation, the details of the events of February 1885 spread throughout the west. For the first time, the entire population of a Chinatown in an important town had been driven out with the consent of the local government. A precedent had been established in Eureka. The door was now open for other frontier communities that believed the Chinese threatened their moral fabric and livelihood to take action. In his chapter entitled, “Eureka and Rock Springs,” Saxton describes the cascade of events that followed the action in Eureka. Moreover, he presents evidence that even in 1885, people realized the role Eureka had played in the larger anti-Chinese movement. Saxton quotes the *San Francisco Call* from November 22, 1885 as evidence.

The ball that was set in motion in at Eureka seems to be moving with accelerated speed. After years of apathy the people of almost every city and town on the Pacific Coast have simultaneously resolved to expel the Chinese laborers, in order to get a chance to give the wages now being diverted by Chinese into the hands of our own needy citizens.<sup>175</sup>

In November 1885, citizens of Tacoma, Washington, “put into effect their own version of the Eureka program” by swiftly, and without the use of violence, removing its entire Chinese population.<sup>176</sup> The tactics used by officials in Tacoma would later become known as the “Tacoma Method.” However, the “Tacoma Method” was nothing more than a facsimile of the “Eureka Program”. Historical evidence clearly reveals that events in Tacoma were directly influenced by Eureka’s expulsion. At least two influential individuals were present at both events. The first had the ear of the anti-Chinese mayor. The second was a power player within the Knights of Labor.

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<sup>175</sup> *San Francisco Morning Call*, November 22, 1885. As quoted in Saxton, p 201.

<sup>176</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 205.

William Christie, “a member of the Tacoma school board and a political associate” of Tacoma’s mayor Robert Weisbach, happened to be in Eureka and witnessed firsthand the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka.

Christie was impressed with the simplicity and effectiveness of the Eureka solution. Returning a few days after the dispersion, Christie met with Mayor Weisbach and a small group of anti-Chinese in a room above the Weisbach store. No records were kept of what was said, but rumors spread through town that direct action was contemplated against Tacoma’s Chinese<sup>177</sup>

Just two weeks after the events in Eureka, Mayor Weisbach called a meeting to consider methods to solve the “Chinese Problem.” About half of the Tacoma’s 1,800 eligible voters attended. In a meeting very reminiscent of the gathering at Centennial Hall, it was not a matter if the Chinese would go, but rather how they “should be persuaded to go.” After a passionate plea by Mayor Weisbach in which he asked the assembly to “rid ourselves of this curse,” a resolution was adopted “excluding” the Chinese from Tacoma. Without the same violent spark that ignited forceful action in Eureka, anti-Chinese forces had more difficulty convincing the entire white community to take decisive action. Tacoma’s “Better Element,” led by Reverend Thompson, redirected Tacoma’s attention to what they considered more pressing moral problems. Instead of removing the Chinese, authorities focused on gambling and saloons.<sup>178</sup>



Labor interests and followers of Mayor Weisbach attacked the “Better Element” as “unsexed and emasculated.” Like Eureka, Tacoma had numerous influential unions such as the International Workingman’s Association, which constantly beat the drum for

<sup>177</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, p 222.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, pp 223-224. Murray provides examples of the rhetoric at the meeting included a call to “ship them 250 miles to the west”. Weisenbach stated that while not calling for violence “it behooves us to rid ourselves of this curse”. Unlike the steadfast moral stand taken by Reverend Huntington, two reverends mentioned in Murray’s account, while not agreeing that the Chinese should be dumped into the sea, supported the idea of segregating the Chinese.

the removal of the Chinese. These elements were brought together under the umbrella of the Tacoma Anti-Chinese League which elected Mayor Weisbach as its president. Feeling pressured, the city council passed an ordinance requiring residences to have at least 500 cubic feet of air for each occupant.<sup>179</sup> This ordinance, which mirrored anti-Chinese legislation passed in San Francisco in 1871, provoked action against Tacoma's densely populated Chinatown because of community health concerns.<sup>180</sup>

By September 1885, anti-Chinese sentiment in western states reached a destructive apex. Just as anti-Chinese action in Washington was sparked by events in Eureka, violence in Washington occurred within days after murderous attacks in Rock Springs, Wyoming. With the Knights of Labor meeting hall serving as a rallying point for action, a conflict between Chinese and white miners in Rock Springs had escalated into a riot in which twenty-eight Chinese were killed.<sup>181</sup> Following the attack against Chinese miners in Rock Springs on September 2, 1885 violent attacks against Chinese erupted in the hop fields and mines of Washington's Squak Valley. Chinese workers fled.<sup>182</sup>

That same day a local chapter of the Knights of Labor, a powerful voice in the anti-Chinese movement, was organized in Tacoma. There to present the charter to Tacoma and Mayor Weisbach was Dan Cronin.

A small, husky, Irishman with an arm crippled from an accident in the woods, Cronin had been present at Eureka when the Chinese were chased out; a few months later the national sent him to Washington Territory to organize.<sup>183</sup>

Without the immediate spark of violence as had been the case in Eureka, anti-Chinese leadership had to convince the working class that the threat was real. Murray Morgan's description of Cronin provides insight into the leadership qualities that translated hatred of the Chinese and economic fears into action.

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<sup>179</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound*, pp 225-226

<sup>180</sup> Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Illustrated History of the Chinese*. p 77.

<sup>181</sup> Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, p 211; Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement*, p 97.

<sup>182</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget's Sound*. p 228. The violence in the Squak Valley pitted white and Indian hop workers together against the Chinese. Increased wages paid to Chinese workers sparked the attacks.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

Cronin had a well of bitterness, a gift for words, and a knack for arousing anger. His rhetoric, heavy with implied threats of things to come, ran counter to the Knights' claim that they were opposed to violence. From Tacoma Cronin moved on to the Seattle, where he played a pivotal role in the first anti-Chinese rally there.<sup>184</sup>

Cronin's role in Seattle's anti-Chinese activity extends the ripple of Eureka's influence in the anti-Chinese movement. The fact that Cronin immediately leapt into the anti-Chinese tempest is an indication that he had been sent by the Knights to Washington not only to organize workers but to facilitate the removal of the Chinese. The fact that Cronin had been sent from Eureka to Washington by the Knights is an indication that he had likely orchestrated similar activities in Humboldt County. Moreover, the fact that the Knights were also at the center of action in Rock Springs is an indication of planned anti-Chinese agitation by the Knights of Labor.

