

CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI

by

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An Abstract of a Thesis Presented to the Department
of Geography of Western Illinois University
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

Macomb, Illinois

January, 1973

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the settlement patterns of Chinese in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri from 1870 to the present time. Three hypotheses were formed after preliminary studies of census data: (1) Chinese are clustered in university communities and transportation centers, (2) Chinese have not settled in large numbers in industrial centers, and (3) after an initial settlement in a community, Chinese tend to persist in that community. Several cities with above or below average numbers of Chinese were identified by regression analysis and investigated. The information obtained in these community studies supported the three hypotheses on Chinese settlement in the study area.

Chinese are a small part of the general American population and the majority live in large cities. Chinatowns within the study area are present only in the two largest cities, Chicago and St. Louis. However, some Chinese have located in small and medium sized cities in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. The function of a city is important in attracting Chinese; places with government agencies or large universities attract more than industrial centers.

The character of the Chinese population has changed through time. The majority of Chinese in the area from 1870 until 1910 were laundrymen whose families remained in China. Restaurant workers and laundrymen were the largest element in the Chinese population between 1910 and 1950. Chinese professional men and students became an important

part of the population after 1950. The number of women increased rapidly after the Second World War, and the Chinese population in the study area now has a normal ratio of men to women.

Chinese settlement was affected by the immigration laws restricting immigration. The occupational shifts are a result of the government policy of admitting certain classes of immigrants.

This thesis has been read and approved.

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PREFACE

The rapid rate of increase in the Chinese population in the United States is the reason for this study. Changes in the immigration laws after World War II have allowed large numbers of Chinese to enter the country. The majority of these new residents have settled in a few large cities, causing deterioration of neighborhoods and creation of social problems. This study is an attempt to determine the reasons for the geographical settlement patterns of Chinese in the Middle West from 1870 to the present time.

Personal contact with Chinese residents of San Francisco, California, and observation of the Chinatown in that city over a ten-year period led to concern about the problems of overcrowding of a few places by new immigrants. One purpose of this study is to discover the motives for the dispersed distribution pattern of Chinese in the small and medium sized cities in the Middle West so this information can be used to encourage new immigrants to settle in communities outside the great metropolitan centers.

This study is based upon information derived from census data, local city directories, and personal interviews. Much of the material came from local public libraries in many cities. The staffs of the public libraries of Mason City, Iowa; Galesburg, Cairo, and Bloomington, Illinois; and Logansport and Bloomington, Indiana, were especially helpful. The foreign student advisors at Purdue, Indiana, Illinois State, Southern Illinois, Iowa, Iowa State, and Missouri

universities provided information about students for the study. My thesis advisor, Professor Howard G. Smith, has made the completion of this study possible by his advice and assistance. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to these people for their help in this investigation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Chinese have lived in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri for one hundred years. They followed European settlers into this four-state region and clustered in the larger cities and towns. Many came from California after the completion of the first transcontinental railroad when anti-Chinese activities forced their abandonment of gold mining. These first Chinese settlers were men; the women and children remained in China. The Chinese population grew slowly in the study area until after World War II. A new wave of immigration has caused a sharp increase in the number of Chinese in the four states since 1950.

Chinese settlement in the United States was affected by the special immigration laws regulating their entry into the country. Congress passed a law in 1882¹ restricting the immigration of Chinese; as a consequence, male immigrants were unable to bring their families into the United States. Subsequently, the Chinese population declined because fewer immigrants arrived and there were not enough births to offset the deaths.

¹Chinese Exclusion Act, Supplement to the Revised Statutes, Second Edition, I, Ch. 126 (1891), p. 342.

The special law of 1882 was to extend over a term of ten years. However, it was extended for another ten years, and in 1904 Congress passed another law permanently restricting Chinese immigration. The latter remained in effect until it was repealed in 1943. Since then Chinese have been admitted on an equal basis with immigrants of other nationalities.¹ Many Chinese entered the country as refugees after World War II under provisions of several special laws passed by Congress to admit people from areas affected by the war.² In 1965 a new immigration law was passed which finally eliminated the criterion of national origin and established new categories for immigrants. This new law has permitted a large increase during recent years in the number of Chinese immigrants.³

Students of foreign origin are allowed to enter the United States to pursue courses in colleges and universities. Chinese are one of the largest national groups among foreign students. After the new immigration law was passed in 1965, the Secretary of Labor established a regulation permitting any student holding a master's or doctor's degree to become a permanent resident.⁴ Many Chinese students from Taiwan and Hong Kong applied for and received immigrant status under this rule.

¹Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Statutes at Large, LVII, sec. 600 (1943).

²Displaced Persons Act of 1948, Statutes at Large, LXII, sec. 1009 (1948); Refugee Act of 1953, Statutes at Large, LXVII, sec. 400 (1953); Refugee Escape Act of 1957, Statutes at Large, LXXI, sec. 639 (1957).

³Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Statutes at Large, LXXIX, sec. 911 (1965).

⁴U.S. Secretary of Labor, Proclamation, "Immigration, Availability of, and adverse Effect upon, American Workers," Federal Register, XXX, No. 233, December 3, 1965, pp. 14979-14981.

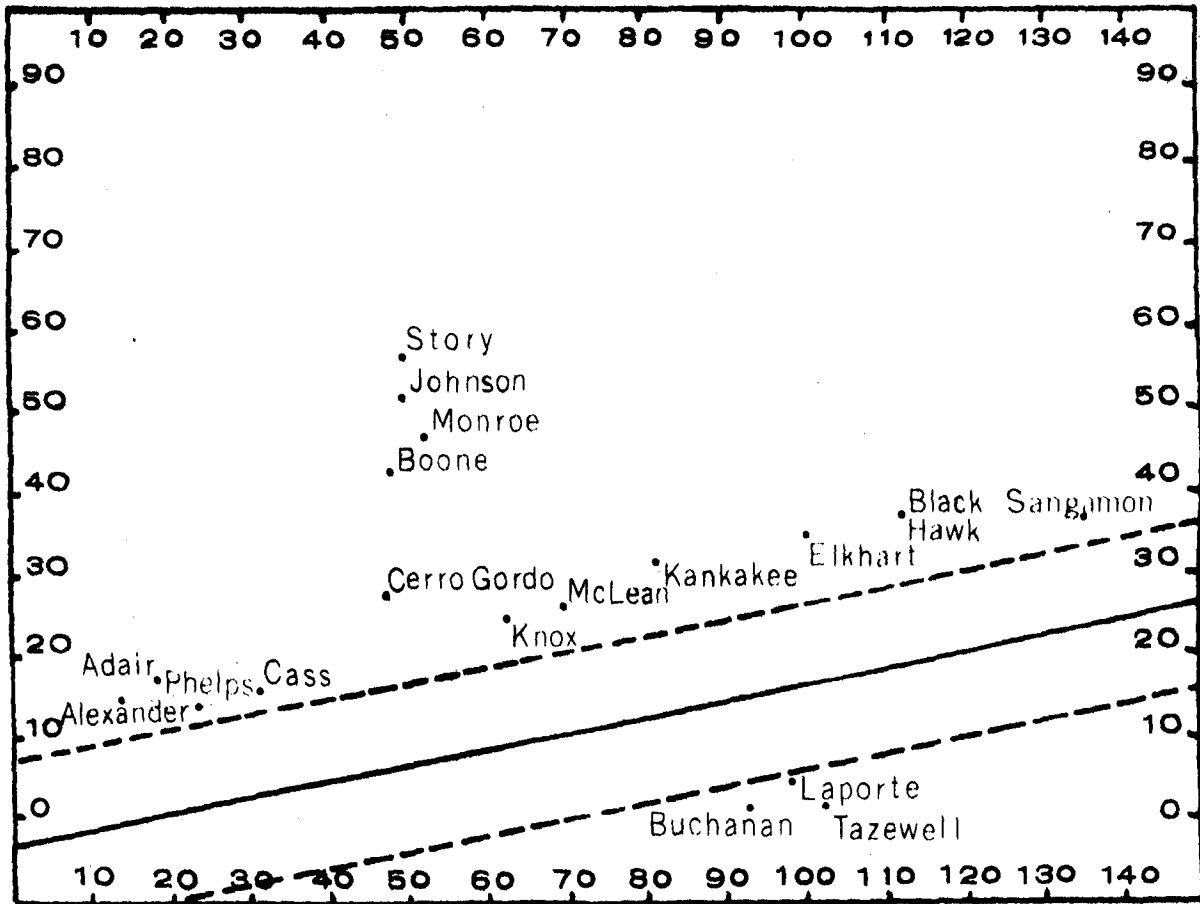
Chinese are listed as a separate race in the census of population, and information about them is available in all census reports. These contain the number of Chinese by sex for counties and large towns. Census records were used in this study to determine the spatial distribution of Chinese in the four-state area.

Counties with one or two Chinese are called threshold counties in this study. The mean population of these counties was calculated for all four states. The average size of the largest towns in threshold counties was determined. Although the mean population of these counties varied in the four states, that of the largest towns was constant. In all four states the average population of the largest towns in threshold counties was about 8,000 inhabitants.

A correlation and regression analysis was run on counties with at least one town that had over 8,000 population, but with a total county population of less than 150,000. A few counties with more than 150,000 population and the counties whose largest town had less than 8,000 people were eliminated from this analysis in order to more closely examine the majority of counties with Chinese in the four-state area. A scatter diagram was made, a regression line was plotted, and confidence limits were drawn. Four clusters of dots of counties with similar residuals are located on the scatter diagram (see page 5, Fig. 1-2). The first node includes counties with university towns, the second node consists of counties that have small independent cities with railroad junctions or yards, the third node contains counties with satellite cities, and the fourth node counties that have medium sized cities.

FIGURE 1 - 2

REGRESSION LINE OF CHINESE AND THE GENERAL POPULATION
OF COUNTIES HAVING LESS THAN 150,000 RESIDENTS AND A
TOWN WITH OVER 8,000 PEOPLE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA,
AND MISSOURI: 1960



Chinese vertical axis; general population horizontal axis
Vertical scale; actual number; horizontal scale; in thousands

Calculated from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
Census of Population, 1960 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing
Office), Vol. 1, parts 15, 16, 17, and 27.

Intercept: -3.55

Correlation: X vs Y : 0.68

Standard Error of Estimate: 6.81

COUNTIES

General Population Mean: 49,926.17 Standard Deviation 31,881.5

Chinese Population Mean: 6.36 Standard Deviation 9.28

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the patterns of Chinese settlement in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri; how Chinese spread through the four-state area; and changes in their occupations through time. Special emphasis is given to the distribution of the Chinese among the general population and to population anomalies. Spatial distribution and community studies are used to describe the Chinese settlement patterns in these four states.

Problem

By examination of census data, and by investigation of the clusters in university communities, independent cities, satellite communities, and medium-sized towns, this study will test the following three hypotheses: (1) Chinese cluster in university communities and urban centers but avoid rural areas; (2) Chinese do not settle in large numbers in industrial centers; and (3) after initial settlement in a community, Chinese tend to persist in that community.

Methods of Research

Census returns for each ten-year period from 1870 until 1970 were examined to determine changes in the distribution of Chinese in the study area. The 1950, 1960, and 1970 census information in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri was tabulated and an I.B.M. card for each county in these four states was punched with three items: the population of the county, the number of Chinese in the county, and the number of inhabitants of the largest city or town in the county.

Correlation and regression analyses were made from this data to determine if the Chinese were randomly distributed in the population and to identify any population anomalies. Field trips were made to cities in counties with clusters of Chinese or population anomalies.¹

Three methods were used in field investigations: (1) individual Chinese residents were interviewed in some communities, (2) city directories were examined to determine the names and occupations of Chinese inhabitants, and (3) in university towns the foreign student advisors were interviewed. The city directories listed most of the Chinese residents and recorded their occupations. This information was used to determine occupational changes in time. Field trips to various cities were made to investigate their Chinese residents.

Chinese Settlement in the United States

Very few Chinese settled in the United States before 1850. The census of 1820 listed three Chinese in the country, and by 1850 this number had increased to 700. Little is known of these early immigrants; the first record of individuals was in 1847 when a missionary brought three school boys to New England. One of these students, Yung Wing, attended Yale College and received a bachelor's degree in 1854.²

The majority of the early Chinese immigrants lived on the West Coast in California, Oregon, and Washington, and in Idaho and Nevada.

¹Population anomalies are defined as those counties which have a variance in the Chinese population of more than one standard deviation from the regression line.

²Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 9, 86.

A flood of Chinese came to California after the discovery of gold in 1848. In 1851 California had 25,000 Chinese, and this number increased to 111,000 by 1876.¹ These people worked in the gold fields, operated laundries and restaurants, built railroads, and engaged in business. San Francisco's Chinatown sprang into existence in the 1850's and became the center of Chinese settlement in the United States.

The first Chinese immigrants came to the United States to make a quick fortune and then return with enough money to buy land and improve their status in China. They did not bring their wives and children to the United States. However, a few Chinese women were brought into the country by labor contractors to work as servants.² Rose Hum Lee reported a ratio of twenty-seven men for each woman among Chinese immigrants in the United States in 1890.³

The early immigrants were poor, impoverished peasants from a few districts in southern China near the British Colony of Hong Kong. Labor contractors in the colony recruited servants and workers in nearby districts and sent them to California. Many Chinese emigrated from South China after the first workers returned with gold.⁴

¹Mary R. Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (reprint; New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 498.

²Ching Chao Wu, "Chinatowns: A Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928), p. 202.

³Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America, p. 42.

⁴Gunther Barth, Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 57-65.

Kuangtung Province was the source of 99 per cent of the Chinese immigrants before 1940, and the majority of these were from the city of Canton and seven rural districts. One district, Toy Shan, provided half the Chinese immigrants to the United States from 1850 to 1880.¹ The seven districts in Kuangtung Province that provided most of the immigrants to the United States are divided into two groups: the Sze Yup (four counties) and the Sam Yap (three counties). The Sze Yup are located in the delta of the Pearl River southeast of the city of Canton. Since these seven districts are close to Hong Kong, many of their residents were recruited to work in the colony and overseas.²

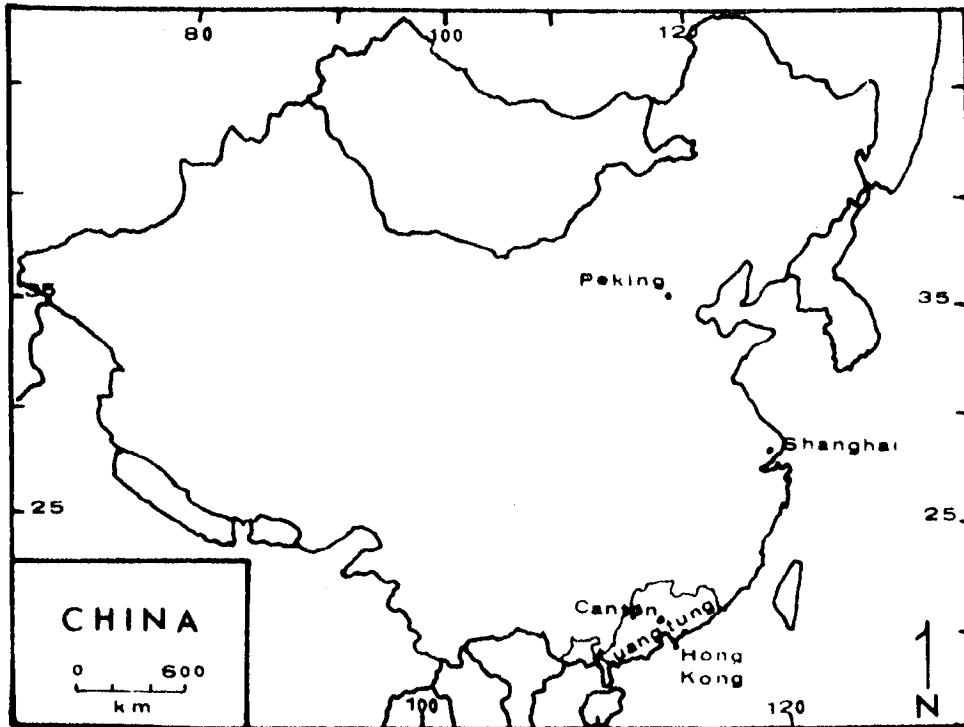
After completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, California suffered a financial recession. Many people were unemployed, and white workers resented the presence of the Chinese. Dennis Kearny, a political activist, organized the California Workingman's Party and campaigned on an anti-Chinese program. The workers attacked individual Chinese and destroyed their property.³ California passed laws limiting employment of Chinese by corporations and taxing miners.

Many Chinese in California fled from the state in the 1870's and settled in the Mid-west. The census of 1870 listed one Chinese in Jacksonville, Illinois, three in Missouri, and two in Iowa. After ten years Illinois had about two hundred, Missouri had about ninety,

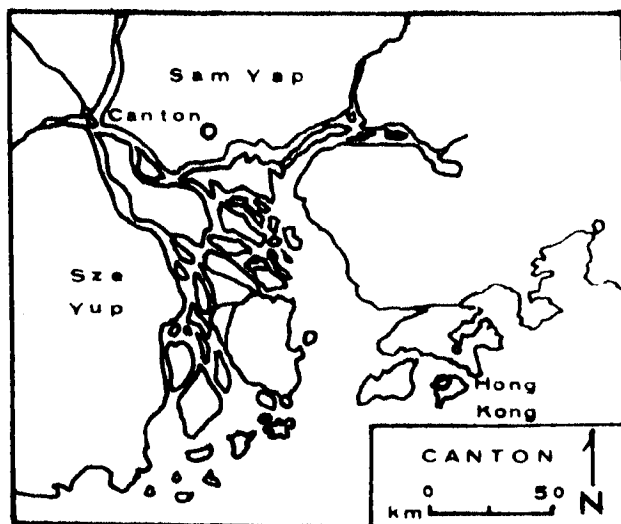
¹S. W. Kung, Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 76.

²Barth, Bitter Strength, p. 22.

³Mary Coolidge, "Chinese Labor Competition on the Pacific Coast," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (September, 1909), pp. 340-350.



KUANGTUNG PROVINCE: ORIGINAL HOME OF THE
CHINESE WHO IMMIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES
BEFORE 1940



SZE YUP AND SAM YAP AREAS

FIGURE 1 - 3

Iowa had about thirty-five, and Indiana had about thirty.¹ Chinatowns developed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago.

In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. This law was to exclude Chinese laborers from the United States. It did not exclude all Chinese: government officials, merchants, merchants' families, teachers, students, tourists, transients, and residents of the United States in 1880 were admissible.² A Chinese laborer residing in the United States in 1880 was allowed to remain in the country, and he had the right to re-enter the United States if he went abroad; however, he could not bring his wife into the country.³ Most of the Chinese living in the United States in 1880 did not have their families with them; consequently, the Chinese population became static and after 1890 decreased in absolute numbers until 1920.⁴

The Chinese population in the United States before 1900 was predominately male. However, the ratio of men to women changed as (1) Chinese merchant families were admitted under the Exclusion Act and (2) Chinese women who married Americans became citizens by law and could enter the country.⁵ In 1943 the Chinese Exclusion Act was

¹U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population, I, pp. 387-389, 399.

²Exclusion of Chinese, U.S. Code, Title 8, sec. 289, Asiatics, exempted classes, U.S. Code, Title 8, subchapter II, sec. 136 (1940).

³Exclusion of Chinese, U.S. Code, Title 8, sec. 289 (1940).

⁴Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America, pp. 33-34.

⁵R. D. McKenzie, Oriental Exclusion: The Effect of American Immigration Laws, Regulations, and Judicial Descisions upon the Chinese and Japanese on the American Pacific Coast, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 74.

repealed and a quota of 105 Chinese per year was established. This new law permitted Chinese to become naturalized citizens.¹ After 1945 the ratio of men to women rapidly approached one to one and normal families replaced colonies of single men.

The number of Chinese immigrants after 1945 exceeded the quota since many were admitted under the refugee acts. There were 17,471 refugees from China admitted to the United States between 1946 and 1949.² The refugee act of 1953 reserved 2,000 places for Chinese, and the Refugee Escape Act of 1957 provided for admission of escapees from Communist areas.³

Congress passed a new immigration law in 1965 which changed the basis of admission of permanent residents. Under the old law each nation had a yearly quota that could not be transferred to another nation or extended to another year. The Chinese quota was 105 a year. This did not include only citizens of China but embraced all persons of the Chinese race. Thus a Chinese living in the United Kingdom, and a citizen of that country, was included under this quota. Seventy of the 105, however, were reserved for citizens of China. The new law of 1965 abolished national quotas and established a hemisphere quota: 170,000 for all residents of the Eastern Hemisphere.

¹Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Statutes at Large, LVII, sec. 600 (1943).

²U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report 1969, p. 45.

³Refugee Act of 1953, Statutes at Large, LXVII, sec. 400 (1953); Refugee Escape Act of 1957, Statutes at Large, LXXI, sec. 639 (1957).

Several preferential categories are provided in this law. Four categories are for relatives of American citizens and foreigners with permanent resident permits in the United States. Two categories are for professional people and skilled workers, and one category is for refugees.¹

The new immigration law gives first preference to sons and daughters of United States citizens.² A child born to an American citizen in a foreign land is a citizen of the United States.³ However, if a foreigner becomes a citizen, his children are still foreigners if they are not included in the naturalization process. The children of a naturalized citizen can apply for admission to the United States under the first preference category. The second category is for admission of relatives of foreigners living in the United States. These classes are designed to make possible the unification of families of persons living in the United States.⁴

There are provisions in the law for admission of persons not subject to the numerical limits of the quota system. A spouse of a United States citizen is a non-quota immigrant.⁵ Other special classes of immigrants are clergymen, foreign employees of the United States

¹Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Statutes at Large, LXXIX, sec. 911 (1965).

²Allocation of Immigrant Visas, U.S. Code, Title 8, sec. 289 (1970).

³Nationality at Birth, U.S. Code, Title 8, Chapter 11, Subchapter II, sec. 601 (1970).

⁴Allocation of Immigrant Visas, U.S. Code, Title 8, Chapter 12, Subchapter II, sec. 1153 (1970).

⁵Immediate Relatives, U.S. Code, Title 8, Chapter 12, Subchapter I, sec. 1151 (1970).

government, political refugees, and persons displaced by natural disasters. These groups are admitted as permanent residents of the United States.¹

Tourists, students, businessmen, and government representatives are allowed to enter the United States on non-immigrant visas for limited periods of time.² Students are the only non-immigrants included in this study. The Chinese consulate in Chicago has a few government representatives. Tourists and merchants with non-immigrant status are transient so they are not residents of the study area.

If a professional person or a skilled worker applies for a visa to enter the country, he must receive a certificate from the Secretary of Labor. The secretary can certify individuals, but most are admitted if they have a profession or occupation listed by the secretary as in short supply and essential to the United States.³ After the 1965 law became effective the secretary certified a list that permitted any person with a master's or doctor's degree or a bachelor's degree in certain fields to be eligible for admission as a professional worker.⁴ Many Chinese students from Hong Kong and Taiwan applied for permanent residence under this section of the law.

The Secretary of Labor published a new list limiting the immigration of college graduates to those in the medical fields in early

¹Definitions, U.S. Code, Title 8, Chapter 12, Subchapter I, sec. 1101 (1970).

²Ibid.

³Allocation of Immigrant Visas, U.S. Code, Title 8, Chapter 12, Subchapter II, sec. 1153 (1970).

⁴U.S. Secretary of Labor, "Immigration, Availability of, and Adverse Effect upon, American Workers," Federal Register, XXX, no. 233, December 3, 1965, pp. 14979-14981.

1971.¹ Students in other disciplines must return to their home countries after graduation. The section of the 1965 immigration law permitting professionals and skilled workers to migrate to the United States is for the benefit of the American economy. If there is a shortage in a particular field the Secretary of Labor can certify this fact and qualified foreigners in the field may be admitted. The Secretary of Labor changed the list in 1971 because a surplus of college trained professionals existed in many fields. Admission under this provision of the law is subject to the conditions of the American labor market.

The immigration laws did not restrict Chinese entry into the United States until 1882 when Chinese were subjected to a special law severely limiting their admission to the country. This law was repealed in 1943, and now the rules governing immigration are the same for all national groups. The 1965 immigration law abolished the special racial classification of Chinese and quotas based upon national origin. The immigration laws have affected the numbers and kinds of Chinese settling in the United States, and a knowledge of these laws is essential to understand their settlement patterns.

Chinese settlement in the four-state area of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri may be divided into three historical periods. During the first period, from 1870 until 1920, the Chinese population diffused throughout the area and most of the larger towns

¹U.S. Secretary of Labor, "Immigration: Immigration Labor Certifications," Federal Register, XXXVI, no. 24, February 4, 1971, pp. 2462-2467.

acquired one or two Chinese residents. Laundrymen were the dominant occupational class during this time. Most of the Chinese were single men.

Clusters of Chinese developed in the larger towns during the second period which extended from 1920 until 1950. The laundrymen continued to be prevalent; however, Chinese restaurants were opened in many cities. Some families appeared and some colleges and universities attracted Chinese students. There was a slow increase in the Chinese population in all states except Illinois during the 1930's.

The clusters increased in size, and the university students increased in number during the third period, 1950 to the present. Also, the ratio of men to women has become more even and there has been a large increase in the number of families and children. Large numbers of professional people have located in the larger cities and university communities. The number of laundrymen has declined and most small cities no longer have laundrymen; however, the number of restaurants has increased slightly.

Chicago has had the largest Chinese population in the four states since the 1870's and continues to have the most complete community with stores, schools, churches, and social organizations catering to Chinese. St. Louis has a community with a church, social organizations, stores, and a neighborhood. Three other cities in the study area have enough Chinese to form Chinatowns: Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Champaign-Urbana.¹

¹Rose Hum Lee has found a community must have 360 Chinese to form a Chinatown. The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1947, p. 44).

