Do Words Matter? A Linguistic Analysis of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Race Riots that Followed.

Do Words Matter? A Linguistic Analysis of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Race Riots that Followed

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Abstract

What influence do legislative bodies have on racism in the United States? Is the language within congressional debate of a law similar to language reflected in public narrative? What influence does congressional and public debate have on racial violence? In the thesis, I argue that overtly racist language used by members of Congress and in the public debate of Chinese immigration in the late 1800s created racial institutional orders that enabled racial violence. I provide research and linguistic findings of congressional debate of the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882, public debate of the "Chinese Question," and media coverage of significant race riots that followed. I determine whether media coverage of the race riot used the same racially pejorative language as members of Congress. My findings add to current academic research on institutional racism, racial institutional orders, racial violence, and the Chinese Exclusion Act. This consideration of the relationship between legislative dialogue and racial violence opens the door for inquiry regarding contemporary immigration policies and the potential for the development of modern-day racial institutional orders.

Frontispiece

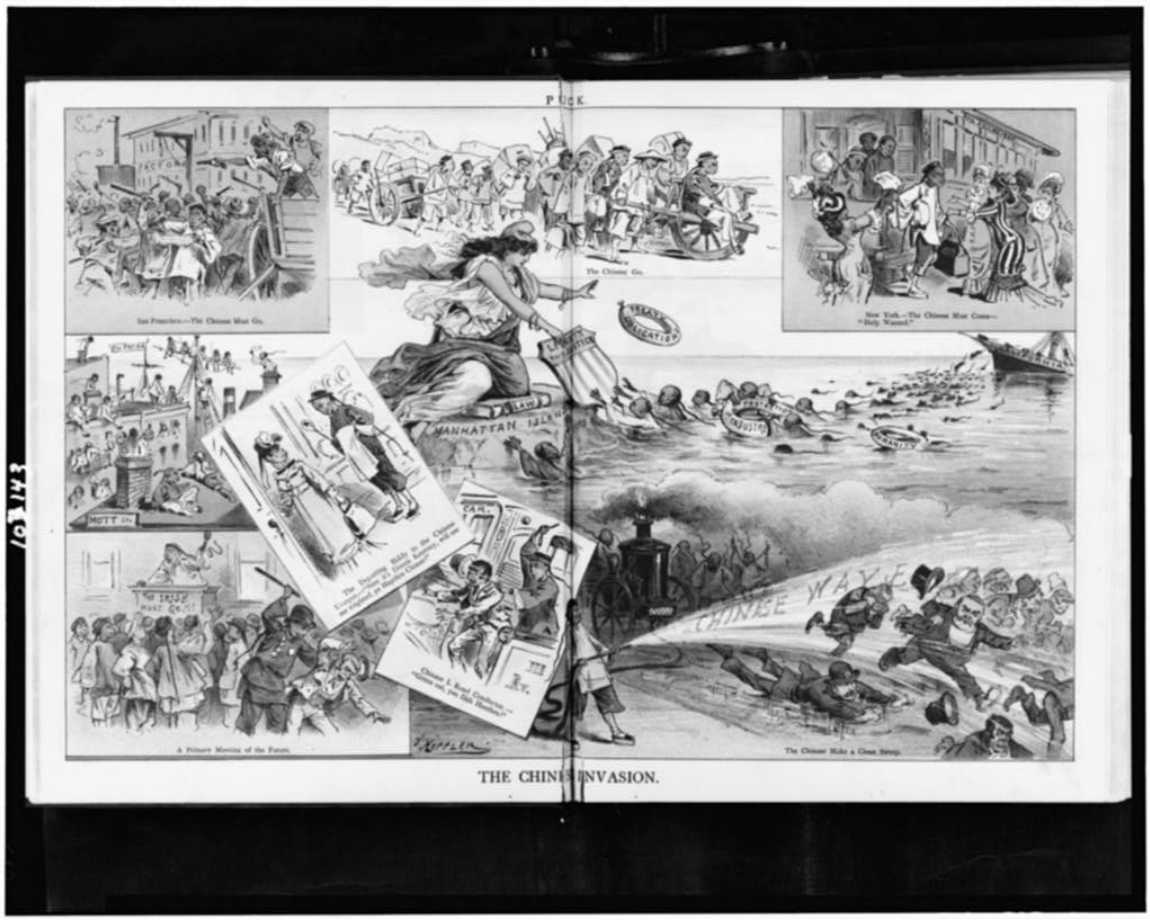

Figure 1. The Chinese Invasion.

"Composite of nine cartoons, each separately captioned, on Chinese immigrants in the United States, including New York City and San Francisco."

Source: Joseph Ferdinand Keppler, *The Chinese invasion* (United States, 1880), https://www.loc.gov/item/91793028/.

Dedication

To my husband Kyle, whose encouragement has carried me through many significant life events in order to accomplish my goals.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge Professor R. Kennedy de Lorenzini for providing inspiration to keep history front of mind in contemporary political debate.

I would like to acknowledge Research Librarian Susan Gilroy for showing me how to find difficult primary sources.

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Chapter I.

Introduction

The thesis presents an analysis of anti-Chinese language used in the creation of the Chinese Exclusion Act (CEA) in 1882, public debate of the "Chinese Question," and anti-Chinese language used by race rioters following the passage of the Act. Historians have extensively researched and debated motives for the Chinese Exclusion Act, precedents the Act set for future immigration legislation, and ramifications of the Act. The research contributes to academic discourse by providing additional context and deepening our understanding of how racist language spoken in congressional debate may be reflected in public conversation. Ultimately the research contributes to our collective understanding of the relationship between political rhetoric and racial violence.

The Chinese Exclusion Act is the common name for H.R. 5408, a bill passed on May 6th, 1882, by the 47th Congress of the United States. The Act forbade immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years, stalled all naturalization proceedings of Chinese people, and gave broad authority for the expulsion of Chinese people living in the United States.[1] Prior to and following the passing of the Act, members of Congress and journalists debated Chinese immigration in the public sphere. Several prominent historians consider the Chinese Exclusion Act precedent-setting immigration legislation because it was the first time the language of the law directly restricted immigration and naturalization based

[1] U.S Congress "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese" (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126. Preamble, sections 1-15.

on one race, the Chinese. Scholars including Martin Gold, Roger Daniels, Lucy Slayer, and Andrew Gyory agree that the legislation was precedent-setting and overtly racist.[2] The four years following enactment of the CEA, referred to by historians as the Exclusionary Period, was especially violent with prominent race riots breaking out in Rock Springs, WY, and Tacoma, WA, in 1885, and Seattle, WA in 1886.[3]

Often during race riots large groups of white men went to the homes of Chinese people and told them they had to leave – then and there. Armed local and federal authorities supervised or assisted as Chinese people were driven out of their own homes and put on trains or boats headed elsewhere. Following expulsion, fires were set and demolished the homes and businesses Chinese people were forced to leave behind.[4] In some instances in which a Chinese person was killed or arson was committed, a trial was held; yet no one was convicted of a crime against the Chinese.

In the thesis, I argue that overtly racist language used by members of Congress and in the public debate of Chinese immigration in the late 1800s created racial

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[2] Martin Gold, *Forbidden Citizens: Chinese Exclusion and the U.S. Congress: A Legislative History* (Alexandria, Va.: TheCapital.Net, 2012), https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=0jmaI5ua5xwC&pcampaignid=books_web_aboutlink ; Roger Daniels, "No Lamps Were Lit for Them: Angel Island and the Historiography of Asian American Immigration," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17, no. 1 (1997): 3-18, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27502236; Lucy Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), https://books.google.com/books?id=2WWkzfYnsrMC&dq; Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Indianapolis: Univ of North Carolina Press, 1998), https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=VEXqCQAAQBAJ.

[3] Patricia Reid-Merritt, *A State-by-State History of Race and Racism in the United States* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, an imprint of ABC-CLIO, 2019), 732, https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=oR19DwAAQBAJ.

[4] Clayton D. Laurie, "'The Chinese Must Go': The United States Army and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington Territory, 1885-1886," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1990): 22-29, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40491092.

institutional orders that enabled racial violence. I begin by explaining how the Chinese Exclusion Act sanctioned widespread expulsion of Chinese people living and working in America. Then I explain the research design and methods to analytically compare Anti-Chinese language used by Congress and public dialogue. Then I present my research insights, which identify racially pejorative keywords used in congressional debate of the Act, if and how those keywords were used in public debate of the Act, and if and how those keywords were used in public debate of the race riots following the passing of the Act. I draw attention to the frequency of identified racially pejorative keywords and connections between language, racial institutional orders, and violence. To conclude, I provide a summary of key insights and draw parallels between anti-Chinese violence and recent anti-Mexican violence, pointing out anti-Latinx legislation currently under debate in the U.S. legislature.

Chapter II.

H.R. 5804 - The Chinese Exclusion Act

Historical Context

During the early days of the gold rush in the 1850s, and then again during the civil war from 1861-1865, the United States was experiencing a boom that demanded large amounts of cheap labor forces. The economic boom was fueled by worldwide agriculture demand and national industrialization, including the development of a transcontinental railroad as well as iron and coal mines. In 1873 this boom came to an end and the Long Depression began. "In the United States from 1873 to 1879 18,000 businesses went bankrupt, including 89 railroads."[5] The economy stabilized for a short three-year period until March of 1882 when another depression swept the country. From March of 1882 until May of 1885, people who were just beginning to get back on their feet experienced another depression marked by a 13% unemployment rate.[6] Fueled by economic stress, it was at this time, in early in 1882, when both the labor unions and the white working-class began to blame cheap labor, primarily comprised of Chinese immigrants, for taking their jobs. A published history from the U.S. House of Representatives explains the situation and sentiment of many in the nation:

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[5] Vadim Khramov, "The Economic Performance Index (EPI): An Intuitive Indicator for Assessing a Country's Economic Performance Dynamics in an Historical Perspective." IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc (2013).

[6] Samuel Rezneck, "Patterns of Thought and Action in an American Depression, 1882-1886," *The American Historical Review 61*, no. 2 (1956), 286.

> The influx of Chinese into California during the 1850s and 1860s did not sit well with the white frontier population. The two groups were vastly different, and what white Californians did not understand they began to fear. It was not long before an anti-Chinese movement took root. In response, the California legislature produced an astonishing crop of laws hostile to the Chinese that raised taxes, discouraged immigration, restricted educational opportunities, and limited due process. When the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, thousands of Chinese laborers were suddenly left unemployed. Many returned to the West Coast, where anti-Chinese violence and labor unrest soon flared up.[7]

During the anti-Chinese movement, journalists published articles in newspapers on whether Chinese people should be allowed to immigrate and/or remain in the United States. The debate became known as the "Chinese Question." Citizens were passionate about their views. Violence against the Chinese became widespread and took many forms. K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan, professors and scholars of Chinese American history, explain:

> In addition to the numerous mechanisms used to bar Chinese from mainstream American institutions and the physical intimidation and violence they encountered regularly, the Chinese in America were confronted with an organized campaign to defame them in prose and in illustrations… The exclusionists published an enormous number of pamphlets, essays, articles, novels, political cartoons, and other literary products advocating the exclusion of Chinese immigrants from the United States.[8]

The rearview mirror of history shows it was both the pen and the sword that caused harm to Chinese people living in America.

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[7] United States House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, "Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress, 1900-2017, First Arrivals, First Reactions," retrieved November, 25, 2019, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-and-Empire/First-Arrivals/.

[8] K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan, eds., "Cultural Defenders and Brokers: Chinese Responses to the Anti-Chinese Movement," in *Claiming America,* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011), 3, muse.jhu.edu/book/2509.

Figure 2. The Magic Washer… The Chinese Must Go.