The actions of the Knights of Labor serve as further evidence that the expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka was part of a larger organized plan of agitation as Ray Wang and Jean Pfaelzer suggested in the *North Coast Journal* in 2003.<sup>185</sup> When asked about the possibility of a conspiracy, Pfaelzer responded, "I do think it was organized, deliberate, tied to the labor movement. This was a small town. All these guys knew each other. I think they were waiting for the right moment."<sup>186</sup> Pfaelzer's comments are supported by a *Humboldt Times* article written in 1931 which stated that even prior to David Kendall's death, "The situation had reached the point where it was only a matter of time when the Chinese residents were due for drastic treatment."<sup>187</sup> Because a friend of Frank McGowen, a central player in Eureka's expulsion, wrote the article this statement is especially credible. Finally, Cronin's instigation of anti-Chinese actions in multiple cities is evidence of wider agitation by the Knights of Labor.

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Keith Easthouse. "The Chinese Expulsion: Looking Back on a Dark Episode", *The North Coast Journal*, (February 27, 2003)

<sup>186</sup> Jean Pfaelzer, Personal interview with author. February 18, 2005.

<sup>187</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931.

On September 28, 1885, Cronin organized the meeting of “The Anti-Chinese Congress” at Yesler Hall in Tacoma. The assembly resolved that the Chinese had arrived illegally and were given thirty days to leave. Further, they would not be held “responsible for any acts of violence which may arise from noncompliance of these resolutions”<sup>188</sup> On November 3rd, when thirty days had past, Cronin’s Committee of Nine and some 500 anti-Chinese supporters raided Tacoma’s Chinatown to remove 200 individuals who had not complied with the order to leave. Those in the crowd included the mayor, a judge, and the sheriff.<sup>189</sup> As in Eureka, Tacoma officials obviously supported the call to remove the Chinese. Although some Chinese barricaded themselves in their homes, by the next day they were all gone. The white mob ordered the Chinese to pack their belongings and marched them to railroad boxcars that took them to Portland.<sup>190</sup>

With knowledge of what had unfolded in Tacoma, the Chinese in Seattle agreed to leave eventually. Frustrated by a month of delays anti-Chinese forces called for the enforcement of the ordinance requiring 500 cubic feet of air for each inhabitant. A day later inspections revealed violations throughout Seattle’s Chinatown. Just as had unfolded in Eureka, some 350 Chinese were ordered to board a steamship for San Francisco. Although a judge informed the Chinese that they had the right to remain and be protected if they chose to stay, the threat to their safety was too great. Though the ship was filled to its capacity with Chinese, it was not large enough to remove all of Seattle’s Chinese residents. When the remaining Chinese were escorted to their homes by the Home Guard, a riot broke out. Although all the casualties were among the anti-Chinese contingent, the Chinese, for good reason, did not feel safe. Less than a week later, the rest of the Chinese boarded a steamer for San Francisco. It would be six years before Chinese would return to the Puget Sound area. It would be 69 years before Asians would be allowed to return to Eureka.

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<sup>188</sup> Todd Matthews, “A Media Frenzy, Conspiracy Theories, And Stereotyping A Community”.  
<<http://www.wahmee.com/chapsix.html>>(February 20, 2005)

<sup>189</sup> Murray Morgan, *Puget’s Sound*, p 240.

<sup>190</sup> Todd Matthews, <<http://www.wahmee.com/chapsix.html>>



The legacy of the anti-Chinese movement endured longest in Eureka. It was not until the close of World War II that the invisible wall created by Humboldt County's unwritten law came down and Asians were grudgingly allowed back into Humboldt County. Just as Eureka was a leader in the effort to remove the Chinese in 1885, Humboldt County held the overtly racist line against all Asians. Why did Humboldt County hold on to its ban on Asian residents for so long? The answer rests in the factors that caused Eureka to expel the Chinese in the first place.

## APPENDIX F

### The Legacy of the Eureka Program

## THE LEGACY OF THE EUREKA PROGRAM

Longstanding racial hatred of the Chinese did not fade with time. The depth of the hatred and fear of the Chinese in Humboldt County is reflected in a *Humboldt Times* article which proudly retells the story of the removal of the Chinese more than 45 years earlier under the headline “Humboldt County One of Few Where Chinese Do Not Live.”

<sup>191</sup> This article is an important retrospective told by a friend of Frank McGowan, a member of the Committee of 15 and key player in the removal of the Chinese in 1885. According to the author, McGowan “delights” in relating, “humorous incidents of that stirring time.” One such story reveals the chilling maliciousness and disregard for the humanity of the Chinese.

It is now almost 45 years since the last of the Chinamen left here, and the younger generation, have during all that time been denied the thrill of throwing rocks at the China houses. That was a favorite pastime in the early days. There was some irresistible force that impelled the blue blooded youth to pelt the ‘Chinese’ houses from a safe distance and then delight in listening to the jargon of the irate Chinks as they came running to the street in the hope of catching the guilty parties.<sup>192</sup>

More than forty-five years after the event, McGowan’s comments reflected Humboldt’s lingering pride over its role in the anti-Chinese movement. The removal the Chinese in 1885 put Eureka on the map. The *Humboldt Times* article continues, “One who claims to know says that in the Chinese territory across the sea every man, woman and child knows that Eureka is a bad place for Chinamen.”<sup>193</sup> The citizens of Humboldt County were neither ashamed of the “unwritten law” nor were they worried about negative ramifications. The historical record is proof that the Humboldt’s unwritten law held clout. Eureka’s actions in 1885 had a profound impact upon the West. However, it

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<sup>191</sup> *Humboldt Times*, November 1, 1931.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

