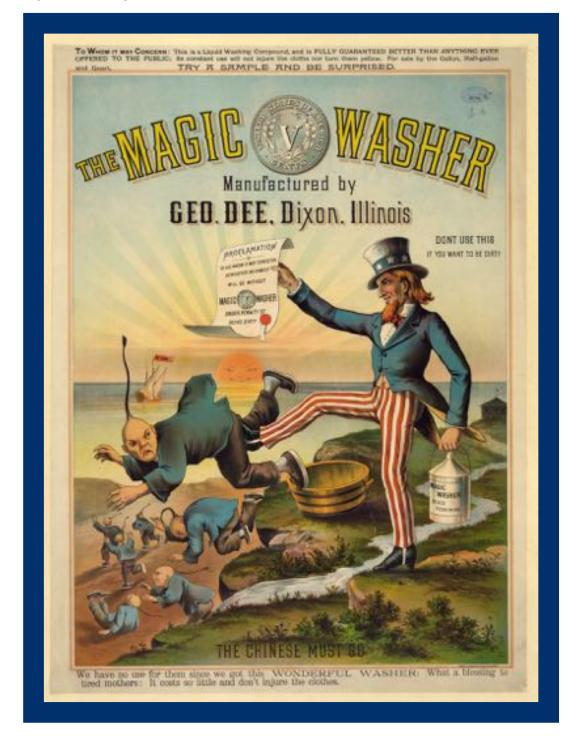
Chapter 5

For Whom Should America's Gates Be Open? An Inquiry About Chinese Immigration in the 1800s & Angel Island

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Figure 1. The Magic Washer



Note. Shober & Carqueville. (ca. 1886). The magic washer, manufactured by Geo. Dee, Dixon, Illinois. The Chinese must go [Lithograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/93500013/

For Whom Should America's Gates Be Open?		
C3 Disciplinary Focus U.S. History	C3 Inquiry Focus Evaluating Sources & Taking Informed Action	Content Topic Understanding early immigration to the U.S. beyond Ellis Island and European immigration

C3 Focus Indicators

D1: Identify facts and concepts associated with a supporting question. (D1.3.K-2) Make connections between supporting questions and compelling questions. (D1.4.K-2) Identify the disciplinary concepts and ideas associated with a supporting question that are open to interpretation. (D1.3.3-5)

Explain how supporting questions help answer compelling questions in an inquiry. (D1.4.3-5)

D2: Examine the origins and purposes of rules, laws, and key U.S. constitutional provisions. (D2.Civ.3.3-5)

Explain how rules and laws change society and how people change rules and laws. (D2. Civ.12.3- 5)

Identify the benefits and costs of making various personal decisions. (D2.Eco.2.K-2) Identify positive and negative incentives that influence the decisions people make. (D2. Eco.2.3-5)

Use maps, graphs, photographs, and other representations to describe places and the relationships and interactions that shape them. (D2.Geo.2.K-2)

Use maps, satellite images, photographs, and other representations to explain relationships between the locations of places and regions and their environmental characteristics. (D2.Geo.2.3-5)

Create a chronological sequence of multiple events. (D2.His.1.K-2)

Create and use a chronological sequence of related events to compare developments that happened at the same time. (D2.His.1.3-5)

Compare life in the past to life today. (D2.His.2.K-2)

Generate questions about individuals and groups who have shaped significant historical changes and continuities. (D2.His.3.3-5)

D3: Gather relevant information from one or two sources while using the origin and structure to guide the selection. (D3.1.K-2)

Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, structure, and context to guide the selection. (D3.1.3-5)

Use evidence to develop claims in response to compelling questions. (D3.4.3-5)

D4: Construct explanations using correct sequence and relevant information. (D4.2.K-2) Construct explanations using reasoning, correct sequence, examples, and details with relevant information and data. (D4.2.3-5)

Suggested Grade Levels 2-6	Resources See Appendices for a list of primary sources, recom- mended children's litera- ture, and media links.	Time Required 1–4 weeks
	ture, and media mixs.	

In elementary classrooms, the teaching of immigration is often limited to Ellis Island. The immigration station at Ellis Island holds an undoubtedly important place in U.S. immigration history, operating from 1892 until 1954 and processing 12 million immigrants through the Port of New York and New Jersey (Lee & Yung, 2010). However, to relegate children's understanding of immigration to the turn of the 19th century and, in particular, to a port that overwhelmingly processed European immigrants, whitewashes America's immigration history and neglects to address how and when immigrants from other continents came to the country, leaving students with no context for the migration and arrival of Latinx, Africans, and Asians in the United States.

Rationale for Classroom Practice

In this chapter, I use primary sources and children's literature to explore the arrival of Chinese along the West Coast of the United States in the 1800s. Chinese immigration during this time period ultimately led to the creation of the Angel Island Immigration Station outside the city of San Francisco. Although some have referred to this immigration station as "the Ellis Island of the West," Angel Island and the immigrants who passed through it were vastly different from Ellis Island and its respective arrivals. The distinctions between the two stations illustrate the ways in which immigrants were treated differently based on their country of origin and can inform student understandings of contemporary xenophobia and modern immigration policies.

Counternarratives and Critical Race Media Literacy

This chapter adopts two related pedagogical approaches: counternarratives and critical race media literacy. Asian American historian Ronald Takaki (2012) describes the master (or dominant) narrative of the United States as one that "says that our country was settled by European immigrants, and that Americans are white. People of other races, people not of European ancestry, have been pushed to the sidelines of the Master Narrative" (p. 6). However, as Takaki (2012) and many other scholars have argued, this definition of who is American is too narrow. Counternarratives (also known as counterstories) focus on those whose experiences are not often told and can serve as a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the dominant narratives that permeate popular culture and school curriculum (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Critical race media literacy also examines the dominant narrative but with a focus on media production and consumption, as it "calls students to recognize the problematic ways people of color are represented in various media outlets while questioning the intentions behind such representations and working toward creating more-just representations in the media" (Hawkman & Van Horn, 2019, p. 119). Hawkman and Shear (2017) identified three categories in the development of critical race media literacy: (1) *confrontation* of stereotypes

and normative identities, (2) *interrogation* of representations through critical analysis, and (3) *navigation* of the manifestations of misrepresentations to then enact change and take action.