"Cartoon showing Uncle Sam, with proclamation and can of Magic Washer, kicking Chinese out of the United States."

Source: Shober and Carqueville, *The magic washer, manufactured by Geo. Dee, Dixon, Illinois. The Chinese must go* (Chicago: Shober & Carqueville Lith Co., c. 1886), https://www.loc.gov/item/93500013/.

Legislation

To fully understand the context of the Chinese Exclusion Act, it is essential to know the salient features of Chinese immigration legislation before it was passed. The 1868 Burlingame-Seward Treaty was a pact between China and the United States that aimed to encourage trade and peaceful relations. The immigration clauses of the Burlingame-Seward Treaty focused on freedom of movement and fair treatment for Americans in China and Chinese in America. It stated,

> The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other, for purpose of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residence.[9]

The freedoms given by the Burlingame-Seward Treaty in pursuit of economic prosperity did not last long, however. The Page Act passed in 1875, restricted immigration of Chinese women, and described vessel inspection penalties.[10] The sections outlined in the Page Act were later modified in November of 1880 by the Angell Treaty with "provisions related to immigration."[11] The provisions of the Angell Treaty provided sweeping authority for the United States to limit Chinese immigration. Article I began,

> Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of

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[9] U.S. Congress, Burlingame-Seward Treaty, *Peace, Amity, and Commerce.* (Library of Congress, 1868), 16 Stat. 739; Treaty Series 48. https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/b-cn-ust000006-0680.pdf.

[10] U.S. Congress "An act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration" (Library of Congress, 1875), Sess. II. Ch. 141. Sections 3, 5.

[11] U.S. Congress, Burlingame-Seward Treaty, *Peace, Amity, and Commerce,* 1868.

> China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence…[12]

Of critical importance was that neither the Burlingame-Seward Treaty nor the Angell Treaty discussed a requirement for China or the United States to provide a certificate or other forms of evidence regarding the right of Chinese people to come and go from the United States. No evidence was discussed, and no procedure for providing Chinese people evidence was discussed. This issue was critical as later, the Chinese Exclusion Act required authorized Chinese to produce evidence that they could immigrate or remain in the United States if they were already there. However, no evidence existed, and no evidence was being generated by any government. Later this became a legal loophole for Chinese exclusion and expulsion. In 1881, the pursuit to severely limit immigration began in earnest when Congress passed a bill that restricted Chinese labor immigration and naturalization for *twenty* years, which President Chester A. Arthur vetoed citing the process of furnishing evidence as undemocratic and hostile.[13] However, just over a month later, H.R. 5804, better known as the Chinese Exclusion Act (CEA), which restricted Chinese immigration for *ten* years, was signed into law on May 6th of 1882.

The preamble of the Chinese Exclusion Act begins by validating that Chinese laborers were the out-group and endanger Americans. It read, "Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country

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[12] U.S. Congress, Angell Treaty, *Immigration.* (Library of Congress, 1880), 22 Stat. 826; Treaty Series 49. https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/b-cn-ust000006-0685.pdf.

[13] United States House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, "Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress, 1900-2017, First Arrivals, First Reactions " retrieved November, 25, 2019.

endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof."[14] The CEA then provided fifteen detailed sections that explain restrictions. In the margin of the Act, itself, there were short summaries of each section. They read,

> Sec. 1. Immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States suspended for ten years.
>
> Sec. 2. Penalties for violation of the act.
>
> Sec. 3. Exemptions. Masters of vessels with immigrants, when exempt. Proviso.
>
> Sec 4. Privileges to Chinese laborers in the United States on November 17th, 1880, under the treaty on November 17, 1880. List to be made and kept in custom-house. When leaving to receive a certificate entitling person described to a return to the United States, must produce the certificate upon return, which the collector will file and cancel.
>
> Sec. 5. Certificate to issue on departure from the United States by land, free of cost. Sec. 6. Chinese other than laborers to be identified by a certificate from the Chinese Government.
>
> Sec. 7. Fraudulent certificates. Penalties.
>
> Sec. 8. Lists of Chinese passengers on vessels arriving at the ports of the United States to be kept and delivered by masters of such vessels to the collector of customs.
>
> Sec. 9. Collector of customs to examine and compare certificates and lists.
>
> Sec. 10. Forfeiture of vessels for violation of provisions of the act.
>
> Sec. 11. Misdemeanor. Penalty.
>
> Sec. 12. Chinese not entitled to residence in the United States to be removed by the direction of the President."
>
> Sec. 13. Officers of the Chinese Government exempt.
>
> Sec. 14. Admission of Chinese to citizenship prohibited.
>
> Sec. 15. That the words 'Chinese laborers', whenever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.[15]

[14] U.S Congress "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese" (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126. Preamble.

Several sections within the CEA negated the rights Chinese people living in America may have had because of the evidence loophole. For example, Section four of the CEA dictated that to uphold the Burlingame-Seward Treaty, Chinese laborers would be required to furnish "proper evidence" of their right to go and come from the United States.[16] As noted above, no such evidence existed. Section four instructed that customs authorities should make a list of those who could come and go freely from the United States but that the *list should be kept in the customs house*. That meant that the evidence Chinese people were expected to produce either did not exist or would never be in their possession (the list kept in the customs house). This issue was not an error or oversight. Approximately one month before passing the CEA, President Arthur provided his reasons for vetoing the twenty-year version of the Act. One reason given was,

> I think it may be doubted whether provisions requiring personal registration and the taking out of passports which are not imposed upon natives can be required of Chinese. Without expressing an opinion on that point, I may invite the attention of Congress to the fact that the system of registration and passports is undemocratic and hostile to the spirit of our institutions. I doubt the wisdom of putting an entering wedge of this kind into our laws.[17]

Nevertheless, the Senate went on to pass the ten-year version of the Act with the evidence requirements in place, knowing the evidence was not available to Chinese people. The justification being it would only be for ten years, a period of time that would allow the economy to stabilize. This design feature was the institutional mechanism that halted immigration and made widespread Chinese expulsion possible. After section four

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[15] U.S Congress "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese" (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126. Sections 1-15.

[16] U.S Congress "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese" (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126. Section 4.

[17] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 24, 1882. 13 pt. 2252.

was agreed upon, it was then a matter of determining not if, but when and how the procedures for expulsion would occur, and that is what section twelve addresses.

Figure 3. Uncle Sam's Lodging-House.

"Print shows an Irishman confronting Uncle Sam in a boarding house filled with laborers, immigrants from several countries who are attempting to sleep; the 'Frenchman, Japanese, Negro, Russian, Italian,' and 'German' sleep peacefully."

Source: Shob Keppler and Joseph Ferdinand, *Uncle Sam's lodging-house / J. Keppler* (New York: Keppler & Schwarzmann, June 7, 1882), 23-25, https://www.loc.gov/item/2004670115/.

Section twelve operationalized expulsion and extradition by giving broad authority to many civic bodies and individuals to identify Chinese that were unlawfully in the United States and remove them – at the direction of the President. It stated,

> And any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States shall be caused to be removed therefrom to the country from whence he came, by

> direction of the President of the United States, after being brought before some justice, judge, or commissioner of a court of the United States and found to be one not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States.[18]

Together Sections four and twelve of the CEA provided the complete erosion of the civil rights of Chinese people living in the United States at the time, including those in the process of citizenship and those hoping to immigrate. In total, the fifteen sections of the Chinese Exclusion Act created racial institutional orders using a diplomatic tone and the appearance of fair policies. In the CEA, a framework for institutional racism became law. Erika Lee, an author whose great-great-great-grandfather immigrated from China to California in the mid-nineteenth century, explains the significance of the Chinese Exclusion laws in this way:

> When the Page Law and the Chinese Exclusion Act serve as the beginning rather than the end of the narrative, we are forced to focus more fully on the enormous significance of Chinese exclusion…[it] introduced gatekeeping ideology, politics, law, and culture that transformed the ways in which Americans viewed and thought about race, immigration, and the United States' identity as a nation of immigrants…[It] established Chinese immigrants – categorized by their race, class, and gender relations as the ultimate example of dangerous, degraded alien – as the yardsticks by which to measure the desirability (and 'whiteness') of other immigrant groups.[19]

The thesis, similar to the perspective of Erika Lee, takes the long view. I analyze language spoken by Congress, compare it to the public narrative, and provide an informative perspective into the development of racial institutional orders and the capacity for race-based violence following the enactment of a law.

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[18] U.S Congress, "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese," (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126. Section 12.

[19] Erica Lee, *At Americas Gates: Chinese immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 39-40, https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=BDqUb8UiCIkC.

Chapter III.

Definitions, Literature Review, and Research Methods

Definition of Terms

Racism. Racism is a complex concept, and scholars do not agree on a simple definition.[20] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva explains, "One reason why, in general terms, whites and people of color cannot agree on racial matters is because they conceive terms such as 'racism' very differently. Whereas for most whites racism is prejudice, for most people of color racism is systematic or institutionalized."[21] In the paper, I will be looking at racism not only as prejudice but examining systematic or institutionalized racism within U.S. legal institutions and media.

Institution/Institutional. What an institution is, or is not, varies widely by academic discipline and theoretical construct. For this research, I will use the word "institution" or "institutional" in a way that political scientists and historians often do, as influenced by the study of democratization. Samuel Huntington defines institutions in this way: "Institutions are stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior. Organizations and procedures vary in their degree of institutionalization."[22] Building off Huntington's

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[20] Ineke Van Der Valk, "Racism, A Thread To Global Peace," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 8, no. 2 (2003): 47.

[21] Edwardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. *Second Edition* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 8, https://books.google.com/books?id=n6QnAQAAMAAJ.

[22] Samuel Huntington, "Political Order and Political Decay," *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1996; repr., New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1968), 12.

definition, Desmond King and Rogers Smith clarify, "defining 'institutions' as organizations that (1) have broad but discernible purposes, (2) establish norms and rules, (3) assign roles to participants, and (4) have boundaries marking those inside and outside the institutions."[23] I will refer to institutions to mean the structures of government that support or repress the people they serve. Admittedly, I hold a belief that the structures that are the foundation of institutions in the United States and are run by the government, such as federal court systems, can design incentives that benefit society, and carefully crafted could avoid causing harm to members of society.

Institutional Orders / Racial Institutional Orders. Desmond King and Rogers Smith explain how these terms interact. First, they define "an 'institutional order' as a coalition of governing state institutions, non-state political institutions, and political actors that are bound together by broadly similar senses of the goals, rules, roles, and boundaries that members of each order wish to see shaping political life in certain areas."[24] How, then, does the concept of racism interact with institutional orders? King and Rogers submit, "Racial institutional orders are ones in which political actors have adopted (and often adapted) racial concepts, commitments, and aims in order to help bind together their coalitions and structure governing institutions that express and serve the interests of their architects."[25] Furthermore, they argue, "Racial institutional orders seek and exercise governing power in ways that predictably shape people's statuses, resources,

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[23] Desmond King and Rogers Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," *The American Political Science Review* 99, no. 1 (2005): 78, http://www.jstor.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/stable/30038920.

[24] King and Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," 78.

[25] King and Smith, 75.

and opportunities by their placement in 'racial' categories."[26] In the thesis, I will often use the word racism in an institutional context, focusing on how institutional orders may or may not be racial institutional orders.