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI

Settlement Patterns: 1870-1900

How did the Chinese settlement pattern in the Mid-west develop? The thesis of this study is as follows: the initial settlements were random; Chinese came from California by rail and settled in places by chance and remained in communities with favorable environments for their work. Chinese avoided ordinary occupations because of hostility of workers and specialized instead in operating laundries and restaurants. Communities with an excess of males and a rapid population growth provided the best setting for these businesses. The special law restricting Chinese immigration was another factor influencing their settlement pattern. Laborers were excluded by law and immigration was limited to businessmen and students. This study attempts to explain the distribution and settlement in terms of an initial random location and a persistence of residence in communities offering favorable economic conditions for the services provided by Chinese.

Chinese were first reported in the Mid-west in the 1870 census. These first Chinese settlers lived in the following places: one in Jacksonville, Morgan County, Illinois; two in Marshalltown and one in Liscomb, both in Marshall County, Iowa; two in St. Michael's

Township, Madison County, Missouri; and one in St. Louis, Missouri. Indiana had no Chinese in the census of 1870.¹ Morgan County, Illinois, and St. Louis and Madison Counties, Missouri, are spaced almost evenly along a north-south line. Marshall County, Iowa, is in central Iowa widely separated from the other three counties. (See map, page 19.)

Four of the five towns with Chinese inhabitants were county seats; only Liscomb was not. St. Louis was part of St. Louis County and was the county seat in 1870. St. Michael's Township is the site of Fredericktown, the county seat of Madison County. Fredericktown, however, was not listed in the 1870 census. Jacksonville was the county seat of Morgan County and Marshalltown was the county seat of Marshall County. All of these towns were located on railroad lines in 1870; however, St. Louis was the only one located on a large river.²




The settlers at St. Michael's, St. Louis, and Jacksonville may have come from the South. Chinese were brought to Arkansas after the Civil War to work on farms; these first settlers in Missouri and

¹U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, Vol. I, pp. 25, 29, 46, 117, 138, 191.

²The location of the railroad lines is taken from the U.S. Postmaster General, Post Route Map of the States of Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, 1872, verification of the existence of the lines in 1870 is based upon Colton's New Section Map of the State of Illinois (New York: G.W. & C.B. Colton & Co., 1870) in Illinois; Ira G. Clark, Then Came the Railroad: The Century from Steam to Diesel in the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 63, in Missouri; Robert J. Casey & W.A.S. Douglas, Pioneer Railroad: The Story of the Chicago and Northwestern System (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw Hill Book Company, 1948) p. 126, in Iowa.

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1870

Number per County

-  0
-  1 - 2
-  3 - 9



Source: Ninth Census, 1870

FIGURE 2 - 1

Illinois may have been members of this group.¹ The three Chinese in Iowa may have come from the West.

St. Louis was a large city with 310,000 inhabitants in 1870; St. Louis County had 350,000 people. Jacksonville, Illinois, had 9,200 residents in 1870, and Morgan County had a population of 27,869. Marshalltown, Iowa, had 3,200 people, and Liscomb had 836 residents in 1870. Marshall County had a population of 17,000. St. Michael's Township had 1,325 residents in 1870, and Madison County had 5,800 people. All of these places were in a different size group, and the county population figures were also divergent. These early Chinese settlers obviously did not follow any apparent pattern with regard to demographic size in choosing these sites.

By 1880 Chinese had settled in forty-six counties in the study area, fifteen of which were in Illinois, fourteen in Iowa, nine in Indiana, and seven in Missouri. All Illinois counties with Chinese in 1880, except Pope, had at least one town with more than 5,000 inhabitants.² The largest town in Pope County in 1880 was Golconda, the county seat, with 1,000 residents. This town was on the Ohio River and was not on a rail line in 1880. Alton was the only town in Illinois with more than 5,000 residents, inhabited by Chinese

¹Liao, Pao Yun, "A Case Study of a Chinese Immigrant Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1951), p. 14.

²The 1880 census listed Chinese in towns with a population of more than 5,000 so this information is used in describing counties with Chinese in this year.

in 1880, and not a county seat.¹ All Illinois towns with Chinese in 1880, except those in Pope County, were located on rail lines.²

There were eleven counties in Iowa with Chinese in 1880 that had at least one town with more than 5,000 inhabitants. The Chinese residents of these counties all lived in the largest towns, which were all county seats and all on rail lines. The three Iowa counties with Chinese whose largest town did not have over 5,000 inhabitants were Boone, Howard, and Dallas. The average size of the largest town in Iowa counties with Chinese in 1880 was 9,643 inhabitants.

Of the nine Indiana counties with Chinese in 1880, all had towns with more than 5,000 residents. The largest town in each of these counties was the county seat and was on a rail line.³ The average size of the largest town in Indiana counties with Chinese in 1880 was 22,954 persons.

Chinese lived in seven Missouri counties and the City of St. Louis, which was not part of a county, in 1880.⁴ Five Missouri counties with Chinese in 1880 had towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants.

¹U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 387-390, 398-399, 417-418, 421.

²U.S. Department of the Interior, General Land Office, State of Illinois, 1885 (map).

³U.S. Department of the Interior, General Land Office, State of Indiana, 1886 (map); U.S. Geological Survey, Topographic Map of Indiana, 1914 (map).

⁴The City of St. Louis was separated from St. Louis County in 1876 and has been a special city, not part of any county. In this study it is classed as a county and as a city. Edwin C. McReynolds, Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 292.

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1880



The Chinese lived in the largest towns in each of these counties, and the towns were all on rail lines. Only two of the five towns were county seats. The average size of the largest town in Missouri counties with Chinese in 1880 was 17,104 including Kansas City, but not St. Louis because it was not in a county.

The eventual pattern of Chinese settlement in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri had begun to form by 1880. Several Chinese had located in the largest cities; in fact, Chicago, the largest city in the four states, had the largest Chinese settlement while St. Louis, the second largest city, had the next largest group. Others settled in places which were the largest towns in their counties, county seats, and located on rail lines. Pope County, Illinois, the exception, soon lost its Chinese population; none were reported in this county in subsequent censuses. Counties with large, populous county seats have continued to record Chinese inhabitants during later censuses while those with small county seats have not.

Between 1880 and 1890 Chinese spread to 142 counties in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. Chinese resided in 45 counties in Illinois, 40 counties in Indiana, 30 counties in Iowa, and 27 counties in Missouri in 1890.¹ (See Table X, page 124.)

The 1890 census listed Chinese residents in towns with more than 2,500 inhabitants. Six Illinois counties with Chinese (DuPage, Ford, Ogle, Marion, Marshall, and Saline) did not have towns with more than 2,500 residents. All Illinois towns that reported Chinese residents

¹U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census, 1890: Population of the United States, Part I, pp. 437-439, 454-458, 466-467.

in 1890 were on rail lines. Pope and Warren were the only counties in Illinois that had Chinese in 1880 but did not retain them in 1890.

Four Indiana counties with Chinese did not have a town with a population of more than 2,500 in 1890. These counties were Harrison, Hendricks, Pike, and Spenser. All Indiana towns listing Chinese inhabitants in 1890 were located on rail lines. Every Indiana county that had Chinese residents in 1880 also recorded them in 1890.

Chickasaw, Delaware, Hardin, and Tama counties in Iowa had Chinese residents in 1890 but did not have any town with a population of more than 2,500. Three Iowa counties, Howard, Johnson, and Linn, had Chinese in 1880 but did not have any in 1890. All Iowa towns with Chinese and a population of more than 2,500 were on rail lines.

The City of St. Louis, Missouri, had 170 Chinese in 1890. The Missouri counties with Chinese that did not have towns with more than 2,500 population were Atchison, Chariton, Daviess, Mississippi, and Monroe. Every Missouri town with more than 2,500 persons and Chinese was on a rail line in 1890. One county, Randolph, had Chinese in 1880 but did not have any in 1890.

The pattern of Chinese settlement that appeared in the 1880 census continued in the 1890 census. Chinese settled in the large cities; Chicago had the largest number, Kansas City was second, and St. Louis was third.¹ All towns with more than 2,500 residents that included

¹Kansas City had more Chinese than St. Louis in 1890 even though St. Louis was the larger of the two. Kansas City grew more rapidly and had an economic boom in the 1880's based upon the cattle and grain business and an expanding wholesale trade in the Great Plains states. Henry C. Haskill, Jr. & Richard B. Fowler, City of the Future: A Narrative History of Kansas City, 1850-1950 (Kansas City: Frank A. Glenn Publishing Co., 1950), p. 68.








Chinese were on rail lines. Forty of the forty-six counties with Chinese in 1880 also had them in 1890, and three of the four counties with Chinese in 1870 recorded them again in 1890. Only Madison County, Missouri, which had two Chinese in 1870, did not retain them. Fredericktown, the county seat, had but 3,799 residents in 1870, a population below the 8,000 resident threshold level for Chinese (see above, p. 5). Pope County, Illinois, and Howard County, Iowa, both had below average populations for counties with Chinese in 1890.

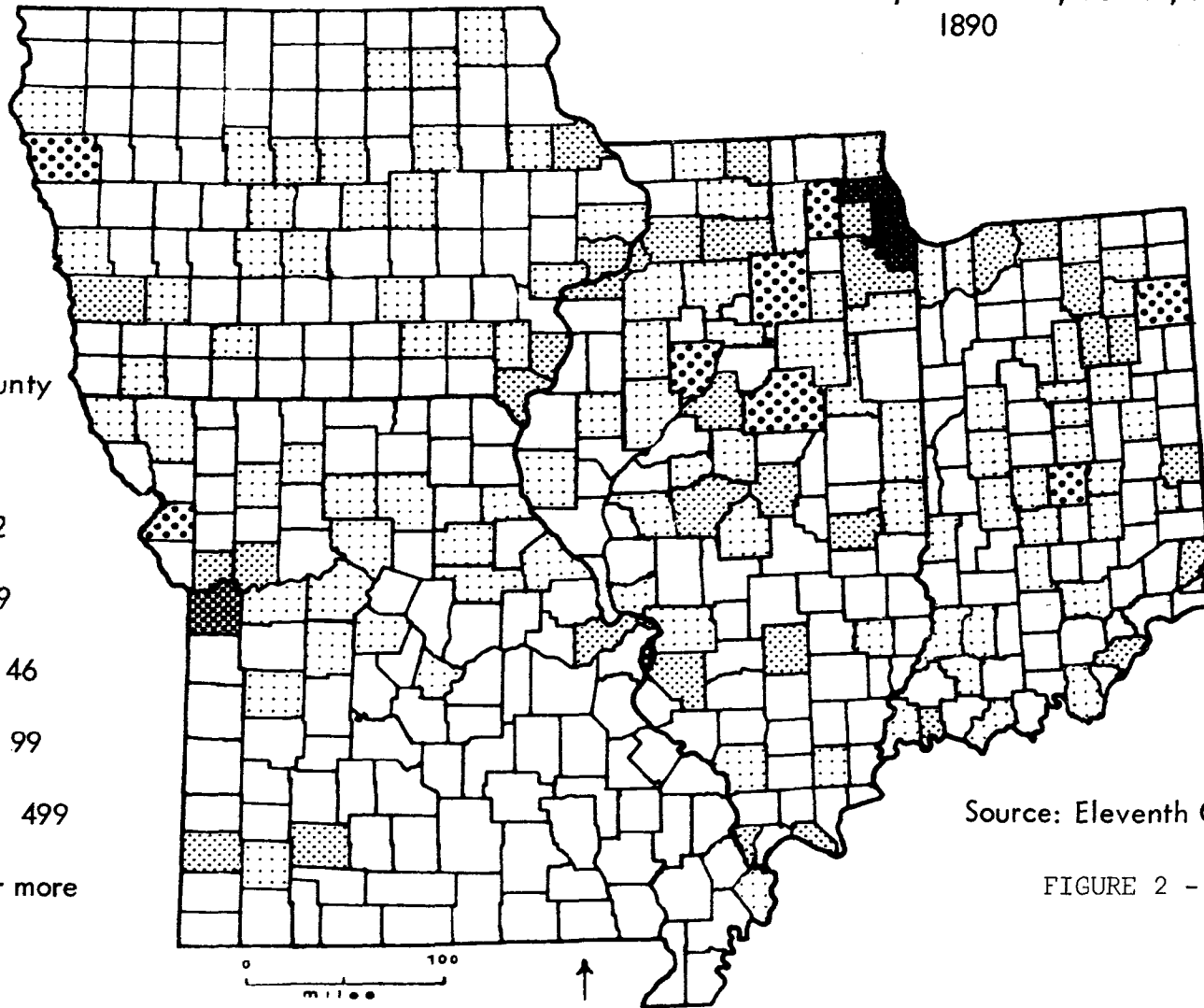
The remaining four counties that lost Chinese between 1880 and 1890 have reported Chinese residents at subsequent censuses. Warren County, Illinois, did not list any Chinese in the 1890 census but did report three in 1900. Randolph County, Missouri, did not list any Chinese in the 1890 census but did report one in the 1960 and 1970 censuses. These counties have relatively low populations: Warren County had 21,595 residents in 1970 and Monmouth, the largest city, had 11,022 people; Randolph County had 22,434 residents in 1970 and Moberley, the largest county town, had 12,988 people. Warren and Randolph counties have threshold populations for attracting Chinese residents. Pope County, Illinois, had 3,857 residents, Madison County, Missouri, had 8,641 inhabitants, and Howard County, Iowa, had 11,442 residents in 1970.¹ These three counties each had a low population. The other two counties that had Chinese in 1880 but not in 1890 were Johnson and Linn counties, Iowa. Both counties have listed Chinese at subsequent censuses and have populations above the threshold size.

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics, PC (1)-B15, pp. 178, 249; PC(1)-B17, pp. 173, 174; PC(1)-B27, pp. 172, 178, 114.

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1890

Number per County

-  0
-  1 - 2
-  3 - 9
-  10 - 46
-  47 - 99
-  100 - 499
-  500 or more



Source: Eleventh Census, 1890

FIGURE 2 - 3

Chinese continued to spread to more counties in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa between 1890 and 1900. However, they were reported in fewer Missouri counties in 1900 than in 1890. Illinois had fifty-four counties with Chinese in 1900, Indiana had fifty-two, Iowa had fifty-two, and Missouri had twenty-three which was four less than in 1890. Thus, the four-state area had 181 counties with Chinese in 1900.

All of the fifty-four Illinois counties with Chinese in 1900 had towns with a population of more than 2,500.¹ Massac County had thirteen Chinese, none of whom lived in Metropolis, the largest town in the county. Paducah, Kentucky, is across the Ohio River from Metropolis and is the largest city in McCracken County, Kentucky. This county had seventeen Chinese in 1900.² The Chinese residents of Massac County may have been part of the group in Paducah.

Cook County had 1,253 Chinese in 1900; the majority lived in Chicago. Will, DuPage, Kane, and Kankakee counties are near Chicago and their Chinese population was a portion of the Chicago community. Madison and St. Clair counties had sixteen and nineteen Chinese respectively in 1900. These two counties form the Illinois portion of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area, so the residents are part of a larger community. Fifteen Chinese lived in Peoria County in 1900, fourteen of whom resided in the City of Peoria, a medium-sized town. These counties had the principal Chinese settlements in Illinois in 1900.

¹The census of 1900 listed Chinese residents in town with more than 2,500 people so this information was used in describing counties in this year.

²U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States; 1900: Population, Part I, p. 566.

Eight Indiana counties with Chinese in 1900 did not have a town with more than 2,500 residents. Marion County, which includes Indianapolis, had the largest Chinese population, thirty-one. Evansville, the second largest city in Indiana in 1900, had three Chinese, and Fort Wayne, the third largest city in that year, had nineteen. Gary, Indiana, did not exist in 1900 and East Chicago had nine of the twelve Chinese in Lake County. South Bend, a city of 35,000 people in 1900, had sixteen Chinese. Lafayette and Terre Haute had seven each; both towns were medium sized in that year.

Seventeen Iowa counties with Chinese in 1900 did not have a town with more than 2,500 residents, including Sac County, which had the largest number of Chinese. Woodbury County (Sioux City) was second with five Chinese residents. Polk County, which had the largest total population, had but one Chinese. The fifty-two counties in Iowa with Chinese in 1900 are slightly more than one-half of the total counties (99) in the state.

Missouri had Chinese in twenty-two counties and the City of St. Louis in 1900. The Chinese were concentrated in St. Louis and Kansas City; six other counties had three to seven each, and fifteen counties had one or two. Nine of the Missouri counties with Chinese in 1900 did not have towns with more than 2,500 residents.

The 1900 census is particularly important in this study because the censuses of 1910 and 1920 did not report the Chinese population for each county. All counties with Chinese residents were in a table in the 1930 census.¹ The censuses of 1940 and 1950 did not tabulate

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population: 1930, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 636, 720, 785, 1358.

Chinese in all counties. In 1960 and 1970, however, the census returns again listed all Chinese by counties.

The three hypotheses of this study, as identified earlier, are (1) Chinese cluster in university communities and urban centers and avoid rural areas, (2) Chinese do not settle in large numbers in industrial centers, and (3) after initial settlement in a community, Chinese tend to persist in that community. In 1900 some urban centers had clusters of Chinese; in fact, Chicago and St. Louis had clusters of Chinese in 1880. The university communities, however, did not develop clusters during this period, and Chinese were spread through many rural counties. Chinese settlement in industrial communities in 1900 was random; this pattern did not support the second hypothesis. There was a tendency for Chinese to remain in counties after the first settlement. This characteristic supports the third hypothesis. In summary, the first hypothesis is supported in part by the data of the censuses from 1870 through 1900, the second hypothesis is not verified by data of this period, and the third hypothesis is substantiated.

The number of Chinese in counties in the study area in 1900 is listed in Table XI starting on page 131. Cook County, Illinois, had the largest population and the City of St. Louis, Missouri, was second, Jackson County, Missouri, (Kansas City) was third, and Marion County, Indiana, (Indianapolis) was fourth. These counties all contained large cities. Iowa did not have any counties in 1900 with more than five Chinese; also, Iowa had the largest number of Chinese settled counties whose largest towns had less than 2,500 residents. Table I on page 30 lists these counties; all had an excess of males over females in their total population. Most of the Chinese lived in counties

with large cities in 1900; however, some lived in counties with small towns.

Iowa counties with Chinese were concentrated in the north central part of the state. The lower two rows of counties in Iowa had few Chinese. Most of the Illinois counties with Chinese were (1) in the north and (2) near St. Louis. Missouri counties with Chinese were in the northern half of the state: there were none living in the Ozark region in 1900. Chinese lived in the central part of Indiana, in the row of counties along the northern border, and along the Ohio River in the south. The only cities with enough Chinese to form Chinese communities in 1900 were Chicago with 1,200 and St. Louis with 300. Both cities developed small Chinatowns (see map on page 31a).

TABLE I

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTIES WHOSE
LARGEST TOWN HAD LESS THAN 2,500 RESIDENTS: 1900

County	Chinese	County Population	Male	Female
INDIANA:				
Hendricks	2	21,292	11,055	10,237
Lagrange	1	15,284	7,851	7,433
Ohio	1	4,724	2,373	2,351
Parke	3	23,000	11,980	11,020
Pike	1	20,486	10,516	9,970
Starke	1	10,431	5,462	4,969
Steuben	1	15,219	7,672	7,547
Union	1	6,748	3,368	3,380
IOWA:				
Allamakee	1	18,711	9,785	8,926
Buena Vista	2	16,975	9,100	7,875
Butler	3	17,955	9,421	8,534
Chickasaw	2	17,037	8,745	8,292

TABLE I--Continued

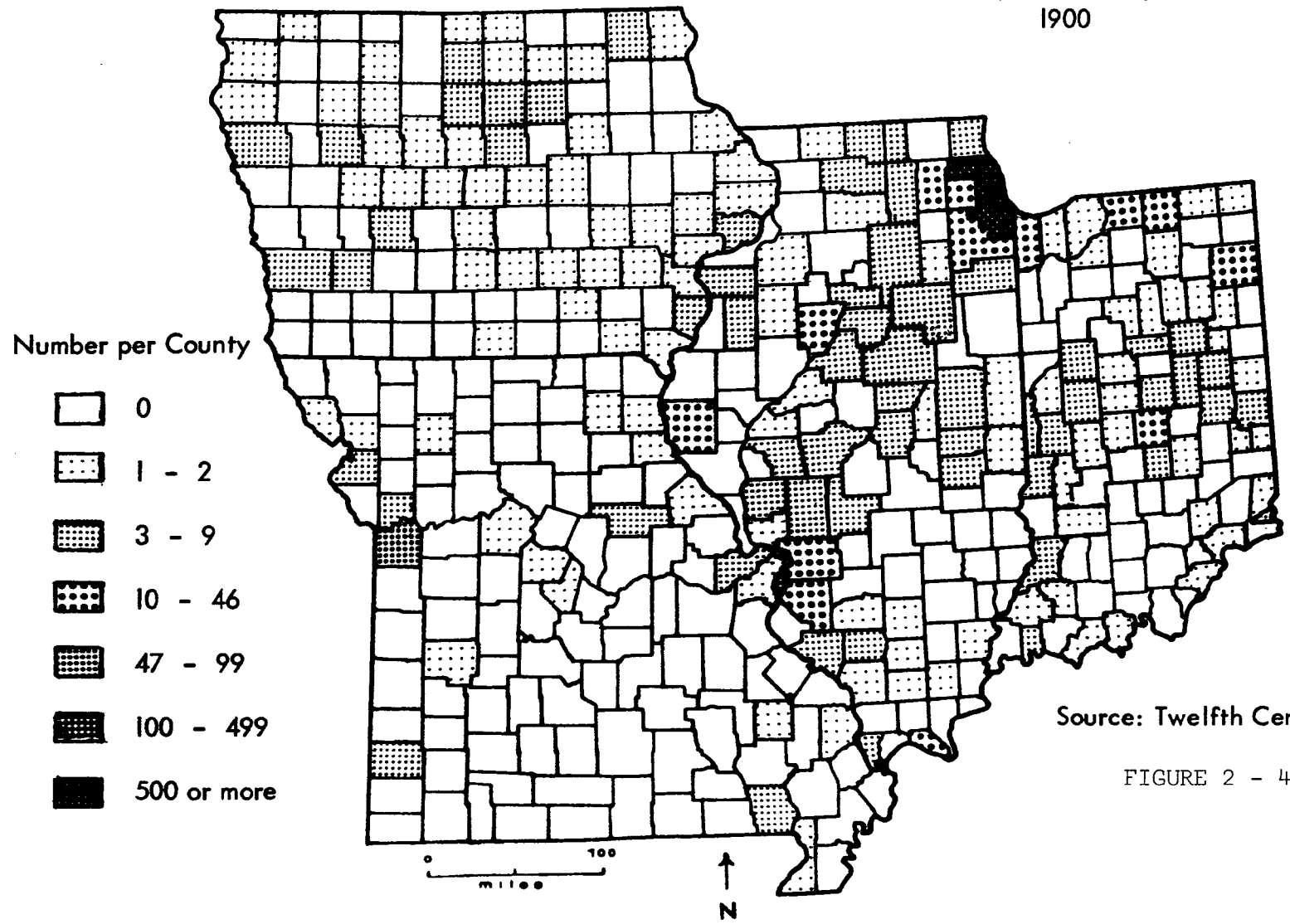
County	Chinese	County Population	Male	Female
Guthrie	3	18,729	9,652	9,077
Hancock	3	13,752	7,358	6,394
Iowa	2	19,544	10,262	9,282
Louisa	1	13,516	7,029	6,487
Osceola	2	8,725	4,657	4,068
Palo Alto	2	14,354	7,657	6,697
Pocahontas	1	15,339	8,172	7,167
Sac	5	17,639	9,295	6,774
Sioux	2	23,337	12,333	11,004
Van Buren	1	17,354	8,788	8,566
Wayne	1	17,491	8,892	8,599
Winnebago	2	12,725	6,699	6,026
Worth	2	10,887	5,745	5,142
MISSOURI:				
Clay	4	18,903	9,791	9,112
Daviess	1	21,325	10,958	10,367
Dunklin	1	21,706	11,584	10,122
Holt	1	17,083	8,892	8,191
Knox	1	13,479	6,870	6,508
Lewis	1	16,724	8,509	7,818
Madison	1	9,975	5,054	4,921
Moniteau	2	15,931	8,116	7,815
St. Clair	2	17,907	9,223	8,684

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States; 1900: Population, Part I, pp. 565-567, 613-617, 626.