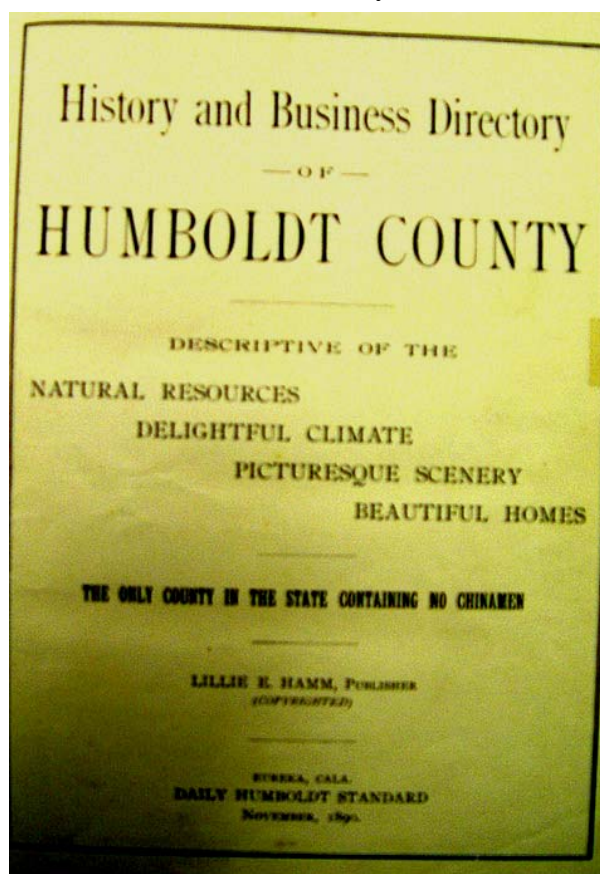
<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

would be difficult to argue with the assertion that the community most impacted by the anti-Chinese sentiment of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was Eureka.

The same factors cited by Saxton as causes of the expulsion in Eureka also contributed to enforcement of the unwritten law for the next 69 years. Because Eureka remained a remote, tightly knit community, racial hatred continued to resonate. Because local authorities and business leaders vocally supported and enforced the “unwritten law”, it was credible in the eyes of the common citizens. Because unions remained an important force, there was constant vigilance to defend workers from the threat of cheap Chinese labor. The results of these factors were a series of dark episodes in local history. While other communities pulled away from the overtly racist policies of the anti-Chinese period, the twisted shadow of 1885 extended well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century for Humboldt County.

Though few current residents of Humboldt County can relate to the story of the Chinese expulsion, it remains one of the most important events in local history. More significantly, it is an important part of the history of the West. At the time, Eureka did not hide its disdain for the Chinese. The Humboldt County business directory for 1890 proudly boasted, “THE ONLY COUNTY IN THE STATE CONTAINING NO CHINAMEN.”<sup>194</sup>

Humboldt County’s unwritten law was not just talk. It was vigorously



<sup>194</sup> Humboldt County History and Business Directory, 1890. (Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University) In the *North Coast Journal* article, The Chinese Expulsion, Ray Wang is seen holding this source.

enforced. On February 6, 1886, the first anniversary on Eureka's expulsion, Eureka held its largest meeting up to that date to commemorate the death of Councilman Kendall and reaffirm its resolution denying Asian residency. Influential individuals from throughout the county were in attendance including Isaac Minor and Mr. Falk. More than 300 people made the trek from Arcata to attend. At the rally Judge Hayes stated, "the cry in the past has been, 'The Chinese Must Go,' but now it is 'The Chinese Must Never Return.'" Collectively the more than 600 assembled approved a resolution that included the statement, "Resolved that we now pledge our honors that we will not either indirectly patronize any person who in anywise deals or trades in goods or merchandise manufactured by Chinese."<sup>195</sup>

Towns around the county followed the example set by Eureka. Rohnerville and Ferndale had ordered their Chinese to leave in January 1886 even before the rally in Eureka took place. In March 1886, Crescent City took action to "remove all Mongolians in our Midst." Just one week after the rally in Eureka influential citizens in Arcata met and crafted a resolution that stated their intentions in no uncertain terms.

1. We, the Citizens of Arcata and vicinity, wish the total expulsion of the Chinese from our midst.
2. We endorse the efforts of Eureka to exclude all Chinese settlements in the city and environs.<sup>196</sup>

Because the courts ruled that expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka did not result in injuries or property damage, the lawsuit against Eureka was dismissed in early 1886. Without any legal means to resist, the remaining Chinese living around Humboldt Bay had all left by April 30, 1886.<sup>197</sup>

The resolve of anti-Chinese forces in Humboldt was first tested in October 1886. The Cutting Packing Company, a fish cannery, attempted to hire fifteen Chinese for the canning season. While the Chinese were allowed to finish the season, they were forced to leave upon its conclusion. The next test took place in September 1906 when another

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<sup>195</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*. p 53-54.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, p 54

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, p 55

cannery attempted to hire Chinese and Japanese workers. The headlines of the Humboldt Times read, “THE CHINESE MUST GO!” With an implicit threat of violence, the cannery relented and the Chinese were sent by rail to Eureka where they stayed on Gunther Island (Indian Island) and were then forced to leave on October 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>198</sup>



Local newspapers listed the names of those anti-Chinese activists so that citizens could support their businesses.

Another newspaper wrote that the Chinese will leave, “satisfied the county is a fine place, but no place for a Chinaman, and such is

the report they will carry to their friends.”<sup>199</sup>

Indeed, Humboldt County’s reputation grew throughout the Chinese community in the West and in China. Prominent citizens of Humboldt were determined to abide by the unwritten law. Humboldt’s reputation made Chinese fearful of attempting to obtain a job in Humboldt County. The *Humboldt Standard* summarized the situation in 1909, “It can truthfully be said that the county stands as a unit on the Chinese exclusion and there is no doubt but that our people will work harmoniously together in their stand to prevent them becoming residents of this county.”<sup>200</sup> Until 1954 the list of quick and decisive anti-Chinese actions illustrates that this was very much the case.

In 1909 a Japanese Store on Fifth and E Streets was dynamited. Though the city offered a reward, no arrests were ever made. The store never reopened. The Japanese

<sup>198</sup> Keith Easthouse. *The North Coast Journal*. February 27, 2003.