The inquiry unit that follows uses primary sources, primarily from the Library of Congress (LOC), alongside children's literature to walk young learners through these stages as related to Chinese immigration in the 1800s. When immigration stories in popular culture solely highlight European experiences at the turn of the 19th century, many groups are left out and children have no explanation for the ethnoracial diversity that currently exists in the United States. However, as many adults have not learned the details of this history, each dimension of the inquiry is presented historically and chronologically, so that educators can learn the history for themselves and then consider how best to use the same primary sources included with recommended children's literature to support student learning. By centering Chinese immigrant histories and experiences, educators can offer young learners a counternarrative of America's immigrant past and develop critical race media literacy that can then be applied in future learning.

Classroom Example: "They're not Being Allowed to Live a Normal Life"

In recognition of Asian Pacific American History Month in May 2014, I spent several weeks guest teaching lessons about Asian American history in a large public elementary school in Texas. One lesson, taught in a multi-age third and fourth grade classroom, centered on the history of Angel Island. Much like this chapter, the lesson began with a comparison between Ellis Island and Angel Island; while students were all familiar with Ellis Island, none had heard of or learned about Angel Island. Our exploration of Angel Island began with primary sources from the National Archives (similar to Sources 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15) followed by a virtual tour produced by the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation (AIISF).

The primary sources depicted immigrants leaving a ship as they enter Angel Island circa 1925 (Source 17), immigrants arriving at the immigration station in 1912, and health inspectors examining detainees at the immigration station circa 1917 (Source 18). We discussed students' observations, and they were most struck by the final image of the health inspectors, in which a row of shirtless men are examined by an agent while three other officials look on. Students compared this public examination to the private, individual exams they were used to. Students were stunned by the lack of privacy and imagined how uncomfortable new immigrants must have felt in that situation.

After concluding our discussion about the primary sources, we watched a virtual tour of Angel Island. In the video, AIISF exhibit designer Daniel Quan walks through the replicas of the dormitories. Quan directs the viewer to the walls of the dormitories, onto which

detainees carved poems describing the solitude and desperation they felt; these poems are testimony to the anguish felt by Angel Island detainees that was distinct from the experiences of Ellis Island immigrants and serve as counternarratives to idyllic tales of immigrant arrival. Some of the carved poems have been preserved and recorded (see Lai et al., 1980), so as a class, we read aloud two poems not featured in the virtual tour.

Integrating literacy skills into the social studies lesson, students summarized the meaning of the poems, identified metaphors and emotions, and drew conclusions. One student reflected, "They're not being allowed to live a normal life" (Rodríguez, 2015, p. 24). The lesson ended with students composing poems from the perspective of a detained immigrant on Angel Island. Ultimately, the third and fourth graders were able to apply the lessons they learned about Angel Island and produced many powerful poems to demonstrate their understanding of the challenges faced by immigrants at this station (see Rodríguez, 2015). This lesson lasted only a day but incorporated multimodal learning through immigration station virtual tours and poetry that served the learning needs of all students in the class with opportunities for small and whole group discussion. The unit described in the remainder of this chapter explores how educators might conduct an in-depth inquiry over the course of several days or weeks that would provide students with a much more detailed understanding of early Chinese immigration to the U.S.

An Inquiry about Chinese Immigration in the 1800s & Angel Island

Given the absence of Asian American history from traditional elementary social studies textbooks and curriculum, most educators know very little about Chinese immigration in the 1800s beyond the 1882 Exclusion Act, and many have never heard of Angel Island (Rodríguez, 2015, 2018). Therefore, each aspect of the inquiry described below (Table 2) provides some foundational content knowledge related to immigration and U.S. history using the Inquiry Design Model (Swan et al., 2018). For the remainder of this chapter, I will explore each component of this inquiry unit, designed with second through sixth grades in mind.

Table 2. Inquiry Design Model Unit Overview

For Whom Should America's Gates Be Open?			
Staging the Compelling Question	The teacher should publicly record student responses to the following questions: What have students learned about immigration to the United States? What groups have they observed around them whose immigration stories aren't taught in school? Finally, if they were in charge, who should be allowed to enter the country and why?		
Supporting Question 1	Supporting Question 2	Supporting Question 3	Supporting Question 4
Why did the Chinese come to the Western United States?	What was life in the United States like for Chinese immigrants?	What factors led to Chinese exclusion?	How did Chinese exclusion lead to stricter immigration enforcement?
Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task
Identify one reason why Chinese men left their homes to go to the United States.	Describe the working and living conditions of Chinese immigrants.	Identify stereotypes associated with Chinese workers and explain how these stereotypes resulted in violence against Chinese communities.	Compare and contrast Ellis Island with Angel Island. Summarize the content of the poetry carvings and explain the paper son system.
Featured Sources	Featured Sources	Featured Sources	Featured Sources
1. Chinese gold miners illustration	 Chinese camp Chinese railroad worker Workers at Summit Tunnel Ceremony at "Wedding of the Rails" Corky Lee 2002 photograph "The Chinamen Must Go" music sheet "The Chinese Must Go" in Scribner's "The Coming Man" in the Illustrated Wasp 	 Magic Washer laundry detergent Massacre of Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming 	 San Francisco earthquake, 1906 Angel Island Angel Island Immigration Station Angel Island Immigration Station dorm Poetry carving 1 Poetry carving 2 Madame Chiang Kai-Shek at the White House in 1943 "How to tell Japs from the Chinese" in LIFE Magazine
Summative Performance Task	Using primary sources from this lesson, write a short nonfiction book or create a slideshow about Chinese immigration from the 1850s-1950s that includes major events that explains why America's gates were opened to the Chinese, then closed, then re-opened. Extension: Conduct additional research on the 1965 immigration act; the difference between an immigrant and a refugee; and/or how Asian stereotypes reemerged in American culture during the COVID-19 pandemic		
Taking Informed Action	 Understand: Students will compare the experiences of the Chinese in the 1800s to other immigrants in the 1800s and early 1900s, such as Irish, Italians, Japanese, and Filipinos. Assess: Students will research and determine groups of immigrants today who are treated similarly to ways Chinese immigrants were treated in the 1800s. Act: Students will develop a plan of action to inform other students about immigrant contributions to the nation in the past and/or present, such as creating advertisements about misconceptions related to COVID-19 and Asian immigrants. 		

Dimension 1: Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries

In order for students to understand the stark differences between Ellis and Angel Islands and the emphasis on enforcement of exclusion that occurred at Angel Island, it is important for educators to establish the anti-Chinese, and eventually anti-Asian, sentiment that preceded the building of Angel Island. Some possible compelling questions to guide inquiry on this topic are:

- Has the United States been welcoming to all immigrants?
- Is the U.S. a "nation of immigrants"¹ or a "gate-keeping nation"?
- Why were the Chinese the first group excluded from U.S. immigration?
- How does the Angel Island Immigration Station help us understand how non-European immigrants were treated in the 1900s?
- How and why were Chinese laborers both vital to the development of the West and considered a plague on the country?