Settlement Since 1945

The second wave of Chinese immigration into the Mid-west started after the Second World War. There has been a rapid increase in the total number of Chinese in this study area since the war, and they have spread to 227 counties in 1970 (compared with 181 in 1900). The gaps on the map have diminished; the two southern tiers in Iowa and the counties in the Ozark region have acquired Chinese. However,

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1900



Source: Twelfth Census, 1900

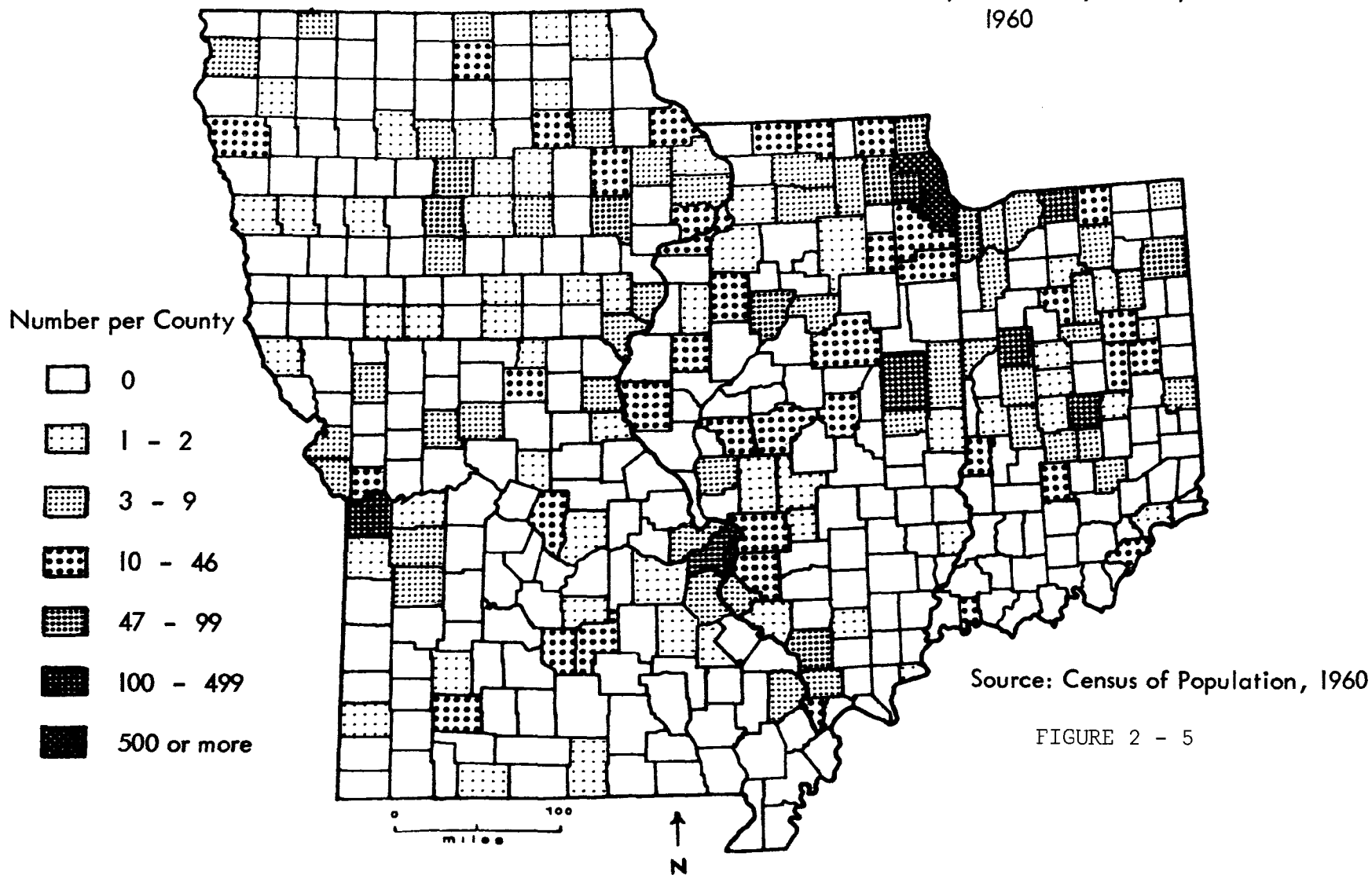
FIGURE 2 - 4

fewer counties in northern Iowa have Chinese, and a random pattern of counties with Chinese is evident in both Iowa and Missouri. A clustered pattern appears in northern and central Illinois and central Indiana (see map on page 33).

Table XII lists the 158 counties with Chinese in 1960. Illinois had seven fewer counties, and Indiana and Iowa each had fourteen fewer counties with Chinese in 1960 than in 1900. Missouri, on the other hand, had twelve more counties with Chinese in 1960 than in 1900. The counties in Illinois that had Chinese in 1900 and did not have them in 1960 varied in total population from Washington (13,569) to Tazewell (99,789). Coles County, with 42,860 inhabitants, was the second most populous county in this group. Indiana counties with Chinese in 1900 and without them in 1960 ranged in size from Ohio, which had 4,165 residents, to Henry, with 48,899. Hamilton County, with 40,132 inhabitants, was the second largest. Pottawattamie was the largest county in Iowa that had Chinese in 1900 and did not have any in 1960. Wapello was the second in this class, and Wayne County was the smallest. Seven of these counties in the three states had over 40,000 residents. The remainder were counties with small populations. Missouri counties that gained Chinese residents in 1960 included five with state universities or colleges and one with an army base.

The Chinese settlement pattern in 1960 was the basis of the three hypotheses of this study. Clusters were located in Chicago and surrounding counties, St. Louis, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Champaign, Illinois; Tippecanoe County, Indiana; and several medium-sized cities. Students were counted as residents of the university towns, so Champaign

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1960



and Jackson Counties in Illinois and Tippecanoe County, Indiana, had large positive residuals in a regression analysis of the 1960 census data. The Chinese population in three counties was lower than average; La Porte County in Indiana, Buchanan County in Missouri, and Tazewell County in Illinois had very few Chinese. Four small independent cities and four medium-sized independent cities had more than the usual number of Chinese residents.

Cook was the only county with more than 500 Chinese in 1960. Seven counties and the City of St. Louis had between 100 and 500 Chinese residents; two of these, Jackson County and Marion County, included large cities. Two others, DuPage County and St. Louis County, were parts of large metropolitan areas. Two were sites of large universities (Champaign and Tippecanoe Counties) and one, St. Joseph County, had a medium-sized city.

A second group of nine counties each had a Chinese population ranging from forty-seven to ninety-nine. Of these, Story and Johnson counties in Iowa and Jackson County, Illinois, each had a large state university. Kane and Lake counties in Illinois and Lake County, Indiana, are part of the Chicago Metropolitan Area, and three counties, Polk in Iowa, Peoria in Illinois, and Wayne in Indiana, have medium-sized cities.

Thirty-eight counties had between ten and forty-six Chinese in 1960. These counties may be divided into four groups: twelve have medium-sized cities (a place with a population between 2,500 and 50,000 is considered a small city in this study), six have state universities, and seven are parts of large metropolitan areas. Forty-six counties had three to nine Chinese each and fifty-six counties

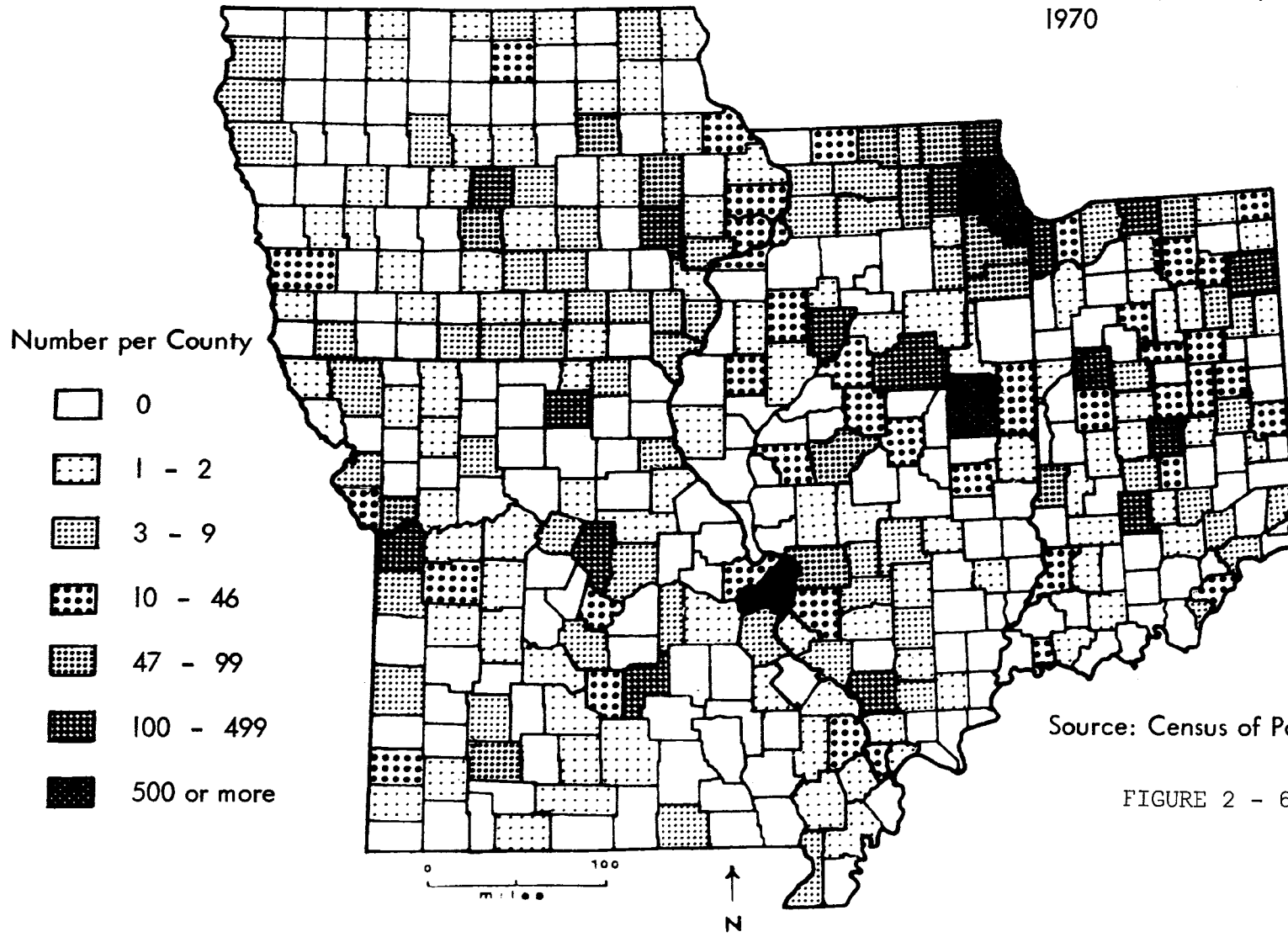
had one or two. These counties had small independent cities, and eighty-three were adjacent to other counties with Chinese residents; only nineteen were not adjacent to another county with Chinese. There were 158 counties in these six groups in 1960.

Chinese lived in 227 counties in the study area in 1970. The total number of Chinese was double that of 1960. Table XIII gives the number of Chinese residents by county and principal cities for 1970 in the four states. They lived in fifty-nine counties in Illinois, fifty-five in both Indiana and Iowa, and fifty-eight in Missouri. There were more places with larger numbers of Chinese, and five counties each had over 500 Chinese residents.

The map on page 36 and Table XIII starting on page 145 show the distribution of Chinese in 1970. Chinese lived in more counties in each state in 1970 than in any previous census year. Cook County had over 10,000 Chinese, the largest number of any county in the four states, St. Louis County had more than 900, DuPage and Champaign counties in Illinois and the City of St. Louis each had over 500. In 1960 Cook County was the only one with more than 500.

Seventeen counties had from 100 to 499 Chinese in 1970; two of these, Marion County, Indiana, and Jackson County, Missouri, each had a large city. Three counties were part of the Chicago metropolitan area: Lake and Kane counties in Illinois and Lake County, Indiana. Three had medium sized independent cities: Peoria County, Illinois, and St. Joseph and Wayne counties, Indiana. Nine counties were the sites of large state universities: Monroe and Tippecanoe counties in Indiana; Jackson and McLean counties in Illinois; Adair, Boone, and Phelps counties in Missouri; and Johnson and Story counties in

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI
1970



Source: Census of Population, 1970

FIGURE 2 - 6

Iowa. Fourteen counties had between forty-seven and ninety-nine Chinese each. Eight of these counties had medium sized, independent cities, and six others were adjacent to large metropolitan centers.

There were thirty-nine counties with ten to forty-six Chinese each. These may be divided into three groups: the first consists of those counties that are part of standard metropolitan areas, the second includes counties with large state colleges or universities, and the third is counties with small independent cities and rural communities. The other nineteen counties had small independent cities and rural areas. This class of counties includes sixteen in metropolitan areas, four with large state schools, and nineteen that had small cities and towns.

There were fifty-eight counties with three to nine Chinese. One, Nodaway in Missouri, had a large state college. Eight were part of metropolitan areas, and the remainder had small cities and towns. There were ninety-four counties with one or two Chinese: eight were included in metropolitan areas and the remainder had small cities and towns. In 1900 there were sixty-two counties with three to nine Chinese and 103 counties with one or two. Thus, the number of threshold counties was less in 1970 than in 1900.

Centers of Concentration

After their initial settlement in the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri, Chinese tended to cluster in some counties. A cluster in this study means forty-seven or more Chinese in one county. This definition was based upon examination of increases in the number of Chinese in the counties in the study area reported in the census

returns. All counties that have reported forty-seven or more Chinese in a census have retained or increased their number in later reports except Jackson County in Missouri, and Marion and St. Joseph counties in Indiana. These counties regained their Chinese population in later censuses.

In 1870, no county in the four states had forty-seven Chinese. The first clusters appeared in 1880 in Cook County, Illinois and the City of St. Louis, Missouri. Jackson County, Missouri had a group of twenty-five. These three places had clusters in 1890 and 1900. Cook County had 172 Chinese in 1880 and the population increased rapidly to 571 in 1890 and 1,253 in 1900. The City of St. Louis had fifty-six Chinese in 1880, and their number grew to 170 in 1890 and 312 in 1900. Jackson County had twenty-five Chinese in 1880. This group increased rapidly in size to 187 in 1890 but decreased to ninety in 1900. Four places had clusters in 1910: Cook County (1,842 Chinese), the City of St. Louis (423), Jackson County (63), and Marion County, Indiana (48). The clusters that developed during the initial period of settlement were in the largest cities in the area.

Five places had clusters of Chinese in 1920. Cook County continued to have the largest group with 2,435, the City of St. Louis had 328, Marion County had eighty-two, Lake County, Indiana had sixty-seven, and Jackson County, Missouri had forty-seven. Lake County, Indiana was a new site for a cluster in 1920. The steel mill at Gary, Indiana was new and the population of Lake County increased rapidly.¹ In 1930, St. Joseph County, Indiana had fifty-one Chinese,

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Vol. II, pp. 77, 208.

so a new cluster was added to the five that existed in 1920.¹ The 1940 census listed forty-seven or more Chinese in four places, two less than in 1930.² These were Cook County, the City of St. Louis, Lake County, Indiana, and Jackson County, Missouri. This decline of two clusters may have been an effect of the economic depression of the 1930's.

The clusters in Cook County, the City of St. Louis, and Jackson County, Missouri, have existed continuously since the 1880's. These involve the three largest metropolitan centers in the area and the most important commercial centers. The other three clusters established before 1940 were in counties with medium sized cities in Indiana. Marion County was the site of Indianapolis, the capital of Indiana, a city with diversified functions; Lake County had Gary, a manufacturing center; and St. Joseph County had South Bend, a university and manufacturing center.³ These cities did not have a common function that explained the clusters of Chinese. All had a rapid growth in population during this period.⁴

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 636, 720, 785, 1358.

²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 545, 740, 914, Part 4, p. 384.

³Victor Jones, Richard L. Forstall, and Andrew Collver, "Economic and Social Characteristics of Urban Places," The Municipal Yearbook: 1963, (Chicago: International City Managers Association, 1963) pp.136-138.

⁴U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 715-717.

The number of clusters of Chinese increased between 1940 and 1950 from four to twelve. Three of the new clusters were in counties with large state universities. Students were counted as residents of the university communities for the first time in 1950.¹ Tippecanoe County, Indiana (Purdue), Champaign County, Illinois (University of Illinois), and Johnson County, Iowa (State University of Iowa), each reported more than forty-seven Chinese in the 1950 census. In addition, Peoria County, Illinois, Polk County (Des Moines), Iowa, and St. Louis County, Missouri, each had over forty-seven Chinese. The City of Peoria in Peoria County is a manufacturing center. Des Moines in Polk County, Iowa is the capital of Iowa, and St. Louis County, Missouri, is a suburban area of the City of St. Louis. Lastly, Marion and St. Joseph counties both increased their Chinese populations enough to regain clusters.

The census listed eighteen counties with enough Chinese to form clusters in 1960.² There were six counties with new clusters; two, Story County, Iowa, and Jackson County, Illinois, had large state universities; one, Allen County, Indiana, had a medium sized city with diversified manufacturing,³ and three were suburban counties of Chicago: DuPage, Kane, and Lake counties in Illinois.

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Part 14, p. XIII.

²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Part 15, pp. 202-209, Part 16, pp. 129-135, Part 17, pp. 135-142, Part 27, pp. 146-154.

³Jones, Forstall, and Collver, "Characteristics of Urban Places," Yearbook: 1963, pp. 136-138.

Thirty-six counties had clusters of more than forty-seven Chinese in 1970, double the number in 1960. Six of the counties with new clusters have large state universities: Adair County, Missouri (Northeast Missouri State College), Boone and Phelps counties in Missouri (University of Missouri), DeKalb County, Illinois (Northern Illinois University), McLean County, Illinois (Illinois State University), and Monroe County, Indiana (Indiana University). Three more counties in the Chicago area, McHenry, Will, and Kankakee, had clusters. Madison County, a part of the St. Louis area, and Clay County, Missouri, which includes part of Kansas City, each developed a cluster. There were clusters in seven counties with medium sized independent cities: five, Black Hawk and Linn in Iowa, Winnebago in Illinois, and Elkhart and Vigo in Indiana, had cities with manufacturing functions, one, Sangamon in Illinois, was the site of the Illinois state capitol, and one, Greene County in Missouri, had a city with diversified functions.¹

Cook County, Illinois, was the center of nine contiguous counties with clusters of Chinese, one-fourth of all counties with clusters in the study area. The City of St. Louis was the center of three counties with clusters. In addition, ten counties form five pairs of clusters. Fourteen counties with more than forty-seven Chinese were not contiguous to others with clusters. This concentration of the Chinese population has increased since 1950 when there were only two pairs of contiguous counties with clusters.

¹Jones, Forstall, and Collver, "Characteristics of Urban Places," Yearbook: 1963, pp. 136-138.

CHINESE IN ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI

CLUSTERS

1970

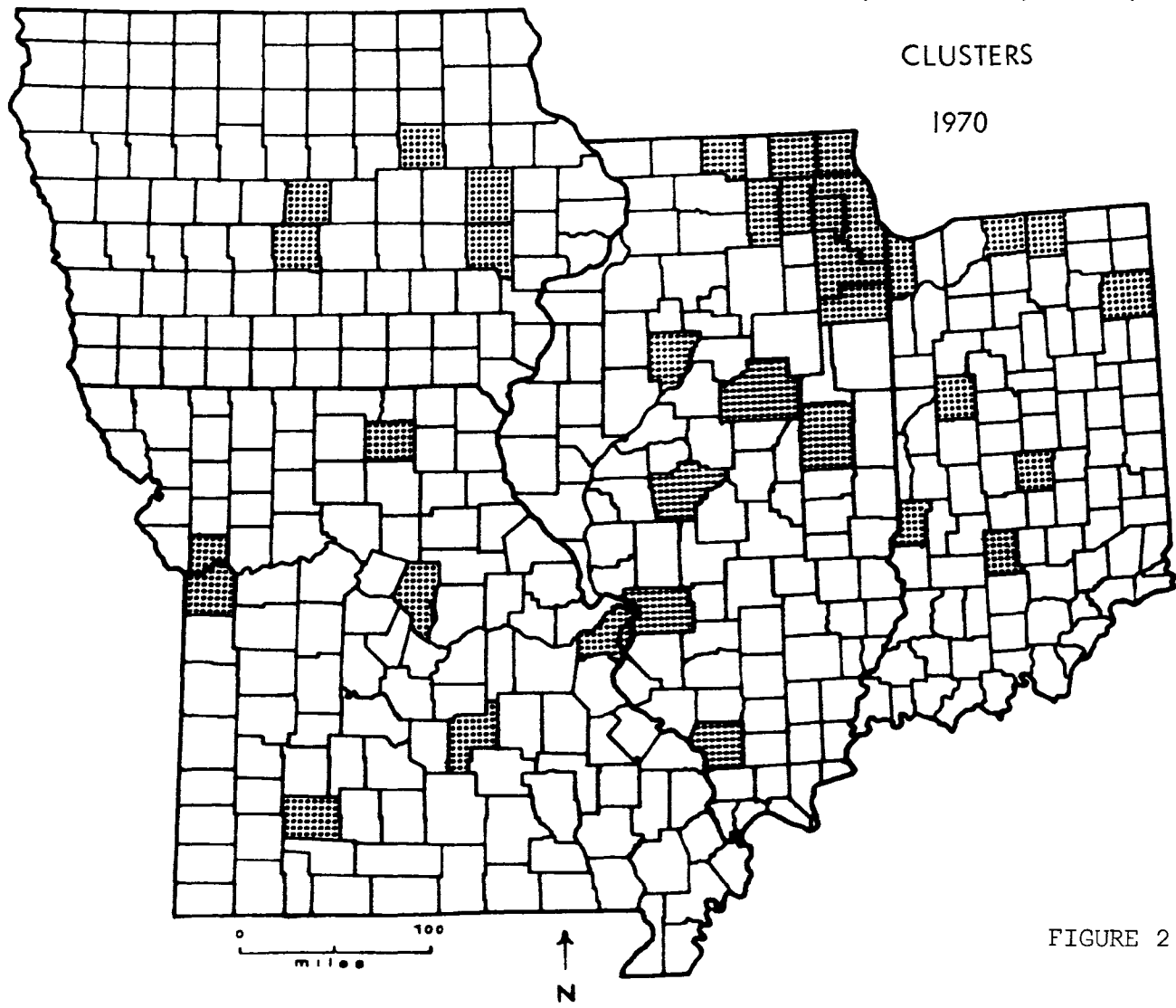


FIGURE 2 - 7

Demographic Factors in Settlement

The diffusion of Chinese in the Mid-west from 1870 until 1900 raises the question: why did they settle in some places and not in others? Most of the early Chinese settlers in this area were laundrymen who catered to single men.¹ The following hypothesis is proposed to explain the initial distribution of Chinese in the Mid-west: the first Chinese settlements were random, however, laundrymen found counties with an excess of males in the total population offered better economic prospects so they tended to locate in these counties. The difference between the male and female population of each county in the study area was obtained from the censuses of 1880, 1890, and 1900, and those counties with 500 or more excess males are listed in separate groups. Chinese tended to settle in these during this period.

In 1880 forty of the forty-six counties with Chinese each had a surplus of more than 500 males. In counties with Chinese settlement fourteen of the fifteen in Illinois, six of the nine in Indiana, Thirteen of the fourteen in Iowa, and seven of the eight in Missouri, each had an excess of over 500 males in the total population. This trend continued in 1890 when 103 out of 142 counties with Chinese had an excess of 500 or more males in their total population: thirty-four of the forty-five counties in Illinois, twenty-one of the forty counties in Indiana, twenty-four of the thirty Iowa counties, and twenty-

¹Paul C. P. Siu, "The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 54-55, 63.

four of the twenty-seven Missouri counties with Chinese had an excess of more than 500 males.

By 1900 Chinese had spread to 181 counties and 121 of these each had an excess of 500 or more males in their total population. This included forty-two of the fifty-four counties in Illinois, twenty-seven of the fifty-two counties in Indiana, forty-one of the fifty-two counties in Iowa, and fifteen of the twenty-three counties in Missouri with Chinese.¹ In these three censuses a majority of the counties with Chinese had more males than females in the general population.

During the period from the 1870's to 1900 the majority of counties in the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri had an excess of males in their total population. There were 230 counties with an excess of more than 500 males in 1880. The number of counties with this kind of surplus decreased by one in 1890; however, by 1900 there was an increase in counties with over 500 more males than females in the general population.

Counties that had 500 or more males than females in their total population were more prone to have Chinese settlers than other counties. In 1880 forty-six out of 408 counties had Chinese and forty of the 230 counties with more than 500 excess males had Chinese; 11.27 per cent of all the counties had Chinese and 17.39 per cent of the counties with 500 or more surplus males had Chinese. There were 142 counties with Chinese in the study area in 1890 (34.8 per cent), and 103 of

¹The differences in the number of men and women in the general population of each county in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri in 1880, 1890, and 1900 were calculated from the census reports of those years. U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Population, Vol. I, pp. 652-653; Eleventh Census: 1890, Population of the United States, Part I, pp. 760-763, 771-772; Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Population, Part 1, pp. 499-502, 510-511.

the 229 counties with over 500 more males than females had Chinese (45.0 per cent). Counties with Chinese increased to 181 in the four states in 1900 (44.36 per cent), and 125 of the 227 counties with over 500 surplus males in the total population had Chinese (55.11 per cent).

TABLE II

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD 500 OR MORE MALES
THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1880

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:		
Coles	720	1
Cook	14,984	172
Edgar	963	1
Knox	504	2
LaSalle	1,903	1
Macon	1,237	3
Madison	2,146	1
McLean	1,822	4
Peoria	987	12
Rock Island	1,206	2
Sangamon	1,656	1
Tazewell	1,000	1
Vermillion	1,548	2
Warren	647	1
INDIANA:		
Allen	1,793	3
Cass	557	1
Miami	649	1
Montgomery	832	1
Tippecanoe	814	2
Virgo	1,012	2
IOWA:		
Boone	776	2
Clinton	1,119	2
Dallas	792	1
Dubuque	516	2
Howard	649	1

TABLE II--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Johnson	701	1
Linn	985	3
Marshall	796	1
Polk	1,795	9
Pottawattamie	4,468	33
Union	1,218	2
Wapello	761	2
Woodbury	1,418	3
MISSOURI:		
Audrain	1,070	1
Buchanan	4,266	2
Jackson	9,457	25
Jasper	1,499	1
Nodaway	1,774	3
Randolph	905	2
St. Louis (city)	8,532	56

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Population, Vol. I, pp. 652-653, 658.

