FINDING WONG FOOK
A Chinese Immigrant's Story in Exclusion Era Arizona

by
Suey Wong

THE AFFIDAVIT BEFORE ME is dated May 21, 1941. It is signed by Wong Fook of Fairbank, Cochise County, before a notary in Tombstone, Arizona. He swears that he is seventy years old, was born in San Francisco, and is the father of Wong Doo You. The discovery of this document in the spring of 2006 started my personal journey to find Wong Fook, a relative unknown to me until then, who claimed to be an American-born citizen. It would take me from my mother's home in Oakland, California, to Evergreen Cemetery in Tucson, Arizona.

After my mother lost her cancer battle, I took on the job of sorting, clearing, and evaluating all of her life's accumulations. In her 900-square-foot Oakland condo, I uncovered personal treasures: a linen cloth woven by her grandmother, her mother's engagement ring, a panel she embroidered as a teenager. My mother was a woman who saved all things useful; she still remembered the poverty, hunger, and hardship she experienced during the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese Civil War, World War II, and a Communist labor camp.

My father predeceased my mother, and some of his possessions surfaced during my sorting: his worn wallet, the old abacus from the laundry, the original purchase contracts for laundry equipment, and little bank books from accounts long closed. Mother kept his unused passport, meant for a trip back to China that was

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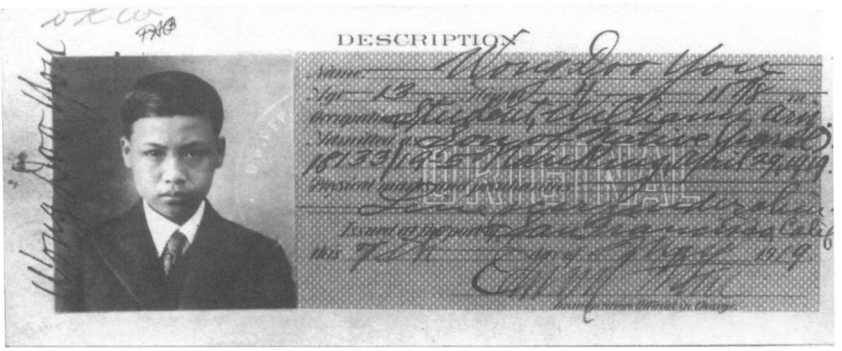

Wong Doo You's identification certificate. Author's Collection.

cancelled by his final illness. Having cleared away one generational layer, I uncovered my grandfather's keepsakes. This was my paternal grandfather, Wong Doo You. My mother may never have gone through these, but she knew that Grandpa kept them and then my father kept them. Dutifully, unquestioningly, she kept them. Dutifully, unquestioningly, I keep them.

Grandfather's possessions consisted of army records, old books—in both Chinese and English—and his well-worn wallet. I found saved letters in Chinese, copies of documents made on very old Photostat paper, and a copy of a death certificate for a never-mentioned family member. Some photos surfaced, as well as an identification certificate issued by the Department of Labor Immigration Service when my grandfather entered the United States in 1919. Grandfather had saved his certificate of citizenship and an unused passport issued shortly before the Communists took power in China in 1949, an event that interfered with his travel plans.

Among all these documents, I found the single-page affidavit that became my introduction to my great grandfather, Wong Fook. I knew of a paternal great grandfather, but until then I did not know his Romanized name. He was in poor health and had been relying on his son for support. The affidavit was hand-written on a yellowed three-hole sheet in script that I recognized as that of his son (my grandfather), Doo You. I did not recognize the signature. The document was notarized by Tombstone notary John Larrieu.

It is not unusual that I did not know my great grandfather's name. Chinese people do not usually address relatives by name. Kin are bestowed the honorific title designating their place on the family tree. Mother's eldest brother would be addressed as Maternal Eldest Uncle, but never as Uncle Joe. As children, we called everybody Auntie or Uncle, whether blood-related or not, because anything else was too confusing. I now had a starting point.

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Doo You entered the United States, in the company of his father, in 1919 on board the SS *Nanking*. His identification papers state he was thirteen years old. Father and son traveled by rail from San Francisco to Williams, Arizona.

From Williams, they proceeded south to Benson and then to Fairbank, some 10 miles due west of Tombstone, on a local rail connection that was completed in 1882.