While it is important for educators to develop authentic inquiries in which compelling questions emerge from their students' curiosities, for the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on the compelling question, "For whom should America's gates be open?"

Before embarking upon this unit, ask students to share what they already know about immigration. What groups have they learned about? During which time periods? Ask students what they know about modes of transportation to the United States. How did these modes change over time? It is likely that while students may have in-depth answers to these questions, they have not learned explicitly about immigration laws. Elicit student understanding regarding the immigration process and pose the following supporting questions:

- Who should be allowed to enter a country and why?
- Are there certain groups that should not be allowed to enter? Why or why not?
- How might you enforce these rules? What resources would be needed to enforce them?
- What does it mean to be a citizen of a place? Are there certain requirements that citizens should meet or things that citizens should be expected to do?

The discussion that results from these questions will position students well for an inquiry into Chinese immigration in the 1800s. While considering push-and-pull factors is important in understanding immigration, it is also important to consider how certain groups are perceived in the popular imagination and how the notion of citizen is constructed. After students have considered answers to the questions above, they can better reflect on how definitions of who is considered a U.S. citizen have changed over time. These discussions readily lend themselves to other social studies units related to civil rights across time and place.

^{1.} The idea that the United States is a "nation of immigrants" erases the Native Peoples who have lived on Turtle Island since time immemorial. See Shear et al., 2018 for ways to discuss settler colonialism with young learners.

Dimension 2: Connections to Disciplinary Tools and Concepts

Any unit related to immigration is well suited to attend to a combination of the four core disciplines of the social studies: civics, economics, geography, and history. Each of these disciplinary lenses could take our compelling question in a different direction:

Compelling Question: For Whom Should America's Gates Be Open?

Civics. What does it mean to be a U.S. citizen? How might citizenship become earned? Should citizenship be revocable? How have immigrants contributed to communities? How have immigrants fought for fair treatment by employers? (D2.Civ.2.K-2, D2.Civ.2.3-5, D2.Civ.4.3-5, D2.Civ.8.K-2, D2.Civ.8.3-5, D2.Civ.14.K-2, D2.Civ.14.3-5)

Economics. The United States is known as "the land of opportunity." Do immigrants to this land deserve fair wages and treatment when they contribute to the U.S. economy? How should the United States determine which groups of people should be allowed the opportunity to immigrate and which groups should be denied this opportunity? What is the role of businesses in determining immigration policy? (D2.Eco.2.K-2, D2.Eco.2.3-5, D2.Eco.6.K-2, D2.Eco.6.3-5, D2.Eco.13.K-2, D2.Eco.13.3-5)

Geography. From which countries of origin have immigrants arrived in the last two centuries? How have new immigrants experienced their entry into the United States differently based on their country of origin and point of entry? How do local businesses and laws impact how immigrants experience life and labor in different regions of the United States? (D2.Geo.2.K 2, D2.Geo.2.3-5, D2.Geo.4.K-2, D2.Geo.4.3-5, D2.Geo.5.K-2, D2.Geo.5.3-5, D2.Geo.6.K-2, D2.Geo.6.3-5, D2.Geo.9.K-2, D2.Geo.9.3-5, D2.Geo.11.K-2, D2.Geo.11.3-5, D2.Geo.12.K-2, D2.Geo.12.3-5)

History. What historical events led immigrants to leave their homes in search of a better life in the United States? From which countries of origin have immigrants arrived in the last two centuries? How do regional immigration stations process new arrivals? How were the different groups of immigrants received by American citizens upon their arrival? (D2. His.1.K-2, D2.His.1.3-5, D2.His.3.K-2, D2.His.3.3-5, D2.His.5.3-5, D2.His.6.K-2, D2.His.6.3-5)

This chapter demonstrates how primary sources from the Library of Congress (LOC) can be used to support our compelling question; the supporting questions that follow are openended enough that they can stay the same or be similar regardless of the disciplinary focus.

Dimension 3: Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence

As the first major wave of Chinese immigration to the United States took place from the mid- to late-1800s, there are limited primary sources available that document this history from the perspectives of Chinese immigrants themselves. Therefore, to teach this content

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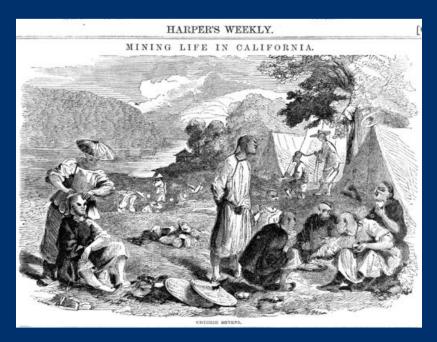
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that is typically excluded from social studies textbooks to young children, I recommend using a combination of primary sources and children's literature to support student understanding. However, the reason behind the lack of first-hand Chinese primary sources is worth considering with students in terms of narrative and civic priorities. Why might the Library of Congress, in addition to other major archives, have dedicated more resources to the archiving of materials in English and featuring white men and women? How might the availability of different perspectives, or counternarratives, offer us a new way of understanding the past, particularly regarding the histories of marginalized peoples like the Chinese in the 1800s?

Supporting Question 1: Why Did the Chinese Come to the Western United States?

After multiple military and internal conflicts (the First and Second Opium Wars, Taipei Rebellion, Red Turban Rebellion), natural disasters, plagues, famines, and high taxes, many rural families along China's Pearl River Delta were facing abject poverty. Desperate for economic stability, rumors of *gam saan*, or Gold Mountain, enticed many young Chinese men from the Guangdong province to head to California in search of gold (Hsu, 2000). This illustration from the magazine *Harper's Weekly* (Figure 2, Source 1 in Appendix A) shows a Chinese mining camp. From 1852 until the early 1860s, between six to seven thousand Chinese arrived in California each year. About half of these Chinese immigrants came as sojourners who worked in the United States for a few years then returned home (Chang, 2019).





Note. Mining life in California—Chinese miners. (1857). [Illustration]. The Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001700332/

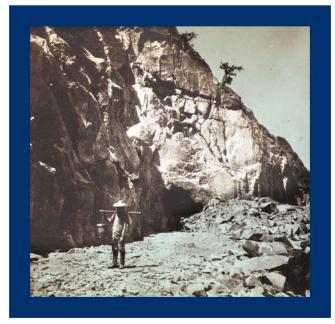
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Educators can read aloud the text of "Searching for Gold Mountain" from the Library of Congress educational website then share the primary source listed above. Drawing from historical thinking practices or using LOC worksheets, students should be encouraged to record their observations of the Chinese miners. If time permits, consider reading aloud *Staking a Claim: The Journal of Wong Ming-Chung* (Yep, 2000), a fictional account of one sojourner which includes various primary sources and a helpful historical note that can be used on its own to provide elementary-appropriate context for this time period. The formative performance task for this supporting question is for students to identify one reason why Chinese left their homes to come to the United States; this task can be drawn, conducted orally, or written.