TABLE III

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD 500 OR MORE MALES
THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1890

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:		
Adams	1,402	2
Alexander	873	7
Bureau	1,160	2
Christian	1,533	2
Coles	503	4
Cook	39,756	571
DeKalb	868	1
DuPage	923	3
Edgar	689	2

TABLE III--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Fulton	1,144	1
Grundy	1,240	2
Henry	816	2
Jackson	959	1
Kane	507	12
Kankakee	1,462	2
Knox	532	2
Lake	921	1
LaSalle	2,440	16
Lee	972	3
Livingston	2,299	2
Logan	1,177	1
McLean	1,014	15
Macon	1,014	9
Madison	1,921	2
Ogle	860	2
Peoria	2,554	21
Rock Island	1,125	3
St. Clair	2,953	4
Sangamon	1,117	5
Tazewell	954	7
Vermillion	1,727	2
Whiteside	786	3
Will	4,261	5
INDIANA:		
Allen	1,989	11
Cass	744	2
Daviess	547	2
Delaware	803	2
Grant	1,297	2
Hamilton	577	1
Hendricks	694	1
Howard	884	2
Huntington	658	3
Kosciusko	567	3
Lake	2,778	2
La Porte	1,551	4
Miami	609	2
Porter	674	2
Posey	733	1
St. Joseph	1,049	3
Shelby	520	1
Spencer	668	1
Tipton	717	2
Vanderburgh	701	3
Wabash	580	3

TABLE III--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
IOWA:		
Boone	856	1
Cass	847	2
Chickasaw	507	1
Clinton	951	1
Dallas	797	1
Delaware	527	1
Dubuque	642	3
Hamilton	565	1
Hardin	853	1
Harrison	930	1
Lee	741	4
Mahaska	955	2
Marshall	1,092	1
Muscatine	628	1
Page	999	1
Plymouth	1,790	1
Polk	1,364	2
Pottawattamie	3,542	3
Tama	935	2
Union	510	1
Wapello	878	2
Webster	1,014	2
Winneshiek	714	1
Woodbury	6,886	14
MISSOURI:		
Atchison	1,293	1
Audrain	746	1
Buchanan	3,494	10
Chariton	1,102	1
Clay	1,072	4
Cole	1,635	1
Cooper	673	1
Daviess	914	1
Greene	1,118	5
Henry	1,043	1
Jackson	10,820	187
Jasper	2,908	3
Lafayette	1,522	1
Lawrence	972	2
Linn	1,165	1
Macon	1,405	1
Mississippi	906	1
Monroe	750	1
Nodaway	1,286	2

TABLE III--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Pettis	1,063	1
Pike	555	1
St. Charles	755	3
Saline	1,258	1
St. Louis (city)	4,458	170

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census: 1890, Population of the United States, Part 1, pp. 760-763, 771-772.

TABLE IV

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD 500 OR MORE MALES
THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1900

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:		
Adams	1,750	10
Boone	735	5
Cass	548	1
Champaign	1,896	4
Coles	898	3
Cook	31,381	1,253
DeKalb	1,142	5
Dewitt	642	3
Douglas	507	3
DuPage	632	10
Edgar	939	1
Franklin	851	1
Greene	796	4
Grundy	796	2
Henry	1,735	1
Jackson	1,131	2
Jefferson	705	2
Kankakee	1,160	7
Lake	1,864	3

TABLE IV--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
LaSalle	2,692	8
Lee	934	1
Livingston	2,809	5
McLean	1,287	4
Macoupin	1,004	3
Madison	2,982	16
Marshall	950	3
Mason	887	2
Mercer	801	4
Ogle	767	3
Peoria	2,866	15
Piatt	902	2
Randolph	1,683	3
St. Clair	4,229	19
Sangamon	1,727	7
Tazewell	809	4
Vermillion	4,409	2
Warren	643	3
Washington	588	1
White	754	1
Will	26,950	16
Williamson	950	1
Woodford	730	3
INDIANA:		
Blackford	729	1
Boone	653	1
Cass	577	2
Clark	827	2
Clay	977	4
Clinton	620	2
Delaware	2,112	8
Gibson	809	2
Grant	4,639	5
Greene	674	1
Hamilton	912	4
Hendricks	818	2
Huntington	725	1
Knox	898	3
Lake	2,698	12
La Porte	1,990	1
Madison	3,858	6
Miami	686	1
Montgomery	514	3
Parke	960	3
Pike	546	1

TABLE IV--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Porter	841	1
Spencer	705	2
St. Joseph	2,183	19
Vermillion	904	3
Wells	767	1
Fountain	522	1
IOWA:		
Allamakee	859	1
Black Hawk	553	2
Boone	1,150	1
Buena Vista	1,225	2
Butler	887	3
Calhoun	1,277	1
Carroll	707	2
Cass	706	3
Cedar	625	1
Cerro Gordo	1,162	1
Clinton	1,176	1
Dubuque	1,167	2
Franklin	984	3
Greene	898	1
Guthrie	575	3
Hamilton	766	2
Hancock	974	3
Hardin	1,078	4
Iowa	980	2
Keokuk	675	1
Louisa	542	1
Mahaska	1,253	2
Marshall	1,459	2
Muscatine	724	1
Osceola	589	2
Palo Alto	960	2
Plymouth	1,473	1
Pocahontas	1,005	1
Polk	1,082	1
Pottawattamie	3,392	3
Sac	951	5
Scott	1,090	3
Sioux	1,329	2
Story	1,211	1
Tama	1,249	1
Webster	1,551	2
Winnebago	673	2
Winneshiek	543	3

TABLE IV--Continued

County	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Woodbury	2,284	5
Worth	603	2
Wright	981	4
MISSOURI:		
Buchanan	11,838	7
Butler	1,157	4
Clay	679	4
Cooper	1,066	1
Daviess	591	1
Dunklin	1,462	1
Holt	701	1
Jackson	3,107	90
Jasper	4,790	5
Lewis	691	1
St. Charles	905	3
St. Clair	539	2
St. Louis (county)	2,356	2
St. Louis (city)	1,156	312
Saline	945	1

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Population, Part 1, pp. 499-502, 509-511.

Only six counties with Chinese in 1880 did not have an excess of 500 or more males in their general population. Pope County, Illinois, had 158 more males than females. Three counties in Indiana (Marion, Vanderburgh, and Wayne) each had more women than men. Lee County, Iowa, had 459 more males than females and Marion County, Missouri, had 407 more men than women. All of these counties, except Pope, had small or medium sized cities in 1880.

TABLE V

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD LESS THAN 500 MORE
 MALES THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1880

County	Number of Excess Females	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:			
Pope		158	5
INDIANA:			
Marion	104		14
Vanderburgh	115		3
Wayne	149		2
IOWA:			
Lee		459	1
MISSOURI:			
Marion		407	1

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census, 1880: Population of the United States, Part I, pp. 387-390, 398-399, 652-653, 658, 141, 417-418, 421.

There were thirty-eight counties with Chinese in 1890 that did not have over 500 more males than females in their general population. Tables V through VII list these counties, the difference in the number of men and women in the general population, the largest town and its population, and the number of Chinese.

TABLE VI

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD LESS THAN 500 MORE
 MALES THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1890

County	Number of Excess Females	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:			
Jersey		356	1
McDonough		457	1
Marion		401	5
Marshall		461	2
Massac		131	4
Menard		464	1
Morgan		192	2
Richland		35	1
Saline		320	1
Stephenson	56		1
Winnebago		374	3
INDIANA:			
Clark		79	3
Dearborn	84		3
Elkhart		305	2
Fayette		354	2
Hancock		429	1
Harrison		398	1
Jackson	13		1
Knox		456	2
Marion		334	10
Monroe		273	1
Montgomery		405	2
Morgan		223	1
Noble		401	1
Pike		248	1
Putnam		253	1
Tippecanoe		366	2
Vigo		401	1
Wayne	588		3
Whitley		444	1
IOWA:			
Black Hawk		427	1
Des Moines		312	3
Floyd		382	1
Henry	33		1

TABLE VI--Continued

County	Number of Excess Females	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Jefferson		202	2
Scott		490	6
MISSOURI:			
Grundy		460	2
Marion		345	2
Ray		393	4

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890, Population, Part 1, pp. 378-388, 118-126, 129-141, 466, 760-763, 771-772.

TABLE VII

COUNTIES WITH CHINESE RESIDENTS THAT HAD LESS THAN 500 MORE

MALES THAN FEMALES IN THEIR TOTAL POPULATION

1900

County	Number of Excess Females	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
ILLINOIS:			
Alexander		394	3
Jersey		338	1
Kane	440		15
Knox		172	2
Macon		257	3
Massac		356	13
Montgomery		384	3
Morgan	32		6
Perry		412	4
Saline		255	1
Stephenson		223	2
Winnebago	15		4
INDIANA:			
Allen		334	19
Dearborn	58		2
Elkhart		52	12

TABLE VII--Continued

County	Number of Excess Females	Number of Excess Males	Chinese
Fayette		429	1
Henry		424	3
Howard		339	3
Jefferson	357		2
Jennings		401	1
Johnson		173	3
Kosciusko		455	1
LaGrange		418	1
Marion	1,599		31
Ohio		22	1
Perry		208	1
Putnam		296	2
Randolph		487	2
Shelby		481	2
Starke		493	1
Steuben		125	1
Tippecanoe		385	7
Union	12		1
Vanderburgh	843		3
Vigo		169	7
Wabash		371	2
Wayne	454		6
IOWA:			
Chickasaw		453	2
Des Moines		25	4
Floyd		204	2
Johnson		343	2
Lee		121	2
Marion		495	1
Van Buren		222	1
Wapello		326	2
Warren		366	1
Washington		402	1
Wayne		293	1
MISSOURI:			
Audrain	38		3
Cape Girardeau		273	1
Clinton		181	2
Knox		362	1
Madison		133	1
Marion		77	2
Moniteau		301	2
Pike		387	2

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Population, Part 1, pp. 161, 566-567, 615-617, 119-161, 236-246, 499-510.

There were fifty-six counties with less than 500 more males than females in their general population and which also had Chinese in 1900. Illinois had twelve of these counties, Indiana had twenty-five, Iowa had eleven, and Missouri had eight. Twelve counties in this group did not have a city with a population of more than 2,500. Counties with Chinese and less than 500 excess males in their general population represented 31 per cent of the counties with Chinese in the study area in 1900.

Indiana had one-half the counties with Chinese that had fewer than 500 excess males in 1880. Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri each had one county in this class in 1880. This trend persisted in 1890 and 1900 as Indiana continued to have a larger number of these counties. Iowa and Missouri had the least number of counties in this group. This type of county was more numerous in the eastern part of the study area than the western.

The hypothesis that Chinese tended to settle in counties with an excess of males is supported by the fact that 87 per cent of the counties with Chinese had an excess of 500 or more males in 1880. The percentages of counties with Chinese and over 500 more males than females was 71 per cent in 1890 and 73 per cent in 1900. These counties contain cities and towns of all sizes, so the number of people in a city or town did not affect this tendency. Large cities tended to have a greater excess of males than small cities and they also had more Chinese. The single man living apart from a family was a good

prospective customer for a Chinese laundryman.¹ These early Chinese settlers were laundrymen who settled in communities with enough single men to support a business.² The distribution of Chinese in the study area during the period from 1870 to 1900 is explained in terms of the settlement of laundrymen in places favorable for their trade.

Four counties in the study area have declining numbers of Chinese residents. Adams and LaSalle counties in Illinois, Woodbury County, Iowa, and Buchanan County, Missouri, each had Chinese residents during the first period of settlement, but the number later declined. LaSalle County, Illinois, and Buchanan County, Missouri, had their peak Chinese population in 1890; the number of Chinese in Woodbury County, Iowa, reached its maximum in 1920, and the Chinese residents of Adams County, Illinois, were most numerous in 1960. All of these counties have had slowly growing or static populations. The population of Adams County, Illinois, was 67,000 in 1900 and 71,000 in 1970, an average increase of fifty-seven persons per year. In LaSalle County, Illinois, where the population was 80,000 in 1890 and 111,000 in 1970, the average yearly increase was 386 people. Woodbury County, Iowa, had 56,000 residents in 1890 and 103,000 in 1970, an average increase of 588 per year. The average yearly increase in population of the three counties this period was less than one per cent. Buchanan County, Missouri has lost population since its peak of 121,000 in 1900. The

¹Siu, "The Chinese Laundryman," p. 63.

²The writer made field trips to fourteen cities and examined old city directories; in all of these cities the Chinese residents between 1870 and 1900 were laundrymen.

1970 census reported this county had 87,000 residents.¹ These four counties have not been able to retain or to increase the number of Chinese residents.

The 1960 and 1970 census information on Chinese in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri was tabulated; an I.B.M. card for each county in these four states was punched with three items: the population of the county, the number of Chinese in the county, and the number of inhabitants of the largest city or town. Correlation and regression analyses were run on this data. The spatial distribution of the Chinese was thus compared to the general population. A coefficient of correlation and the expected Chinese population of each county was derived.

When the data from all the counties in the four states was run, a very high positive correlation, 0.9, was found; however, different coefficients of correlation were found when the counties in each state were run separately. Illinois had a positive coefficient of 0.99 in both 1960 and 1970; however, when Cook County was removed the coefficient dropped to 0.56 in 1960 and 0.65 in 1970. Indiana had a positive coefficient of 0.82 in 1960 and 0.78 in 1970. Iowa had a positive coefficient of 0.79 in 1960 and 0.49 in 1970, and Missouri had a positive coefficient of 0.898 in 1960 and 0.91 in 1970.

¹The figures used in this paragraph are taken from the censuses of 1890, 1900, 1910, 1930, 1950, 1960, and 1970. U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census, 1890, Part 1, pp. 16, 18, 28, 437-439; Twelfth Census, 1900, Part 1, pp. 114, 159, 236, 565-567; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 482, 503; Fifteenth Census, 1930, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 636, 785, 1358; Census, 1950, Vol. II, Part 13, p. 185, Part 15, p. 126, Part 25, p. 143; Census, 1960, Vol. I, Part 15, p. 202, Part 17, p. 142, Part 27, p. 146; Census 1970, PC(1)-B15, p. 252, B17, p. 144, B27, p. 153.

The mean population of counties with one or two Chinese was calculated for all four states. The size of the largest town in each of these counties was used to determine the mean population of the largest towns. This was done to find the average population of threshold counties. This study defines threshold counties as those with one or two Chinese residents. The mean population of threshold counties varied in the four states, but the mean population of the largest town in these counties was constant. In all four states the average population of the largest town in threshold counties was about 8,000 inhabitants in 1960 and 7,000 in 1970. The standard deviation of the population of the largest towns in threshold counties was 7,042 in 1960 and 5,422 in 1970. This drop in the average population of the largest town in threshold counties was a result of the fact that the Chinese population of the four states doubled and spread from 158 to 227 counties between 1960 and 1970. It seems apparent that the size of the largest county town was more important than the total county population in attracting Chinese settlers.

A program was run to examine more closely the majority of counties with Chinese in the four states. All counties with a town above 8,000 inhabitants and having less than 150,000 county residents were included in this segment of the study. The 1960 census data were used, and the coefficient of correlation of the Chinese with the general population was a positive 0.68. A similar correlation was run on the 1970 data and a positive coefficient of correlation of 0.68 was found. The coefficient of correlation was practically the same for both census years and the standard error of estimate was very close; 6.8 in 1960 and 8.0 in 1970. A scatter diagram was made

based upon the residuals of the 1960 data (see Table XII). Four clusters of communities with similar residuals were located on this diagram. The first includes university towns with less than 50,000 residents, the second includes small, independent cities, the third consists of medium sized industrial centers, and the fourth includes some intermediate sized cities.

Five counties are in the first cluster, the university centers: Jackson County, Illinois (Carbondale); Story County, Iowa (Ames); Johnson County, Iowa (Iowa City); Monroe County, Indiana (Bloomington); and Boone County, Missouri (Columbia). Four counties are in the second cluster: Alexander County, Illinois (Cairo); Knox County, Illinois (Galesburg); Cerro Gordo County, Iowa (Mason City); and Cass County, Indiana (Logansport). These counties contain small independent cities and all have had Chinese residents for a long period. The third cluster consists of medium sized industrial centers with a small number of Chinese. LaPorte County, Indiana; Buchanan County, Missouri (St. Joseph); Tazewell County, Illinois (Pekin); and LaSalle County, Illinois (Ottawa); all have fewer Chinese than average for counties with approximately 100,000 population. The fourth cluster consists of counties with intermediate sized cities that have more Chinese than average for cities with 25,000 to 100,000 population. Sangamon County, Illinois (Springfield); Black Hawk County, Iowa (Waterloo); Elkhart County, Indiana (Elkhart); and Kankakee County, Illinois (Kankakee); are in this group. These four groups of counties have Chinese populations that are not explained by random settlement.

Summary

Three major topics are considered in summing up this chapter on the spatial patterns of Chinese settlement in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. The first is the diffusion of Chinese in the area between 1870 and 1900, the second is the development of clusters of Chinese settlement, and the third is their concentration in urban areas.

Chinese settlement spread from four counties in 1870 to 181 counties in 1900. These counties included urban centers, medium sized and small independent cities, and rural counties with an excess of males in their population. The initial settlement was in two counties in Missouri, one in Illinois, and one in Iowa. Chinese settlers spread through the four states, settling in all parts except the Ozark region of Missouri. Immediately after 1900 the Chinese population began to concentrate in the large cities and to abandon counties with small populations. The Chinese population again expanded into the rural counties in the 1960's, and more counties in the four states had Chinese in 1970 than any previous time.

Chinese tended to settle in counties with an excess of males in the general population in the period from 1870 to 1900. By 1900 Chinese lived in fifty-two counties in Iowa; many of these had a very low population. The counties with small numbers of residents and Chinese generally had an excess of 500 or more males in their general population. This finding, made in an examination of the characteristics of Iowa counties with small populations, also held for most of the counties with Chinese residents in the four states before 1900.

Places with several Chinese residents were examined to find the threshold size for a permanent Chinese settlement. It was found that after a county had forty-seven Chinese listed in a census the number continued to increase in subsequent censuses. Counties with forty-seven or more Chinese are called clusters in this study. The first clusters appeared in 1880 in Chicago and St. Louis. By 1970 thirty-six counties had clusters. These clusters were in large and medium sized cities and university towns.

Chinese settlement in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri is centered in urban areas. Chicago has over one-half the Chinese residents in the four-state area. St. Louis, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and the university communities have the bulk of the remaining Chinese. Very few lived in rural areas. The percentage of Chinese living in urban areas is much higher than that of the general population.

CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE IN SELECTED PLACES IN THE MID-WEST

Introduction

Chinese communities in various places are described in this chapter. Special emphasis is given to the shifts in occupations of the Chinese and the classification of cities. The settlement of individual cities is examined to find how Chinese choose particular places for residence. Counties with greater or fewer than average numbers of Chinese residents are analyzed to determine their appeal. Therefore, the chapter is a series of short descriptions of communities.

Major Metropolitan Centers

Chicago, Illinois

Chicago has the largest Chinese settlement in the Mid-west. The census of 1880 listed over 150 Chinese residents of the city and the number increased to over 10,000 in 1970. A small Chinatown developed on Clark Street in the block south of Van Buren Street in the 1870's.¹ This block was part of the central business district and is adjacent to the elevated Loop transit line. The area is a transition zone

¹Ching Chao Wu, "Chinatowns: A Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928), p. 152.

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF CHINESE POPULATION
IN THE MIDWEST

1970

- ⊙ Metropolitan Centers
- ☆ Medium Sized Cities
- ▲ Satellite Communities
- University Towns
- Small Cities

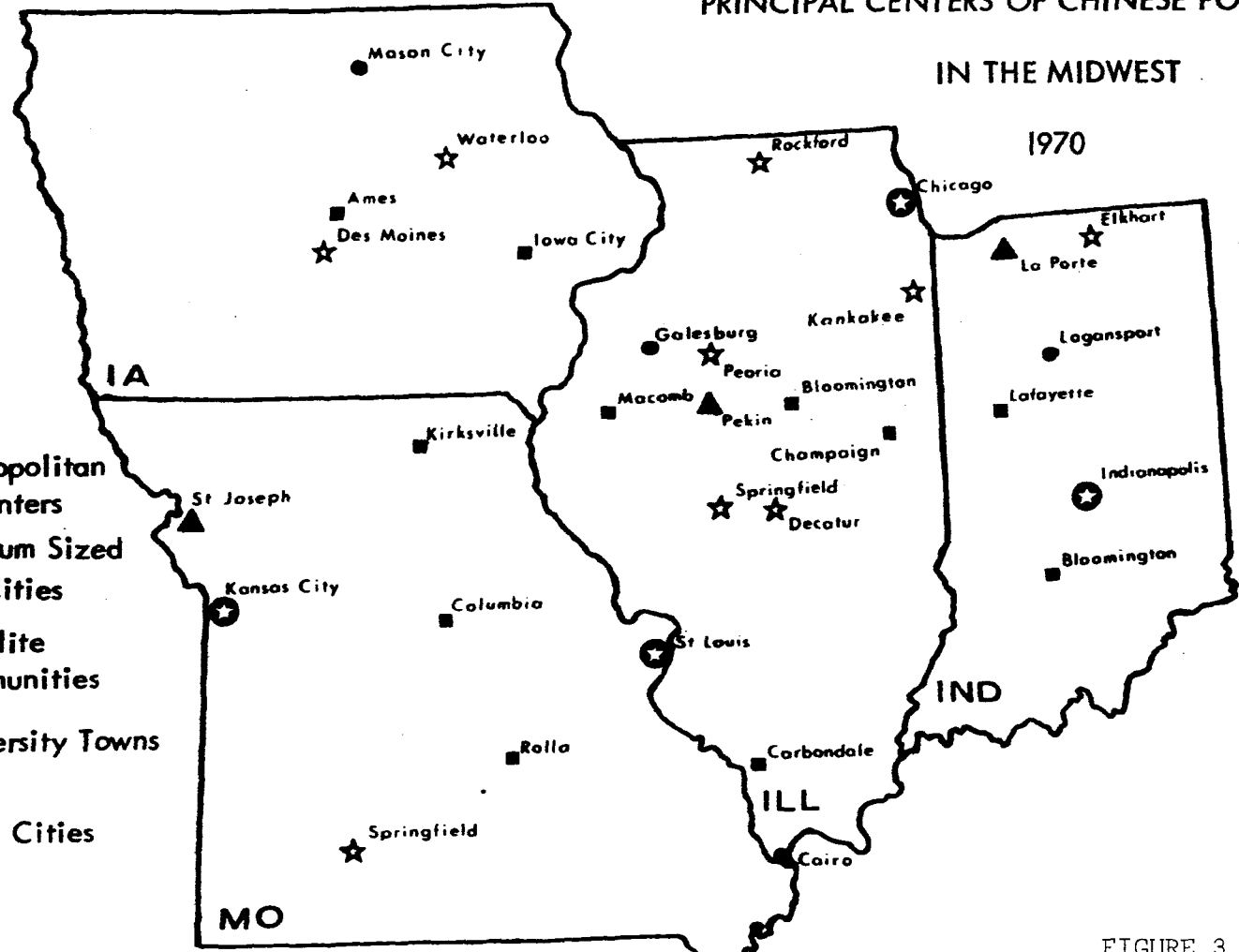


FIGURE 3 - 1

between the office district in the Loop and a wholesale warehouse section. There are several stores and restaurants in this block; however, it is not a residential area. The main Chinatown in Chicago is located in the vicinity of Twenty-second Street and Wentworth Avenue; this area, about two miles south of the Loop, is the center of the Chicago Chinese community and is the largest Chinatown in the Mid-west.

The Chicago Chinatown at Twenty-second and Wentworth has commercial buildings facing both streets. There are several restaurants, grocery stores, curio shops, book stores, and other small service shops on these streets. Most of the buildings are two story brick structures with some Chinese ornamentation. The Chinese Merchant's Association has a large building at the corner of Twenty-second Street and Wentworth Avenue. A Chinese Protestant church is located on Wentworth and a Catholic mission is nearby; both operate Chinese language schools for children. The houses are the standard Chicago style--two and three flat brick buildings. About 3,500 of Chicago's 10,000 Chinese live here.¹ The remaining 6,500 are scattered throughout the city.

T. C. Moy, one of the first Chinese to live in Chicago, came to the city in 1876 and lodged with two other Chinese who had been there for some time. People in Chicago were not hostile to Chinese so he wrote letters to his relatives and friends in San Francisco inviting them to come and live in the city. Over sixty arrived in 1878 and by 1890 more than 500 lived on South Clark Street. The Columbian Exposition of 1892 and 1893 created numerous business opportunities, so many Chinese migrated to Chicago during that period. They continued

¹Dr. John Y. Ing, President of the Chicago Chinese Association, private interview in Chicago on August 14, 1972.

to have good relations with the Chicago community until the United States had a dispute with China and the Chinese in China boycotted American businesses in 1905. After this event, the owners of the property occupied by Chinese on South Clark Street raised the rents; consequently, many of the Chinese moved to Twenty-second Street and established the new Chinatown.¹

Laundries were the first Chinese businesses in Chicago and they continue to be one of the major Chinese economic activities in the city. The first laundry was established in 1872 at 167 West Madison Street in the Loop. Two years later eighteen laundries were reported, all in the Loop or nearby. The number increased rapidly and by 1903 Chicago had over 200 Chinese laundries. This business reached a peak in 1928 when Chicago had more than 500 laundries; then the number declined to 430 in 1950 and about 150 in 1972. Chinese laundries spread from the Loop into the neighborhoods, and by 1910 the pattern of distribution showed concentrations in apartment house and rooming house areas. Districts of single family dwellings have few Chinese laundries.²

The decline in the number of Chinese laundries after 1928 was due in part to the more rigid immigration law of 1924 which restricted the entrance of students below college level. Under the Chinese exclusion act, students were an admissible class and laundries brought in young boys as "students" and used them for workers. The 1924 law, however, restricted student admission to college graduates seeking

¹Wu, "Chinatowns," pp. 152-153, 154.