<<http://www.northcoastjournal.com/022703/cover0227.html>> (February 27, 2005); Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*, p 59-60.

<sup>199</sup> Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Country*. p 60.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* p 60.

merchants left. When the Heartsook Inn in southern Humboldt burned down in 1926, the owners attempted to hire Chinese labor to clear up the debris. The Sheriff arrived and literally ran the Chinese out of the county. Later in the same year the Sheriff escorted Asians hired to work in a cannery in Shelter Cove out of the Humboldt. In 1930, when the Japanese Ambassador to the United States attempted to visit Humboldt County's redwoods, citizens from Eureka escorted him through Humboldt County without allowing him to stop. In 1941 when a Chinese minister was scheduled to speak on KIEM radio, the remote broadcasting lines mysteriously went dead, and the service was cancelled.

Aspects of the unwritten law were formalized when the City of Eureka revised its charter in 1941. In a section strikingly similar to the revisions made to the California Constitution during the height of the anti-Chinese movement, the Eureka City Council approved the following statement.

Sec. 190 No Chinese shall ever be employed, either directly or indirectly on any work of the city, or in the performance of any contract or sub-contract of the city, except in punishment of a crime. Nor shall any provisions, supplies, materials, or articles of Chinese manufacture or production ever be use or purchased by or furnished to the city.<sup>201</sup>

Although these provisions were patently unconstitutional after the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943, they were not removed from Eureka's charter until 1959.

It would be nearly 10 years after the close of the World War II that Humboldt's unwritten law was grudgingly set aside. In 1954 Ben Chin arrived and established a business in Eureka. Though the mayor approved Chin's business request, many citizens expressed their anger through taunts and threats. "After I opened the restaurant... for about three weeks, I had lot of obscene calls, abusive calls. They'd call every 10 minutes and say, 'Get out of town we don't want your kind.'"<sup>202</sup>

However, by this time Eureka was a modern community. Local sentiment could no longer override state and national law. Improved transportation methods connected

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid. p 65

<sup>202</sup> Heather Shelton. "Chins Victory." *Times Standard*. 9 January 2000.

Eureka seamlessly with communities outside of Humboldt. The changing times had finally caught up with Humboldt County. Yet, Humboldt was slow to change. The long shadow of Eureka's expulsion resulted in continued discrimination for Asians. To this day, there are few Asian residents in Humboldt County.



## APPENDIX G

### Assignment Transparency

Project Assignment  
Overhead Transparency

*What happened to Eureka's Chinese community in 1885? What caused it and what is its long-term significance?*

*Your job is to design a historical park or a series of markers that will educate visitors about the Expulsion of the Chinese from Eureka in 1885?*

## APPENDIX H

### Project Rubric

Criteria	Scale of Achievement	Score
<p>Historical Accuracy and Quality 150 points</p>	<p><i>Excellent:</i> The story of Eureka's Expulsion is compellingly and completely presented with complete accuracy. The factors that led to the expulsion of the Chinese, the expulsion, and its legacy are clearly and accurately presented. Use of primary sources enlightens the viewer and creates additional interest.</p> <p><i>Good:</i> The historical information presented is solid yet does not tell the whole story. While mostly accurate, Historical errors may be present. The presentation would have been enhanced with more effective use of primary sources.</p> <p><i>Poor:</i> The historical presentation is inaccurate or incomplete. Primary sources are not used effectively.</p>	
<p>Design Quality 75 points</p>	<p><i>Excellent:</i> The concept is compelling and very interesting. The location chosen for the design fits well into the landscape of Eureka. The sophistication of the design is inviting and original.</p> <p><i>Good:</i> Solid concept yet lacks some of the design qualities to set it apart. Contingencies for the placement of the markers have not been considered.</p> <p><i>Poor:</i> The design is incomplete or ineffective. Placement of the historical markers has not been considered.</p>	
<p>Presentation of Plan 50 Points</p>	<p><i>Excellent:</i> The entire group has made a professional quality presentation. Student voices can be clearly heard and effective visuals convey the design concept. The pitch is interesting and compelling.</p> <p><i>Good:</i> The overall presentation is good, yet the entire group did not take an active role in the presentation. At times was difficult to follow. Visuals are present yet they could be more effective.</p> <p><i>Poor:</i> Only one member presented the project. The presentation was unclear and, difficult to follow.</p>	
<p>Teamwork 25 Points</p>	<p><i>Excellent:</i> Excellent cooperation. Clearly shared roles and responsibilities improved the overall quality of the product.</p> <p><i>Good:</i> Good evidence of cooperation. Tasks were divided yet some members did much more than others.</p> <p><i>Poor:</i> Lack of teamwork hurt the overall outcome of the project.</p>	

APPENDIX I

Exam



Essay Response: 30 points:

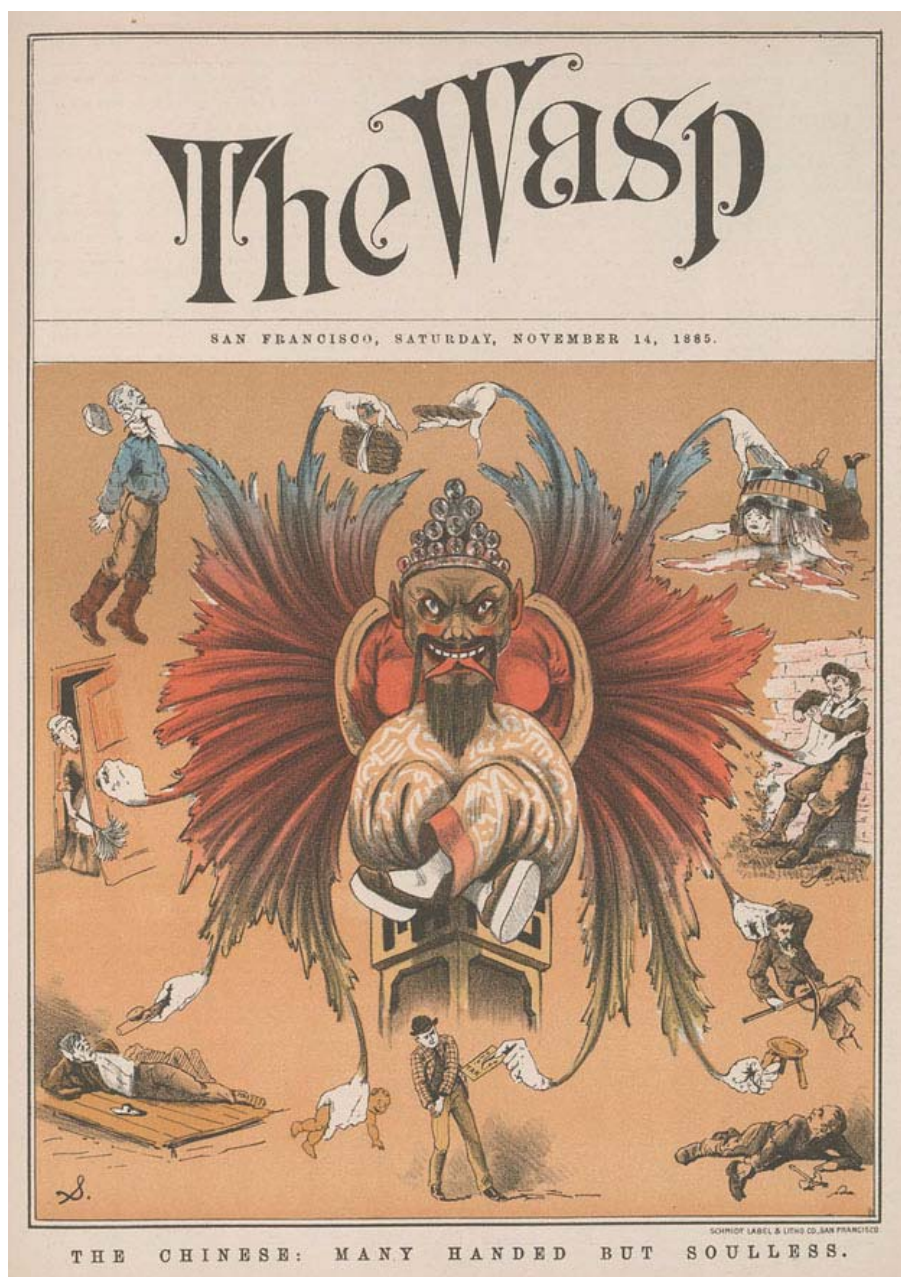
On the reverse side of this paper responds to the following question: *How did the events that took place in Eureka reflect the theme for this lesson; “Racism is a basic building block of American Society?”* Responses should use historical examples to make your point.

## APPENDIX J

Exam Overhead



“Many Headed Yet Soulless”<sup>203</sup>



<sup>203</sup> *Wasp, The*. "The Chinese : Many Handed But Soulless" [cover]: From *The Wasp*: v. 15, July - Dec. 1885. American Memory, Library of Congress. < <http://memory.loc.gov> > (February 2, 2005)

## APPENDIX K

Eureka's Chinatown at 4<sup>th</sup> and E Streets.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> “4<sup>th</sup> and E Street Eureka—Chinatown” (Photo Collection: Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University)

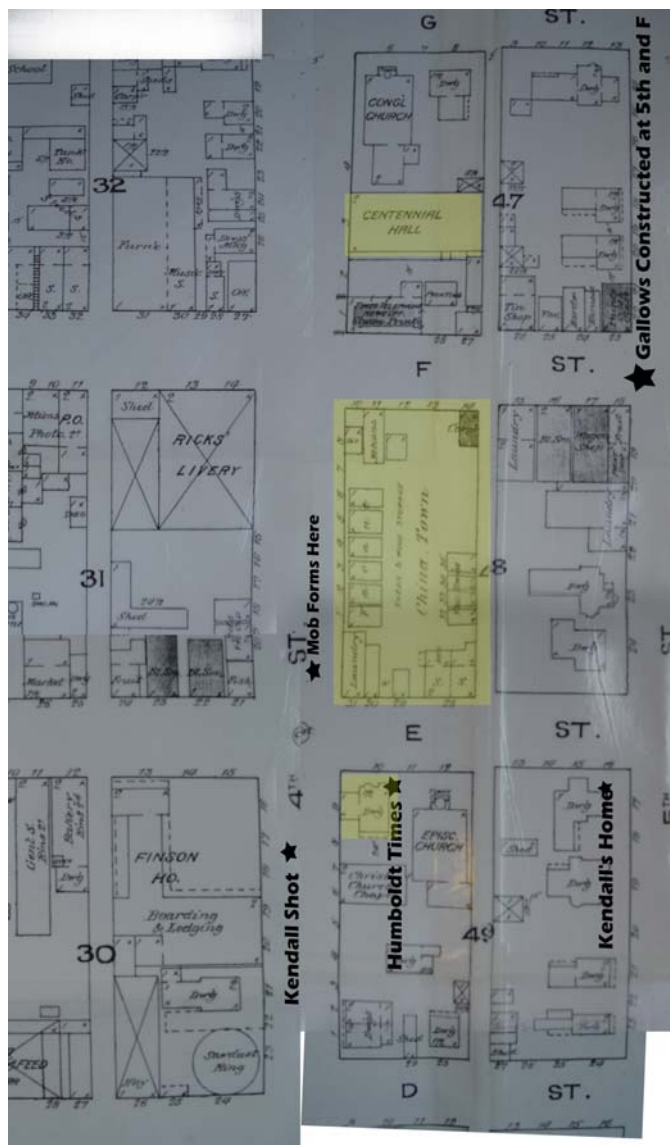
The photo was taken near the site where Councilman Kendall was killed.