Supporting Question 2: What Was Life in the United States Like for Chinese Immigrants?

Once gold ran out in California, many Chinese immigrants turned to the railroads for employment beginning in the late 1850s. Railroad companies also began heavily recruiting workers from China in 1864, and some Chinese used the "credit tickets" to pay for their voyage to California. In the credit ticket system, a contractor or employer advances the cost of passage, and the borrower repays the cost (plus interest) from their income in the United States. Chinese laborers made up 90% of the Central Pacific Railroad Company's workforce in building the transcontinental railroad, also known as the Pacific Railway, from 1864 to 1869 (Chang, 2019). Sources 2, 3, and 4 in Appendix A show the camps and Chinese workers. Despite the significant contributions of Chinese laborers in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, they are often sidelined in this history. Source 5 is one of several images from the day the railroad was completed. In this image, as well as the staged photographs of the final "Golden Spike" driven to link the two portions of railroad in Promontory Point, Utah, Chinese railroad workers are nowhere to be seen. In an effort to recognize Chinese contributions to the railroad, photographer Corky Lee gathered a group of Chinese American descendants of railroad workers to recreate the famous Golden Spike image in 2002 (Source 21).



Note. Hart, A. A. (1865-1869). *Heading of east portal Tunnel No. 8* [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2005682948/

Coolies (Yin, 2001) is a picturebook that offers a fictional account of two Chinese brothers working on the railroad. The book describes the grueling, dangerous labor that was required and the discrimination that Chinese workers encountered and would serve as a powerful read aloud to introduce the events described above. After reading aloud *Coolies*, share the primary sources of Chinese workers on the railroad and ask students to make text-to-text connections between the story and the photographs. Do they see evidence of the dangerous working conditions described in the book? Do they notice the kind of terrain and climate in which the railroad was built? In the book, the two brothers worked together. How might it feel to be a Chinese worker without any family on the continent, especially if you didn't speak English? Educators can scribe student connections and responses; older students could record their own responses in journals they can refer to throughout the unit.

By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the U.S., with over three-quarters of them in California (Lee, 2019). Chinese immigrants stood out with their traditional blue cotton tunics, baggy pants, blue cotton knee-high stockings, wooden-soled slippers or shoes, cone-shaped woven hats, and queue hairstyles. The queue consisted of a shaved area above the temples and forehead, with the rest of the hair grown long and styled in a braid. Queues were required by the Qin Dynasty in China to show loyalty to the empire; if a subject of the empire did not have a queue, they could be punished by death if they returned to China. However, Chinese men were often ridiculed for this hairstyle, and in 1873, Chinese men in San Francisco faced a terrible dilemma: the Pigtail Ordinance required prisoners to cut their hair within an inch of the scalp, therefore removing the possibility for Chinese who followed

the ordinance to safely return home (Hsu, 2000). This is one of many examples of anti-Chinese legislation in the United States that could launch further civic inquiries, particularly for students in intermediate grades who are learning about government and laws. When students inevitably comment on the clothing and/or queues of the Chinese brothers in *Coolies* or in the primary sources, educators should take the time to explain why this hairstyle was typical among Chinese immigrants and why it was so important for them to maintain this style after arriving in the United States. Educators can also make connections to current issues related to the hairstyles permitted in schools and workplaces and the consequences of violating restrictions related to one's appearance today.

Many Chinese faced constant harassment and violence. Especially on the West Coast, they competed against white laborers for jobs, which exacerbated already existing views of Chinese as "a threatening, undesirable race that deserved no place in a white man's country" (Chang, 2019, p. 230). As early as 1952, racial prejudice was embedded into local and state laws, taxation, and even music (Source 6). Newspapers (Source 19) and other periodicals (Figure 4; Source 7) also played a significant role in perpetuating stereotypes about Chinese immigrants as an invading, morally corrupt horde often referred to as the Yellow Peril (Chang, 2019; Lee, 2019). In multiple locations across the West, mobs attacked Chinese camps and neighborhoods. In 1871, the Chinese quarter in Los Angeles was attacked and burned by a mob of 500; eighteen Chinese were lynched in the streets in one of the largest mass lynchings in U.S. history (Pfaelzer, 2008).

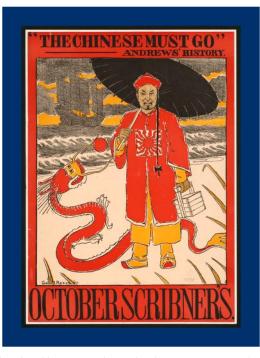


Figure 4. "The Chinese Must Go"

Note. "The Chinese must go," Andrews' history. October Scribner's. (1895). [Poster]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015646533/

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Chinese who did not work on the railroads had limited employment opportunities, such as working in laundries, restaurants, or canneries (Chang, 2019). The "Struggling for Work" section of the Library of Congress immigration education site provides summary text for these topics. If more time is available, Mountain Chef: How One Man Lost His Groceries, Changed His Plans, and Helped Cook Up the National Park Service (Pimentel, 2016) details one Chinese chef's story. However, the book omits details about the degree of racism, discrimination, and violence that Chinese immigrants faced on the West Coast. Spending time examining the racist words and imagery in primary sources such as those listed above (Sources 6, 7 in Appendix A and 19 in Appendix B) will better support student understanding of the ways Chinese immigrants were vilified and considered the Yellow Peril in the popular American imagination. This primary source exploration also illustrates how relying solely on children's literature is often insufficient when teaching histories to young children as children's literature often offers superficial narratives prone to happy endings, especially about events related to marginalized communities (Clark, 2003; Rodríguez & Kim, 2018). Therefore, regardless of the informational text used (Library of Congress immigration education website or picturebooks), it is important that educators supplement the text with primary sources and allow ample time for students to relate what they see in the primary sources to the contents of the informational text.