Wong Fook was a partner in Hop Wah, a loose affiliation of Chinese men from the Toishan area of Guangdong Province. Together, they worked a truck farm, providing vegetables and fruits to the local market of miners, nearby hotels, the army garrison at Fort Huachuca, and the growing communities of Tombstone and Bisbee. I found Wong Fook in the 1910 United States Census records, living and working in Hereford. He appears in the 1920 census in Fairbank, grouped together with a dozen other Chinese men identified as partners in a business of this kind.

Our government takes great care in preparing a census every ten years. The first census was conducted under Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in 1790. The U.S. Census Bureau crunches the numbers and publishes its results to facilitate the work of government; however, the details, such as individual names, addresses, family members, country of origin, ages, and professions, are not released to the general public until seventy-two years later, for the protection of privacy. The most recent release is the 1940 census. This data is searchable online at Ancestry.com. The material in raw form is also available at the United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

Even with modern electronic databases, searching Chinese names is a complicated matter. There are one hundred traditionally acknowledged surnames, most of them monosyllabic. We are

familiar with Wong, Hom, Lee, Chan, Yee, and Lui (sometimes spelled "Louie" or "Lu"). An NARA archivist hinted at the complexity of the problem, stating that immigration officers could have Romanized a family name such as Chew as Cheu, Chieu, Chiou, Chu, Chue, Chui, Chuie, Jeu, Jew, Jiu, Jiw, Ju, Jue, Jui, Tew, Tseu, Tsiu, Tsu, Tsui, Tu, or Tue. Adding in the Romanized first names, again mostly monosyllabic, they all sound confusingly similar, which merely expands the problem exponentially. There are the rare multisyllabic surnames like Soo Hoo or Szeto and Awyang or Ouyang, depending on how the immigration inspector chose to record the name. Chinese men often had multiple names. Pen names and nicknames were common. Then, there is the tradition of taking an adult name at marriage, signifying one's coming of age. A single archival file might contain a name and variant spellings, plus a marriage name. The family name is always first: so its Wong Fook, not Fook Wong.

Beyond census materials, NARA was important to my quest because it houses the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which has been renamed the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Records are available for viewing at the NARA facility that has the specific file of interest. It is difficult to determine if a file exists, and where it is located, because NARA has no centralized system for cataloguing immigration files. Most Chinese people who came to the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s entered by way of San Francisco, so I started with the NARA facility in San Bruno, California.

I had only the name, Wong Fook, and no further identification. San Bruno NARA told me they had no record of Wong Fook. I found a Wong Fook in the NARA archives in New York City and another, an inmate, residing in San Quentin. Both were the wrong Wong Fook. So, I focused on available records of my grandfather, Wong Doo You, hoping to find clues. I had Doo You's certificate of identification, issued upon his entry into the United States through San Francisco, with a short interrogation stay at Angel Island. He was admitted as a student and the son of an American-born citizen.

NARA staff informed me that Wong Doo You's documents were not at San Bruno, and suggested that I file a request for his investigation file, known as an "A-File."

As NARA archivist Joseph Sánchez explained to me, "the Alien Investigative Case Files, are to document investigations of both citizens, (mostly those designated enemy aliens of Japanese, German or Italian ancestry or Americans by birth known or believed to be Communists, Fascists, anarchists, etc.) and non-citizens."

I knew my grandfather Doo You as a kind and gentle man. He was a naturalized United States citizen, according to his military discharge papers and his U.S. passport, and was not political, so he could not have been a Communist or a Fascist. He was short in stature and slight of build; his discharge papers state that he was in poor health. He did not fit my vision of an anarchist.

With Wong Doo You's A-number in hand, I made a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for his INS records. The A-number is what is familiarly known as the Green Card issued to aliens. I also had his social security number, military identification numbers and dates of service, naturalization certificate number, and death certificate. Months later, I received a 350-plus-page report, of which about three-quarters are blank, bearing only a reference to a statutory citation claiming one FOIA privilege or another barring disclosure. I found a major clue on page 323. This consisted of a blurry photocopy of a judicial decree in a criminal case, the *Matter of United States, Plaintiff v. Wong, Fook, Defendant.* The case was heard before the First Federal Judicial District Court of the Territory of Arizona. Judge George R. Davis signed the decree on March 1, 1902, stating Wong Fook was an American-born citizen. No one in my family had ever spoken about our great grandfather having been in the United States and certainly not that he was a U.S. citizen by birth. But this is the very same Wong Fook whose notarized 1941 affidavit had been kept by my grandfather, then by my parents, and is now in my possession.