²Siu, "Chinese Laundryman," pp. 26-28, 37, 39.

advanced degrees.¹ This eliminated an important source of labor for the laundries; consequently, they gradually decreased in number despite an increase in the Chinese population.

Restaurants are another major Chinese business in Chicago. The first Chinese restaurant in the city was the King Joy Lo which opened in 1893 during the Columbian Exposition at Randolph and Dearborn in the Loop. The number of restaurants expanded to 230 in 1926 and has since increased to over 250.² These establishments are found in all parts of the city; the central business district, the entertainment area north of the Loop, and major neighborhood shopping centers have many restaurants. In 1928 the 230 restaurants each employed an average of seven persons, a total of about 1,600 employees.³ The 250 Chinese restaurants in Chicago in 1971 probably employed as many or more people. Hence, it seems likely that almost one-fifth of the present Chinese population in Chicago works in restaurants.

Chicago had thirty Chinese groceries in 1928.⁴ This business is not as important as the laundries and restaurants; the writer observed only six or eight on a field trip to Chinatown in August, 1972. One or two groceries remain on South Clark Street among the Chinese businesses in the old Chinatown.

Chicago at one time had a Chinese language newspaper, San Min, but it is no longer published. A New York Chinese newspaper, The

¹Lee, Chinese in the United States, p. 80.

²Ting-Chiu Fan, "Chinese Residents in Chicago," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1926), pp. 25, 41.

³Fan, "Chinese Residents," p. 41.

⁴Ibid.

China Times, presently carries advertisements for Chicago Chinese businesses and is sold in the Chicago Chinatown.

There are two churches in Chinatown, the Chinese Christian Union Church (a protestant congregation) and the St. Therese Catholic Mission. Both have Chinese language schools for children. The St. Therese Mission school is a full-time elementary school. Both the Union Church and the Chinese Association schools are special part-time language schools for children who attend public institutions. Some churches in other parts of the city have special services for Chinese. The Buddhist "Temple" in Chinatown is not a religious place but a commercial venture maintained for the benefit of tourists.¹

Chicago has many Chinese organizations. The oldest groups, called "Tongs," were established in 1905 and 1906 when the Chinese experienced their first problems in the city.² The On Leong Association, also known as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, has the most imposing building in Chinatown. The 1967 Chinese directory lists thirty-nine organizations.³ This includes the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (six companies), the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, and the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuo Min Tang). The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association maintains a community center which is used as a theater and after hours language school.⁴

¹Hester Ann Kline, "How to Experience the Orient without leaving Chicago," Chicago Magazine, Vol. 8, no. 4, November-December, 1971, pp. 44-46.

²Fan, "Chinese Residents," p. 29.

³Chinese American Citizens Alliance, The Chinese Telephone Directory of Illinois, 1967.

⁴Kline, "How to Experience the Orient without leaving Chicago," p.44.

Chicago has complete facilities for living in the Chinese style. Chinese food, clothing, books, magazines, phonograph records and other articles are sold in the stores. Active social organizations provide many activities. Chinese opera troupes from Hong Kong give performances from time to time.¹ The Chicago Chinatown is not as elaborate as those in San Francisco and New York; however, it is a well-developed community.

St. Louis, Missouri

The second largest cluster of Chinese in the study area is in the St. Louis metropolitan area. The first Chinese in St. Louis was reported in the 1870 census. By 1880 St. Louis had fifty-six Chinese; this number has increased to about 500 in 1970. The metropolitan area, which includes St. Louis County in Missouri and Madison and St. Clair counties in Illinois, has over 2,000 Chinese residents. St. Louis once had a small Chinatown at Eighth and Market Streets with about 200 inhabitants. This community, which covered one city block, was recently demolished for urban renewal. One business, the Asia Food Products Store, and the On Leong Association (China Merchant's Association) relocated near Delmar Avenue and Fifteenth Street. A few residents of the Old Chinatown live nearby; however, most of the Chinese are now dispersed throughout the city.

St. Louis has two Chinese associations, the above mentioned China Merchant's Association (also known as the On Leong Association) and

¹The writer observed advertisements for a Cantonese opera troupe in August, 1972. Wu, in his dissertation on Chinatowns states that Chicago had a Chinese theater in 1928. (Wu, "Chinatowns," p. 178) Chinese movies are shown weekly in an auditorium of the Illinois Institute of Technology.

the St. Louis Chinese Association. The former has about 150 members, which includes the older residents of the city, and is the association of the Cantonese. The newcomers, mainly Mandarin speakers, belong to the St. Louis Chinese Society. This group includes the university students and professional people. The suburban community of Webster Groves has an interdenominational Chinese church. A Chinese language school in the old Chinatown is closed.¹

About one-third of the Chinese in the St. Louis area are university students from Hong Kong and Taiwan. A number of Chinese are employed in about twenty-three Chinese restaurants scattered throughout the city.² There are several professional people and one Chinese food store. The current telephone directory does not list any Chinese laundries in the classified (yellow pages) section.

The St. Louis community may be the model of future Chinese settlement in American cities. The Chinese residents are dispersed among the general population and have two or three social organizations and a church. Clustered in one small area are the organization buildings, specialized stores for ethnic foods and products, and some residential facilities for single persons and old people. Other metropolitan areas with increasing Chinese populations which do not have traditional Chinatowns may well develop settlement patterns like that in St. Louis.

¹Margie Wolf Freivogel, "St. Louis's Chinese Community," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 14 November 1971, Today's Woman, p. 1.

²Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, St. Louis Yellow Pages, May 1972, pp. 529-530, 688-702, 799-815.

Other Metropolitan Centers

In addition to Chicago and St. Louis, there are twenty-seven standard metropolitan statistical areas in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. Two of these, Kansas City, Missouri, and Indianapolis, Indiana, contain large cities. Three others, Louisville, Kentucky, Omaha, Nebraska, and Cincinnati, Ohio, have large cities in other states with suburbs in the study area. These three areas are not included in this study except for statistical purposes. Four metropolitan areas contain large state universities which will be discussed in a section on university communities. This leaves twenty metropolitan areas to be analyzed.

Both the Kansas City and the Indianapolis metropolitan areas had a population of over one million in 1970. The Kansas City urbanized area had 500,000 inhabitants and the city of Indianapolis had 743,000 residents.¹ These cities are classed as diversified by Harris² and as financial-insurance-real estate centers by Nelson.³ About 500 Chinese lived in each of these metropolitan centers in 1970.

Kansas City and Indianapolis each have about 500 Chinese residents. Neither has a well-developed Chinese community. Restaurants are the most important Chinese business activity. The restaurants in both cities are dispersed; four of the Kansas City restaurants are in

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population, PC(1)-B16, pp. 55, 73, PC(1)-B27, pp. 63, 96.

²Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," Geographical Review, XXXIII, (January 1943), pp. 86-99.

³Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," Economic Geography, XXXI (July 1955), pp. 206-207.

shopping centers. Both cities have enough Chinese residents to support an association and possibly a church.

Kansas City, Missouri

Kansas City has fourteen Chinese restaurants, two Chinese gift shops, and one Chinese laundry.¹ In 1950 there were fifteen laundries and five restaurants operated by Chinese in the city.² The number of laundries has declined but the number of restaurants has increased. Between 1950 and 1960 seven Chinese laundries went out of business; by 1970 only one remained. The number of Chinese restaurants (5) was the same in 1950 and 1960; however, after 1960 these increased.³ Kansas City had one Chinese physician listed in the telephone directory in 1972 and a Chinese Merchant's Association listed in the 1950 city directory. The Chinese community in Kansas City has clearly changed from one dominated by laundrymen to one of restaurant workers and professionals.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Indianapolis has seven Chinese restaurants and one Chinese gift shop listed in the 1971 telephone directory.⁴ A Chinese Club is

¹Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, Greater Kansas City Telephone Directory, Yellow Pages, January 1972, pp. 752-769. Polk's Kansas City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Kansas City, 1971, pp. 122, 134, 139-140.

²Polk's Kansas City Directory, 1950-1951, R. L. Polk & Company, Kansas City, 1950, pp. 1523, 1536, 1550.

³Polk's Kansas City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Company, 1960, pp. 194-195, 222-224.

⁴Indiana Bell Telephone Company, Indianapolis Telephone Directory, Yellow Pages, October 1971, pp. 693-701.

located in the city. The restaurants are dispersed throughout Indianapolis. The only food store advertising Oriental items is Japanese owned. Indianapolis does not have a well-developed Chinese business section.

There are eighteen other standard metropolitan statistical areas that are not dominated by large state universities in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. They range in size from the Davenport-Rock Island-Moline area of Iowa and Illinois, with 360,000 people and seventy-three Chinese, to the St. Joseph, Missouri, area, with 86,000 residents and seven Chinese. Five of these areas are examined in this study: Peoria, Illinois; Des Moines, Iowa; Rockford, Illinois; Springfield, Illinois; and Decatur, Illinois. The Peoria Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area had a population of over 300,000 and the Decatur Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area had about 125,000 residents in 1970; the other three areas were in between. These five areas are used as a sample of the eighteen in this group.¹

Peoria County had 111 Chinese listed in the census of 1970, fifty-nine males and fifty-two females. The city directory listed four Chinese restaurants, three Chinese university instructors, two scientists, one teacher, and three students in 1971.² Tazewell County had twelve Chinese in 1970, five males and seven females. Pekin had four Chinese residents and a Chinese restaurant. Morton had four Chinese. Woodford, the third county in the Peoria area, had one Chinese in 1970.

¹These population figures are from the 1970 Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population, PC(1)-B15, pp. 103-104, PC(1)-B16, pp. 73-74, PC(1)-B17, pp. 76-77, PC(1)-B27, p. 81.

²Polk's Peoria City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Taylor, Michigan, 1971, pp. 129, 247, 363, 372, 450.

The Des Moines Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area had a population of 286,000 and ninety-four Chinese in 1970. This group consisted of fifty-seven males and thirty-seven females. Polk was the only county in this census area in 1970. The City of Des Moines had eighty-eight Chinese and the other urban parts of Polk County had four. Chinese operated three restaurants and two gift shops in Des Moines.¹

The Rockford Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area included Winnebago and Boone counties in 1970. Winnebago County had seventy-five Chinese in 1970, sixty-one of whom lived in Rockford. Boone County reported six Chinese, all residents of Belvidere. There were forty-three males and thirty-eight females in this area. Rockford had one Chinese restaurant, one Chinese gift shop, and one Chinese physician.²

The Decatur Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area covered Macon County in 1970. This county had a population of 125,000, including sixteen Chinese in 1970. Decatur had one Chinese restaurant and one Chinese in each of the following three occupations: bank clerk, computer programmer, and engineer.³ The sexes were evenly divided with eight males and eight females.

Springfield, Illinois, and Waterloo, Iowa, had a slightly more than average number of Chinese for cities of their population size in 1960. This study uses the residuals from the correlation and regression

¹Northwestern Bell Telephone Company, Des Moines and nearby communities Telephone Directory, December, 1971, pp. 181, 327-329.

²Illinois Bell Telephone Company, Rockford-Loves Park Telephone Directory, March, 1972, pp. 178, 284, 322.

³Polk's Decatur (Macon County, Illinois) City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Taylor, Michigan, 1971, pp. 112.

program (Fig. 1-2) to determine whether the Chinese population deviates from the average.

Waterloo, Iowa, is in Black Hawk County, a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area in 1970. Black Hawk County had seventy-nine Chinese in 1970, including forty-four (twenty-six males and eighteen females) in Waterloo. The City of Cedar Falls, also in Black Hawk County, had thirty-five Chinese (twenty males and fifteen females). Waterloo was classified as a city with diversified functions by Nelson¹ and as a small industrial city with skilled labor, a small non-white population, and a high growth rate by Forstall.² Cedar Falls is a university community; Northern Iowa University, a state school, dominates the town. This school probably accounts for the larger than usual number of Chinese for a county of Black Hawk's population.

Four cities in the study area, South Bend, Indiana, Cedar Rapids and Waterloo, Iowa, and Rockford, Illinois, are classified as small manufacturing towns, with a skilled labor force, few non-whites, and a high growth rate by Forstall.³ South Bend had over 100 Chinese in 1970 and it is the site of a medium sized university (Notre Dame). Nelson listed South Bend and Rockford as manufacturing centers, and Cedar Rapids as a retail trade center. Neither Rockford nor Cedar Rapids has a university of substantial size.

¹Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

²Forstall, "Social Grouping of Cities," pp. 138-146.

³Ibid.

Springfield, in Sangamon County, is the capital of Illinois. In 1970 the city had forty Chinese, sixteen of whom were males and twenty-four females. Sangamon County had a total of fifty-five Chinese. The 1971 Springfield city directory listed two Chinese restaurants and one Chinese laundry.¹

Springfield was classified as a public service town by Nelson and as an older city with a low non-white population, a low level of manufacturing, and a low growth rate by Forstall. St. Joseph and Springfield, Missouri, and Terre Haute, Indiana, were given the same socioeconomic classification by Forstall.² Nelson listed a different function for each city: Springfield, Illinois, was a public service town, Springfield, Missouri, was a transportation and wholesaling center, Terre Haute was a city with diversified functions, and St. Joseph, Missouri, was a wholesaling center.³ Terre Haute and Springfield, Missouri, have state colleges; however, these cities have other functions and the schools are not the dominate activity. Their Chinese population is average.

Springfield, Illinois, has a larger than average number of Chinese for a city of its population class. Government service is the dominant activity and the state government employs some Chinese as highway engineers.⁴ Wholesaling is the most important economic activity in

¹Polk's Springfield City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Taylor, Michigan, 1971, pp. 98, 115.

²Forstall, "Social Grouping of Cities," pp. 138-146.

³Nelson, "Classification of Cities," pp. 206-207.

⁴Polk's Springfield City Directory, 1971, p. 91.

St. Joseph, Missouri. This city had a declining population between 1900 and 1970 and had a smaller than average number of Chinese for a place of its size.

Elkhart, Indiana, and Kankakee, Illinois, both have a slightly larger number of Chinese than average for cities of their size. (See Figure A.) The City of Elkhart had 43,152 residents and the City of Kankakee had 30,944 inhabitants in 1970. The county and city names are the same in both places; neither is a part of a standard metropolitan statistical area although both counties are adjacent to one. In 1970 Elkhart County had forty-eight Chinese consisting of twenty-one males and twenty-seven females, and Kankakee County had forty-seven Chinese including thirty-three males and fourteen females. The Chinese in Elkhart County lived in the cities of Elkhart and Goshen. Miles Laboratories, a pharmaceutical manufacturer, employed two Chinese chemists in Elkhart. This city did not have any Chinese restaurants in 1970.¹ Goshen, however, had two Chinese restaurants.² The City of Kankakee had one Chinese laundry and a suburban town, Bradley, had one Chinese restaurant. Two Chinese chemists worked for Armour Pharmaceuticals in Kankakee and the city also had one Chinese computer programmer and a Chinese teacher.³ The chemists employed by the drug companies in the two cities may explain the above average number of Chinese in

¹Polk's Elkhart (Elkhart County, Indiana) City Directory, 1970, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1970, p. 64.

²Polk's Goshen City Directory, 1970, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1970, p. 103.

³Polk's Kankakee (Kankakee County, Illinois) City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1971, pp. 102, 166, 63, 65, 408.

these communities. Elkhart was classed as a manufacturing town by Nelson and as a high status manufacturing center by Forstall. Kankakee was listed as a town with diversified functions by Nelson¹ and as a small independent city above average in manufacturing activity, and with a low growth rate by Forstall.²

University Communities

The class of university communities in this study is defined as small or medium sized cities dominated by large state institutions. Indiana has two of these places, Bloomington and West Lafayette; Illinois has Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington, Carbondale, and Macomb; Iowa has Iowa City and Ames; and Missouri has Kirksville, Columbia, and Rolla. The Chinese settlement trends in these towns are examined to determine the historical background and the composition of their Chinese population.

Most of the Chinese living in these places are directly associated with the universities. The number of students is greater than the number of faculty or staff members. Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, had the most staff members, 170, with Chinese names;³ the University of Illinois in Urbana had the second largest number of Chinese staff members with 148 in 1971.⁴ The other schools in the

¹Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

²Forstall, "Social Grouping of Cities," p. 144.

³Purdue University Student and Staff Telephone Directory 1971-1972, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, 1971, pp. 41-141.

⁴Staff Directory 1971-1972, University of Illinois/Urbana-Champaign Campus, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1971, pp. 120-412.

university communities had from two to eighteen staff members with Chinese names. The University of Illinois at Urbana and the University of Missouri at Columbia each had 259 students with Chinese names, the largest number of any of the schools in the university communities.¹ The number of Chinese students in the other schools in this group range from seventy-two at Western Illinois University in Macomb to 188 at Purdue University. Seven of the eleven university towns have Chinese restaurants; Champaign-Urbana has three, and West Lafayette-Lafayette and Columbia have two each. Champaign is the only university city that still has a Chinese laundry. All of the universities in these cities have Chinese student clubs whose members are foreign born Chinese; the American born Chinese students do not join these clubs.

The first Chinese residents in the university communities were laundrymen who appeared between 1875 and 1910. A few Chinese restaurants opened, and some Chinese students attended the universities after 1910. Chinese laundries were numerous until 1940, then they declined rapidly. The census returns listed students as residents of the university towns in 1950.² This change in procedure may account for part of the increase in the Chinese population in university communities since the Second World War. The number of Chinese students and staff members in the universities has increased since 1950. There

¹Student Directory 1971-1972, University of Illinois/Urbana-Champaign Campus, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1971, pp. 46-326. University of Missouri-Columbia, 1971-1972 Directory, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1971, pp. 85-238.

²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of Population, Part 13, p. XIII.

have been three periods of Chinese residence in university communities: (1) the period of the laundry men, (2) the period of restaurants and a few students, and (3) the period of many students and staff members.¹

The United States government established a scholarship fund with the indemnity paid by the Chinese government for damages arising from the Boxer Rebellion in Peking in 1900. A special school, Ching Hua University, was established in Peking to prepare Chinese students for American Universities. After completing a high school course in Ching Hua, many students came to the United States for a university education.² Some of these emigrated to the Mid-west and enrolled in Purdue University and the University of Illinois.³ The Champaign-Urbana city directory listed a Chinese student club in 1914.⁴ The number of Chinese students in the Mid-west was small until after 1950. Illinois had 206 and the other states in the study area had less than 100 in 1952.⁵ The Chinese student population in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri has grown at a rapid rate since 1952.

¹Gould's McLean County Directory 1875-1876, David B. Gould, Bloomington, Illinois, 1875, p. 468. Caron's Directory of the City of Bloomington, Indiana, 1920, Caron Directory Co., Louisville, 1920, p. 379. H. Baker & Co.'s Directory of the City of Lafayette, 1879-1880, Henry Baker & Co., Lafayette, 1879, p. 220. Samson's Champaign-Urbana 1914 City Directory, Samson & Company, Champaign, 1914, p. 576.

²Bertrand Russell, The Problem of China (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1922, 1966), pp. 217-218.

³Lee, "The Chinese in the United States of America," p. 89.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

Champaign-Urbana had the largest Chinese population of the eleven academic communities in 1970. Champaign County had 721 Chinese residents, including 419 males and 302 females. Rantoul, Illinois, the site of an air force base, had twenty-three Chinese and the twin cities of Champaign and Urbana had a combined total of 645. The majority of the Chinese are associated with the university.

The 1900 census reported four Chinese in Champaign County; this number increased to fifteen in 1910. The succeeding censuses did not show much change until 1950 when students were counted as residents of the university communities. Champaign County had 162 Chinese in 1950; this number increased to 305 in 1960 and 721 in 1970. The earliest Champaign-Urbana city directory in the Urbana Public Library was for 1914. This book listed three Chinese laundries, a Chinese restaurant, a Chinese student club, and ten Chinese persons, six of whom were students and four were laundrymen.¹

In 1920, twelve Chinese were listed in the census and eleven of these were in the Champaign-Urbana city directory.² There were eight laundrymen and three restaurant workers. These two cities had three Chinese laundries and one Chinese restaurant in 1920. The number of Chinese in Champaign County increased to twenty-six in 1930, and the number of Chinese laundries increased by one.³ Between 1930

¹Samson's Champaign-Urbana 1914 City Directory, Samson & Company, Champaign, 1914, pp. 167, 169, 283, 307, 325, 334, 496, 576, 196.

²Twin Cities Directory, 1920, Clark-Elwell Company, Champaign, 1920, pp. 164, 165, 297, 324, 315, 316, 557, 571.

³Champaign & Urbana City Directory, 1930, Flanigan-Pearson Company, Champaign, 1930, pp. 207, 208, 213, 362, 370.

and 1940 the number of Chinese in the county decreased by nine, leaving seventeen in 1940. The 1940 city directory listed three laundries and one restaurant.¹

Champaign-Urbana had a stable Chinese group between 1910 and 1940. There were three laundries and one restaurant during most of this period, and the number of Chinese did not vary much except in 1930 when twenty-six were reported in the census.

The census counted university students as residents of their school community in 1950 when Champaign County had 162 Chinese residents. Champaign and Urbana had four Chinese laundries and one Chinese restaurant, about the same number as in the preceding census years. The city directory of 1950 listed the following people with Chinese names: two research workers, one assistant instructor, two married students, and sixteen persons not associated with the university.² This left 140 Chinese residents of Champaign County in 1940 who were not in the city directory. Some of these may have been children of the nine Chinese married couples listed in the city directory, but the bulk were probably students. This was the first census year when the city directory listed Chinese professional people associated with the university.

The number of laundries and restaurants increased between 1950 and 1960. Champaign and Urbana had five Chinese laundries and three Chinese restaurants in 1960.³ There were 305 Chinese residents in the

¹Champaign & Urbana City Directory 1940, Flanigan-Pearson Company, Champaign, 1940, pp. 428, 439.

²Champaign-Urbana City Directory, 1950, Flanigan-Pearson Company, Champaign, 1950, pp. 502, 514.

³Polk's Champaign and Urbana City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Co., Detroit, 1960, pp. 78, 88-89, 354.

county in 1960. The addition of one Chinese laundry and two restaurants would not explain the increase in the Chinese population in the 1950's. Most of the growth in population must have been associated with the university.

In 1970 the census listed 721 Chinese residents in Champaign County, more than double the number in 1960. The 1969-1970 city directory listed three Chinese restaurants, one less than in 1960, and one Chinese laundry, four less than 1960.¹ The 1971-1972 university directories were examined to find the number of people with Chinese names associated with the school. There were 148 staff members and 259 students with Chinese names.² If one assumes that most staff members are married and have two children, the staff members and families would account for 592 people. An alternative assumption that each staff member is married and has one child would explain 444 persons. In any case, the number of Chinese businesses in Champaign-Urbana has not increased at a rate comparable with the growth of the city's Chinese population. The number of Chinese staff members and students at the university does explain the presence of most of the Chinese population.

West Lafayette, Indiana

West Lafayette had the second largest Chinese population of the university communities in this study. The census of 1970 reported

¹Polk's Champaign and Urbana City Directory, 1969-1970, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1970, p. 569.

²Staff Directory 1971/1972, University of Illinois/Urbana-Champaign Campus, pp. 120-412. Student Directory 1971-1972, University of Illinois/Urbana-Champaign Campus, pp. 46-326.

397 Chinese in Tippecanoe County, Indiana. This county has the twin cities of Lafayette and West Lafayette, the county seat and site of Purdue University. Each city had a Chinese restaurant in 1970, and the current directory of Purdue University lists 170 staff members and 188 students with Chinese names.¹ The 1970 city directory listed some people with Chinese names that were not affiliated with the university; they were a physician, a data processor, a nurse, a manager, an engineer, and a bricklayer.² Purdue has the largest number of Chinese staff members of any of the eleven universities examined in this study.

The first Chinese in Tippecanoe County were reported in the census of 1880. There was a Chinese laundry in the city directory of 1879-1880.³ The 1890 census listed two Chinese in the county and the city directory of that year recorded two Chinese laundries.⁴ Seven Chinese residents were listed in the census of 1900; however, the city directory of that year listed only two Chinese laundries and one person with a Chinese name. In 1910 the Chinese population of Tippecanoe County was ten; the city directory listed two Chinese laundries, a Chinese restaurant and two Chinese students.⁵ The 1920 census reported

¹Purdue University Student and Staff Directory, pp. 41-141, 159-257.

²Polk's Lafayette City Directory, 1970, R. L. Polk & Co., Detroit, p. 135.

³Baker's Directory of Lafayette, 1880, pp. 160, 220.

⁴Lafayette City Guide, 1891, publisher not listed, pp. 163, 278.

⁵R. L. Polk & Co.'s Lafayette Directory, 1909-1910, R. L. Polk & Company, Indianapolis, 1909, p. 565.

nine Chinese residents in the county and the city directory listed four Chinese students, three Chinese laundries, and one Chinese restaurant.¹ This pattern was continued in 1930 when the census counted nine Chinese in the county and the city directory listed three Chinese laundries. However, the city directory listed eleven Chinese students, so the census must have listed some as residents of other places.² In 1940 the Chinese population had grown to nineteen in the county and the laundries had declined to one. Nine students with Chinese names were listed in the city directory.³

The 1950 census listed sixty-eight Chinese in Tippecanoe County and the city directory listed one Chinese laundry and one Chinese restaurant. There were three professional people and about ten students with Chinese names in the city directory.⁴

The remaining Chinese may have consisted of children and students. In 1960 the Chinese population of Tippecanoe County had increased to 163; the city directory listed the following Chinese businesses and individuals: two laundries, one restaurant, three teachers, sixty students, and one worker.⁵ These people and the laundry and restaurant

¹Polk's Lafayette City and Tippecanoe County Directory, 1920, R. L. Polk & Company, Indianapolis, 1920, pp. 662, 690.

²Polk's Lafayette City Directory, 1931-1932, R. L. Polk & Company, Indianapolis, 1931, pp. 738, 761.