The formative performance task for this supporting question is describing the working and living conditions of Chinese immigrants through oral description, illustration, creative expression, or writing a paragraph. Educators can determine if a graphic organizer to support the main idea/detail or sequencing may be helpful, or if it is possible for students to justify each of their statements by citing a primary source as evidence. Regardless of format, any assortment of primary sources or texts recommended in this section will provide students with a foundational understanding of the difficulties Chinese immigrants encountered in Gold Mountain, both in their working lives and in the lives they led outside of work. Although we have no primary sources that express Chinese perspectives firsthand, the collection of information sources for this supporting question disrupts idyllic notions of the United States as a land of opportunity. By addressing the distinct challenges of being Chinese in the 1800s, educators confront the stereotypes commonly associated with Chinese laborers while also considering how and why the Chinese were viewed as so different from traditional (white) Americans and immigrants; this is the first phase of critical race media literacy as described by Hawkman and Shear (2017).

Supporting Question 3: What Factors Led to Chinese Exclusion?

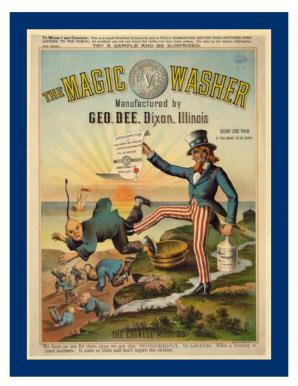
By this point in the inquiry, students will have an emerging understanding of the dangerous, inequitable work conditions faced by Chinese and will have some examples of the injustice they faced. However, it is important to not only discuss the legal discrimination they faced but also, particularly with older students, the racial violence that they were subjected to by white laborers. After the Pacific Railway was completed in 1869, some Chinese found

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work as railroad hands in other parts of the United States. Others moved to the South and labored on plantations after the Civil War. In the 1870s, an economic recession resulted in widespread blaming of Chinese workers for unfavorable wages and scarce job availability (Hsu, 2000).

The American Federation of Labor fully supported Chinese exclusion and rigid legislative enforcement that would prohibit further immigration (Almaguer, 1979). The growing anti-Chinese movement that began in California successfully lobbied for national legislation aimed to restrict Chinese immigration, beginning with the Coolie Trade Act of 1862 and the 1875 Page Act, which barred Asian women supposedly suspected of prostitution and contract laborers; historians have noted that limiting the entry of Chinese women to the United States helped prevent Chinese from starting families and remaining in the country permanently (Hsu, 2000). In 1882, California Senator John F. Miller introduced a bill to exclude Chinese laborers from the United States on the basis that they stole jobs from white workers in every industry, were an inferior race, and posed a threat to national security. The Chinese Exclusion Act passed with little opposition, becoming the first piece of national legislation restricting immigration on the basis of race/national origin (Lee, 2019). Support for Chinese exclusion was so widespread that it was even used for advertising purposes (Figure 5; Source 8).





Note Shober & Carqueville. (ca. 1886). The magic washer, manufactured by Geo. Dee, Dixon, Illinois. The Chinese must go [Lithograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/93500013/

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After exclusion, violence against Chinese continued, and in some cases, increased. In 1885, an armed mob of 150 white workers attacked Chinese coal miners, killing at least 28 in Rock Springs, Wyoming (Figure 6; Source 9). In 1887, at least 34 Chinese miners were tortured, mutilated, and murdered in Hells Canyon, Oregon. While these particular incidents are some of the worst instances of violence, around 170 documented violent incidents in which Chinese were pushed out of an area or killed occurred between 1885 and 1887 alone. While labor concerns are often addressed as a major factor leading to Chinese exclusion in 1882, the level of violence faced by Chinese at the hands of white laborers before and after exclusion is often omitted (Hsu, 2000; Pfaelzer, 2008).



Figure 6. The Massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming

Note. Thulstrup, T. D. (1885). The massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming [Drawing]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/89708533/

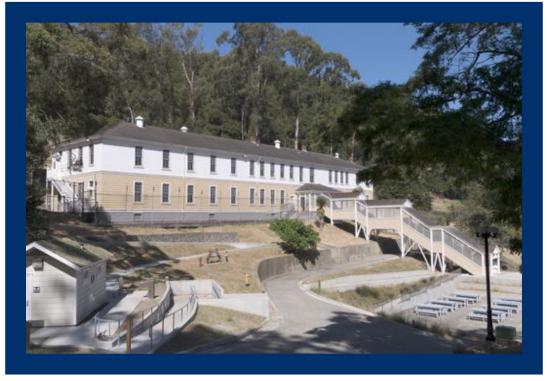
The "Intolerance" section of the Library of Congress immigration education site summarizes much of the racial violence faced by the Chinese; "Legislative Harassment" details the escalating anti-Chinese sentiment, while "Exclusion" describes the passage of the 1882 act. Educators can read each of these summaries aloud, then can offer students time to study and comment on the primary sources shared in this section in pairs or small groups, using Library of Congress analysis tools for political cartoons and primary sources. Students can share their observations or study primary sources in rotation; the formative performance task for this supporting question is for students to identify the stereotypes associated with Chinese workers and to explain how these stereotypes resulted in violence against them. This interrogation of representations through critical analysis is the second phase of Hawkman and Shear's (2017) development of critical race media literacy.

Supporting Question 4: How Did Chinese Exclusion Lead to Stricter Immigration Enforcement?

The 1882 passage of Chinese exclusion required a shift in immigration enforcement as it created the first federal restrictions on immigration. The Exclusion Act required that all arriving Chinese immigrants be inspected and approved for admission, so for nearly two decades these inspections took place on steamships. However, this method was insufficient and California immigration officials needed to create an isolated, secure facility to detain immigrants (Chinese and others) separate from U.S. citizens, where they could conduct medical examinations and interviews. In 1910, the Angel Island Immigration Station opened on the largest island in the San Francisco Bay. For thirty years, Angel Island processed, admitted, detained, and rejected over one million immigrants from Asia, Australia, Europe, and Latin America. Before its closure after a fire in 1940, around 178,000 Chinese men and women were admitted into the United States through Angel Island (Lee, 2019).

The Angel Island ferry made four roundtrips across the San Francisco Bay each day from 1910 to 1940, bringing new arrivals and employees to and from the immigration station on the north shore of the island. The ferry, detention facilities, dining quarters, and hospital were all segregated, with separate sections for whites and Asians and men and women (Sources 12 and 13) (Lee & Yung, 2010). While the architect of Angel Island used Ellis Island as a model to design the immigration station facilities, the experiences of immigrants at the two stations had little in common. At Ellis Island, only 20% of all arrivals were detained; detentions typically lasted only 2-3 days, with 98% admittance (Lee, 2019). In contrast, at Angel Island, rates and length of immigrant detention were largely determined by race, nationality, legal status, and class. Chinese had the highest and longest rates of the detention, making up 70% of detainees with an average stay of 2-3 weeks. The longest known detention was that of Kong Din Quong, who was imprisoned on Angel Island for 756 days (Lee, 2019; Lee & Yung, 2010). During their lengthy detentions, many immigrants expressed their feelings of despair by carving poetry into the dormitory walls (see Sources 14 and 15). *Island* (Lai et al., 1980) is a compilation of these poems, described previously in the classroom example.