I returned to NARA, as they also archive records for the judicial arm of our government. The records for the Arizona territorial courts are located in NARA's Pacific Southwest Region facility. I sent in my request for a copy of *The United States of America v. Wong Fook.* I received a thin package a few weeks later. These few pages are all that remain of Wong Fook's trial, an incomplete record by today's standards. There is no transcript of the proceedings in Judge Davis's courtroom; no motions, nor briefs.

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On December 28, 1901, Chinese Inspector William B. Addy filed a complaint in the District Court charging Wong Fook with being unlawfully in the United States. Addy had picked him up in Nogales, Arizona. Addy alleged that on November 5, 1901, "in violation of The Act of Congress dated May 5th, 1892 and amendments thereto, Wong Fook was a Chinese person, a laborer by occupation, and not a citizen of the United States, and was there and there unlawfully residing within the said United States without any certificate of residence as required by law." Clerk of the Court Clinton D. Hoover issued a bench warrant on the basis of Addy's affidavit. Deputy Marshal Francis Reno arrested Wong Fook and took him into custody.

Chinese inspectors like Addy used intense interrogation methods to ferret out inconsistencies and lies. This arose from the practice of selling false papers to evade the exclusion laws by utilizing the exemptions in the Burlingame Treaty and its various amendments, which allowed wives, sons, and daughters of Chinese merchants to enter the United States. Often merchants would register with the authorities that they had fathered a child during a visit to the homeland. Later, when a boy (the Chinese preferred to send boys so sales of "sons papers" was most lucrative) was deemed old enough to make his way to the United States, his family would seek out a sojourner who would be willing to sell his paper document. The "fake" son would be coached on details about his new family and village. This practice of "paper sons" was common. Wong Fook's case, however, did not involve false papers. He claimed to be native-born.

Wong Fook's claim came three years after *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649 (1898), in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of native-born persons of Chinese descent, despite provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Wong Kim Ark was born to Chinese parents in San Francisco in 1873 and resided there until 1890 when, at the age of seventeen, he departed for a visit to China. He returned to the United States in July 1890, without any entry issues. The collector of customs accepted his entry on the grounds that he was a native-born citizen. Wong Kim Ark remained in the United States until 1894, when he left again for a trip to China, returning in August 1895. This time, he was denied entry by virtue of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The exclusionists asked the

court to deny Wong Kim Ark citizenship, arguing that because he was of Chinese descent he could not be an American citizen. The Supreme Court rejected the descent argument, ruling that to deny an American-born Chinese person citizenship would jeopardize the status of thousands of people of English, Scottish, Irish, German, or other European parentage, who have always been considered and treated as citizens of the United States.

The judicial record is unclear about where Wong Fook was located for the six weeks between November 5 and December 28, 1901. It is likely that he spent the time in jail, pending the filing of a *habeas corpus* (Latin for "you have the body") petition. Although the record does not show that such a petition was filed on his behalf, it was common practice during the Exclusion Era, when thousands of Chinese were detained, barred entry, and placed in custody. In fact, habeas corpus petitions were so common that the government used a standardized preprinted form. Courts were so overwhelmed by the number of these cases brought by Chinese resident aliens that they established a unique system to handle the volume. A U.S. commissioner was authorized to review habeas corpus petitions and decide the case, independent of the customs collector's determination of unlawful entry or, in Wong Fook's case, Chinese Inspector Addy's conclusion.

Thomas F. Wilson, of the legal firm of Barnes & Martin, represented Wong Fook in Judge Davis's courtroom. Assistant U.S. Attorney J. H. Campbell appeared for the United States. The complaint filing and bail hearing took place on the same day, December 28, 1901. This was swift action compared with today's lengthy criminal processes. At the bail hearing, Tucson merchants Sue Wo and Wee Kee, acting as sureties, posted $500 for Wong Fook's release upon his promise to appear at his hearing date on January 18, 1902. Five hundred dollars was a handsome sum in 1902, when laborers were paid a dollar per day and skilled miners could command more than four dollars per day. Wong Fook may have needed the six weeks between his arrest and his bail hearing to assemble the money.