APPENDIX L

Labeled 1886 Sanborn Insurance Map of Eureka

Note that road improvements on 4<sup>th</sup> Street blocked a creek resulted in a lack of drainage for sewage for Chinatown. Note that Eureka's Chinatown is labeled, "VACANT."<sup>205</sup>



<sup>205</sup> Sanborn Map (Photo Collection: Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University); Sophie Huntington, (Barnum Paper: Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University, 1998) The map above has been created from multiple digital images of Humboldt State's copy of the Sanborn map. The locations labeled on each were taken from Sophie Huntington's Barnum Paper. Huntington cites Genzoli as her source for the event locations.

## APPENDIX M

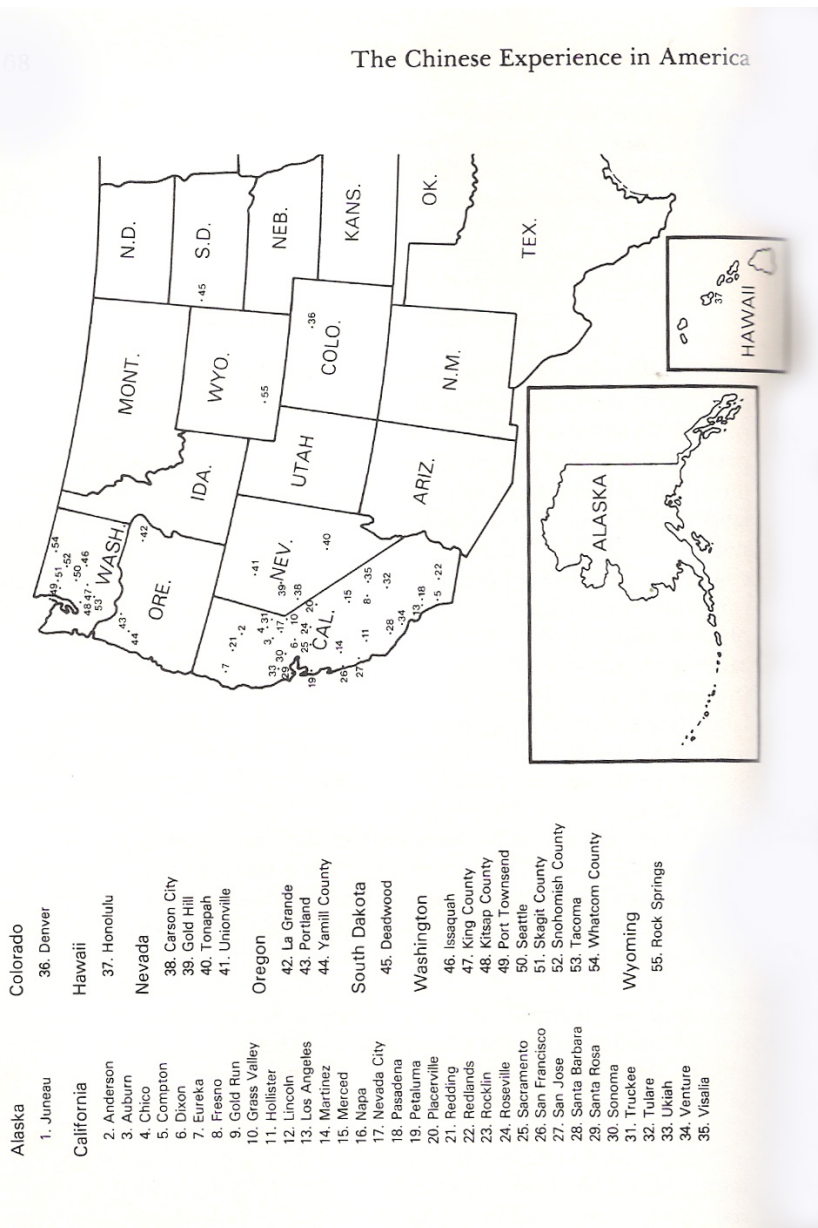
### Anti-Chinese Riots in Western States<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Shih Shan Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America*, p 68. Note that the riots in this figure occurred both before and after Eureka's Expulsion in February 1885. Tsai does not mention many of the locations identified by Elmer Sandmeyer in *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Specifically, Tsai did not include the following cities: Santa Cruz, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Yuba City, San Buenaventura, Vallejo, Wheatland, Carson, and Nevada City. However, Sandmeyer does not mention Eureka.

Used with permission of Indiana University Press.