In-group / Out-group. At the core of in-group out-group dynamics is the psychological concept of belonging. How you identify yourself depends on how others identify you. If you feel like you belong then you are in the in-group, and if you feel like you do not belong then you are part of the out-group. There are many mechanisms for making people feel as if they belong in the group or if they are outsiders, and examples can be simple or complex. In the schoolyard, a child may be made to feel uncool and become part of the out-group resulting in being shunned from joining conversations with cool kids. In a far more serious setting, J.M. Berger argues in-group out-group dynamics can aid in the creation of extremist groups such as the white supremacist movement.[27]

Coolie. The word has a long, complex history as a descriptor of a person who performs indentured labor; however, there are other implicit meanings to the word. Gaiutra Bahadur, the author of *Coolie Woman* and a self-proclaimed Coolie descendant explains, "As tensions simmered between Africans and Indians during the Indentured Era and beyond, 'coolie' became an ethnic slur, a reminder to Indians of menial origins and a subtle challenge to their claim to belong. 'Coolie' was so loaded a word that, in 1956, Trinidad's future prime minister urged his countrymen to banish it, along with the n-

[26] King and Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," 78.

[27] J.M. Berger, "Extremist Construction of Identity: How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics," The International Center for Counter-Terrorism, The Hague 8, no. 7 (2017), https://doi.org/10.19165/2017.1.07

word, from their vocabularies."[28] In the 19th and early 20th centuries in America, Coolie continued to be used as a pejorative racial epithet, most often in reference to people of Asian descent. In the paper, I will refer to how and when people used this word in the specific context of Chinese immigration.

Mongolian. This descriptor was used at different times in history to hold different meanings. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, Mongolian was used in the United States as a pejorative racist description of all people of Asian descent, often in the context of their worth. Claire Jean Kim explains, "If the racial categories of Black and White were historically constructed, as Barbara Fields argues, to reconcile the institution of slavery with the democratic ideals of freedom and equality, the third category of 'Mongolian,' 'Asiatic,' or 'Oriental' was constructed to reconcile another labor system with the ideal of a pristine white polity."[29] In the discussion of low-wage labor around the time of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the word Mongolian was often used as a broad term to intentionally alienate people who were Asian, appeared to be Asian, or had brown skin.

Invasion. In immigration, invasion has been used as a tool to pit an established population against the entry of a new population. In researching exclusion and expulsion of Chinese people, the word invasion was used aggressively. Constitutional scholar Gerald Neuman explains, "The assimilation on immigration to foreign aggression in the Chinese Exclusion Case employs the common metaphor of an 'alien invasion' and treats a foreign national as if she were an agent of her government regardless of the actual

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[28] Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014), xx-xxi.

[29] Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (1999): 109.

relations between them."[30] In discussions around the time of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the word invasion was used to alienate immigrants.

Literature Review

Existing literature published about the Chinese Exclusion Act by legal scholars, historians, and others interested in immigration and Asian American studies has revealed two broad categories of study. The first category represents motives for passing the law, and while the specifics vary among scholars, a theme emerges – politics. The second category represents ramifications of the law, with some scholars focusing on the anti-immigration precedent and other scholars focusing on violence associated with enforcement (including riots).

The scholarly debate as it pertains to the *motives* for passing the Act goes beyond economic conditions and considers whether politicians responded to their constituents and the popular sentiment or created those sentiments. While many scholars acknowledge several factors that led to the passage of the Act, Andrew Gyory vigorously disagrees. He passionately argues that pressures from white workers, widespread anti-Chinese racism, and demands from labor unions were *not* the primary reason for the law. Gyroy concludes, "The single most important force behind the Chinese Exclusion Act was national politicians of both parties who seized, transformed, and manipulated the issue of Chinese immigration in the quest for votes."[31] Alexander Karlin also believes politics,

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[30] Gerald L. Newman, *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 122.

[31] Gyory, *Closing the Gate*, 32.

specifically votes, were a motivation; however, he submits that the motives came *initially* from white laborers and labor parties but ultimately influenced elections. He states, "When the voters went to the polls on May 4, the Anti-Chinese Labor party swept its entire ticket into office…. [T]he avowed Chinophobes captured approximately 72 per cent of the ballots."[32] Scholar Martin Gold also believes votes were the motivation. His method of research uses the actual words of legislators in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to document the legislative history of the exclusion laws. In summarizing his findings, he describes the motive for the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act as, "Insisting that the Chinese could not assimilate into American culture, lawmakers simply would not permit them to do so. While pandering for votes, especially in the Pacific region, Democrats and Republicans alike found the Chinese easy prey."[33] Gyory, Karlin, and Gold come to a similar conclusion through very different research methods. They agree that both political parties were motivated to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act because they wanted the votes to get elected. In order to get the votes politicians had to address the dire economic concerns of the people, specifically job security. Passing the CEA was one way to ensure Chinese laborers would not take the jobs of white labors for ten years, something the voting public cared a great deal about.

At the core of the current academic debate is that some scholars suggest that the people (including vigilantes) created the anti-Chinese agenda that politicians enacted while others argue that the politicians created the anti-Chinese agenda and influenced the

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[32] Alexander Jules Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," *Pacific Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (1954): 282, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3635568.

[33] Gold, *Forbidden Citizens*, 20.

mindset of the people. Erika Lee disagrees with Gyroy, Karlin, and Gold and suggests the motive behind the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act was "[r]ooted in a western American desire to sustain white supremacy in a multiracial West." Unlike Gyroy, she argues racial institutional orders are the reason the Act passed. She goes on to say, "One of the primary influences on the decisions of both the San Francisco and the Washington, D.C., offices of the Bureau of Immigration was a deeply rooted and institutionalized anti-Chinese racism that was reinforced by public sentiment and political pressure."[34] Similarly, Beth Lew-Williams explains the systematic part of what she calls *systematic expulsion* as violent people driving a political agenda: "Anti-Chinese violence … was a form of political action or, more specifically, what could be termed 'violent racial politics.' By directing racial violence against local targets, vigilantes asserted a national political agenda."[35] The steady decline of national wealth and jobs created a sense of animosity towards non-white people who still had jobs. This fueled the racialized political agenda to which Lee and Lew-Willams refer. In short, white Americans wanted someone to blame for their economic circumstances, and that became the Chinese.

This existing scholarly debate of motives leads to the questions of whether the politicians themselves were the motivating factor for passing the act and what other influences they had *following* passage. Is it possible that the language used by politicians in debate and enactment of the law was echoed in the violent race riots that followed?

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[34] Erika Lee, *America's gates: Chinese immigration during the exclusion era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 60, https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=BDqUb8UiCIkC.

[35] Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 7, https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=4KdLDwAAQBAJ.

This line of questioning leads to the second category of scholarly debate around the Chinese Exclusion Act, the *ramifications* of the Act.

Several scholars, including Gold, Lee, and Gyroy, stress that a major ramification of the Chinese Exclusion Act was a new immigration precedent. They agree that future immigration policies could be created based primarily on race because the Act used race overtly as the primary guideline for exclusion. Gyroy cites many types of sources from government documents to memoirs in his analysis. He concludes, "The Chinese Exclusion Act proved to be the most tragic, most regrettable, and most racist legislation of its era…. [It] rapidly forged a consensus that led to more far-reaching exclusion on immigrants – Japanese, Koreans, and other Asians in the early 1900s, and Europeans in the 1920s."[36] Continuing to look at ramifications, other scholars focus on violence associated with enforcement of the law, and they do this in slightly different, nuanced ways. Using a case study method to bring to life individual stories of violence, Lew-Williams argues that violence against the Chinese was conducted through expulsion: "The primary method of anti-Chinese violence became expulsion…. Systematic expulsion became the method of choice by the 1880s. In western states and territories (where 99 percent of Chinese resided), vigilantes used boycotts, arsons, and assaults to swiftly remove the Chinese from their towns and prevent their return."[37] Salyer studies how immigration law was enforced through the administration of the law and explores violence within records of landmark cases where Chinese immigrants challenged the law.[38] Chan uses a collection of essays to personalize enforcement of the Act and

[36] Gyory, *Closing the Gate*, 18.

[37] Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 6.

[38] Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*.

illuminates how the Chinese actively challenged the repressive system created by the Act.[39] By their methods, each scholar comes to a similar conclusion – the law sets a new immigration precedent, and enforcement of the Act became violent.

Each piece of scholarship I reviewed used a variety of sources to support the research, and the authors all sourced at least one U.S. government document and some sourced newspapers. The two, however, were never compared. Some of the literature, such as that of Lew-Williams, Lee, Chan, and Gyroy, added to their content analysis and included case studies of many forms – some essays, some individual stories, some memoirs. In comparing and contrasting the literature, I found Gold's findings published in his book, *Forbidden Citizens: Chinese Exclusion and the U.S. Congress: A Legislative History,* most reliable because of the depth and breadth of congressional debate quoted[40]; however, he stops there - at the congressional debate and the law. Gold does not look for linguistic patterns within the congressional debate and the law to discern if they are also in the press. I use his research as a launching point, identifying linguistic phrases – then researching newspaper dialogue for similar phrases.

Although I look at newspapers to further investigate ramifications, I am not the first to do so. Scholars have researched newspaper coverage of the Chinese Exclusion Act and anti-Chinese race riots primarily to identify influential actors. Laurie looks at the ramifications of enforcement by bringing together newspaper articles from the time of the riots as well as U.S. Army documents from the national archives. She concludes that enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act was the first time federal forces used military

[39] Sucheng Chan, *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America*, 1882–1943 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[40] Gold, *Forbidden Citizens*.

intervention as a tool to quell state violence, specifically the race riots.[41] Karlin uses newspaper coverage of the riots to reference labor party statements and he argues that the violence against Chinese in Tacoma during the 1885 riots was an outcome of what he refers to as Chinophobia.[42] Overall, when citing newspaper sources, scholars demonstrate the existence of racialized language generally in the public zeitgeist – sometimes by text, sometimes by cartoons – and they use these sources to investigate political motivation. What is missing is an investigation of language in the origins of the law and in the riots.

Much of this existing scholarship provides a great deal of context and perspective on *why* the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted and *what* impact the law had on immigration legislative precedent. It seems intended to serve as a cautionary tale for future U.S. immigration policy. In the pursuit of answering my research questions, I explore a different yet very related inquiry. I explore whether or not the words members of Congress used in discussion of the law existed in public narrative prior to its passing and if the words of members of Congress were echoed in the violent riots that followed enactment, specifically the 1885 riot in Rock Creek, the 1885 riot in Tacoma, and 1886 riot in Seattle. The literature I review and cite here serves as a jumping off point to my research question: Was racist language used by members of Congress in discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act repeated following the passing of the law during the race riots, or were members of Congress echoing the existing views of their nativist constituents? By looking in this new direction, I investigate the capacity for legislative dialogue to contribute to racial institutional orders and create the conditions to institutionalize racism.

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[41] Clayton D. Laurie, "'The Chinese Must Go': The United States Army and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington Territory, 1885-1886," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1990): 22-29, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40491092.

[42] Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," 282.

Research Methods and Scope

Drawing upon Gold's conclusion that racism was clear within the congressional debates, I analyzed the debates looking for patterns of words or phrases used then looked to media coverage prior to and following the passing of the CEA to see if those same phrases appear. Next I analyzed media coverage of public debate of the CEA. Finally, I analyzed media coverage of the race riots that shortly followed enactment of the CEA to see if those same phrases appear. I selected content analysis as my primary research method. Content analysis "refers to a method for classifying textual material that involves reducing it to more manageable, categorical, or quantitative data for use in comparative analysis."[43] I chose this method to compare large sets of text based documents, namely words spoken by Congress and words spoken in public discourse, in an effort to "understand social meanings embedded within politics."[44] I completed an extensive document-based content analysis in three steps:

1. The 47th U.S. Congress was the body that discussed and passed the Act and they served from 1881 to 1883. In collecting congressional transcripts from the floor of the House of Representatives and the Senate, I narrowed my research to one year prior to passing the Act May 6th 1881 to May 6th 1882, finding 135 bound congressional records. This is a considerable representative sample given the fact that in the full two years this Congress served there were 250 sessions in total, and at least 73 of the sessions were

[43] George T. Kurian, "Content Analysis," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, ed. George T. Kurain (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), 328.