Figure 7. Detention Center at Angel Island



Note. Highsmith, C. M. (2013). Detention Center at Angel Island, an island in San Francisco Bay that offers expansive views of the San Francisco skyline, the Marin County Headlands and Mount Tamalpais [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2013634659/

Educators can introduce Angel Island through a number of texts, and the poems of Angel Island offer rich opportunities for social studies and language arts integration. The Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation website features a virtual tour of the station that includes a recreation of a dormitory and examines poem carvings. Further details about my work in a third/fourth-grade classroom engaged in learning about Angel Island with an emphasis on poetry carvings can be found in *Social Studies and the Young Learner*. Freedman's (2013) *Angel Island* is an in-depth intermediate nonfiction book that features detailed histories and primary sources about Angel Island, many of which are featured in this chapter.

An interesting aspect of Angel Island history is the "paper son" system that took place at this particular immigration station. In 1906, an earthquake in San Francisco resulted in a fire that destroyed all the city's birth records (Figure 8; Source 10). As Chinese exclusion made immigration nearly impossible for working-class Chinese, some took advantage of the city of San Francisco's loss of birth records and offered to claim interested immigrants as their children in exchange for money—as these individuals were listed as children on paper, they were often referred to as "paper sons" and "paper daughters." After Angel Island opened, immigration officials were aware of the false familial claims that some Chinese arrivals were making and subjected them to multiple intense interviews, sometimes consisting of hundreds

of questions about minute details, like the number of windows located on a north-facing wall (Lee & Yung, 2010).

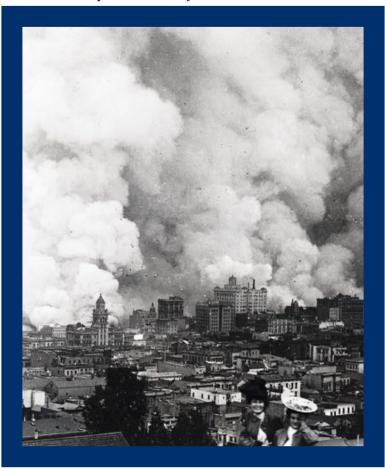


Figure 8. San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906

Note. Genthe, A. (ca. 1906). San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2018704117/

Four picturebooks depict the paper son experiences of Chinese boys at Angel Island: *Kai's Journey to Gold Mountain* (Currier, 2004), *Landed* (Lee, 2006), *Paper Son: Lee's Journey to America* (James & Loh, 2013), and *Paper Son: The Inspiring Story of Tyrus Wong, Immigrant and Artist* (Leung, 2019). These books can be used together as a set to compare the different reasons young immigrants had for leaving their homes and the range of experiences that occurred at Angel Island, and they pair well with the Angel Island Immigration Station virtual tour. At this point in students' learning, educators can ask students to begin summarizing what they have learned about Angel Island, particularly in terms of where immigrants came from and what their experience at the immigration station was like. If students have learned about Ellis Island previously or have access to textbooks or trade books about Ellis Island, they can compare and contrast the two immigration stations. This is the formative

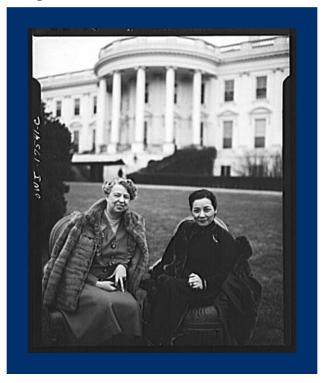
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performance task for this supporting question, but the story of early Chinese immigration and attendant negative perceptions of the Chinese in the United States is not yet over and should continue after the task is completed.

After an electrical fire broke out in the basement of the Angel Island administrative building in August 1940, the building was destroyed. Rather than rebuild the facility, the government closed the station and moved services to a new facility in San Francisco. Shortly afterward, the United States entered World War II after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Suddenly, China was an American ally fighting the common Japanese enemy and Chinese Americans were viewed as friends rather than threats; in 1943, one U.S. congressman was quoted as stating, "All at once we discovered the saintly qualities of the Chinese people. If it had not been for December 7th, I do not know if we would have ever found out how good they were" (Lee, 2015, p. 254). A nationwide media campaign began to dismantle decades-long negative stereotypes of Chinese to distinguish "good" Orientals from "bad" Orientals (see Source 20, published in *Life Magazine* in 1941) (Lee, 2015).

These shifting views of Chinese in the United States led to greater opportunities for Chinese Americans, who were finally able to earn stable wages in shipyards and factories and to serve in the military (Lee, 2015). During World War II, two Chinese American women were allowed to serve in the Women Airforce Service Pilots. *Sky High: The True Story of Maggie Gee* (Moss, 2009) describes the story of Maggie Gee, while *The Fearless Flights of Hazel Ying Lee* (Leung, 2021) tells the tale of Hazel Ying Lee. While Gee's and Lee's stories are an important example of the change in attitudes towards Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the 1940s, it is important for educators to recognize how books like *Sky High* downplay the racism Chinese continued to face as they were often mistaken as Japanese. For older students who may learn about World War II later in the academic year, it is important for educators to explore these shifting attitudes as they relate to wartime alliances; rather than end the story of Chinese immigrants with exclusion or Angel Island, as the dominant narrative often does, a counternarrative of this history continues to explore the various sociopolitical and economic factors that influence perceptions over time.

Figure 9. Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mrs. Roosevelt



Note. Roberts. (1943). Washington, D.C. Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mrs. Roosevelt [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017845664/

In 1943, China's first lady, Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on a goodwill tour to the United States. She began at the White House, where she was the honored guest of President Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor (Figure 9; Source 16). She became the first private citizen and second woman to address both houses of Congress and was celebrated for her beauty, intellect, and message of wartime collaboration during her two-month visit. Her successful goodwill tour resulted in an effort to repeal Chinese exclusion laws, leading President Roosevelt to declare the laws "a historic mistake" in October 1943. Older students may enjoy learning more about Madame Chiang Kai-shek's travel itinerary and can use geography skills to map the different locations she visited.