Map III. Anti-Chinese Riots in Western States



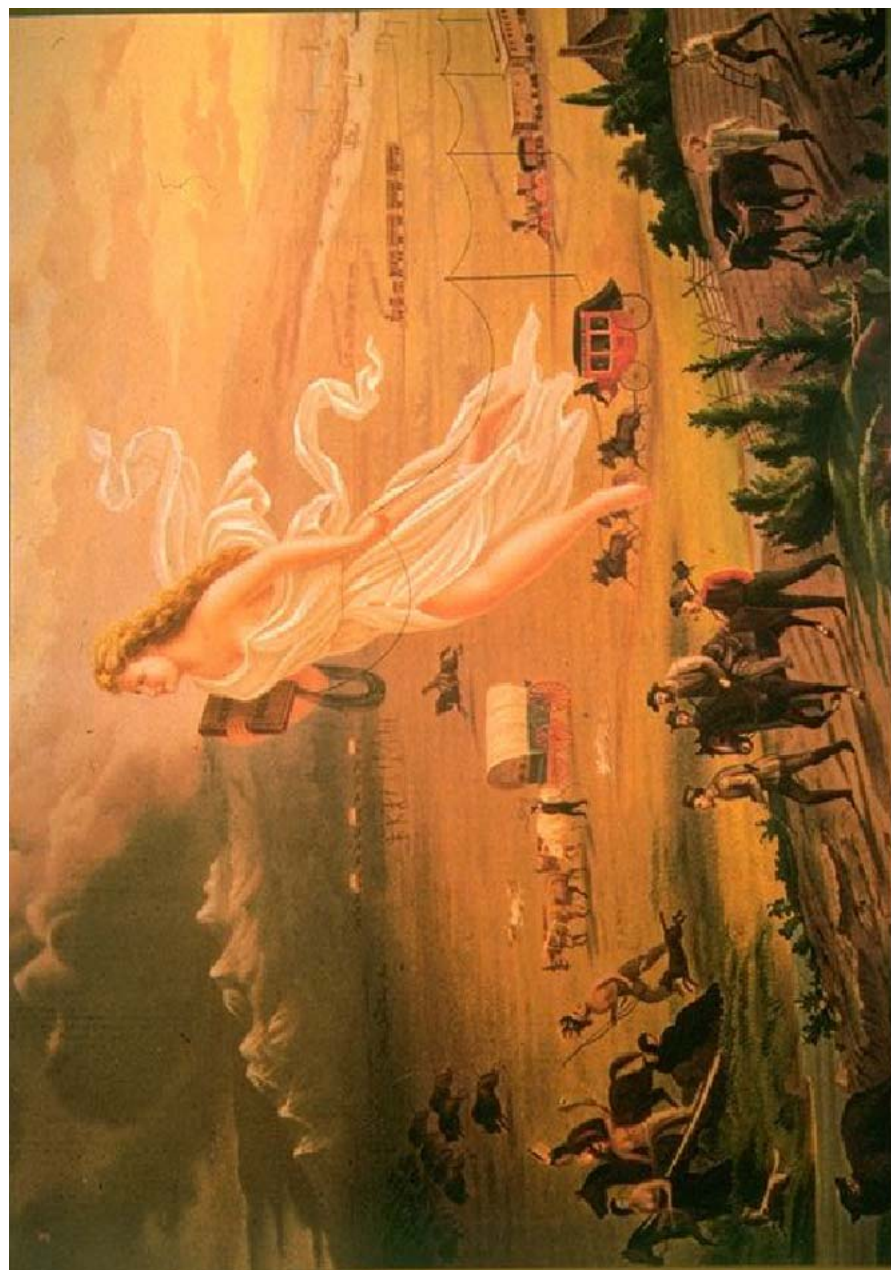
## APPENDIX N

Western Progress<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> John Gast. Painting: *Westward Progress*.  
<<http://www2.volstate.edu/socialscience/FinalDocs/TheWest/gast.htm>> (February 2, 2005)





## APPENDIX O

### Impossible Occurrences<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> *The Wasp*: v2, Aug 1877-July 1878, "Impossible Occurrences". American Memory, Library of Congress. <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 2, 2005)