[44] Christopher Lamont, *Research Methods in International Relations* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2015), 19.

during the second year of Congress[45] which occurred after the passing of the Act. I first performed a general content analysis of bound congressional transcripts. That allowed me to identify categorical themes of the conversations members of Congress had while discussing the Chinese Exclusion Act. The general content analysis identified dialogue that was explicitly in discussion of racial institutional orders, that is, legislation that discussed the Chinese "in ways that predictably shape people's statuses, resources, and opportunities by their placement in racial categories."[46] Next, I worked within the transcripts and identified racially pejorative words members of Congress used frequently in discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act. I defined racially pejorative words as either names that diminish the authority and credibility of the Chinese or words that label the Chinese as outsiders (the out-group). Certain racially pejorative words were used with such frequency that they were included in every transcribed congressional discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the keywords identified were: *Coolie*, *Mongolian*, and *invade* or *invasion*. To quantify frequency of these keywords, I then performed a quantitative content analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. Within the set of 135 congressional records I identified the number of times each of the three keywords appeared, then I provided the frequency of keywords by dividing the number of times a keyword was used, by the number of articles in the set, and represented it as a percentage.

2. To determine if the same racially pejorative keywords members of Congress used in discussion of the Act were also used in public dialogue, I performed a

[45] United States House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, "40th to 49th Congress. 1867-1887," retrieved November, 25, 2019, https://history.house.gov/Institution/Session-Dates/40-49/.

[46] King and Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," 78.

quantitative content analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. I selected newspaper articles authored by professional journalists that discussed the Chinese Exclusion Act, often called the "Chinese Question." I gathered articles one year prior to the passing of the Act May 6th, 1881 to May 6th 1882, and one year following the Act May 7th 1882 to May 7th 1883. Within this set of 28 articles I performed keyword counting, identifying the number of times each of the identified keywords appeared before, and then after the passing of the Act. Then I provided the frequency of keywords by dividing the number of times a keyword was used, by the number of articles in the set, and represented it as a percentage. In an effort to provide cohesive data I used the same newspapers in my analysis for the year prior and year following, providing a like-to-like comparison within an identical timeframe.

3. To determine if these same identified keywords were used during race-based violence, I performed another quantitative analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. I selected newspaper articles authored by professional journalists that covered the riots that occurred after the CEA passed. I gathered newspaper articles that covered the 1885 riot in Rock Creek, WY the 1885 riot in Tacoma, WA and 1886 riot in Seattle, WA. Within this set of 25 articles I performed keyword counting, identifying the number of times each of the identified keywords appeared. Then I provided the frequency of keywords by dividing the number of times a keyword was used by the number of articles in the set and represented it as a percentage. I used the same newspapers as in the previous analysis, providing a like-to-like comparison.

The bulk of my research focuses on text based documents, congressional transcripts and newspaper articles, which I summarize through keyword counting and

quote when most relevant. However, in an effort to provide the reader additional emotional context to the public dialogue around Chinese immigration at the time of interest, I have also included selected exclusionary images in the forms of cartoons and illustrations. These images were printed in many forms (flyers, newsprint, etc.) and distributed in the United States to propagate an anti-Chinese agenda.

Research Limitations and Assumptions

While selecting congressional records was straight forward (finding all that exist in the timeframe of interest), selecting newspapers was not so. In order to represent the voice of the public in discussion of the CEA and in the riots, I established a set of criteria for the newspapers selected. This was critically important because during the late 19th century newspapers could be quite partisan in the content they published. A documentary from the Illinois Library warns:

> The business of newspaper publishing was highly politicized. While modern-day newspapers claim to be impartial sources of fact-based journalism, antebellum newspapers were often explicitly affiliated with a political party, and focused on delivering that party's point of view. In return, the political parties subsidized their newspapers, and those subsidies were important to the business model of newspaper publishing. One way to subsidize a newspaper was through government printing contracts and other forms of political patronage. These printing contracts remained a significant source of funding for smaller and rural papers throughout this period.[47]

My criteria for newspaper selection, for both public narrative surrounding the "Chinese Question" and the race riots were the availability of the content, the popularity

[47] Illinois Library, "American Newspapers, 1800-1860: An Introduction," History, Philosophy, and Newspaper Library, accessed November 25, 2019, https://www.library.illinois.edu/hpnl/tutorials/antebellum-newspapers-introduction/.

of the publication, and the political and geographical bias of the publication. My aim was to represent varied partisan views and different populations throughout the country.

I selected the *San Francisco Chronicle* for several reasons beyond the availability of newspaper archives. It was the most popular newspaper in California at the time, and California had the greatest population of Chinese people. The *San Francisco Chronicle* also represented the West Coast, often publishing about other West Coast cities including Seattle, WA Tacoma, WA and Portland, OR. In looking at Chinese exclusion and expulsion broadly, California would represent the epicenter having passed several anti-Chinese laws at the state level before members of Congress passed federal laws. From all of the papers I selected, the anti-Chinese bias and political will was most strongly conveyed in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

To gain a different public narrative on the "Chinese Question" and anti-Chinese race riots I turned to the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on the other side of the country. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* was a major news publisher at the time and the readership was primarily an immigrant population (unlike California). "In 1880, more than 40 percent of Chicago's half-million residents were born abroad, including sizable German, Irish, British, Canadian, Swedish and Czech communities. By the turn of the century, three-fourths of Chicago's 1.7 million inhabitants were either immigrants or children of immigrants."[48] Since the Chicago area largely lacked Chinese immigrants and had a large variety of local readership, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* provided a neutral and somewhat liberal perspective in comparison to the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[48] J. Bekken, "The Chicago Newspaper Scene: An Ecological Perspective," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (1997): 492.

Harper's Weekly was the third publication I selected. Becoming a very popular publication during the Civil War and sustaining that popularity until the early 1900's, "*Harper's Weekly* reached a circulation of 120,000 by the end of 1861"[49] and was considered "sound and conservative."[50] It was nationally regarded as a fair and credible news source featuring opinion pieces and political cartoons. For my research this publication provided a broad national perspective.

In gathering newspapers for researching the "Chinese Question" and the race riots I intentionally left out articles that provided transcripts of congressional hearings in an effort to inform the public of what had happened in Congress in order to avoid duplicate content when keyword counting (having already gathered transcripts and analyzed congressional sessions). I did this for all three newspapers. Instead, I focused on articles published by professional journalists to see if they used the same keywords as members of Congress. This amounted to keyword counting of articles from journalists that reported on the "Chinese Question," discussed Chinese people, and reported on the race riots. Largely missing from newspaper discussion of the "Chinese Question" and the race riots were official statements from labor unions.

I acknowledge that there are many populations in U.S. history that experience(d) racial discrimination, and I have limited my research to anti-Chinese literature in discussion of the Chinese population in America between 1880 and 1890 surrounding the Chinese Exclusion Act. I have intentionally limited the scope in this way to provide a

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[49] Frank Luther Mott. *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1930, Vol. 2* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958), 10.

[50] Mott. *A History of American Magazines,* 45.

comprehensive and compelling perspective of one population's experience, as influenced by one body of Congress, in passing one law. The goal is to provide an in-depth inquiry into institutionalized racism and structural violence by zooming in on one population. This is not to minimalize other populations that have experience(d) racism in the United States.

Absent in my research findings is the voice of Chinese people themselves. This was intentional as the purpose of this thesis is to better understand the relationship between political rhetoric and racial violence, not to understand how a community victimized by racial violence (in this case Chinese people) behaved in that circumstance. In understanding the relationship between political rhetoric and racial violence, I researched the words and actions of actors that may have perpetuated violence, including members of Congress and the non-Chinese public.

Chapter IV.

Congressional Debate

I completed an extensive content analysis to investigate a linguistic connection between congressional debate of the CEA and the language race rioters used. I read 135 and then keyword counted bound congressional transcripts.[51] These transcripts published

[51] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 11, 1881. 12, pt. 515-516; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 12, 1881. 12, pt. 516-517; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 14, 1881. 12, pt. 522-523; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 15, 1881. 12, pt. 523-524; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 17, 1881. 12, pt. 524-525; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 22, 1881. 12, pt. 528-528; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 24, 1881. 12, pt. 528-530; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 26, 1881. 12, pt. 534-535; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 27, 1881. 12, pt. 535-535; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 28, 1881. 12, pt. 535-537; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 09, 1881. 12, pt. 455-455; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 10, 1881. 12, pt. 455-455; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 11, 1881. 12, pt. 455-456; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 13, 1881. 12, pt. 459-459; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 16, 1881. 12, pt. 459-460; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 17, 1881. 12, pt. 460-461; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 20, 1881. 12, pt. 471-471; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 01, 1882. 13 pt. 2487-2509, ap. 65-69; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 03, 1882. 13 pt. 2509-2547, ap. 118-122; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 04, 1882. 13 pt. 2547-2597; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 05, 1882. 13 pt. 2597-2636 ap. 89-160; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 06, 1882. 13 pt. 2636-2680 ap. 126-127; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 07, 1882. 13 pt. 2680-2708 ap. 116-117; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 08, 1882. 13 pt. 2708-2723 ; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 10, 1882. 13 pt. 2723-2751; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 11, 1882. 13 pt. 2751-2793 ap. 108-418; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 12, 1882. 13 pt. 2793-2841; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 13, 1882. 13 pt. 2841-2877 ap. 148-152; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 14, 1882. 13 pt. 2877-2908 ; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 15, 1882. 13 pt. 2908-2933 ap. 171-178; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 17, 1882. 13 pt. 2933-2975 ap. 127-169; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 18, 1882. 13 pt. 2975-3026 ; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 19, 1882. 13 pt. 3026-3075 ap. 128-156; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 20, 1882. 13 pt. 3076-3125 ap. 145-155; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 21, 1882. 13 pt. 3125-3182 ap. 157-159; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 22, 1882. 13 pt. 3182-3206 ap. 169-609; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 24, 1882. 13 pt. 3206-3248 ; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 25, 1882. 13 pt. 3248-3298 ap. 161-161; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 26, 1882. 13 pt. 3298-3343 ap. 183-186; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 27, 1882. 13 pt. 3343-3396 ; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 28, 1882. 13 pt. 3396-3439; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 29, 1882. 13 pt. 3439-3455; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 05, 1882. 13 pt. 244-256; *Cong. Rec.* 47th