³Polk's Lafayette City Directory, 1941, R. L. Polk & Company, Indianapolis, 1941, pp. 767, 787.

⁴Polk's Lafayette City Directory, 1950, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1950.

⁵Polk's Lafayette City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1960, pp. 101, 116.

workers account for about one-half the Chinese population of Tippecanoe County in 1960.

After 1940 the city directories do not provide information on all of the Chinese in the university communities. Two factors may account for this. The first is that children are not listed and these communities had several Chinese families; both university staff members and local businessmen had wives and probably children. The earlier city directories seldom list a wife for Chinese named in their publications. The second factor is the growth in number of university students; the city directories may only list students living off campus or married students, so single students living in dormitories would not be included.

Columbia, Missouri

Columbia, Missouri, had the third largest number of Chinese among the university communities in 1970. Columbia is in Boone County which had 324 Chinese in that year. This number included 174 males and 150 females. Columbia is the site of the University of Missouri, Stephans College, and Columbia College. The university had 247 students and nine staff members with Chinese names.¹ Stephans College had three Chinese students and Columbia College had four in 1971.² There are two Chinese restaurants, one operated by students and the other by relatives of one of the Chinese professional persons in the city. Two

¹University of Missouri, 1971 Directory, pp. 85-238.

²Mrs. Elizabeth Kirkman, Dean of Students, Columbia College, interview held on January 19, 1972.

professionals, a physician and an architect, have practices in Columbia.¹

There were four Chinese listed in the census of 1910 in Boone County; two were reported in 1920, four in 1930, and none in 1940. The county had thirty-three Chinese listed in the census of 1950, a large increase compared with previous years. In the next census Boone County had thirty-six Chinese residents. The writer did not find any record of the few Chinese listed in the early censuses. Both Chinese restaurants were established recently; the Dean of Students at Columbia College stated these were the first in the city. The major growth of the Chinese community in Columbia has occurred in the past ten years.

Iowa City, Iowa

Johnson County, Iowa, had 265 Chinese residents in 1970; this number included 147 males and 118 females. The University of Iowa had 121 foreign Chinese students and sixty-nine Chinese staff members in 1970.² Iowa City has one Chinese restaurant.³ The first Chinese in the county was recorded in the census of 1880, but none was listed in the census of 1890 and only two were residents in 1900. The Chinese population of Johnson County did not increase until after the Second World War and the 1950 census.

¹General Telephone Company of the Mid-west, Columbia Telephone Directory, December, 1971, pp. 59, 156.

²Steve Arum, Office of International Education, University of Iowa, interview held on December 16, 1971.

³Northwestern Bell Telephone Company, Iowa City and Nearby Communities Telephone Directory, 1971, p. 153.

There were fifty-seven Chinese residents in Johnson County in 1950. This number decreased slightly in 1960 when there were fifty-two and then increased sharply to 265 in 1970. Iowa City, the principal urban center in the county, is a university community, and the majority of the Chinese residents are associated with the school.

Ames, Iowa

Ames, in Story County, Iowa, is the site of Iowa State University. Story County had 230 Chinese in 1970, including 139 males and 91 females. The university had 125 foreign students and eighteen staff members with Chinese names.¹ Ames did not have a Chinese laundry or restaurant; however, there was a Chinese physician.² This city is an example of a university community where only one member of the Chinese cluster is not associated with the school. The first Chinese in Story County appeared in the 1900 census. One was listed in 1910 and two in 1920. After the Second World War the universities increased in size, and in 1950 the number of Chinese residents jumped to forty-two in Story County. The 1960 census listed forty-seven Chinese. There has been a dramatic increase in the Chinese population in Ames since the Second World War and this growth has been in people associated with the university.

¹Becky Matters, Office of Foreign Students and Visitors Service, Iowa State University, interview held in Ames, Iowa, December 17, 1971.

²Northwestern Bell Telephone Company, Ames, Iowa, Telephone Directory, November, 1971, p. 143.

Bloomington, Indiana

Bloomington, in Monroe County, Indiana, is the home of Indiana University. Monroe County had 213 Chinese in 1970, including 117 males and 96 females. Indiana University had 141 students and 12 staff members with Chinese names in 1971.¹ Bloomington had one Chinese business, a restaurant.²

The 1910 census was the first to list a Chinese in Bloomington. The census reported six Chinese in the city in 1920, four in 1930, but none in 1940. Subsequently, however, the Chinese population of Bloomington increased rapidly, and in 1950 there were forty Chinese in Monroe County. This number increased to forty-three in 1960. The Bloomington city directories of 1920, 1930, and 1940 listed Chinese laundries; also, the 1946 city directory³ advertised a Chinese restaurant. The 1950 city directory listed the following Chinese businesses and individuals: one laundry, two students, and a university staff member.⁴ The laundry, a Chinese restaurant, and two students and a university staff member with Chinese names were in the 1960 city

¹Indiana University, Telephone Directory, 1971-1972, Promotional Enterprises, Bloomington, 1971.

²Polk's Bloomington City Directory, 1970, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1970, p. 301.

³Caron's Directory of the City of Bloomington, Indiana, for 1920-1921-1922, Caron Directory Company, Louisville, 1920, p. 379. Caron's Bloomington, Indiana, City Directory for 1929-1930, Caron Directory Company, Louisville, 1930, p. 561. National's Bloomington, Indiana, City Directory, 1940, National Directory Company, Parsons, Kansas, 1940, p. 30.

⁴Polk's Bloomington (Monroe County, Indiana) City Directory, 1950, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1950, pp. 55, 290.

directory.¹ Most of the Chinese in Bloomington, Indiana, are associated with the university.

Rolla, Missouri

Rolla, in Phelps County, Missouri, is the site of a branch of the University of Missouri. Phelps County had 197 Chinese in 1970, including 152 males and 45 females. The Rolla branch of the University of Missouri had 128 foreign Chinese students in 1970 and six Chinese faculty members.² The city does not have any Chinese businesses or individuals not associated with the university.³ Census reports of Phelps County listed ten Chinese in 1950 and thirteen in 1960. Local records in the Rolla Public Library do not show any Chinese businesses, so these earlier residents were probably associated with the university. Rolla is an example of a university community with a short history of Chinese students and staff members and no evidence of other Chinese residents.

Carbondale, Illinois

Carbondale, in Jackson County, Illinois, is the home of Southern Illinois University. In 1970 Jackson County had 178 Chinese, including 103 males and 75 females, and the university had 137 foreign Chinese

¹Polk's Bloomington (Monroe County, Indiana) City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1960, pp. 78, 86, 238.

²Letter from Jennifer Gray, Secretary to the Foreign Student Advisor, Rolla, January 27, 1972.

³This statement is based upon a survey of Rolla, Missouri, and an examination of the Rolla Telephone Directory made on January 19, 1972, by the writer.

students and eleven Chinese faculty members.¹ There are no Chinese businesses in Carbondale and the city directories did not list any in previous years.

The first census report of a Chinese in Jackson County was in 1890; however, this person was not listed as a Carbondale resident. Jackson County had two Chinese in 1900 (residents of Murphysboro), three in 1910, and two in 1920. Unfortunately, the Carbondale Public Library does not have city directories for periods earlier than the 1930's; therefore, the occupations of these early Chinese residents could not be determined. Jackson County did not have any Chinese listed in the censuses of 1940 and 1950; apparently the university did not attract Chinese students until a later time. The 1960 census recorded eighty-eight Chinese in the county and the Carbondale City Directory of that year listed seven students with Chinese names; however, there were no Chinese businesses.² The Chinese community in Carbondale is obviously new and associated with the university.

Bloomington, Illinois

Bloomington, in McLean County, Illinois, is the home of Illinois Wesleyan University; a suburb, Normal, is the site of Illinois State University. McLean County had 116 Chinese in 1970, including fifty-six males and sixty females. Illinois Wesleyan University had few Chinese students; however, Illinois State University had seventy-six

¹ Joseph Chu, International Affairs Office, Southern Illinois University, interview in Carbondale, March 1, 1972.

² Carbondale City Directory, 1961, Johnson Publishing Company, Manitowoc, Wisconsin, 1960.

foreign students and nine staff members with Chinese names.¹ Bloomington has several Chinese who are not associated with the universities. There are two Chinese restaurants and some professional people, including a nurse, a laboratory technician, a computer programmer, and a librarian.² The majority of the Chinese, however, are associated with Illinois State University.

The first Chinese in McLean County was a laundryman who lived in Bloomington in 1875. The census of 1880 listed four Chinese and the city directory identified two Chinese laundries.³ By 1890 Bloomington had fifteen Chinese who operated five laundries, but both later decreased in numbers. In 1900 there were but four Chinese who had two laundries.⁴ The census of 1910 listed six Chinese who operated two laundries and a restaurant.⁵ McLean County had forty-one Chinese recorded in the census of 1920, but the Bloomington city directory of that year listed only two Chinese laundries, one restaurant, and two individual Chinese (a laundryman and a student at Illinois Wesleyan University).⁶ The census reports did not list any Chinese residents

¹Robert V. Murley, International Student Services, Illinois State University, Normal, interview held on March 29, 1972.

²Polk's Bloomington-Normal City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1971, pp. 77.

³Gould's McLean County Directory for 1875-1876, David B. Gould, Bloomington, 1875, p. 468. Gould's City Directory for 1880-1881, Bloomington-Normal, David B. Gould, Bloomington, 1880, p. 227.

⁴Bloomington and Normal City Directory for 1891, Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Company, Bloomington, 1899, pp. 140, 308, 610.

⁵Bloomington and Normal and McLean County Directory for 1899, Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Company, Bloomington, 1899, pp. 140, 308, 610.

⁶Bloomington and Normal City Directory, 1920, Leshnick Directory Company, Peoria, 1920, pp. 693, 706.

in 1930 and 1940; however, the city directory listed two Chinese laundries and a restaurant operated by two Chinese named Lum.¹ The Lum family still lives in Bloomington.

In 1950 McLean County had twenty-one Chinese and Bloomington had two laundries and a restaurant operated by Chinese.² The 1960 census listed twenty-one Chinese in the county and Bloomington had two Chinese laundries and a restaurant.³ The only Chinese persons listed in the 1950 and 1960 city directories were either laundrymen or restaurant workers. This small group of Chinese increased in the 1960's with expansion in the number of students at Illinois State University.

Kirksville, Missouri

Kirksville, in Adair County, Missouri, is the home of Northeast Missouri State College and the Kirksville College of Osteopathy. Adair County had 171 Chinese in 1970; including 104 males and 67 females. The osteopathic college had one Chinese student and the state college had 158 students and two staff members with Chinese names.⁴ There are no Chinese businesses in Kirksville.

The first Chinese reported in Adair County by the census was in 1920 when two were listed. In 1930 two Chinese were reported by the

¹Polk's Bloomington City Directory, 1930-1931, R. L. Polk & Company, Chicago, 1930, pp. 176, 559, 578. Polk's Bloomington City Directory, 1940, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1939, pp. 235, 612, 629.

²Polk's Bloomington City Directory, 1949, R. L. Polk & Company 1949, pp. 214, 578, 593.

³Polk's Bloomington City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Company St. Louis, 1960, pp. 86, 118, 141.

⁴Mrs. McKinney, Foreign Student Advisor, Northeast Missouri State College, interview in Kirksville, January 12, 1972.

census; however, the subsequent censuses did not list any Chinese until 1960 when Adair County had fourteen. Chinese student enrollment in Northeast Missouri State College increased rapidly in the 1960's and continued to increase until 1972. There were about 300 Chinese students during the spring term of 1972. This included approximately 275 from Taiwan and twenty from Hong Kong. There are two reasons for the large enrollment of Taiwan Chinese students in this college: (1) a liberal admission policy with no limits on the number of foreign students, and (2) relatively low student expenses. The number of Chinese students at Kirksville may decline in the future since the State of Missouri has restricted the number of out of state students in its state schools to a fixed percentage of the student body.

Macomb, Illinois

Macomb, in McDonough County, Illinois, is the home of Western Illinois University. McDonough County had thirty-nine Chinese in 1970, including twenty-one males and eighteen females. The university had twenty-eight students and four staff members with Chinese names in 1970. Macomb has one Chinese restaurant. The number of Chinese students enrolled in the university has increased since 1970. There were seventy-two foreign students and three American students with Chinese names in the school in the fall term of 1971.¹

Census reports list one Chinese in McDonough County in 1890, five in 1930, and ten in 1960. The Macomb Public Library does not have any city directories issued before the middle 1930's, so the writer was

¹Western Illinois University, 1971-1972 Directory, Yeast Printing Company, Macomb, 1971, pp. 11-156.

unable to find any record of the early residents. The Chinese restaurant was opened in 1956 when the owner moved to Macomb from Knoxville, Illinois.¹ Macomb has a small Chinese community of university students and staff members in addition to the family of the restaurant owner.

Characteristics of University Towns

The majority of the Chinese students in these university communities are foreign born. There were 259 students with Chinese names in the University of Missouri during the fall of 1971 and 177 were foreign students.² Purdue University had 188 Chinese students in the fall term of 1971 and ninety-nine were from foreign countries.³ The percentage of foreign Chinese students is higher in the new universities. Western Illinois University had forty-two Chinese students in the fall of 1971 and thirty-nine were from foreign places.⁴ These three universities are used as examples of the schools in this study. The foreign Chinese students outnumber those born in the United States.

Chinese students were originally attracted to the large state universities. For example, they attended Purdue University and the University of Illinois as early as 1910. The last schools to attract Chinese are the institutions that were formerly teachers colleges.

¹The Past Told by Journal Files, Fifteen Years Ago, December 8, 1956, Macomb Journal, December 8, 1971, p. 2.

²Mr. Carl Leistner, Foreign Student Advisor, University of Missouri-Columbia, interview on January 19, 1972.

³Mr. A. H. Tichenor, Jr., Foreign Student Advisor, Purdue University, West Lafayette, interview, February 7, 1972.

⁴Western Illinois University 1971-1972 Directory, pp. 11-156.

Southern Illinois University, Western Illinois University, and Northeast Missouri State College have enrolled Chinese students only during the recent past. One reason for this is that the foreign Chinese students are graduates of universities in China, not teachers colleges. There is a major difference between a university and a teacher training institute in China. The teacher training schools are similar to the American normal schools of the past, and their graduates are not eligible to go abroad for study.

The eleven university towns in this study are classed as educational communities, i.e., small cities dominated by a large state university according to the functional classification system of Jones, Jorstall, and Collver published in the Municipal Yearbook 1963. The 1970 census classed four of these towns as parts of standard metropolitan statistical areas. None is a satellite of a larger urban area. The university towns fall within four classes in Forstall's social and economic classification system. Macomb, Illinois, and Kirksville, Missouri are small independent cities with average socio-economic status and family cycles, below average in manufacturing activities, and with a low growth rate. The others are classed as cities dominated by a large university. Bloomington, Indiana, and Rolla, Missouri, have populations with a low average age and status, few non-whites, and a high growth rate. Carbondale and Urbana, Illinois, Iowa City and Ames, Iowa, and Columbia, Missouri, have a population with high status and high growth rate. West Lafayette, Indiana, and Champaign and Normal, Illinois, have a large number of foreign born residents, a high status population with a low average age, and a high growth

rate.¹ The socio-economic status of these towns, however, is not the most important factor in attracting Chinese; the university is the magnet.

Small Independent Cities

Four small cities had more Chinese residents than average for communities of their population size in 1960. These were Galesburg and Cairo, Illinois, Mason City, Iowa, and Logansport, Indiana. Each has had Chinese residents for a long time. None is the site of a large state university but all are railroad junction towns. Nelson classes Galesburg and Logansport as transportation centers, Mason City as a town with diversified functions, and Cairo as a retail-wholesale center. All four places have city directories listing Chinese, so the trends of their Chinese settlement can be discerned.

The occupational patterns of Chinese settlers in the Middle West had three stages. During the first period practically all were laundrymen. In the second period some opened restaurants, although laundries remained numerous. The third period, starting after the Second World War, saw the decline of the laundries and the development of a Chinese professional class. Chinese residents of Galesburg, Mason City, and Logansport illustrate this pattern of occupational changes.

Typically, the first Chinese in a community was a laundryman, and in most cases he arrived sometime between the middle 1870's and 1900. These first settlers were men; most had wives and children who remained in China. Since laundrymen were classed as laborers under the Chinese

¹Richard L. Forstall, "A New Social and Economic Grouping of Cities," The Municipal Yearbook 1970 (Washington: The International City Management Association, 1970), pp. 102-170.

Exclusion Act, they were not permitted to bring their wives into the country. The restaurant owners or managers, classified as treaty merchants, were permitted to bring their wives and children into the United States.¹ Chinese restaurants were opened in these cities after 1910; owners often had wives, so the first Chinese families appeared during this time. Chinese professional people started settling in these towns in the 1940's; many of them came from China as refugees. The Chinese population has grown slowly in these places and, since most of the professionals had families, the sex ratio has become more balanced.

Galesburg, Illinois

Galesburg, in Knox County, Illinois, is a small city with two colleges: Knox, a liberal arts school, and Carl Sandburg, a junior college. Nelson classified Galesburg as a transportation center; seven rail lines enter the city.² Galesburg has several factories and an active retail trade business. The population has grown from 10,000 in 1870 to 36,000 in 1970; the peak population, 37,000, was in 1960.

The first evidence of Chinese in Galesburg was the listing of a Chinese laundry in the 1879 city directory.³ The census reports listed two Chinese residents in 1880, 1890, and 1900; none was listed

¹Wong Chai Chong, Circuit Court No. 4522, August, 1925, cited by R. D. McKenzie in Oriental Exclusion (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1928) p. 124.

²Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

³Holland's Galesburg City Directory 1879, Holland Publishing Company, Chicago, 1879, p. 176.

in the 1910 census, but three were recorded a decade later. These early Chinese residents of the city were laundrymen. The city directories identified two Chinese laundries in 1889 and one in 1920, 1924, 1929, 1941, 1949, and 1970; in fact, Galesburg still has a Chinese laundry.¹ Most Chinese laundries in small cities have disappeared, so Galesburg is unusual in retaining this business.

Galesburg's first Chinese restaurant opened in 1924.² This business was started by a Wong family which still operate restaurants in the city. The 1926 city directory listed three men named Wong and their wives; all were associated with the restaurant. In 1929 they opened a second restaurant which, along with a laundry, gave Galesburg three Chinese businesses.³ These represented the only economic activities of Chinese in Galesburg until the late 1940's.

The Chinese professional people came to Galesburg after the Second World War. Dr. James Wang, a clinical psychologist, became a member of the staff of the Galesburg State Research Hospital in 1952. A Chinese physician and microbiologist moved to Galesburg in 1971.⁴ These three professional men represent the third stage in the occupational diversification of Galesburg's Chinese residents.

¹Colville's Directory of the City of Galesburg, 1889-1890, p. 371, Colville's Galesburg City Directory 1919-1920, p. 628, Colville Bros., Galesburg, 1889, 1919. Polk's Galesburg City Directory, 1941, 1949, 1970, R. L. Polk & Company, St. Louis, 1941, p. 453; 1949, p. 144; 1970, p. 111.

²Galesburg Evening Mail, February 27, 1924, p. 6.

³Colville's Galesburg City Directory 1929-1930, R. L. Polk & Co., Detroit, 1929, p. 558.

⁴Dr. James Wang, Clinical Psychologist, Resume.

The 1970 census listed twenty-seven Chinese residents in Galesburg, including fourteen men and thirteen women. There were eight adult members of the Wong family listed in the 1970 city directory.¹ This family included three married couples with children; most of the adult members work in the three Chinese restaurants. The laundry is operated by another family named Lee. The three professional men each have a family. Galesburg has six Chinese families living in the city and one in the countryside.

Knox College had one Chinese student in 1970, an American Chinese from Philadelphia. Four Chinese students were enrolled in the college in 1923.² There was a Chinese staff member in the 1960's, but none is employed now. The college has had little influence upon the size of the city's Chinese population.

Galesburg's Chinese residents reflect the typical historical occupational pattern of most Chinese settlers in the Mid-west. Galesburg has three unusual characteristics: (1) a relatively large Chinese population, (2) the retention of a Chinese laundry, and (3) the existence of three Chinese restaurants in a city of this size. There are no Chinese community organizations in Galesburg.

Mason City, Iowa

Mason City, Cerro Gordo County, is a small city in north-central Iowa. The population of Mason City was 1,100 in 1870; this grew to a

¹Polk's Galesburg City Directory, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1970, p. 589.

²Galesburg Evening Mail, February 4, 1924, p. 2.

peak of 30,600 in 1960 and then declined slightly to 30,490 in 1970. Nelson classified the city as a place with diversified functions.¹ Mason City has several factories, is a railroad center with five lines entering the city, and serves as a retail center for a large area. Northern Iowa Area Community College is located in the city. Mason City is the central city for a large section of northern Iowa.

The first Chinese in Mason City was listed in the census of 1900. None was recorded in 1910, but twenty-nine lived in the city in 1920. Mason City had a sharp increase in total population between 1910 and 1920, so the large growth in numbers of Chinese occurred when the city was rapidly expanding.

The Chinese population of Mason City reached its peak in 1920; it subsequently declined to twelve in 1930 and none in 1940. After the Second World War the number of Chinese residents in the city increased from six in 1950 to twenty-seven in 1960 and then declined to sixteen in 1970. The 1901 city directory listed one Chinese laundry. No Chinese businesses were identified in subsequent directories until 1912 when another laundry was included.² A Chinese restaurant opened in 1919 and in 1920 there were two restaurants and one laundry owned by Chinese.³ The sixteen Chinese in Mason City in 1970 consisted of

¹Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

²Mason City Directory 1901, R. L. Polk & Company, Mason City, 1901, p. 287.

³R. L. Polk & Company's Mason City Directory 1920, R. L. Polk & Company, Sioux City, 1920, pp. 543, 528.

ten males and six females in four families. There were three physicians and one restaurant.¹

The number of Chinese in Mason City increased during periods of rapid growth in the general population of the city, especially between 1910 and 1920 when the city grew from 11,000 to 20,000. After 1920 the growth rate slowed down and the number of Chinese decreased. The absence of Chinese in the census of 1940 may be a result of the limited reports on minor races in the census of that year. There was very little growth in the general population of Mason City between 1940 and 1950, yet six Chinese were listed in the 1950 census. The general population of Mason City increased during the 1950's and the number of Chinese grew to twenty-two in the city and twenty-seven in the county. After 1960 the population of Mason City was static and the number of Chinese decreased. The number of Chinese in Mason City seems to have increased when the city has grown and decreased when it has remained static. The vocational pattern has had the same shifts through time as in other cities in the Mid-west.

Logansport, Indiana

Logansport, Cass County, is a small city in north-central Indiana with a population of 19,000 in 1970. The population was 8,900 in 1870 and increased to a peak of 21,600 in 1920. Subsequently it decreased in size to 18,500 in 1930 but gradually increased to 21,000 in 1960 before slightly decreasing again to the present level. Thus, Logansport has been about the same size for fifty years. Nelson classed

¹Polk's Mason City Directory 1971, R. L. Polk & Co., Kansas City, 1971, pp. 72, 76.

Logansport as a transportation center; eight rail lines enter the city.¹ Cass County has a state hospital located outside the city. Logansport is a county seat and retail trade center.

Chinese residents of Cass County are listed in all census reports since 1880 except 1950. In 1960 there were sixteen Chinese in Cass County, thirteen of whom were living in Logansport. The census of 1970 listed twenty in Cass County, including fourteen in Logansport (seven males and seven females). The city had a Chinese laundry in 1879 which continued in operation until 1939.² The city directory of 1960 listed two Chinese physicians as staff members of the state hospital and a restaurant operated by four Chinese.³ In 1970 the restaurant was sold to another Chinese family. The family which formerly owned the restaurant still lives in Logansport; it consists of a husband, wife, and seven children.⁴ Logansport has a relatively large number of Chinese for a city in its population class because of this one family!

Logansport's Chinese residents have the same pattern of change in vocations as the other Chinese in the Middle West. The laundrymen came first in the 1870's and were the only Chinese in the community until 1940. A Chinese restaurant was opened and professional people

¹Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

²Beasley's Logansport Directory, 1879-1880, James W. Beasley-Harry U. Wilstach, Lafayette, Indiana, 1879, p. 181. Polk's Logansport City Directory, 1939, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1939, p. 232.

³Polk's Logansport City Directory, 1960, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1960, p. 68.

⁴Polk's Logansport City Directory, 1971, R. L. Polk & Company, Detroit, 1971.

came after the Second World War. The restaurant was established in Logansport somewhat later than in other communities. Hence, the second and third states in the evolution of Chinese occupations occurred simultaneously in Logansport.

Cairo, Illinois

Cairo, Alexander County, is a small city at the southern tip of Illinois. Nelson classified Cairo as a retail and wholesale center.¹ The census of 1870 reported 6,267 residents of the city and the 1970 census listed a population of 6,277. Cairo's population grew to 15,200 in 1920 but has since declined. The city is an old river port whose activities were supplanted by the railroads. Cairo is a center for the Illinois Central, the Mobile and Ohio, and the New York Central railroad lines.

Census reports list Chinese residents in Cairo continuously since 1890 except in 1940. The city had one Chinese laundry and five laundrymen in 1890.² The Chinese laundry business in Cairo lasted until the Second World War. Cairo also had a Chinese restaurant from 1930 until the middle 1940's.³ The 1942 city directory listed one Chinese laundry, a restaurant, and a store. The laundry and restaurant were operated by men with the same family name, Pang. The store, a grocery catering to the Black population, was operated by another Chinese family.

¹Nelson, "Classification of Cities," p. 206.

²Daily Telegram's Cairo City Directory, 1889-1890, Telegram Directory Publishers, Cairo, 1889, pp. 142, 153, 202.