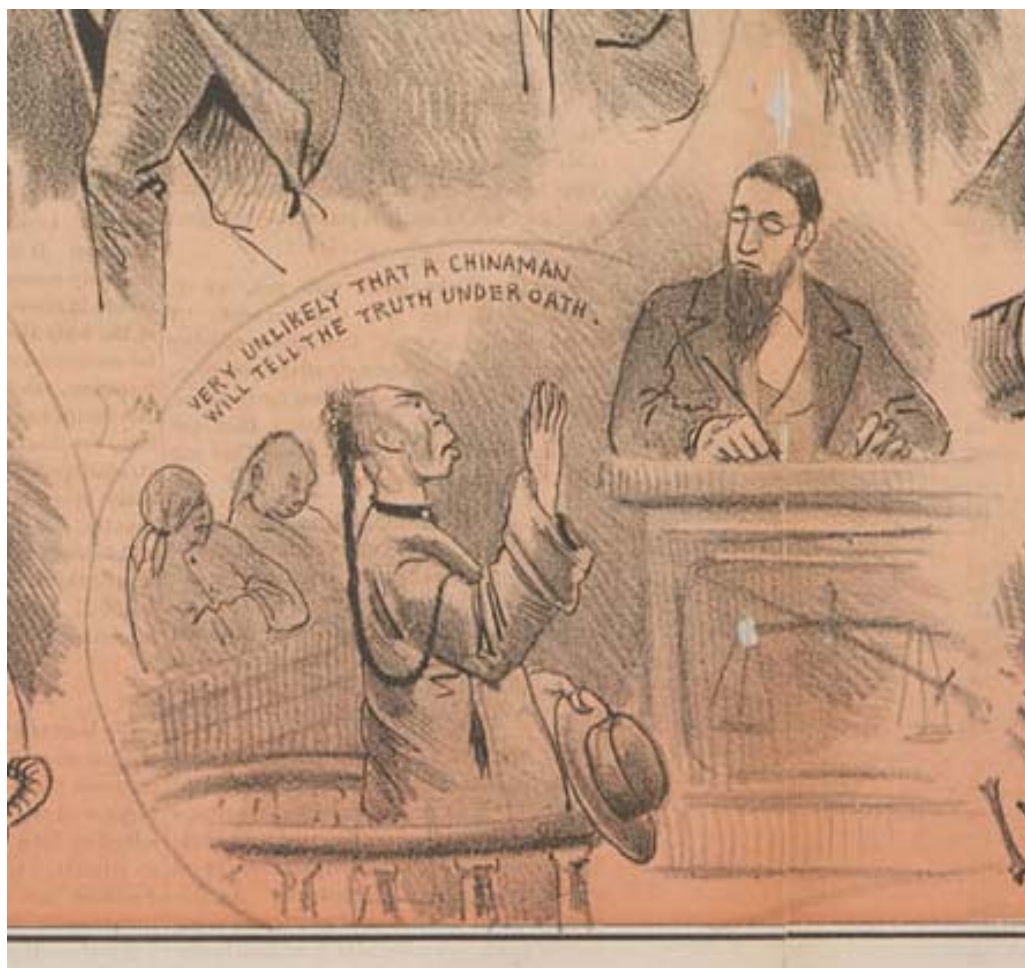
## APPENDIX P

### Impossible Occurrences (Detail)<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid.



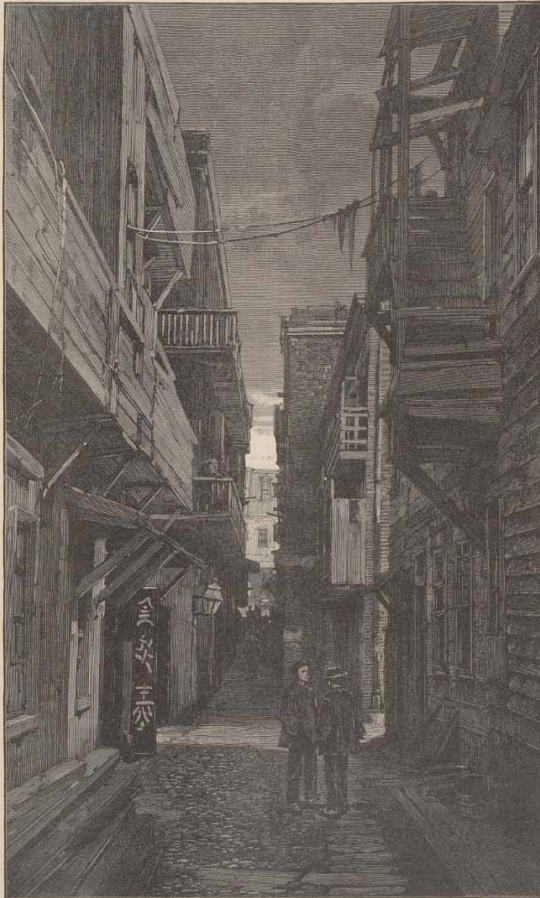


## APPENDIX Q

Highbinders<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 30, 1886. "The Chinese Highbinders in San Francisco." American Memory, Library of Congress, <<http://memory.loc.gov>> (February 8, 2005)



A HAUNT OF THE HIGHBINDER IN CHINATOWN.  
THE CHINESE HIGHBINDER IN SAN FRANCISCO.—[See Page 105.]



WONG AH BANG



CHU AH LING



CHUNG AH KIT



LEE AH FOOK

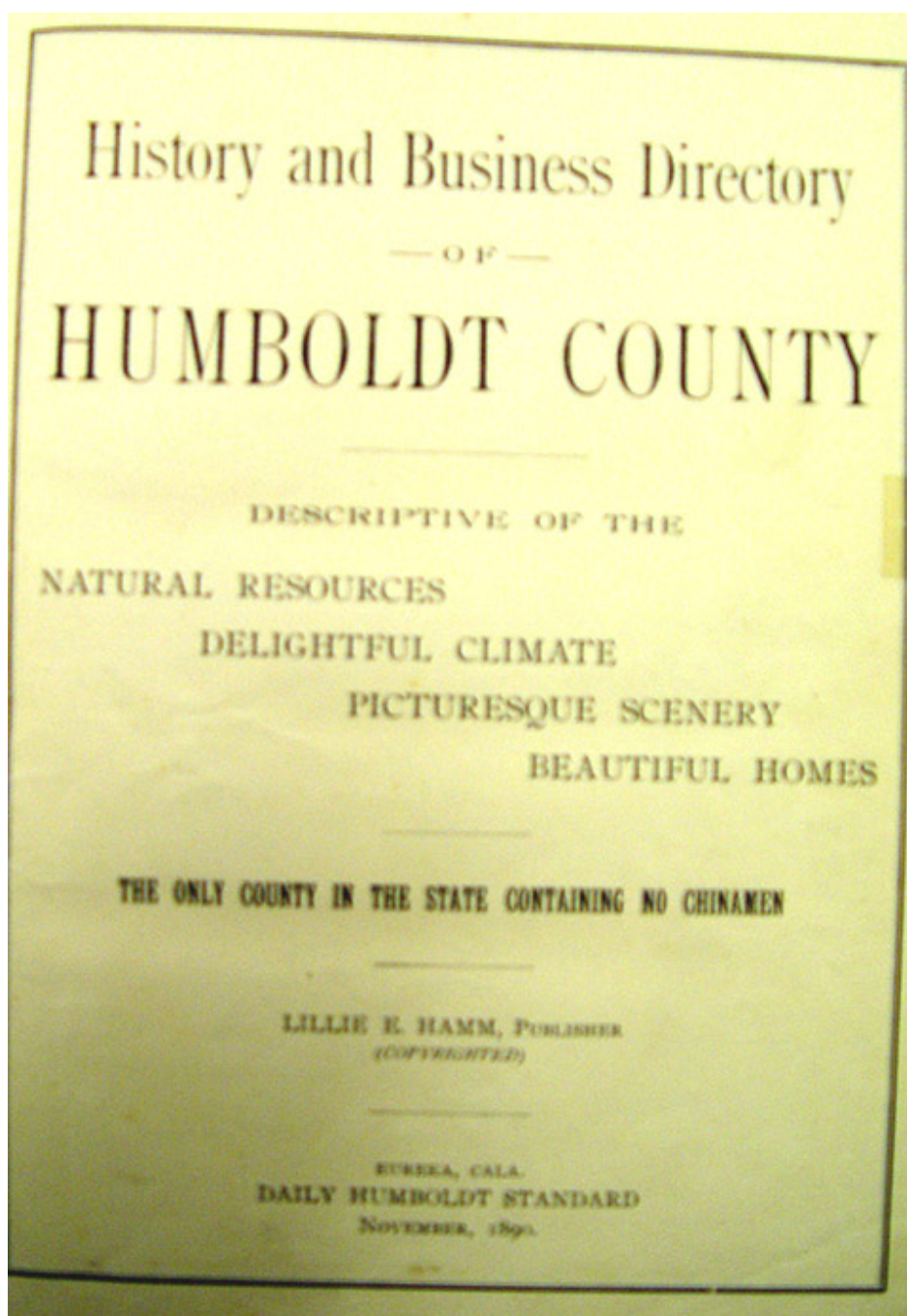
## APPENDIX R

### Humboldt County Business Guide From 1890<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Humboldt County History and Business Directory, 1890. (Humboldt Room, Humboldt State University)





History and Business Directory

— OF —

HUMBOLDT COUNTY

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE  
NATURAL RESOURCES  
DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE  
PICTURESQUE SCENERY  
BEAUTIFUL HOMES

THE ONLY COUNTY IN THE STATE CONTAINING NO CHINAMEN

LILLIE E. HAMM, PUBLISHER  
(COPYRIGHTED)

EUREKA, CALA.  
DAILY HUMBOLDT STANDARD  
NOVEMBER, 1890.

APPENDIX S

Unlabeled Sanborn Map from 1886