Cong., January, 06, 1882. 13 pt. 257-263; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 09, 1882. 13 pt. 264-302; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 10, 1882. 13 pt. 303-342; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 11, 1882. 13 pt. 342-368; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 12, 1882. 13 pt. 369-399; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 16, 1882. 13 pt. 399-438; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 17, 1882. 13 pt. 438-469; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 18, 1882. 13 pt. 469-500; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 19, 1882. 13 pt. 501-532; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 20, 1882. 13 pt. 532-547; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 23, 1882. 13 pt. 547-575, ap. 6-15; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 24, 1882. 13 pt. 575-607; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 25, 1882. 13 pt. 607-628; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 26, 1882. 13 pt. 628-672, ap. 15-20; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 27, 1882. 13 pt. 672-706; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 30, 1882. 13 pt. 706-742; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., January, 31, 1882. 13 pt. 742-780; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 10, 1881. 12 pt. 505-515; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 13, 1881. 12 pt. 517-522; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 21, 1881. 12 pt. 525-528; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 25, 1881. 12 pt. 530-534; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., October, 29, 1881. 12 pt. 537-540; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 1, 1882. 13 pt. 1504-1539; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 2, 1882. 13 pt. 1539-1572; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 3, 1882. 13 pt. 1572-1607; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 4, 1882. 13 pt. 1607-1628; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 6, 1882. 13 pt. 1628-1661; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 7, 1882. 13 pt. 1661-1696; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 8, 1882. 13 pt. 1696-1733; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 9, 1882. 13 pt. 1722-1776, ap. 122-126; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 10, 1882. 13 pt. 1776-1823, ap. 29-37; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 13, 1882. 13 pt. 1823-1879; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 14, 1882. 13 pt. 1879-1906, ap. 27-58; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 15, 1882. 13 pt. 1906-1944; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 16, 1882. 13 pt. 1944-1989; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 17, 1882. 13 pt. 1989-2026; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 18, 1882. 13 pt. 2026-2044; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 20, 1882. 13 pt. 2044-2096; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 21, 1882. 13 pt. 2096-2140; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 22, 1882. 13 pt. 2140-2190; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 23, 1882. 13 pt. 2190-2229; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 24, 1882. 13 pt. 2229-2274; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 27, 1882. 13 pt. 2274-2316; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 28, 1882. 13 pt. 2316-2356, ap. 78-87; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 29, 1882. 13 pt. 2356-2400, ap. 59-63; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 30, 1882. 13 pt. 2400-2466, ap. 71-108; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 31, 1882. 13 pt. 2466-2487; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May 6, 1881. 12 pt. 454-455; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May 12, 1881. 12 pt. 456-459; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May 18, 1881. 12 pt. 461-465; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May 19, 1881. 12 pt. 465-471; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 5, 1881. 13 pt. 1-18; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 6, 1881. 13 pt. 18-45; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 7, 1881. 13 pt. 45-52; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 8, 1881. 13 pt. 52-64; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 9, 1881. 13 pt. 64-65; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 12, 1881. 13 pt. 65-74; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 13, 1881. 13 pt. 75-117; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 14, 1881. 13 pt. 117-134; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 15, 1881. 13 pt. 134-143; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 16, 1881. 13 pt. 143-183; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 19, 1881. 13 pt. 184-222; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 20, 1881. 13 pt. 222-231; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., December 21, 1881. 13 pt. 231-244; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 1, 1882. 13 pt. 3455-3493, ap. 187-188; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong.,

every word said during congressional sessions in the House of Representatives and Senate one year prior to passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act from May 6th 1881 to May 6th 1882. During this timeframe Senators and Representatives discussed a large variety of issues and bills ranging from land rights in Iowa to how to handle an overwhelmed postal service. Discussion that focused on the Chinese Exclusion Act and the passing of the Act happened quickly. The bulk of congressional debate of the CEA occurred in February and March of 1882. In early April a version of the CEA that would extend for twenty years time was vetoed by President Arthur, and less than a month later, on Friday April 27th, a ten-year version of the bill, commonly called the Chinese Exclusion Act, passed and was signed into law on May 6th by the President of the United States.

The language of the Chinese Exclusion Act itself was diplomatic; however, the language members of Congress used in discussion of the Act was not. The congressional records reveal that the language used by elected officials in debating the Act was

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May, 2, 1882. 13 pt. 3493-3532, ap. 217-225; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 3, 1882. 13 pt. 3532-3587; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 4, 1882. 13 pt. 3588-3627, ap. 235-249; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 5, 1882. 13 pt. 3627-3665, ap. 191-291; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., May, 6, 1882. 13 pt. 3665-3668; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 1, 1882. 13 pt. 780-818; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 2, 1882. 13 pt. 818-858; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 3, 1882. 13 pt. 858-892, ap. 3-6; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 4, 1882. 13 pt. 892-909; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 6, 1882. 13 pt. 909-937; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 7, 1882. 13 pt. 937-974; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 8, 1882. 13 pt. 974-1003; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 9, 1882. 13 pt. 1003-1040;*Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 10, 1882. 13 pt. 1040-1076; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 13, 1882. 13 pt. 1076-1108; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 14, 1882. 13 pt. 1108-1144; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 15, 1882. 13 pt. 1144-1193; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 16, 1882. 13 pt. 1193-1239; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 17, 1882. 13 pt. 1239-1258; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 18, 1882. 13 pt. 1258-1281; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 20, 1882. 13 pt. 1281-1325; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 23, 1882. 13 pt. 1368-1411; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 24, 1882. 13 pt. 1411-1446, ap. 21-27; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 25, 1882. 13 pt. 1446-1464; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 27, 1882. 13 pt. 1464-1470; *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., February, 28, 1882. 13 pt. 1470-1504.

extremely pejorative and overtly racist. General content analysis revealed that members of Congress in favor of the Chinese Exclusion Act argued that Chinese people were un-American and portrayed Chinese people as the out-group, distancing them from similarity to white Americans. The primary arguments of members of Congress were that Chinese people 1.) were non-Caucasian and inferior to Caucasians, 2.) were evil since they were not Christians, 3.) refused to assimilate to American norms, and 4.) that Chinese laborers were slaves and that restricting the immigration of Chinese people would reduce slavery. Entire studies could be done on these themes alone, however that is not the inquiry of this thesis. It is relevant however, in order to categorize and summarize the nature of the dialogue members of Congress were having. Zeroing in on the language used by members of Congress, my analysis revealed that certain racially pejorative keywords were used on the Senate or House floor in every debate about Chinese immigration legislation: they were *Coolie*, *Mongolian*, and *invade* or *invasion*. The three keywords identified were not used in isolation by one or two senators, by one region of the country, or by just one political party. On the contrary, members of Congress from all over the country and both sides of the aisle used the keywords.

One member of Congress, Senator Morgan, when speaking about Chinese people in America said, "There never was a time when a *coolie* was absolutely sold into slavery; there never was a time when one man sold a *coolie* to another; but there was a time in which *coolies* were obtained from the vast swarms of population in the oriental countries."[52]

Representative William D. Washburn characterized Chinese people in this way:

[52] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 19, 1882. 13 pt. 3026.

> The leopard does not change his spots, neither has the *Mongolian* race in the long centuries changed its characteristics. It is today that it was before and since the Christian era. Instead of having been affected by the influences and teaching of the Christian religion and the high civilization that has followed it everywhere…nowhere in all the *Mongolian* world does it today find a resting place, and yet we are invited under the inspiration of a morbid sentimentalism to open wide our doors to a race of people who have not now and never have had the first sentiment or impulse in common with our own Christian civilization.[53]

Some senators and representatives went so far as to declare Caucasian superiority over Chinese. Majority Speaker and Senator George M. Vest said,

> The people of California are not alone in their belief that this is under God a country of Caucasians, a country of white men, a country to be governed by white men…The brains, the energy, the intellect, the sinews and the nerves of the race to which we belong will never be trampled under foot by *Mongolian*, or African, or mixed or Indian blood. Nothing except its own blood, combining with superior force and equal brain, will ever be able for a single instant to make it lower its lofty crest.[54]

George Vest was not the only member of Congress to compare Chinese immigration to African-American slavery. The notion that being anti-Chinese also meant you were against slavery came up often during the time frame I analyzed, even outside the direct discussion of the CEA. Once in debating a closely contested race between an African-American member of Congress and his opponent, Representative Calkins interjected,

> Whenever the Chinese shall stop the system of servitude which they have adopted and which has been in vogue ever since the servile labor of that race landed upon these shores, no man upon this side of the Chamber will refuse them fellowship which we extend to all mankind. It is because we do not believe in servile labor as we did not believe in slavery that we opposed the importation of Chinese *coolies*.[55]

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[53] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 22, 1882. 13 pt. 2162.

[54] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 27, 1882. 13 pt. 3385.

[55] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 24, 1882. 13 pt. 2264.

In reality the comparison of cheap labor to slavery was inaccurate. Chinese people living in the United States in the late 1800's and early 1900's did not have masters, they had autonomy. They were working for pay and living in their own homes. Nonetheless this comparison pushed Chinese people further into the out-group by comparing them to actual slaves of the past.

The differences between Chinese people and Americans presented by members of Congress conveyed more than out-group dynamics; it also conveyed a narrative of a dangerous race invading America. Representative Campbell Berry said, "The Chinaman has *invaded* our land, he has pitched his tent at the door and laid siege to every industry in our State, and notwithstanding our every effort we find we are being steadily supplanted and being driven back."[56] It was this narrative that President Chester A. Arthur openly normalized during his veto speech of the twenty-year version of the Act, stating,

> I think it may fairly be accepted as an expression of the opinion of Congress that the coming of such labors to the United States, or their residence here, affects our interests and endangers good order throughout the country. On this point I should feel it my duty to accept the views of Congress.[57]

These arguments that used racially pejorative language, were widely accepted. The main counter-argument to the CEA in the congressional records I reviewed was a call for a fifteen-year bill instead of a ten-year bill. Essentially, even though the twenty-year bill had been vetoed, some members of Congress thought they would be able to pass a bill that lasted longer than ten years. They were correct in feeling that the duration

[56] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 18, 1882. 2034.

[57] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., March 24, 1882. 13 pt. 2229-2274.

could have been longer, because indeed it was. The Chinese Exclusion Act would not be repealed until 1943.[58]

The exclusionary concepts of the CEA were so popular publicly that members of Congress argued as to which political party authentically wanted to restrict Chinese immigration more. "From the commencement of this agitation to the present hour, the Democratic Party has made and led the contest against Chinese immigration, and is today the only party substantially and honestly making resistance and warfare against this *Mongolian invasion*."[59]

In summary, my general content analysis of transcripts reciting the words members of Congress used in discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act reveal three racially pejorative keywords: *Coolie, Mongolian,* and *invade* or *invasion*.

To quantify the frequency of racist keywords in the congressional transcripts, I performed a quantitative analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. I searched through the text of the 135 bound congressional transcripts for the three keywords identified: *Coolie*, *Mongolian*, and *invade* or *invasion*. I then documented the number of times a keyword was used. I have summarized my findings in the table below. To provide clarity around the frequency of the use of the keywords, I divided the number of times a keyword was used by the total number of bound congressional transcripts and represented it as a percentage.

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[58] United States House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, "Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress, 1900-2017, From Exclusion to Inclusion 1941-1992," retrieved March 22, 2020, https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-to-Inclusion/Introduction/.

[59] *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong., April, 26, 1882. 13 pt. 3309.

Table 1. Congressional Keyword Use in Discussion of The Chinese Exclusion Act.

Keyword	Coolie	Invade or Invasion	Mongolian
Frequency	92%	117%	64%

Keyword counting reveals that members of Congress used racially pejorative keywords very frequently in discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The racial epithet *Coolie* was used in 92% of the transcripts, and *Mongolian* in 64% of the transcripts. The word *invade* or *invasion* was used in 117% of the congressional transcripts, meaning it was used in all (100%) of the transcripts, plus an additional 17% of the time. Members of Congress were not only calling Chinese people by racial slurs in the legislature, they were frequently verbalizing a fear based narrative warning of invasion. These keywords were used in discussion of a specific bill and specific amendments to that bill, a clear example of racial institutional orders. Building on the identification and frequency of these keywords, the question of origination remains. Were these words already being used in public narrative and perpetuated in the legislature, or did they originate in Congress? This is where my media analysis began.

Chapter V.

Newspaper Coverage of the "Chinese Question"

The phrase the "Chinese Question" was the way in which people and journalists referred to the public debate of Chinese Immigration in the late 1800's and early 1900's. When discussing the "Chinese Question," people shared their views on whether or not Chinese immigration should be legal, and whether or not Chinese people living in America should have a pathway to citizenship. The emotional driver surrounding the discussion was economic disparity and fear that Chinese people were taking American jobs. B.P. Wilcox, a professor in 1929, provided additional context,

> The "Chinese Question" was discussed in numerous meetings of all kinds and of all classes…Labor was definitely hostile to the Chinese remaining on the Coast and the financial conditions of the times urged them to action. The Northwest was not alone in this unfriendly spirit to the strangers within their midst.[60]

Economic impacts were felt most strongly in the working class, labor workers. Edward Rhoads, a contributor to the *Journal of American Ethnic History*, adds, "With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May of 1869, the Chinese began coming east [from the west coast of America], and as they did so the Chinese question was transformed from a regional to a national issue."[61]

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[60] B.P. Wilcox, "Anti-Chinese Riots In Washington," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1929): 205, www.jstor.org/stable/23908994.