³W. H. Hoffman's City Directory of Cairo, Illinois, 1930, Hoffman Directories, Quincy, Ill., 1930, pp. 212, 337, 348. Cairo, Illinois, City Directory, 1942, Johnson Publishing Co., Manitowoc, Wisc., 1942, p. 107.

Cairo had two grocery stores operated by Chinese catering to the Black population in 1960 and in 1970.¹ Each of these was owned by a different family, each of which had several children. Cairo now has the two Chinese families who are in the grocery business and a single Chinese cook who works in an American-owned restaurant that serves Chinese food. The cook told the writer that the two families with grocery stores and he were the only Chinese living in Cairo. The 1970 census listed twenty-three Chinese in Alexander County, eighteen of whom lived in Cairo. The latter figure includes eight men and ten women.

Cairo's Chinese population is unusual; the vocational pattern is different, and the increase in the number of Chinese despite a declining city population is unlike that in other places in this study. No professional people have settled in Cairo and the grocery stores are the only ones operated by Chinese in the small cities in this study. Liao has reported that Chinese living in Arkansas operate grocery stores in small communities for a Black clientele.² The only significant group of Chinese in America living in rural areas are the Chinese grocers in the lower Mississippi valley. Cairo is the only city in this study in this area and its Chinese occupational pattern is similar.

Counties with Satellite Communities

Three counties (LaPorte, Indiana; Buchanan, Missouri; and Tazewell,

¹Cairo Con Survey City Directory 1960, Mullin-Kille Con Survey Company, Chillicothe, Ohio, 1960, pp. 360, 377, 390. Cairo, Illinois, Con Survey City Directory, 1968, Mullin-Kille of Missouri, Inc., Chillicothe, Ohio, 1968.

²Liao, "Case Study of an Immigrant Community," p. 43.

Illinois) had a low number of Chinese for their general population size in 1960. All three were more than one standard deviation below the regression line in the run that correlated the general population with the number of Chinese in each county in 1960. All three counties were adjacent to a county which had a larger population; also, the largest town in each county was smaller than the larger city in the adjoining county. Satellites differ from suburbs by being separated from their central city by many miles and by having independent economic functions; thus, they are not merely bedroom communities for commuters.¹ The 1960 population of these counties varied from 90,000 to 100,000.

Buchanan County, Missouri

Buchanan County has one medium sized city, St. Joseph, a major meat packing and railroad center. St. Joseph is a satellite of Kansas City, a large metropolis. The meat packing business was established in St. Joseph in the 1880's and the town subsequently boomed. The city had a population of 52,000 in 1890 and over 100,000 in 1900. However, the number of inhabitants dropped to 77,000 in 1910 and has since remained between 70,000 and 80,000.²

The Chinese in St. Joseph have been laundrymen and restaurant workers. Census reports list two Chinese residents in St. Joseph in 1880, ten in 1890, seven in 1900, eight in 1910, four in 1920, three in 1930, none in 1940, one in 1950, three in 1960, and seven in 1970. The oldest city directory in the St. Joseph Public Library, for the

¹Raymond E. Murphy, The American City, An Urban Geography (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 40-41.

²Missouri State Highway Department, Missouri, A Guide to the "Show Me" State (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), pp. 283-288.

year 1882, lists three Chinese laundries.¹ St. Joseph had nine Chinese laundries in 1890, four in 1900, three in 1910, two in 1930 and one in 1935.² There have been no laundries in the city after this time. St. Joseph had Chinese restaurants from 1910 to 1930.³ There is no evidence of any Chinese businesses in the city since the middle of the 1930's.

St. Joseph had Chinese residents when it was expanding in population; however, after the city ceased to grow the number of Chinese gradually declined. The last Chinese restaurant went out of business after 1930 and the last Chinese laundry closed its doors in the middle of the 1930's. The absence of Chinese businesses and professional men explain the small number of Chinese residents in St. Joseph. Chinese laundries and restaurants do not flourish in cities with static populations and businesses.

The state hospital and Missouri Western College do not have any Chinese employees. St. Joseph is unusual in not having any record of Chinese professional people in its population.

Tazewell County, Illinois

Tazewell County has three small cities: Pekin, East Peoria, and Morton. East Peoria is a suburb of Peoria, Illinois, and Pekin and Morton are satellite communities. Pekin is the county seat of Tazewell

¹Hoye's Sixth Annual St. Joseph City Directory, 1882, Hoye City Directory Company, St. Joseph, 1882, p. 423.

²Polk's St. Joseph City Directory, 1935, R. L. Polk & Company, Kansas City, 1935, p. 534.

³Polk's St. Joseph City Directory, 1932, R. L. Polk & Company, Kansas City, 1932, p. 618.

County and both have grown steadily for over a century. East Peoria is an industrial suburb of Peoria; its principal factory is the Caterpillar tractor plant. Morton was a small village that grew rapidly after the Caterpillar Tractor Company built a plant in the town. Tazewell County did not have any Chinese residents in 1960 although the total county population was 100,000. The number of residents in the county increased to 118,000, including twelve Chinese in 1970. East Peoria had 18,000 inhabitants, none of whom was Chinese; Pekin had 31,000 people, including four Chinese; and Morton had 10,000 inhabitants, including four Chinese in 1970. There is a Chinese restaurant in Pekin.

Most of the Chinese in this area live in the city of Peoria since the central city has a better setting for Chinese businesses and professional people. When the number of Chinese in a city grows, competition increases and some consequently move to an outlying town and open new businesses. Apparently this process is just starting in Tazewell County. With four Chinese restaurants in Peoria already, the next one was opened in Pekin. The twelve new Chinese residents of Tazewell County may soon be followed by others as the Chinese in Peoria increase in number.

LaPorte County, Indiana

LaPorte County has two small cities, Michigan City and LaPorte. Michigan City has a harbor on Lake Michigan, some factories, and the Indiana State Prison. In 1970 this community had 39,000 residents while LaPorte had 22,000 people. LaPorte County had four Chinese in 1970; all were residents of Michigan City.

Census reports place the first Chinese in LaPorte County in 1890 when four were residents; subsequent censuses listed from one to six Chinese as residents of the county. The city directories of Michigan City and LaPorte list Chinese laundrymen in both places until 1949. The first Chinese restaurant in Michigan City is a recent venture. There have been two Chinese restaurants in the city of LaPorte during the last ten years. One is now closed, but the other is a new restaurant in a bowling alley. This establishment is not Chinese operated but employs a Chinese cook. There was no indication of any Chinese professional people in the city directories.¹

LaPorte and Michigan City had the usual influx of Chinese laundrymen between 1890 and 1950. Neither city attracted Chinese restaurant operators or professional people until recently. Both places are attractive cities and are large enough to draw Chinese. The explanation for their failure to attract Chinese other than laundrymen may be the close proximity of South Bend, Indiana, a city with more than 125,000 residents which include over 100 Chinese. Chinese moving to this area would have better opportunities in South Bend than in Michigan City or LaPorte. As the number of Chinese in South Bend increases, some may move to these other cities and open businesses or practice their professions.

¹The writer made a field trip to LaPorte, Indiana, and examined the records in the LaPorte City Library. There are several factories in the town and it has a substantial business district. LaPorte is not on the main highway, so there is not much automobile traffic through the town.

Characteristics of Counties with Satellite Communities

These three counties contain communities which are satellites of a larger city in an adjoining county. Buchanan County, Missouri, has only one large city, St. Joseph, which has had a static population and little new industry for several decades; it has a record of Chinese residents whose numbers have dwindled for many years. The other two counties have a steady, slowly growing population and each has two or three small cities. In each case a large nearby city has drawn the Chinese with the result that the smaller satellite towns have a lower than average number for their size.

Rural Areas

Very few Chinese live in rural areas in the Mid-west. In 1970 Illinois had 173, Indiana 174, Iowa 66, and Missouri 93 Chinese living in rural areas.¹ These 506 Chinese consisted of 263 males and 243 females. Rural areas included in standard metropolitan statistical areas had 226 Chinese; therefore, only 280 Chinese lived in rural areas in counties that were not part of a metropolitan area in 1970. Within the four-state study area, Chinese lived in rural areas in 142 counties, forty-two of which are part of metropolitan areas. A small number of Chinese are dispersed in rural areas of one-third of the counties in the four states.

Chinese lived in rural areas of thirty-five Illinois counties in 1970. Thirteen of these counties were parts of metropolitan areas

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, PC(1)-B15, Illinois, pp. 298-305, PC(1)-B16, Indiana, pp. 198-205, PC(1)-B17, Iowa, pp. 186-193, PC(1)-B27, Missouri, pp. 204-212.

and these had eighty-nine of the 173 Chinese living in the state's rural areas. A standard metropolitan statistical area includes rural areas of counties that are part of it; therefore, a metropolitan area may have rural districts. A Chinese living in a rural part of a metropolitan area is not included in the urban part of the population. Kankakee and Jackson counties in 1970 had sixteen and fifteen rural Chinese respectively; the other counties not included in metropolitan areas had from one to six Chinese. Towns with populations ranging from 1,000 to 2,500 had twenty-three Chinese and smaller places had 150. The 173 rural Chinese in Illinois in 1970 were only one per cent of the total Chinese population of the state.

Chinese lived in rural areas of forty-one counties in Indiana in 1970. Seventeen of these counties were part of metropolitan areas; they had ninety-one of the 174 rural Chinese in the state. Howard and Monroe counties had fourteen and thirteen Chinese respectively, and the other counties which were not part of a metropolitan area had between one and five Chinese. Towns with populations between 1,000 and 2,500 had thirteen Chinese and smaller places had 161. The 174 Chinese living in rural areas of Indiana in 1970 were eight per cent of the total Chinese population of the state.

Chinese lived in rural areas of thirty-one counties in Iowa in 1970. Five of these were part of metropolitan areas and had eight of the sixty-six rural Chinese in the state. Worth and Wayne counties had eight and seven Chinese respectively, and the other counties which were not a part of metropolitan areas had from one to six Chinese. Towns with populations ranging from 1,000 to 2,500 had thirty-four Chinese and smaller places had thirty-two. The sixty-six Chinese

living in rural areas of Iowa formed seven per cent of the total Chinese population of the state.

The 506 Chinese who lived in rural parts of the study area formed only .004 of one per cent of the general population and two per cent of the Chinese population of the four states. Indiana had the highest percentage of Chinese living in rural areas and Illinois had the lowest. Rural Chinese in the Mid-west are not clustered in compact settlements. Instead, they are individuals or members of single families living among the general population in a random pattern.

Summary

Chinese settled in the Middle West for economic and social reasons. California suffered a serious economic depression in the 1870's and the accompanying high rate of unemployment caused much unrest. A radical labor agitator, Denis Kearney, started a political movement which blamed the Chinese for the unemployment of white workers in California. The legislature consequently passed laws restricting Chinese from engaging in many occupations. Some Chinese were actually victims of mob violence in California and other western states.¹

Many Chinese fled to the Mid-west and found work as laundrymen. They settled in cities with rapidly growing populations and a surplus of males. Single men were the best customers of the laundries. The labor movement was hostile toward Chinese; therefore, they avoided industrial occupations and turned instead to the services. Railroad

¹Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880, An Economic Study, (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), pp. 137-138.

junction centers were primarily service oriented, so Chinese were subject to less hostility and had better economic opportunities in these places. This reasoning would seem to explain how Chinese selected certain places for their initial settlement in the Mid-west.

Most of these cities had Chinese restaurants between 1910 and 1930. Lee reports that Chinese restaurants became fashionable during the time of the First World War.¹ For example, Knox College in Galesburg had a Chinese New Year's banquet and a Knox sorority had an oriental party in February, 1924.² Shortly thereafter, a Chinese restaurant was opened in Galesburg. Chinese took advantage of this fashion and opened restaurants in the railroad centers. These places were still very important business centers before 1930, so they were chosen by the Chinese as good locations for their business ventures.

After World War II and the change of government on the Chinese mainland, many professional people were admitted to the United States as refugees. These individuals were trained in the sciences, engineering, medicine, and other professions. The relatively small Chinese population in the United States could not support so many professionals; consequently, many had to seek work among the general American community. Many small, independent mid-western cities needed physicians, so some of the hospitals and clinics recruited Chinese medical personnel. American universities experienced large expansions in their student bodies after 1945 and needed many additional college teachers; as a result, Chinese academic people were appointed to posts in many schools in the Middle West.

¹Lee, "Chinese in the United States of America," p. 261.

²Galesburg Evening Mail, February 4, 1924, p. 2, February 9, 1924, p. 7, February 27, 1924, p. 6.

The two principal reasons for Chinese settlement in these small mid-western places are (1) economic opportunity and (2) relatively friendly attitudes toward Chinese by the communities. The laundrymen were motivated by both in seeking a place to settle and, after finding a satisfactory location, to remain. The individual laundryman stayed only a short time in most communities but the laundry business endured. Hostility toward the Chinese had waned when the restaurant business became popular; therefore, economics was the main factor in locating a site for a restaurant. Professional people settled where they found jobs or found a suitable place to establish a practice. The communities that attracted large numbers of Chinese have been good places for business and have attracted many Chinese newcomers.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the areal arrangement of Chinese in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri from 1870 to 1970. A preliminary examination based upon the 1960 census data showed an irregular pattern of distribution. The results of this initial work were three hypotheses which were used in forming the problem to be investigated. Several cities with above average or below average numbers of Chinese were identified and investigated by field trips. The areal patterns of Chinese in the study area have been explained by analysis of information derived from census returns and field trips.

There were four groups of cities that had either above or below average numbers of Chinese. University towns, small independent cities that were important railroad junctions, and some medium sized independent cities had above average numbers of Chinese while satellite industrial cities had below average Chinese populations. Very few Chinese lived in rural areas, and in 1960 the average county with one or two Chinese included a town with a minimum of 8,000 people.

The first Chinese to settle in the study area were listed in the census of 1870. These first arrivals lived in four counties in 1870; later Chinese settlers spread to 180 counties by 1900. Areas with

large cities or a surplus of males in their population attracted these first Chinese. After 1900 there was a slight contraction in the geographical extent of the Chinese in the study area; however, their total number increased and some cities had groups of forty-seven or more. Chicago and St. Louis had the first clusters, and both cities developed Chinatowns.

The city directories of places with above average numbers of Chinese were examined to find information about Chinese settlers and their occupations. Between 1870 and 1910 all Chinese that could be identified in all places except Chicago were laundrymen. Some Chinese restaurants opened after 1900 and during the period between 1910 and 1940 Chinese living in the study area were engaged in the laundry or restaurant business. The laundries gradually disappeared; however, the restaurants are still numerous. Although there were a few Chinese students attending universities in the study area as early as 1910, the big growth in the number of Chinese students and staff members in university towns started after the Second World War. Some of the small and medium sized cities have attracted Chinese physicians and computer programmers in recent years.

The Chinese occupational trend in the Middle West has been marked by three distinct periods. The first is the era of the laundryman; the second occurred when the first Chinese restaurants opened and Chinese engaged in both the laundry and restaurant business. The third period saw the disappearance of the laundries and the emergence of the professionals.

During the first period when almost all Chinese in the study area were laundrymen there were very few Chinese women or families. After

the restaurants opened some families appeared; however, the ratio of men to women was very high. The immigration laws were changed after the Second World War, so Chinese could then bring foreign born wives into the country. Consequently, the ratio of men to women became more even and the clusters of Chinese ceased to be colonies of bachelors.

A study of the Chinese in the Middle West cannot be made without an examination of earlier Chinese settlement in California, the anti-Chinese movement in that state, and its legal consequence, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Chinese laborers in California abandoned most industrial occupations after white workers became hostile toward them in the 1870's. The shortage of women among the general population in pioneer areas created a demand for laundry workers, and the Chinese found they could make a living washing other men's clothes without being subject to harassment. Chinese immigration to the Mid-west brought this trade from California. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 restricted the immigration of Chinese to certain classes and prohibited laborers from entering the country. This law excluded the wives of laundrymen. Merchants and students were allowed to come to the United States, however, so the immigrants arriving after 1882 were members of these classes. The merchants opened restaurants and the students became professional men. The occupational shift from laundrymen to restaurant operators and professionals is a consequence of the immigration law.

Conclusions

This study has examined the areal arrangement of Chinese in four states in the Middle West. Three hypotheses were formed as a result

of preliminary studies of the census data: (1) Chinese are clustered in university communities and transportation centers; (2) Chinese do not settle in large numbers in industrial centers; and (3) after initial settlement in a community, Chinese tend to persist in that location.

The first hypothesis is supported by census data; it has been shown that Chinese are clustered in university communities and transportation centers. Large universities in small cities in all four states have sizeable numbers of Chinese students and staff members. Small, medium sized, and large cities that have several railroad lines also tend to have clusters of Chinese.

The second hypothesis is also verified by the study. The function of a city is an important determinate in attracting Chinese residents. Industrial cities do not have as many Chinese as places whose dominate activities are education, government, or transportation.

The third hypothesis was supported only in part by the findings of this study. Chinese have not remained in rural areas or counties with low total populations; however, medium sized and large communities have tended to retain their Chinese residents.

American Chinese comprise a relatively small group and the majority live in large cities. They are popularly associated with Chinatowns or laundries. This study found small numbers of Chinese living in many small and medium sized cities in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri. The shift in occupations from laundryman to restaurant operator and professional worker, the presence of large numbers of foreign Chinese students and staff members in the universities, and the existence of Chinese professional medical men in small and medium sized cities were

unexpected findings. This study examined Chinese living in small cities in the Middle West who have been neglected in previous investigations.

Prior works on Chinese in America have been concerned with those living in large cities, the social structure of the Chinese community, and immigration laws affecting Chinese. Only two previous studies have dealt with the geographical distribution of Chinese: Rose Hum Lee's dissertation on Chinatowns in the Rocky Mountain area and Pao-Yun Liao's thesis on the Chinese community in Arkansas.¹ Both of these works, however, were concerned primarily with sociology; they utilized a geographical framework only for study of the social organization of these communities. Examination of the geographical patterns of Chinese in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri has been neglected.

This study has raised some topics that merit further study and examination. For example, the Chinese population in large cities is dispersing and the traditional Chinatowns are disappearing. Also, university communities have growing numbers of Chinese students and staff members which merit study. The spatial residential patterns of Chinese in suburban areas and university communities are an additional topic for examination. Since the change in the immigration laws, the number of Chinese has increased rapidly. If this trend continues, Chinese residents may eventually become randomly dispersed throughout the general population. Such processes and trends are potential topics for valuable future studies.

¹Lee, Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities; Liao, "A Case Study of a Chinese Community."

APPENDIX

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1870

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Morgan (Jacksonville)	1	(1)
IOWA:		
Marshall (Marshalltown)	3	(2)
(Liscomb)		(1)
MISSOURI:		
Madison (St. Michael's)	2	(2)
St. Louis (St. Louis)	1	(1)

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, I, pp. 25, 29, 46, 117, 138, 191.

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1880

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Coles	1	
(Mattoon)		(1)
Cook	172	
(Chicago)		(172)
Edgar	1	
(Paris)		(1)
Knox	2	
(Galesburg)		(2)
LaSalle	1	
(Ottawa)		(1)
McLean	4	
(Bloomington)		(4)
Macon	3	
(Decatur)		(3)
Madison	1	
(Alton)		(1)
Peoria	12	
(Peoria)		(12)
Pope	5	
Rock Island	2	
(Rock Island)		(2)
Sangamon	1	
(Springfield)		(1)
Tazewell	1	
(Pekin)		(1)
Vermillion	2	
(Danville)		(2)
Warren	1	
(Monmouth)		(1)
TOTAL FOR ILLINOIS:	<u>209</u>	
INDIANA:		
Allen	3	
(Fort Wayne)		(3)
Cass	1	
(Logansport)		(1)
Marion	14	
(Indianapolis)		(14)

TABLE IX--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Miami	1	
(Peru)		(1)
Montgomery	1	
(Crawfordsville)		(1)
Tippecanoe	2	
(Lafayette)		(2)
Vanderburgh	3	
(Evansville)		(3)
Vigo	2	
(Terre Haute)		(2)
Wayne	2	
(Richmond)		(2)
TOTAL FOR INDIANA:	<u>29</u>	
IOWA:		
Boone	2	
Clinton	2	
(Clinton)		(2)
Dallas	1	
Dubuque	2	
(Dubuque)		(2)
Howard	1	
Johnson	1	
(Iowa City)		(1)
Lee	1	
(Keokuk)		(1)
Linn	3	
(Cedar Rapids)		(3)
Marshall	1	
(Marshalltown)		(1)
Polk	9	
(Des Moines)		(9)
Pottawattamie	3	
(Council Bluffs)		(3)
Union	2	
(Creston)		(2)
Wappello	2	
(Ottumwa)		(2)
Woodbury	3	
(Sioux City)		(3)
TOTAL FOR IOWA:	<u>33</u>	
MISSOURI:		
Audrain	1	

TABLE IX--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Buchanan (St. Joseph)	2	(2)
Jackson (Kansas City)	25	(25)
Jasper (Joplin)	1	(1)
Marion (Hannibal)	1	(1)
Nodaway	3	
Randolph (Moberley)	2	(2)
St. Louis (city)	<u>56</u>	
TOTAL IN MISSOURI:	91	

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census, 1880: Population of the United States, I, 387-390, 398-399, 417, 418, 421.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1890

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Adams (Quincy)	2	(2)
Alexander (Cairo)	7	(7)
Bureau (Princeton)	2	(2)
Christian (Taylorville)	2	(1)
Coles (Mattoon)	4	(4)
Cook (Chicago)	571	(567)

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Dekalb (Dekalb)	1	(1)
DuPage	3	
Edgar (Paris)	2	(2)
Ford	1	
Fulton	1	
Grundy (Morris)	2	(2)
Henry	2	
Jackson	1	
Jersey (Jerseyville)	1	(1)
Kane	12	
(Aurora)		(9)
(Elgin)		(2)
Kankakee (Kankakee)	2	(2)
Knox (Galesburg)	2	(2)
Lake (Waukegan)	1	(1)
LaSalle	16	
(Ottawa)		(8)
(Peru)		(1)
(Streator)		(3)
(LaSalle)		(3)
(Mendota)		(1)
Lee	3	
(Dixon)		(1)
Livingston (Pontiac)	2	(2)
Logan (Lincoln)	1	(1)
McDonough	1	
McLean	15	
(Bloomington)		(14)
(Normal)		(1)
Macon (Decatur)	9	(9)
Madison (Alton)	2	(2)
Marion	5	
Marshall	2	
Massac	4	

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Menard	1	
Morgan	2	
(Jacksonville)		(2)
Ogle	2	
Peoria	21	
(Peoria)		(21)
Richland	1	
(Olney)		(1)
Rock Island	3	
(Rock Island)		(1)
(Moline)		(1)
Saline	1	
Sangamon	5	
(Springfield)		(5)
St. Clair	4	
(East St. Louis)		(3)
(Belleville)		(1)
Stephenson	1	
(Freeport)		(1)
Tazewell	7	
(Pekin)		(5)
Vermillion	2	
(Danville)		(2)
Whiteside	3	
(Sterling)		(1)
Will	5	
(Joliet)		(2)
Winnebago	<u>3</u>	
(Rockford)		(3)
TOTAL FOR ILLINOIS:	740	
INDIANA:		
Allen	11	
(Fort Wayne)		(11)
Cass	2	
(Logansport)		(2)
Clark	3	
(Jeffersonville)		(3)
Daviess	2	
(Washington)		(2)
Dearborn	3	
(Lawrenceburg)		(1)
Delaware	2	
(Muncie)		(2)

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Elkhart (Elkhart)	2	(2)
Fayette (Connersville)	2	(2)
Grant (Marion)	2	(2)
Hamilton (Noblesville)	1	(1)
Hancock (Greenfield)	1	(1)
Harrison	1	
Hendricks	1	
Howard (Kokomo)	2	(2)
Huntington (Huntington)	3	(3)
Jackson (Seymour)	1	(1)
Knox (Vincennes)	2	(2)
Kosciusko (Warsaw)	3	(3)
Lake (Hammond)	2	(1)
LaPorte (LaPorte)	4	(2)
Marion (Indianapolis)	10	(10)
Miami (Peru)	2	(2)
Monroe (Bloomington)	1	(1)
Montgomery (Crawfordsville)	2	(2)
Morgan (Martinsville)	1	(1)
Noble (Kendallville)	1	(1)
Pike	1	
Porter (Valparaiso)	2	(2)
Posey (Mount Vernon)	1	(1)
Putnam (Greencastle)	1	(1)

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
St. Joseph (South Bend)	3	(3)
Shelby (Shelbyville)	1	(1)
Spenser	1	
Tippecanoe (Lafayette)	2	(2)
Tipton (Tipton)	2	(2)
Vanderburgh (Evansville)	3	(3)
Vigo (Terre Haute)	1	(1)
Wabash (Wabash)	3	(3)
Wayne (Richmond)	3	(3)
Whitely (Columbia)	1	(1)
TOTAL FOR INDIANA:	<u>92</u>	
IOWA:		
Black Hawk (Waterloo)	1	(1)
Boone (Boone)	1	(1)
Cass (Atlantic)	2	(1)
Chickasaw	1	
Clinton (Lyons)	1	(1)
Dallas (Perry)	1	(1)
Delaware	1	
Des Moines (Burlington)	3	(3)
Dubuque (Dubuque)	3	(3)
Floyd (Charles City)	1	(1)
Hamilton (Webster City)	1	(1)
Hardin	1	
Harrison (Missouri Valley)	1	(1)

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Henry (Mount Pleasant)	1	(1)
Jefferson (Fairfield)	2	(2)
Lee (Keokuk)	4	(3)
(Fort Madison)		(1)
Mahaska (Oskaloosa)	2	(2)
Marshall (Marshalltown)	1	(1)
Muscatine (Muscatine)	1	(1)
Page (Clarinda)	1	(1)
Plymouth (LeMars)	1	(1)
Polk (Des Moines)	2	(2)
Pottawattamie (Council Bluffs)	3	(3)
Scott (Davenport)	6	(6)
Tama	2	
Union (Creston)	1	(1)
Wapello (Ottumwa)	2	(2)
Webster (Fort Dodge)	2	(2)
Winneshiek (Decorah)	1	(1)
Woodbury (Sioux City)	14	(14)
TOTAL FOR IOWA:	<u>64</u>	
MISSOURI:		
Atchison	1	
Audrain (Mexico)	1	(1)
Buchanan (St. Joseph)	10	(10)
Chariton	1	
Clay (Liberty)	4	(1)

TABLE X--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Cole (Jefferson City)	1	(1)
Cooper (Booneville)	1	(1)
Daviess	1	
Greene (Springfield)	5	(5)
Grundy (Trenton)	2	(2)
Henry (Clinton)	1	(1)
Jackson (Kansas City)	187	(186)
Jasper (Joplin)	3	(3)
LaFayette (Lexington)	1	(1)
Lawrence	2	
Linn (Brookfield)	1	(1)
Macon (Macon)	1	(1)
Marion (Hannibal)	2	(2)
Mississippi	1	
Monroe	1	
Nodaway (Maryville)	2	(2)
Pettis (Sedalia)	1	(1)
Pike (Louisiana)	1	(1)
Ray (Richmond)	4	(2)
St. Charles (St. Charles)	3	(3)
Saline (Marshall)	1	(1)
St. Louis (city)	<u>170</u>	
TOTAL FOR MISSOURI:	<u>409</u>	

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census, 1890: Population of the United States, Part I, pp. 437-439, 454-458, 466-467.