On December 17, 1943, President Roosevelt signed the Magnuson Act, repealing exclusion after 61 years as a symbolic gesture of the United States' new wartime friendship with China. Educators should be careful to note that, although the repeal of exclusion laws finally gave Chinese immigrants eligibility for naturalization, the repeal also placed a quota of only 105 Chinese allowed to enter the country per year, a fraction of the number allotted to other Allied countries (Lee, 2015). By this point in students' learning, they will be approaching the third phase of critical race media literacy: after acquiring critical knowledge about the racist ways in which Chinese immigrants have been represented, how might they navigate the representations of immigrants as invaders that persist today?

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Dimension 4: Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action

The history of early Chinese immigration to the United States, and the push for and enactment of Chinese exclusion in particular, sets the stage for rich conversations about immigration broadly and in the contemporary period. Despite their tremendous labor contributions and terrible working conditions, the Chinese were vilified by white laborers who blamed them rather than the exploitative employers who suppressed wages and intentionally recruited and employed desperate Chinese workers. For the summative performance task, students should use primary sources from this lesson to compose a short nonfiction book or slideshow about Chinese immigration from the 1850s to 1950s that includes major events and/or legislation to explain why America's gates were opened to the Chinese, then closed, then re-opened. Younger learners may need to compose this work in small groups with an option to audio record their narrative, while older learners can complete this task independently in writing.

As students summarize what they have learned about early Chinese immigrants, they can continue to ask questions about how immigration to the United States has shifted over time; if Ellis Island is the next major unit they undertake, they can compare and contrast the experiences of European immigrants to those of the mostly Asian immigrants who arrived on the West Coast through Angel Island. Moreover, they can consider how assimilation worked differently based on immigrants' country and continent of origin, especially given that Asian immigrants broadly were unable to naturalize until the 1950s. This final section includes ways students' emerging knowledge of Chinese immigration can inform their understandings of the American immigration system through a continued focus on interdisciplinary learning that integrates social studies and language arts.

Explorations of immigration need to extend to the present day, rather than beginning and ending at Ellis Island. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 radically changed who was able to immigrate to the United States, finally opening America's doors to people from Asia, Africa, and Latin America at an unprecedented scale. Students could extend their learning by exploring Asian immigration in the last fifty years. Such learning would reveal distinctions between the experiences of highly educated, English-fluent Indians and Koreans immigrating through H1-B work visas to work in technology sectors and the medical field, and the experiences of Southeast Asian refugees escaping war-torn countries and genocide. Despite the many differences between these two examples, Asians and Asian Americans are often perceived as a monolith and may experience similar kinds of racism in the United States. In-depth conversations about these important immigration topics necessarily involve the connections between history, citizenship, and race, and utilizing tools such as timelines to chronologically organize changes in immigration policy can help students better contextualize America's contemporary ethnoracial struggles. Additionally, an examination of charts related to income and educational attainment or fact sheets from the Pew Research Center can integrate math skills while attending to the need to disaggregate immigrant data.

This inquiry unit provides students with the background needed to explore the U.S. immigration system and its current issues. Like the Chinese in the 1800s, undocumented immigrants today are often scapegoated for taking away jobs from U.S.-born workers. Much like the Chinese, the jobs which undocumented laborers work are often deeply underpaid and require demanding physical labor with unrelenting hours and few benefits—jobs in fields and factories that are generally not of interest to white and native-born workers who may have more well-paying and less laborious options. This inquiry can be further extended by asking questions about notions of "getting in line" in order to enter the United States: Is there a line for everyone? How have the lines available for entry changed over time, particularly based on national origin? Simplistic instructional units about Ellis Island rarely acknowledge these questions, mostly because no line existed at that time and place for those who arrived. The story of Angel Island and the Chinese who passed through that immigration station belies such reductive approaches as it makes clear that all immigrants have not been treated the same upon their arrival. Today, this statement remains true. Students need opportunities to explore the current immigration system and to examine its affordances and constraints. Middle-grade realistic fiction like Front Desk (Yang, 2018), Inside Out and Back Again (Lai, 2011), and Return to Sender (Alvarez, 2010) explore these topics from the point of view of compelling child narrators and have discussion guides available for use in literature circles or as whole-class read-alouds in intermediate grades.

In terms of Taking Informed Action, this inquiry about Chinese immigration can be directly related to the global and national events occurring at the time of this writing. COVID-19 concerns reignited anti-Asian sentiment (Escobar, 2020; Hussain, 2020) and notions of Chinese and other Asians as a disease-ridden yellow peril to be avoided (An & Rodríguez, 2021). Beginning in January 2020, incidents of harassment and violence against Asians and Asian Americans began to be documented across the United States (Yan et al., 2020). Drawing from the content and resources shared in the NCSS Response to anti-Asian Harassment and Violence during COVID 19, students can compare and contrast beliefs about Chinese in the U.S. in the 1800s to Asians and Asian Americans during the COVID-19 outbreak to reflect on reasons why people would associate certain groups of people with particular negative traits and why such behavior continues today. Then, students can consider possible solutions, such as creating advertisements to increase awareness about these issues in the form of critical race media literacy.

Conclusion

This immigration inquiry provides a rarely addressed counternarrative of Chinese in the 1800s that confronts, interrogates, and navigates the discrimination, racism, and violence Chinese laborers faced in the United States. While children's literature can be a powerful

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resource that may supplement primary sources with engaging age-appropriate narratives, many books written for children whitewash racist histories and conclude with happy endings intended to keep young readers satisfied rather than providing factual information that may be unsettling. By introducing components of critical race media literacy alongside primary sources, educators of young children can develop the dispositions needed to critically analyze information in a range of forms and can introduce learners to important histories of our nation that are rarely taught in meaningful and accurate ways.

Recommended Children's Literature

Alvarez, J. (2010). Return to Sender. Yearling.

- Currier, K. S. (2004). Kai's journey to Gold Mountain: An Angel Island story. East West Discovery Press.
- Freedman, R. (2013). Angel Island: Gateway to Gold Mountain. Clarion Books.
- James, H. F., & Loh, V. S. M. (2013). Paper son: Lee's journey to America. Sleeping Bear Press.
- Lai, T. (2011). Inside out and back again. HarperCollins.
- Lee, M. (2006). Landed. Farrar Straus Giroux.
- Leung, J. (2019). Paper son: The inspiring story of Tyrus Wong, immigrant and artist. Schwartz & Wade.
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- Moss, M. (2009). Sky high: The true story of Maggie Gee. Tricycle.
- Pimentel, A. B. (2016). Mountain chef: How one man lost his groceries, changed his plans, and helped cook up the National Park Service. Charlesbridge.
- Yang, K. (2018). Front Desk. Arthur A. Levine.
- Yee, P. (2011). Tales from Gold Mountain. Groundwood Books Ltd.
- Yin. (2001). Coolies. Philomel Books.