[61] Rhoads, Edward J. M. "'White Labor' vs. 'Coolie Labor': The 'Chinese Question' in Pennsylvania in the 1870s," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 2 (2002): 1, www.jstor.org/stable/27502811.

To discover if the keywords were being used in public narrative before members of Congress used them, I performed a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the "Chinese Question" one year prior to the passing of the Act and one year following. I read 28 articles on the "Chinese Question" from three different newspaper sources published in different areas of the country, each with differing ideologies and political ties.[62] The set of 28 articles I selected were articles written by professional journalists.

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[62]"A California View of the Chinese Question." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Mar 19, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172473191?accountid=11311. ; "A Criminal Race…" *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* Apr 23, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571940835?accountid=11311. ; "A Suspicious Little Bill." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), March, 25, 1882. https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820325000046%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B10%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820325%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0325&Pagerange=0179b%2d0179b&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D03%2D25%2D0179%7C. ; "Anti-Chinese League..." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, May 04, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571920748?accountid=11311. ; "Article 4 -- no Title." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* May 29, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172500637?accountid=11311. ; "Asia's Aliens.: A San Franciscan's Low Estimate..." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* May 17, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172508230?accountid=11311. ; "Chinese Immigration.: Heavy Arrivals Of Mongolians…" *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Apr 21. 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172484124?accountid=11311. ; "Chinese Immigration." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Feb 07, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172483712?accountid=11311. ; "Chinese-Ridden Hawaii…" *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-Current File), May 07, 1883. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571962332?accountid=11311. ; "Congress And The Tariff Commission." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), May 20, 1882. Https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820520000016%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5

B6%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820520%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0520&Pagerange=0306bc%2d0306bc&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D05%2D20%2D0306%7C. ; "Congress.: The Second Session ..." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Dec 05, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172616556?accountid=11311. ; "Converting The Chinese." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Mar 19, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172471811?accountid=11311. ; "Do Americans Want A Menial Class Of Coolies?" *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Apr 06, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172490319?accountid=11311. ; "Free Trade Illusions." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* May 15, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571759880?accountid=11311. ; "How Chinese Repel Foreigners." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* May 18, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571945765?accountid=11311. ; "Let California Send The Chinese East." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Apr 12, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172480010?accountid=11311. ; "Mr. Kwong Ki Chiu's Letter." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), April, 29, 1882. Https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820429000024%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B10%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820429%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0429&Pagerange=0259b%2d0259b&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D04%2D29%2D0259%7C ; "National Affairs..." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* Dec 06, 1881. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571921028?accountid=11311. ; "National Topics: Proposed Legislation ..." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Dec 07, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571819138?accountid=11311. ; "Play, Fair..." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Dec 20, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172651370?accountid=11311. ; "The 'Altonowar's' Cargo." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* May 23, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571944112?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Bill..." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Apr 11, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172492125?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Bill." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), April, 1, 1882. Https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820401000025%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B4%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820401%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0401&Pagerange=0194ab%2d0194ab&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D04%2D01%2D0194%7C. ; "The Chinese Bills." *San Francisco Chronicle*

Generally the journalists reported what was happening at the time and presented pro and anti-immigration arguments. They published real and perceived divisions that served to differentiate American citizens from Chinese immigrants and justify anti-Chinese immigration and expulsion. Journalists used the narrative of *invasion* sparingly; however, the racial epithet keywords, *Coolie* and *Mongolian*, were used frequently in both the year prior to passing of the Act, and in the year following passing of the Act. For example, a journalist from the *Chicago Daily Tribune* summarized what the Chinese Exclusion Act was trying to achieve, "It [the CEA] aims at nothing but the influx of *coolie* laborers who are owned in China and are send to San Francisco for a specified time to labor in a sort of

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(1869-Current File), Feb 27, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571918820?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Panic." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), May 20, 1882. Https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820520000017%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B7%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820520%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0520&Pagerange=0306cd%2d0307a&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D05%2D20%2D0306%7CHW%2D1882%2D05%2D20%2D0307%7C. ; "The Chinese Question in Oregon." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* Jun 07, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571961545?accountid=11311. ; "The Convention and the Railroad." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File*), Jun 23, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/357175156?accountid=11311. ; "The Senate And The Chinese." *Harper's Weekly* (1882), March, 3, 1882. Https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820318000029%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B7%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820318%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0318&Pagerange=0162cd%2d0163a&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D03%2D18%2D0162%7CHW%2D1882%2D03%2D18%2D0163%7C.

semi-slavery for the five companies, and bring with them to California the *Mongolian* vices and diseases."[63]

In an article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a journalist argued that Chinese people coming via ships should be banned for public health concerns, he stated, "If they [the Board of Health] incline in either direction it should be toward the community of which they are members rather than toward the *Mongolian invaders*."[64]

In another article, a journalist took legislative debate out of context and informed the public that, "The people of Massachusetts, if their representatives in Congress can be believed, are hungering for a *Mongolian invasion*." He went on to claim, "A hundred thousand *coolies* in the New England towns if allowed to stay would freeze out 50,000 white families, and expel them from that section of the country."[65] This biased characterization is not the only one I read. A *Harper's Weekly* article reported on information provided by a member of the Chinese Educational Commission. Instead of quoting him directly, the journalist characterized him. He stated,

> Mr. Kwong Ki Chiu smiles at the assertion that eight steamers and nine sailing laden with *coolies* are on the way to California. To charter such a number of vessels, arrangements must have been made long in advance, and for some special reason. But the agitation of the exclusion bill could not have been known in time

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[63] "Chinese Immigration," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Feb 7, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172483712?accountid=11311.

[64] "The 'Altonowar's' Cargo," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* May 23, 1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571944112?accountid=11311.

[65] "Let California Send The Chinese East," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, April 12,1882. http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/172480010?accountid=11311.

> to produce such a result. When this fleet arrives upon the Pacific coast, it will be time to consider whether the *Mongolian* invasion has begun.[66]

Overall, the articles published in newsprint by professional journalists were adamantly anti-Chinese.

To investigate the frequency of racially pejorative keywords usage in public dialogue I turned to media coverage of the "Chinese Question" within the time period of interest, in three periodicals: the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and *Harper's Weekly*. I narrowed the articles further, selecting those authored by professional journalists, 28 articles in total. I performed a quantitative analysis using the procedure of keyword counting, searching through the text of the newspaper articles for the three keywords members of Congress used in debate of the Chinese Exclusion Act: *Coolie*, *Mongolian*, and *invade* or *invasion*. I then documented the number of times a keyword was used in the articles one year prior to the passing of the Act (May 6th 1881 to May 6th 1882) and one year following the passing of the Act (May 07th 1882 to May 7th 1883). I have summarized my findings in the table below. To provide clarity around the frequency of the use of the keywords I divided the number of times a keyword was used by the number of articles and represented it as a percentage.

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[66] "Mr. Kwong Ki Chiu's Letter," *Harper's Weekly*, April, 29, 1882. https://App-Harpweek-Com.Ezp-Prod1.Hul.Harvard.Edu/Viewarticletext.Asp?Webhitsfile=Hw18820429000024%2Ehtm&Xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B10%5D&Xml=HW%5C1882%5C18820429%2Exml&Titleid=HW&Volumeid=1882&Issueid=0429&Pagerange=0259b%2d0259b&Restriction=Chinese+&Pageids=%7CHW%2D1882%2D04%2D29%2D0259%7C.

Table 2. Newspaper Keyword Use in Discussion of the "Chinese Question."

	Coolie	Invade or Invasion	Mongolian
Year Prior	60%	20%	67%
Year Following	46%	15%	23%

Overall the use of the keywords was greater in the year prior to the passing of the CEA; however, the year following passing of the Act the keywords were still used to a nontrivial degree. The word *Coolie* was used in 60% of the articles in the year prior to passing the Act, and dropped slightly to 46% the year following passing of the Act. In the year prior to the Act, the word *Mongolian* was used in 67% of the articles but dropped to 23% the year following the passing of the Act. The word invasion was used least of all the keywords, and appeared in 20% of the articles in the year prior, and 15% the year following. After the passing of the Act, all three keywords were used with *less* frequency, though still used. This means the same racially pejorative keywords were being used in public narrative and by members of Congress, both before, and after, passing the Chinese Exclusion Act. Therefore, based on the timeframe analyzed in this study, members of the 47th Congress did not originate the use of these keywords, which then spilled into the public narrative. Both the media and members of Congress were using the keywords words in tandem. Therefore it is possible that members of Congress were simply echoing their constituents in debate of the anti-Chinese legislation.

Chapter VI.

Newspaper Coverage of the Race Riots

Many anti-Chinese race riots occurred prior to the passing of the CEA; however, the race riots that followed the Act were supported by a legal framework for expulsion. In 1885 and 1886, at least 168 communities across the U.S. West drove out their Chinese residents.[67] The Rock Springs, WY, Tacoma, WA, and Seattle, WA race riots that occurred in the four years directly following the passing of the Act were quite severe and politicians in Washington, DC took notice.[68] In each case, federal troops were called upon to keep the peace; however, their presence only served to condone the violence being committed by the populous as armed troops often stood by and failed to intervene.

To discover if race rioters also used racially pejorative keywords used by Congress, I performed a quantitative analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. I analyzed 25 articles published by professional journalists in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *Harper's Weekly*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle* covering the Tacoma, Seattle, and Rock Springs race riots. I searched through the text of the newspaper articles for the three keywords members of Congress used in the debate of the Chinese Exclusion Act: *Coolie, Mongolian,* and *invade* or *invasion*. I then documented the number of times a keyword was used. Overall, the words used in the newspaper articles that were published directly following the anti-Chinese riots conveyed a much loftier moral character and subdued

[67] Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 9.

[68] Clayton D. Laurie, "'The Chinese Must Go': The United States Army and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington Territory, 1885-1886," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1990), http://www.jstor.org/stable/40491092.

tone than the words published in newspaper articles before the passing of the CEA in the discussion of the "Chinese Question." What was published in the newspapers about the riots positioned the violence as far away from everyday Americans as possible. In the articles quoted here, and others I reviewed, the people who were blamed for committing acts of violence are often called an angry mob or vigilantes. However, in all of the articles I analyzed there were no direct quotes from members of the angry mob or vigilantes. The reporting was always in the voice of the professional journalist providing an overview of what happened (factual or not). Given that, it should come as no surprise that the keywords used by members of Congress in the creation of the CEA were published less often in the reporting of the riots. The word *invasion* was never used, as invasions were no longer a concern, and *Coolie* and *Mongolian* were used with less frequency than in the discussion of the "Chinese Question."

Race Riot in Rock Springs: September 9th, 1885

The race riot that took place in Rock Springs, Wyoming, is often called the Rock Springs massacre and can be characterized as overt, direct violence without repercussions. The Rocks Springs mining community was poor and barely getting by when white miners decided to organize a labor strike against the Union Pacific Railroad in hopes of negotiating better wages and conditions. Not wanting to upset the union or lose their jobs, Chinese miners did not plan on striking; they intended to go to work as usual. On September 9th, 1885, the result of this difference of priorities was that white miners chased, shot, and killed twenty-eight Chinese miners who refused to participate in the Union Pacific Railroad labor strike. The angry white miners injured fourteen other

Chinese people and invaded the camps the Chinese laborers lived in, driving out 700 people and destroying property. Federal troops were called upon to restore order, however, no one was prosecuted for the crimes committed.