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1900

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Adams	10	
(Quincy)		(10)
Alexander	3	
(Cairo)		(3)
Boone	5	
(Belvidere)		(5)
Cass	1	
Champaign	4	
(Champaign)		(4)
Coles	3	
(Charleston)		(1)
(Mattoon)		(2)
Cook	1,253	
(Chicago)		(1,209)
(Evanston)		(3)
Dekalb	5	
(Dekalb)		(2)
(Sandwich)		(1)
(Sycamore)		(1)
Dewitt	3	
(Clinton)		(3)
Douglas	3	
(Tuscola)		(1)
DuPage	10	
(Hinsdale)		(2)
(Naperville)		(2)
Edgar	1	
(Paris)		(1)
Franklin	1	
Greene	4	
Grundy	2	
(Morris)		(2)
Henry	1	
(Kewanee)		(1)
Jackson	2	
(Murphysboro)		(2)
Jefferson	2	
(Mount Vernon)		(2)

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Jersey (Jerseyville)	1	(1)
Kane (Aurora)	15	(7)
(Elgin)		(8)
Kankakee (Kankakee)	7	(7)
Knox (Galesburg)	2	(2)
Lake (Highland Park)	3	(1)
(Waukegan)		(2)
LaSalle (LaSalle)	8	(2)
(Ottawa)		(4)
(Streator)		(2)
Lee (Dixon)	1	(1)
Livingston (Pontiac)	5	(3)
McLean (Bloomington)	4	(3)
Macon (Decatur)	3	(3)
Macoupin (Mt. Olive)	3	(1)
Madison (Collinsville)	16	(2)
(Edwardsville)		(2)
(Granite City)		(2)
(Alton)		(7)
Marshall	3	
Mason (Havana)	2	(2)
Massac	13	
Mercer	4	
Montgomery	3	
Morgan (Jacksonville)	6	(6)
Ogle	3	
Peoria (Peoria)	15	(14)
Perry (DuQuoin)	4	(2)
Piatt	2	

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Randolph (Sparta)	3	(2)
St. Clair (East St. Louis) (Belleville)	19	(14) (2)
Saline	1	
Sangamon (Springfield)	7	(7)
Stephenson (Freeport)	2	(2)
Tazewell (Pekin)	4	(3)
Vermillion (Danville)	2	(2)
Warren (Monmouth)	3	(3)
Washington	1	
White (Carmi)	1	(1)
Will (Joliet)	16	(15)
Williamson	1	
Winnebago (Rockford)	4	(4)
Woodford (Minonk)	3	(1)
TOTAL FOR ILLINOIS:	<u>1,503</u>	
INDIANA:		
Allen (Fort Wayne)	19	(19)
Blackford (Hartford)	1	(1)
Boone (Lebanon)	1	(1)
Cass (Logansport)	2	(2)
Clark (Jeffersonville)	2	(2)
Clay (Brazil)	4	(3)
Clinton (Frankfort)	2	(2)
Dearborn (Aurora)	2	(2)

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Delaware	8	
(Muncie)		(8)
Elkhart	12	
(Elkhart)		(9)
(Goshen)		(2)
Fayette	1	
(Connersville)		(1)
Fountain	1	
Gibson	2	
Grant	5	
(Marion)		(3)
Greene	1	
(Linton)		(1)
Hamilton	4	
(Noblesville)		(3)
Hendricks	2	
Henry	3	
(New Castle)		(3)
Howard	3	
(Kokomo)		(3)
Huntington	1	
(Huntington)		(1)
Jefferson	2	
(Madison)		(2)
Jennings	1	
(North Vernon)		(1)
Johnson	3	
(Franklin)		(2)
Knox	3	
(Vincennes)		(3)
Kosciusko	1	
Lagrange	1	
Lake	12	
(East Chicago)		(9)
(Hammond)		(2)
LaPorte	1	
(LaPorte)		(1)
Madison	6	
(Anderson)		(4)
(Alexandria)		(1)
Marion	31	
(Indianapolis)		(31)
Miami	1	
(Peru)		(1)

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Montgomery (Crawfordsville)	3	(3)
Ohio	1	
Parke	3	
Perry	1	
Pike	1	
Porter	1	
Putnam (Greencastle)	2	(2)
Randolph (Winchester)	2	(2)
St. Joseph (South Bend)	19	(16)
(Mishawaka)		(3)
Shelby (Shelbyville)	2	(2)
Spencer (Rockport)	2	(2)
Starke	1	
Steuben	1	
Tippecanoe (Lafayette)	7	(7)
Union	1	
Vanderburgh (Evansville)	3	(3)
Vermillion (Clinton)	3	(3)
Vigo (Terre Haute)	7	(7)
Wabash (Wabash)	2	(2)
Wayne (Richmond)	6	(6)
Wells (Bluffton)	1	(1)
TOTAL FOR INDIANA:	<u>205</u>	
IOWA:		
Allamakee	1	
Blackhawk (Cedar Falls)	2	(2)
Boone	1	
Buena Vista	2	
Butler	3	
Calhoun	1	

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Carroll	2	
Cass	3	
(Atlantic)		(1)
Cedar	1	
(Tipton)		(1)
Cerro Gordo	1	
(Mason City)		(1)
Chickasaw	2	
Clinton	1	
(Clinton)		(1)
Des Moines	4	
(Burlington)		(4)
Dubuque	2	
(Dubuque)		(2)
Floyd	2	
Franklin	3	
(Hampton)		(3)
Greene	1	
Guthrie	3	
Hamilton	2	
(Webster City)		(1)
Hancock	3	
Hardin	4	
Iowa	2	
Johnson	2	
(Iowa City)		(2)
Keokuk	1	
Lee	2	
(Fort Madison)		(2)
Louisa	1	
Mahaska	2	
(Oskaloosa)		(2)
Marion	1	
(Knoxville)		(1)
Marshall	2	
(Marshalltown)		(2)
Muscatine	1	
Osceola	2	
Palo Alto	2	
Plymouth	1	
Pocahontas	1	
Polk	1	
(Des Moines)		(1)
Pottawattamie	3	
(Council Bluffs)		(3)

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Sac	5	
Scott (Davenport)	3	(3)
Sioux	2	
Story	1	
Tama	1	
Van Buren	1	
Wapello (Ottumwa)	2	(1)
Warren (Indianola)	1	(1)
Washington	1	
Wayne	1	
Webster (Fort Dodge)	2	(2)
Winnebago	2	
Winneshiek (Decorah)	3	(2)
Woodbury (Sioux City)	5	(5)
Worth	2	
Wright (Eagle Grove)	4	(2)
TOTAL FOR IOWA:	<u>104</u>	
MISSOURI:		
Audrain (Mexico)	3	(3)
Buchanan (St. Joseph)	7	(7)
Butler (Popular Bluff)	4	(4)
Cape Girardeau	1	
Clay	4	
Clinton	2	
Cooper (Booneville)	1	(1)
Daviess	1	
Dunklin	1	
Holt	1	
Jackson (Kansas City)	90	(89)
(Independence)		(1)
Jasper (Joplin)	5	(5)

TABLE XI--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Knox	1	
Lewis	1	
Madison	1	
Marion	2	
(Hannibal)		(2)
Moniteau	2	
Pike	2	
St. Charles	3	
(St. Charles)		(3)
St. Clair	2	
St. Louis (county)	2	
(Kirkwood)		(2)
St. Louis (city)	312	
Saline	1	
(Marshall)		(1)
TOTAL FOR MISSOURI:	449	

Source: U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, Part 1, pp. 565-567, 613-617, 625, 626.

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1960

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Adams	14	
(Quincy)		(14)
Alexander	12	
Bond	1	
Champaign	305	
(Champaign)		(144)
(Urbana)		(153)
(Rantoul)		(8)

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Cook	5,882	
(Chicago)		(5,082)
(Evanston)		(132)
(Oak Park)		(80)
Dekalb	6	
(Dekalb)		(4)
Douglas	5	
DuPage	123	
(Elmhurst)		(17)
(Wheaton)		(23)
(Downers Grove)		(8)
(Naperville)		(4)
Edgar	1	
(Paris)		(1)
Franklin	2	
Greene	5	
Grundy	10	
Hardin	2	
Henry	1	
(Kewanee)		(1)
Jackson	88	
(Carbondale)		(75)
Kane	71	
(Aurora)		(39)
(Elgin)		(19)
Kankakee	28	
(Kankakee)		(7)
Knox	25	
(Galesburg)		(20)
Lake	82	
(Waukegan)		(38)
(Lake Forest)		(10)
(Highland Park)		(14)
LaSalle	1	
(Ottawa)		(1)
Lawrence	1	
Lee	3	
(Dixon)		(3)
McDonough	10	
(Macomb)		(10)
McLean	21	
(Bloomington)		(20)
McHenry	10	
Macon	19	
(Decatur)		(19)

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Macoupin	2	
Madison	13	
(Alton)		(2)
(Granite City)		(8)
Mercer	2	
Monroe	6	
Montgomery	1	
Morgan	10	
(Jacksonville)		(10)
Ogle	3	
Peoria	73	
(Peoria)		(61)
Randolph	2	
Rock Island	19	
(Rock Island)		(10)
(Moline)		(7)
St. Clair	37	
(East St. Louis)		(6)
(Belleville)		(6)
Sangamon	36	
(Springfield)		(15)
Stephenson	15	
(Freeport)		(15)
Union	3	
Vermillion	6	
(Danville)		(5)
Warren	1	
(Monmouth)		(1)
Whiteside	1	
Will	46	
(Joliet)		(24)
Williamson	1	
Winnebago	36	
(Rockford)		(32)
Woodford	6	
TOTAL FOR ILLINOIS:	<u>7,047</u>	
INDIANA:		
Allen	78	
(Fort Wayne)		(66)
Bartholomew	9	
(Columbus)		(9)
Blackford	1	
Boone	1	

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Cass	16	
(Logansport)		(13)
Clark	10	
(Jeffersonville)		(7)
Clinton	1	
(Frankfort)		(1)
Delaware	26	
(Muncie)		(19)
Elkhart	32	
(Elkhart)		(20)
(Goshen)		(8)
Fulton	1	
Grant	31	
(Marion)		(27)
Hancock	1	
Hendricks	1	
Howard	9	
(Kokomo)		(9)
Huntington	3	
(Huntington)		(2)
Jasper	6	
Jefferson	2	
(Madison)		(0)
Johnson	3	
Knox	3	
(Vincennes)		(3)
Kosciusko	7	
Lake	82	
(East Chicago)		(18)
(Gary)		(23)
(Hammond)		(39)
LaPorte	5	
(Michigan City)		(3)
(LaPorte)		(1)
Madison	15	
(Anderson)		(15)
Marion	212	
(Indianapolis)		(190)
Miami	7	
(Peru)		(4)
Monroe	43	
(Bloomington)		(42)
Montgomery	7	
(Crawfordsville)		(5)
Morgan	3	

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Parke	2	
Porter	5	
(Valparaiso)		(4)
St. Joseph	102	
(South Bend)		(78)
(Mishawaka)		(11)
Steuben	9	
Tippecanoe	163	
(Lafayette)		(7)
(West Lafayette)		(104)
Vanderburgh	16	
(Evansville)		(16)
Vigo	25	
(Terre Haute)		(19)
Wabash	1	
Warren	3	
Wayne	6	
(Richmond)		(2)
TOTAL FOR INDIANA:	<u>952</u>	
IOWA:		
Appanoose	1	
(Centerville)		(1)
Black Hawk	36	
(Cedar Falls)		(9)
(Waterloo)		(26)
Bremer	2	
Buchanan	4	
Cerro Gordo	27	
(Mason City)		(22)
Cherokee	1	
Clinton	3	
(Clinton)		(3)
Decatur	2	
Des Moines	5	
(Burlington)		(5)
Dickinson	4	
Dubuque	29	
(Dubuque)		(29)
Guthrie	2	
Hamilton	9	
Hardin	1	
Harrison	1	
Henry	1	
Jackson	1	

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Jasper	1	
Jefferson	1	
Johnson (Iowa City)	52	(51)
Jones	7	
Lee (Keokuk)	3	(3)
Linn (Cedar Rapids)	25	(24)
Mahaska (Oskaloosa)	1	(0)
Marshall (Marshalltown)	1	(1)
Polk (Des Moines)	84	(77)
Poweshiek	3	
Ringgold	1	
Scott (Bettendorf)	20	(0)
(Davenport)		(20)
Shelby	1	
Sioux	3	
Story (Ames)	57	(57)
Tama	1	
Warren	9	
Webster (Fort Dodge)	1	(1)
Winneshiek	1	
Woodbury (Sioux City)	12	(12)
Worth	9	
TOTAL FOR IOWA:	423	
MISSOURI:		
Adair (Kirksville)	14	(13)
Atchison	2	
Boone (Columbia)	40	(40)
Buchanan (St. Joseph)	3	(3)
Callaway (Fulton)	2	(2)

TABLE XII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Cape Girardeau (Cape Girardeau)	4	(4)
Cass	1	
Clay	13	
Franklin	1	
Gentry	3	
Greene (Springfield)	23	(23)
Henry	3	
Howell	1	
Jackson (Kansas City) (Part) (Independence)	112	(100) (2)
Jasper	1	
Jefferson	4	
Johnson	4	
Lafayette	1	
Lewis	3	
Linn	3	
Livingston	5	
Maries	1	
Marion (Hannibal)	1	(1)
Phelps (Rolla)	13	(13)
Polk	1	
Pulaski	13	
Randolph (Moberly)	1	(1)
St. Charles (St. Charles)	8	(3)
St. Francois	2	
St. Louis (county) (University City) (Clayton)	215	(44) (14)
Schuyler	2	
Taney	1	
Washington	1	
St. Louis (city)	448	
TOTAL FOR MISSOURI:	954	

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Census of Population, 1960: Vol. I, Parts 15, 16, 17, and 27, pp. 15-202-209, 16-129-135, 17-135-142, 27-146-154.

TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN ILLINOIS,
INDIANA, IOWA, AND MISSOURI, 1970

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
ILLINOIS:		
Adams	2	
(Quincy)		(2)
Alexander	23	
(Cairo)		(18)
Bond	4	
(Greenville)		(4)
Boone	6	
(Belvidere)		(6)
Carroll	9	
(Savannah)		(1)
Champaign	721	
(Champaign)		(235)
(Urbana)		(410)
(Rantoul)		(23)
Clinton	5	
Coles	19	
(Charleston)		(19)
Cook	11,602	
(Chicago)		(9,357)
(Evanston)		(338)
(Oak Park)		(181)
(Skokie)		(199)
DeKalb	96	
(DeKalb)		(93)
(Sycamore)		(2)
DuPage	556	
(Elmhurst)		(98)
(Lombard)		(27)
(Wheaton)		(53)
(Downers Grove)		(61)
(Naperville)		(37)
Edgar	1	
(Paris)		(1)
Effingham	1	
(Effingham)		(1)
Fayette	3	
(Vandalia)		(3)
Ford	2	
(Gibson City)		(1)

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Franklin (West Frankfort)	2	(1)
Fulton (Lewistown)	1	(1)
Grundy (Morris)	3	(3)
Jackson (Carbondale) (Murphysboro)	178	(161) (2)
Jefferson (Mount Vernon)	4	(4)
Kane (Aurora) (St. Charles) (Elgin)	120	(60) (9) (30)
Kankakee (Kankakee) (Bourbonais)	47	(25) (6)
Kendall (Plano)	2	(1)
Knox (Galesburg)	33	(27)
Lake (Libertyville) (Waukegan) (Lake Forest) (Highland Park) (Zion)	256	(7) (77) (30) (29) (3)
Lee (Dixon)	3	(2)
Livingston (Pontiac)	2	(1)
Logan (Lincoln)	12	(12)
McDonough (Macomb)	39	(37)
McHenry (Crystal Lake)	53	(32)
McLean (Bloomington) (Normal)	116	(27) (88)
Macon (Decatur)	16	(10)
Macoupin (Carlinville)	1	(1)

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Madison	55	
(Alton)		(2)
(Collinsville)		(12)
(Edwardsville)		(10)
(Granite City)		(10)
(Wood River)		(1)
Marion	1	
(Centralia)		(1)
Monroe	1	
(Waterloo)		(1)
Montgomery	2	
(Litchfield)		(1)
Morgan	11	
(Jacksonville)		(11)
Ogle	4	
(Rochelle)		(4)
Peoria	111	
(Peoria)		(105)
Pulaski	2	
Randolph	9	
(Chester)		(7)
Richland	1	
Rock Island	40	
(Rock Island)		(18)
(Moline)		(11)
(East Moline)		(4)
St. Clair	42	
(East St. Louis)		(6)
(Belleville)		(6)
Saline	1	
(Harrisburg)		(1)
Sangamon	55	
(Springfield)		(40)
Stark	1	
Stephenson	11	
(Freepport)		(11)
Tazewell	12	
(Pekin)		(4)
(Morton)		(4)
Union	1	
Vermillion	24	
(Danville)		(20)
Warren	2	
(Monmouth)		(2)
Washington	1	

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Whiteside (Sterling)	5	(2)
Will (Joliet)	66	(27)
(Romeoville)		(4)
Williamson (Marion)	8	(4)
Winnebago (Rockford)	75	(61)
Woodford	<u>1</u>	
TOTAL FOR ILLINOIS:	14,474	
INDIANA:		
Adams	2	
Allen (Fort Wayne)	153	(93)
Bartholomew (Columbus)	3	(3)
Boone	1	
Brown	2	
Cass (Logansport)	20	(14)
Clark (Jeffersonville)	27	(9)
Clay	1	
Clinton (Frankfort)	8	(7)
Daviess	1	
Dearborn	6	
DeKalb (Auburn)	1	(1)
Delaware (Muncie)	30	(28)
Dubois	2	
Elkhart (Elkhart)	48	(26)
(Goshen)		(11)
Fayette (Connersville)	1	(1)
Floyd (New Albany)	3	(2)
Fulton	1	
Grant (Marion)	23	(16)
Greene	2	

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Hamilton	17	
Hancock	1	
Hendricks	2	
Henry	4	
Howard	27	
(Kokomo)		(13)
Huntington	3	
(Huntington)		(2)
Jackson	1	
(Seymour)		(1)
Jasper	1	
Jefferson	9	
(Madison)		(7)
Jennings	5	
Johnson	23	
(Franklin)		(5)
Knox	24	
(Vincennes)		(24)
Kosciusko	14	
(Warsaw)		(5)
LaGrange	1	
Lake	145	
(Gary)		(24)
(Hammond)		(68)
(East Chicago)		(9)
LaPorte	4	
(Michigan City)		(2)
Madison	16	
(Anderson)		(12)
Marion	489	
(Indianapolis)		(476)
Marshall	1	
(Plymouth)		(1)
Miami	1	
(Peru)		(1)
Monroe	213	
(Bloomington)		(200)
Montgomery	11	
(Crawfordsville)		(9)
Morgan	5	
Porter	29	
(Valparaiso)		(17)
Putnam	2	
(Greencastle)		(2)
St. Joseph	177	
(South Bend)		(132)
(Mishawaka)		(8)

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Steuben	35	
(Angola)		(35)
Tippecanoe	397	
(Lafayette)		(7)
(West Lafayette)		(249)
Vanderburgh	36	
(Evansville)		(27)
Vigo	69	
(Terre Haute)		(48)
Wabash	1	
Warren	1	
Warrick	2	
Wayne	11	
(Richmond)		(7)
Wells	3	
(Bluffton)		(1)
TOTAL FOR INDIANA:	<u>2,115</u>	
IOWA:		
Adair	1	
Allamakee	2	
(Waukon)		(1)
Appanoose	3	
(Centerville)		(3)
Audubon	1	
(Audubon)		(1)
Benton	1	
(Vinton)		(1)
Black Hawk	79	
(Waterloo)		(44)
(Cedar Falls)		(35)
Boone	2	
(Boone)		(1)
Bremer	2	
(Waverly)		(2)
Carroll	2	
Cedar	1	
Cerro Gordo	16	
(Mason City)		(16)
Clinton	19	
(Clinton)		(17)
Davis	1	
(Bloomfield)		(1)
Decatur	5	
(Lamoni)		(3)
Delaware	1	

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Des Moines	4	
Dubuque	29	
(Dubuque)		(28)
Emmet	1	
(Estherville)		(1)
Fayette	1	
Hamilton	2	
Hardin	1	
Henry	3	
(Mount Pleasant)		(3)
Jackson	1	
Jasper	2	
Jefferson	3	
(Fairfield)		(2)
Johnson	265	
(Iowa City)		(233)
(Coralville)		(26)
Lee	5	
(Keokuk)		(2)
(Fort Madison)		(3)
Linn	74	
(Cedar Rapids)		(62)
Louisa	2	
Lucas	1	
Mahaska	7	
(Oskaloosa)		(4)
Marion	7	
(Knoxville)		(2)
(Pella)		(5)
Marshall	7	
(Marshalltown)		(7)
Mills	1	
(Glenwood)		(1)
Mitchell	1	
Muscatine	6	
(Muscatine)		(2)
Page	4	
Palo Alto	1	
Plymouth	4	
(LeMars)		(4)
Polk	94	
(Des Moines)		(88)
Pottawattamie	13	
(Council Bluffs)		(12)

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Poweshiek (Grinnell)	4	(4)
Scott (Davenport)	33	(28)
Shelby (Harlan)	2	(2)
Sioux (Orange)	6	(6)
Story (Ames)	230	(228)
Union (Creston)	1	(1)
Wapello (Ottumwa)	7	(7)
Warren (Indianola)	2	(2)
Wayne	7	
Webster (Fort Dodge)	4	(4)
Winnebago (Forest City)	2	(2)
Winneshiek (Decorah)	7	(6)
Woodbury (Sioux City)	5	(4)
Worth	8	
TOTAL FOR IOWA:	<u>993</u>	
MISSOURI:		
Adair (Kirksville)	171	(171)
Atchison (Tarkio)	1	(1)
Audrain	1	
Benton	2	
Bollinger	1	
Boone (Columbia)	324	(323)
Buchanan (St. Joseph)	7	(7)
Callaway (Fulton)	4	(4)
Cape Girardeau (Cape Girardeau)	22	(22)
Cass (Harrisonville)	3	(2)

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Clay	48	
(Kansas City) (Part)		
Cole	13	
(Jefferson City)		(13)
Daviess	2	
Douglas	1	
Dunklin	5	
Franklin	1	
Gasconade	5	
Gentry	1	
Greene	58	
(Springfield)		(57)
Harrison	1	
Henry	1	
(Clinton)		(1)
Howard	4	
Jackson	311	
(Kansas City)		(283)
(Independance)		(25)
Jasper	11	
(Joplin)		(10)
Jefferson	3	
Johnson	35	
(Warrensburg)		(25)
Laclede	1	
LaFayette	1	
Lawrence	2	
Livingston	4	
(Chillicothe)		(4)
Marion	8	
(Hannibal)		(8)
Miller	6	
(Eldon)		(1)
New Madrid	1	
Newton	2	
Nodaway	4	
(Maryville)		(3)
Oregon	4	
Perry	1	
(Perryville)		(1)
Pettis	2	
(Sedalia)		(2)
Phelps	197	
(Rolla)		(188)
Platte	12	

TABLE XIII--Continued

County (City)	Chinese in County	Chinese in City
Polk (Bolivar)	7	(6)
Pulaski	29	
Ralls	1	
Randolph	1	
Ray	1	
St. Charles (St. Charles)	26	(15)
St. Francois (Flat River)	1	(1)
St. Louis (County)	940	
(University City)		(257)
(Clayton)		(85)
(Webster Groves)		(12)
(Florissant)		(20)
Saline (Marshall)	1	(1)
Schuyler	1	
Scotland	4	
Scott (Sikeston)	2	(2)
Stoddard	1	
Taney	2	
Texas	1	
Vernon (Nevada)	4	(4)
Wright	1	
St. Louis (City)	<u>511</u>	
TOTAL FOR MISSOURI:	2,815	

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics: PC(1)-B15, pp. 105-106, 156-159, 213-232, 252-254; PC(1)-B16, pp. 75, 114-115, 135-144, 156-158; PC(1)-B17, pp. 77, 104, 114-122, 142-144; PC(1)-B27, pp. 82, 105-106, 127-137, 153-156.

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