Other Resources

Immigration History

- Library of Congress essay about the Transcontinental Railroad
- Library of Congress Immigration Presentation: Chinese Searching for the Gold Mountain
- Library of Congress Immigration Presentation: Chinese Struggling for Work
- Library of Congress Immigration Presentation: Chinese Intolerance
- Library of Congress Immigration Presentation: Chinese Legislative Harassment
- Library of Congress Immigration Presentation: Chinese Exclusion
- National Museum of American History: Transcontinental Railroad at 150 PBS Asian Americans (Episode 1: Breaking Ground)

Gold Mountain: Chinese Californian Stories by California Museum

Angel Island - A Story of Chinese Immigration by Kevin Chang & Madison Phan

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- Lee, E. (2019). America for Americans: A history of xenophobia in the United States. Hachette UK.
- Lee, E. (2015). The making of Asian America: A history. Simon and Schuster.
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Appendix A

Library of Congress Primary Sources		
Source Number	Source Citation and Link	Description
1	Mining life in California—Chinese miners. (1857). [Illustration]. The Library of Congress. https://www.loc. gov/item/2001700332/	Chinese gold miners eating and attending to their hair among tents in camp. (1857) Illustration in Harper's Weekly
2	Hart, A. A. (1865–1869). Chinese camp, Brown's Station [Photograph]. Library of Congress, https://www.loc. gov/item/2005683008/	Chinese camp, Brown's Station (1865, Sacramento, CA by Alfred Hart)
3	Hart, A. A. (1865-1869). Heading of east portal Tunnel No. 8 [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2005682948/	Heading of east portal Tunnel No. 8. Photograph shows Chinese railroad worker with a shoulder pole. Hart, Alfred A., 1865 Sacramento, Calif.
4	Hart, A. A. (1865-1869). Laborers and rocks, near opening of Summit Tunnel [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/ item/2005682913/	Laborers and rocks, near opening of Summit Tunnel (1860-1870, Sacramento, CA by Alfred Hart)
5	Ceremony at "wedding of the rails," at Promontory Point, Utah. (1869). [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004679791/	Ceremony at "Wedding of the Rails," May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah
6	Pasmore, H. B. (1880). <i>The</i> <i>Chinamen must go</i> [Notated Music]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc. gov/item/sm1880.11339/	<i>The Chinamen must go</i> sheet music. Gibson, J. W., San Francisco, 1880, monographic.
7	"The Chinese must go," Andrews' history. October Scribner's. (1895). [Poster]. Library of Congress. www. loc.gov/item/2015646533/	"The Chinese must go," Andrews' history. October Scribner's (1895)
8	Shober & Carqueville. (ca. 1886). The magic washer, manufactured by Geo. Dee, Dixon, Illinois. The Chinese must go [Lithograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/ item/93500013/	Cartoon showing Uncle Sam, with proclamation and can of Magic Washer, kicking Chinese out of the United States. 1886

9	Thulstrup, T. D. (1885). The massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming [Drawing]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc. gov/item/89708533/	The massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming / drawn by T. de Thulstrup from photographs by Lieutenant C.A. Booth, Seventh United States Infantry. Miners of the Union Pacific Railroad Company shooting at crowd of fleeing Chinese miners working for the Union Pacific. Created / Published 1885.
10	Genthe, A. (ca. 1906). San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2018704117/	San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906
11	Givens, J. D. (ca. 1915). Immigration station, Angel Island, Cal [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2007660596/	Angel Island, 1915
12	Highsmith, C. M. (2013). Detention Center at Angel Island, an island in San Francisco Bay that offers expansive views of the San Francisco skyline, the Marin County Headlands and Mount Tamalpais [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc. gov/item/2013634659/	Detention Center at Angel Island, an island in San Francisco Bay that offers expansive views of the San Francisco skyline, the Marin County Headlands and Mount Tamalpais 2013 May
13	Highsmith, C. M. (2013). Dormitory at Angel Island, an island in San Francisco Bay that offers expansive views of the San Francisco skyline, the Marin County Headlands and Mount Tamalpais [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/ item/2013634666/	Dormitory at Angel Island, an island in San Francisco Bay 2013 May.
14	Highsmith, C. M. (2013). Interior at Angel Island Immigration Station on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, California [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/ item/2013634675/	Interior at Angel Island Immigration Station on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, California 2013 May. (Chinese carved into walls)
15	Highsmith, C. M. (2006). Chinese carving on the wall at Angel Island internment camp, California [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2010630294/	Chinese carving on the wall at Angel Island internment camp, California 2006 July 1.
16	Roberts. (1943). Washington, D.C. Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mrs. Roosevelt [Photograph]. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/ item/2017845664/	Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt on the lawn of the White House. February 24, 1943

Appendix B

Non-Library of Congress Primary Sources		
Source Number	Source Citation and Link	Description
17	Photograph of Immigrants Arriving at the Immigration Station on Angel Island. (ca. 1923). [Photograph]. National Archives. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/595673	Photograph of Immigrants Arriving at the Immigration Station on Angel Island
18	Angel Island, California, (1923). [Photograph]. National Archives. https://catalog.archives.gov/ id/176251228	Angel Island, California
19	Keller, G. F. (1881, May 20). <i>The</i> <i>Coming Man</i> [Printed Cartoon]. Thomas Nast Cartoons Archive. https://thomasnastcartoons. com/2014/04/03/the-coming-man-20- may-1881/	George Frederick Keller's "The Coming Man" from the San Francisco Illustrated Wasp
20	How to Tell Japs from Chinese. (1941). [Article]. In <i>Life.</i> Washington State University Libraries Digital Exhibits. http://digitalexhibits.wsulibs.wsu.edu/ items/show/4416	<i>Life</i> magazine, December 22, 1941, p. 81, "How to tell Japs from the Chinese"
21	Lee, C. (2014). [A photograph of a group of Asian-Americans recreating an iconic photo on the 145th anniversary of the first transcontinental railroad's completion]. In Wang, H. L. (2014, May 10). Descendants of Chinese Laborers Reclaim Railroad's History. <i>NPR</i> . https://www.npr.org/sections/ codeswitch/2014/05/10/311157404/ descendants-of-chinese-laborers- reclaim-railroads-history	A group of Asian-Americans, including descendants of Chinese railroad workers, recreated an iconic photo on the 145th anniversary of the first transcontinental railroad's completion at Promontory Summit, Utah. Photo by Corky Lee.