Figure 4. Hobson's Choice.

"Illustration shows a man wearing a hat labeled 'Oregon', holding two handguns, giving Chinese men a 'Hobson's choice' or the option of leaving by jumping off a cliff into the sea below (on the right) or staying and being shot to death (on the left). At his feet is a 'Treaty with China' torn in half."

Source: James Albert Wales, *Hobson's choice - you can go or stay / J.A Wales* (New York: Keppler & Schwarzmann, 1886), https://www.loc.gov/item/2011661384/.

How authorities handled the Rock Springs riot emboldened people who were already passionately anti-Chinese. Clayton Laurie, a historian for the Department of the Army explains:

> In the following weeks, anti-Chinese rioting broke out in numerous West Coast towns and cities. Ultimately, the failure of civil authorities to bring the Rock Springs rioters promptly to justice encouraged anti-Chinese violence in Washington Territory. In both places, white miners fiercely resented the Chinese who were displacing them.[69]

Race Riot in Tacoma: November 3rd, 1885

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, railroad work was plentiful, and the Northern Pacific Railway employed several hundred Chinese men. The railway company leased Chinese people undeveloped land in a section of Tacoma, Washington, near the railroad tracks known as Chinatown. The lack of infrastructure in this area meant no clean running water and undependable electricity, a challenging living environment for people making labor wages. Early in 1885, railroad jobs became more and more scarce, a nationwide secondary depression was expected, and a water company gave the few jobs there were to Chinese workers.[70] It was at this time that national anti-Chinese sentiment took hold in Tacoma. City officials began to send sanitation officials to Chinatown to build a case for the removal of the Chinese. Then in July of 1885, the Puget Sound anti-Chinese Congress had an anti-Chinese rally and met to establish a committee of fifteen members to "carry out measures for the removal of the Chinese."[71] Anti-Chinese

[69] Laurie, "The Chinese Must Go," 24.

[70] Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," 271.

[71] Karlin, 275.

demonstrations persisted in Tacoma, and the Mayor hosted the final meeting of the fifteen committee members at his office on November 2nd, 1885 to wrap up preparation for what would happen the following day, what we know as the Tacoma Race Riots. On the morning of November 3rd, 1985, the committee of fifteen, fifty police officers and a crowd of hundreds of men went from one Chinese house to the next telling men women and children that they must leave their homes and their belongings immediately. White men were left behind in the homes of Chinese people to ensure evacuation and to escort them to the wharf. From the wharf, they were made to travel by foot carrying what little belongings they had nine miles from Tacoma to the train station, where they would be whisked away from their home the next morning. For those who may have hoped they could someday return to the home they made, there would be no home to return to. Fires were lit in the Chinese quarter, and their homes burned to the ground within 48 hours of their forced expulsion. Most appalling is the fact that Tacoma officials had planned and supervised the evacuations. Professor Jules Alexander Karlin explains, "The mayor and the sheriff were spectators…"[72] Scholar Lew-Williams provides more detail, "They left in driving rain. Three hundred Chinese migrants trudged down the center of the street, their heads bowed to the elements of the crowd. They were led, followed, and surrounded by dozens of white men armed with clubs, pistols, and rifles."[73] Chinese men, women, and children were forcibly expelled from their homes at gunpoint, and onto trains. Then their homes were burnt down. The suspected arsonists were arrested, but the indictments

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[72] Karlin, 279.

[73] Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 9.

were dropped, and the known arsonists were let free. Widely covered in the press, the Rock Springs Massacre and the Tacoma Race Riot became acceptable playbooks for Chinese expulsion.

Race Riot in Seattle: February 6th-9th, 1886

In February of 1886, another group of anti-Chinese vigilantes and mobs, emboldened by the acquittal of the Tacoma arsonists, focused their attention on the expulsion of Chinese people from Seattle, Washington. Similar to the Tacoma Riots, the proper procedure for expulsion was sought out, and citizens organized a six-man committee to manage the task of Chinese expulsion. On February 6th, citizens met, discussed, and resolved to boycott employers of the Chinese. Then the very next day, mobs forced entry into the homes of Chinese people, demanding they leave their homes and go to the shipping dock. It was reported that 350 Chinese people were forced from their homes and onto ships headed elsewhere. The Sheriff and other elected officials oversaw the operation.[74] The Seattle race riot was incredibly similar to the riot in Tacoma the previous November.

In the wake of these three race riots, forced expulsion of Chinese people from their homes without warning had been made acceptable. The actions of committees, sheriffs, and angry mobs were protected by the broad authority in Section Twelve of the CEA to remove "any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States… by direction of the President."[75] Furthermore, legal precedents had been made with the

[74] Laurie, "The Chinese Must Go," 24.

[75] U.S Congress, "An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese" (Library of Congress, 1882), Sess. I. Ch. 126, Section 12.

previous riots, signaling that that murders and arsonists would not be held responsible for killing, injuring, or burning down the homes of Chinese people. Thus, the Chinese Exclusion Act allowed for anti-Chinese violence without repercussions.

To investigate if the keywords used by members of Congress in discussion of the CEA were also used by race rioters, I turned to media coverage of the riots. I searched the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *Harper's Weekly* for articles published by professional journalists that reported on the three selected riots. I sourced and analyzed 25 articles.[76]

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[76] "Across The Plains...,"*San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Oct 06, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571996752?accountid=11311. ; "American Events...," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Oct 08, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/572036475?accountid=11311. ; "Lead For The Mob: The Militia Fires Into The Chinese Persecutors At Seattle With Deadly Effect…," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Feb 09, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173832456?accountid=11311. ; "Startling Testimony: The Chinese Said To Have Been The Incendiaries At Rock Springs--A Farcical Investigation," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Oct 06, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173829108?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese ...: Scenes And Incidents Of Their Flight From Tacoma," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* Nov 10, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/572000838?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Disturbances," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Feb 12, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173867226?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Evicted: Celestials Driven From Their Homes At Tacoma, W. T." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Nov 05, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173880263?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese Troubles: Everything Quiet At Seattle--Arrests At Tacoma Of Prominent Men--Troops In Readiness," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Nov 10, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173842023?accountid=11311. ; "The Chinese War: The Celestial Quarters At Tacoma, W. T., Burned To The Ground By A Mob," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Nov 06, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173864679?accountid=11311. ; "The Pacific

Slope…," *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-Current File), Nov 04, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/572056701?accountid=11311. ; "The Rock Springs Riots: Preparations Of The Chinese To Return To The Scene Where Their Comrades Were Butchered," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Sep 09, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173826952?accountid=11311. ; "The Rock Springs Situation," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Sep 21, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/572085571?accountid=11311. ; "The Seattle Outbreak," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Feb 09, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571955897?accountid=11311. ; "There Are 130 Missing…No Sympathy For The Miners," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Sep 06, 1885, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173848706?accountid=11311. ; "Under Riot's Rule...," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Feb 08, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173868313?accountid=11311. ; "Among the Faithless, Faithful," *Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1886, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18860327000034%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B9%5D&xml=HW%5C1886%5C18860327%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1886&issueid=0327&pagerange=0195ab%2D0195ab&restriction=Seattle+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1886%2D03%2D27%2D0195%7C.; "Anti-Chinese Riot at Seattle," *Harper's Weekly*, March, 6, 1886, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18860306000035%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B23%5D&xml=HW%5C1886%5C18860306%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1886&issueid=0306&pagerange=0155ab%2D0155ab&restriction=Seattle+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1886%2D03%2D06%2D0155%7C. ; "Crimes Against The Chinese," *Harper's Weekly*, November, 21, 1885, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18851121000022%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B7%5D&xml=HW%5C1885%5C18851121%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1885&issueid=1121&pagerange=0755a%2D0755a&restriction=Tacoma+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1885%2D11%2D21%2D0755%7C. ; "Paying the Reckoning," *Harper's Weekly*, October, 17, 1885, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18851017000046%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B14%5D&xml=HW%5C1885%5C18851017%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1885&issueid=1017&pagerange=0677ac%2D0677ac&restriction=Rock+Springs+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1885%2D10%2D17%2D0677%7C. ; "Special Dispatch To The Chronicle. The Anti-Chinese Crusade: Fears Of Riot In Seattle--The Chinese Quarter In Tacoma Burned," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File),* Nov 06, 1885,

Overall, newspaper coverage of the race riots consistently minimized the severity of what occurred—the papers published falsities as truth or blamed irrational actors for the crimes. Lew-Williams also encountered this obstacle in her research, stating, "The traces of this white-on-Chinese violence are at once ubiquitous and hidden in the historical record, overwhelming in their abundance and yet difficult to see. Even when records exist for a given incident, the particular nature of the violence is often obscured."[77] My research reveals that the language used in reporting the riots generally condemned violence against the Chinese *but still used the racial epithets* Congress used frequently in debates leading to the passage of the CEA. Critically, this avoided placing

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http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571998989?accountid=11311. ; "Special Dispatches To The Chronicle. Rioters In Seattle," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Feb 09, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571930811?accountid=11311. ; "Special Dispatches To, The Chronicle. Anti-Chinese Riots: Federal Troops Ordered To Seattle," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Feb 10, 1886, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/572048564?accountid=11311. ; "The Chase of the Chinese," *Harper's Weekly*, September 26, 1885, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18850926000041%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B29%5D&xml=HW%5C1885%5C18850926%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1885&issueid=0926&pagerange=0638ab%2D0638ab&restriction=Rock+Springs+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1885%2D09%2D26%2D0638%7C. ; "The Knights of Labor," *Harper's Weekly*, October, 10, 1885, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18851010000032%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B12%5D&xml=HW%5C1885%5C18851010%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1885&issueid=1010&pagerange=0659b%2D0659b&restriction=Rock+Springs+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1885%2D10%2D10%2D0659%7C. ; "The Last Crime Against The Chinese," *Harper's Weekly*, February, 20, 1886, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18860220000030%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B11%5D&xml=HW%5C1886%5C18860220%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1886&issueid=0220&pagerange=0115b%2D0115b&restriction=Seattle+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1886%2D02%2D20%2D0115%7C.

[77] Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 27.

responsibility for anti-Chinese violence on white-Americans, law enforcement, or federal institutions.

One article published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* covering the Rock Springs riot titled, "No Sympathy for The Miners" did not blame white American miners for the hunting and murdering of the Chinese, but instead blamed other immigrant populations that could have been working in the mines. It stated,

> The miners at Rock Springs are chiefly Welsh, among whom there is also a large element of Fins. Neither of these seek citizenship nor can they for the greater part speak English. They are an ignorant, fanatically religious, refractory lot, engaged in the creation of trouble and dissensions all the while. They are not nearly so intelligent as the *coolies* nor as refined in their habits.[78]

The *San Francisco Chronicle* published an article covering the Rock Springs riot Grand-Jury testimony featuring an inaccurate statement from a local minister who claimed that the Chinese "set fire to their own houses in order to prevent white men from robbing them of their money which was buried into the ground underneath their dwellings."[79] A *Harper's Weekly* reporting on the Rock Springs riot also distanced the Knights of Labor, a prominent labor union, from any responsibility for the event. While the article does acknowledge the massacre as "appalling" and "inhuman," the journalist insists the Knights of Labor were honorable and not allied with the foreign miners.[80]

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[78] "There Are 130 Missing…No Sympathy For The Miners," *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Sep 06, 1885, accessed Nov 15, 2019, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/173848706?accountid=11311.

[79] "Across The Plains...," *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-Current File)*, Oct 06, 1885, accessed Nov 15, 2019, http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/571996752?accountid=11311.

[80] "The Knights of Labor," *Harper's Weekly*, October, 10, 1885, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18851010000032%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B12

In another instance, *Harper's Weekly* provided an in-depth report on the Seattle riot. The article correctly framed what happened, however, it deeply discounted the role of the general public, elected officials, and the police in the riot. It read:

> By a preconcerted plan, of which neither the law-abiding citizens of the town nor the Chinamen had a hint, a mob invaded the Chinese quarter late Saturday night, forcibly but quietly entered the houses, dragged the occupants from their beds, forced them quickly to pack their personal effects, and marched them to a steamer. The mob was thoughtful enough to provide wagons to convey the baggage of its victims. Some had money enough to pay their fare to San Francisco, and many did not, but the mob made no distinction. The few policemen that became aware of the wrong-doing had no power and slight willingness to prevent it, and before the sleeping citizens of the town or the country officers knew what was going on, 400 Chinamen were shivering on the dock. The Sheriff ordered the mob to disperse, but the only result of his order was a hastening of the work of expulsion.[81]

This article went on to correctly state how violence was spreading:

> But since the disgraceful butchery of Chinese in Wyoming several months ago the anti-Chinese feeling in the extreme Northwest has become more violent and more nearly universal. An 'Anti-Chinese Congress' has been held at Portland, which adopted a resolution calling upon the people in every town in the Northwest 'peaceably to assemble and politely request the *Mongolian* race to remove'—a resolution that is a trifle less polite than it seems to be...[82]

The theme of newspaper coverage of the race riots was a distancing of the violent acts away from white Americans. This distancing occurred when newspaper journalists

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%5D&xml=HW%5C1885%5C18851010%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1885&issueid=1010&pagerange=0659b%2D0659b&restriction=Rock+Springs+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1885%2D10%2D10%2D0659%7C.

[81] "Anti-Chinese Riot at Seattle," *Harper's Weekly*, March, 6, 1886, https://app-harpweek-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/viewarticletext.asp?webhitsfile=hw18860306000035%2Ehtm&xpath=%2FTEI%2E2%5B1%5D%2Ftext%5B1%5D%2Fbody%5B1%5D%2Fdiv1%5B23%5D&xml=HW%5C1886%5C18860306%2Exml&titleid=HW&volumeid=1886&issueid=0306&pagerange=0155ab%2D0155ab&restriction=Seattle+&pageIds=%7CHW%2D1886%2D03%2D06%2D0155%7C.

[82] "Anti-Chinese Riot at Seattle." *Harper's Weekly*, March, 6, 1886.

published partial reports of what happened or articles blamed “angry mobs” people who were not considered “True Americans” as well as other immigrant populations.

The table below summarizes my results of a quantitative analysis using the procedure of keyword counting. To provide clarity of the frequency of the use of the keywords, I divided the number of times a keyword was used by the number of articles and represented it as a percentage.

Table 3. Newspaper Keyword Use in Discussion of the Race Riots.

Frequency	Coolie	Invade or Invasion	Mongolian
Chicago Daily Tribune	56%	0%	11%
Harper’s Weekly	0%	0%	14%
San Francisco Chronicle	33%	0%	22%

In summary, my research revealed that the narrative of dangerous intruders, specifically the use of the words *invade* or *invasion* were never used in 25 newspaper articles discussing the Tacoma, Seattle, and Rock Springs race riots. It is logical that following the murder and expulsion of Chinese people from their homes in America, the concern of Chinese people wanting to *invade* America was no longer a perceived or real threat; after all - why would you immigrate to somewhere you cannot live safely? However, the epithets used to describe Chinese people living in America, *Coolie* and *Mongolian,* were still used in the majority of the articles published. Specifically, the

words *Coolie* or *Mongolian* were used in 53% and 11%, respectively, of the articles in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 33%, and 22% in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. In my sample set, *Harper's Weekly* did not use the word *Coolie* at all but did use *Mongolian* in 22% of the articles. While we cannot know with certainty, it possible that the language used by Congress in discussion of the CEA, and by journalists in the media – both in discussion of the CEA and after it passed, served to normalize the use of these racial epithets to such a degree that even in reporting atrocities against the Chinese people it was generally acceptable to call them by racially pejorative names.

Chapter VII.

Conclusion

My research reveals several insights I did not find elsewhere in scholarly discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the "Chinese Question," or the anti-Chinese race riots. My findings do not prove causation; however, they do reveal how legislative dialogue and racial violence are connected.

In analyzing transcripts of congressional debate of the Chinese Exclusion Act, I discovered three racially pejorative words were used consistently in debate of anti-Chinese legislation. The keywords were *Coolie*, *Mongolian*, and *invade* or *invasion*. Racial epitaphs and a fear-based narrative warning of dangerous invaders were used by Senators and Representatives to present a white nationalist agenda in support of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The three keywords discovered in congressional transcripts were also used by professional journalists in public discussion of the "Chinese Question" before the Act passed and afterward. Congress and the public were using these words during the same timeframes, one not necessarily influencing the other. Congressional members possibly were echoing their constituency in their debate of the Act, using the same words, words that became normalized in public discourse.

The types of violence used in the congressional debate of the Act, in public narrative of the "Chinese Question," and expulsion of Chinese people during race riots were wide-ranging. Chinese people living in America were killed, had their homes

sieged, were placed under sanctions, experienced misery, experienced de-socialization, were treated as a secondary citizen, were segmented from other citizens into Chinatown quarters, were detained in jail and on boats, experienced expulsion from their homes and the country they lived and worked in, were publicly marginalized, and were fragmented to identify specific protected types - laborers, and others. The significance of the many varied ways Chinese people living in America experienced violence as a result of discussion and implementation of the Chinese Exclusion Act cannot be understated.

The three major race riots that followed the passing of the Act, Rock Springs, WY and Tacoma, WA in 1885 and Seattle, WA in 1886 created a playbook for the expulsion of Chinese people from America. Analysis of newspaper coverage of these riots revealed that *invade* or *invasion* was no longer used in the public narrative (as the invasion was no longer concerning); however, use of two of the racist keywords identified in the congressional transcripts, *Coolie* and *Mongolian,* persisted. Most notable is that in the newspaper articles, perpetrators of direct violence were characterized as a mob or vigilantes. This characterization distanced all other people from their role, and ultimately their responsibility for the violence that took place. Fueled by economic circumstances, anti-Chinese racially pejorative language was deeply embedded in public discourse between 1881 and 1885. Racially pejorative language was used by members of Congress while creating the Chinese Exclusion Act, as well as by professional journalists in the media before and after the Act passed.

The repercussions of the Chinese Exclusion Act have been wide-reaching. The rhetoric around the Chinese Exclusion Act and the race riots that followed created a

playbook that institutionalized and condoned racial violence. This playbook would used beyond the 1800s and beyond Chinese communities in America as Lee explains:

> Both the rhetoric and the tools used in the battle over Chinese exclusion were repeated in later debates over immigration. In many ways, Chinese immigrants became the models by which others were measured. Nativists repeatedly pointed to ways in which the new Asians, Mexicans, and Europeans were "just like" the Chinese. They also argued that similar restrictions should be established. By 1924, the cycle begun with Chinese exclusion was complete, and gatekeeping had changed from being the exception to the rule. Immigration inspectors and inspections, passport and other documentary requirements, the surveillance and criminalization of immigration and the deportation of immigrants found to be in the country illegally all became standard operating procedures in the United States.[83]

Figure 5. The Anti-Chinese Wall.

[83] Erika Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 3 (2002): 56.

"A cartoon showing laborers, among whom are Irishmen, an African American, a Civil War veteran, Italian, Frenchman, and a Jew, building a wall against the Chinese. Congressional mortar is used to mount blocks of prejudice, non-reciprocity, law against race, fear, etc. Across the sea, a ship flying the American flag enters China, as the Chinese knock down their own wall and permit trade of such goods as rice, tea, and silk."

Source: F. Graetz, *The anti-Chinese wall--The American wall goes up as the Chinese original goes down / F. Grätz*. China United States, 1882. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/96500349/.

The language used in the discussion of the Chinese Exclusion Act has endured, both in using racial epithets, as well as rhetoric that describes a particular race of immigrants as dangerous invaders. Modern-day reports of racial violence can be seen in the news and online, as well as witnessed in person. From employment practices to daily life, racism has an unspoken legacy deep in the hearts and minds of people in America. Contemporary examples of violence to Mexican-Americans include: a white man published an online manifesto warning of a "Hispanic invasion"[84] before targeting Mexicans in a Walmart in El Paso, TX killing 22 people and wounding 26,[85], a 44-year-old Mexican man died in Georgia while being held by immigration authorities,[86] a white man entered a Salt Lake City tire store shouting that he wanted to kill Mexicans and then attacked a Mexican man and his son with a metal pole.[87]

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[84] "El Paso shooting suspect showed no remorse or regret, police say," CNN, August 6, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/05/us/el-paso-suspect-patrick-crusius/index.html.

[85] "El Paso Shooting Suspect Told Police He Was Targeting 'Mexicans,'" *Time Magazine*, August 9, 2019, https://time.com/5643110/el-paso-texas-mall-shooting/.

[79] "Mexican man dies in ICE custody in Georgia," NBC News, July, 25, 2019, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/mexican-man-dies-ice-custody-georgia-n1034651.

[87] "Utah Man Who Police Said Wanted to 'Kill Mexicans' Faces U.S. Hate Crime Charges," *The New York Times*, February, 21, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/21/us/utah-hate-crime-law.html.

According to a 2018 Pew Research study, these instances are representative a troubling trend of racial discrimination in the United States:

> Overall, about a quarter of Latinos [in America] (24%) say someone has discriminated against them or treated them unfairly because of their background, while 22% say someone has criticized them for speaking Spanish in public. About 20% say they have been told to go back to their home country, and about 16% say they have been called offensive names.[88]

Hate crime statistics published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 2018 confirm that the total number of crimes targeting Latinos has increased by 41% since 2016.[89]

Why still, in modern times, is this happening? Laws enacted since the late 1800s have provided a legal framework to explicitly racially discriminate against immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon decent, resulting in racial discrimination and racial violence. The landmark case is the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882, renewed indefinitely in 1902, and not repealed until 1943. The Chinese Exclusion Act provided new explicit mechanisms of legally enforcing exclusion and expulsion of a particular non-white citizenry. These mechanisms embedded in our civic institutions endure today. Currently, members of Congress are debating exclusionary policies that would primarily impact the Mexican-American community including the repeal of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) immigration policy,[90] a policy that provides people who came to the United States as children two years of deferred action and work authorization eligibility,

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[88] "More Latinos Have Serious Concerns About Their Place in America Under Trump" Pew Research Center, October 25, 2018. https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2018/10/25/latinos-and-discrimination/

[89] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "2018 Hate Crime Statistics," retrieved November 25, 2019, https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2018.

[90] Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, "Consideration of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), retrieved November 25, 2019, https://www.uscis.gov/archive/consideration-deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-daca.

the Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act[91] (DREAM Act) that would grant residency to immigrants already living in America who qualify, joint regulations created by the Department of Justice and Homeland Security to restrict access to the U.S. asylum system, and the Asylum Reform and Border Protection Act of 2019 which would fast-track processing and deportation of international asylum seekers and detainees.[92] Current U.S. legislation under discussion by members of Congress and the media, including border wall rhetoric, is cause for concern. It draws unmistakable parallels to dialogue supporting the Chinese Exclusion Act. It is critical to learn from the Chinese Exclusion Act so that racial institutional orders and resulting violence will not be repeated. It is the joint responsibility of individuals, media, and elected officials to be cognizant of the racially pejorative language we use. Words do matter.

[91] Congress.gov., "H.R.6 –American Dream and Promise Act of 2019," retrieved November 25th, 2019, https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/6/.

[92] Congress.gov., "H.R.3360 –Asylum Reform and Border Protection Act of 2019," retrieved November 25th, 2019, https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/3360/.

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