Chinese immigrants frequently challenged the American laws, and often were successful. The Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (CCBA), an amalgamation of family associations, also known as the Six Companies, acted as the clearing house for many of these legal forays, imposing and collecting dues from their

members to fund litigation. The CCBA originally served as a coordinating council on problems that affected the interest and welfare of all California Chinese, including fighting anti-Chinese legislation and protecting Chinese mine workers and others against persecution. We can't know if the CCBA was involved in Wong Fook's case, as any paperwork would have been destroyed in the fire that followed the devastating 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

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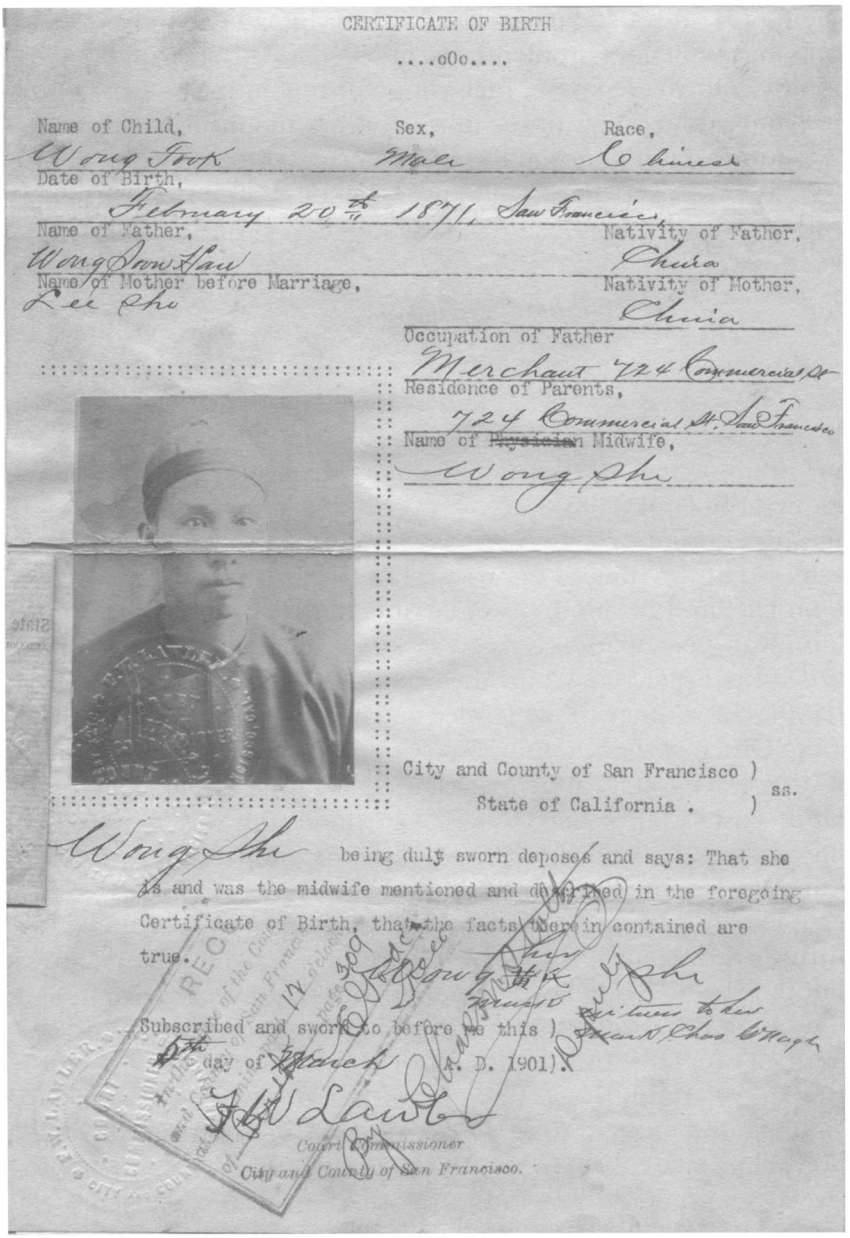
Prominent among the judicial papers in the NARA file is a certified copy of Wong Fook's birth certificate. He must have presented it at the time of his arrest, and court clerk Hoover filed it into the record on November 11, 1901. The document bears a photograph of the adult Wong Fook. A midwife, Wong She, attests that she delivered him on February 20, 1871, which would make Wong Fook thirty years old at the time of his arrest. His father is recorded as Wong Soon Han and his mother as Lee She, both born in China. Wong Soon Han's occupation is listed as a merchant at 724 Commercial Street, San Francisco. Wong She executed the document on March 5, 1901, before notary F. W. Lawler, and it was recorded two days later at the Office of the San Francisco County Recorder, at the request of Charles G. Nagle, attorney at law, 927 Market Street. The recordation cost $1.00—a day's wages. A certified copy was prepared on March 11, 1901, and signed by Charles M. Stoltz, deputy for San Francisco County Recorder Edmond Godchaux.

The file also contains two affidavits executed by witnesses of European descent residing in San Francisco. The affiants attest that they knew Wong Fook as a child and that he was born in San Francisco. Because Wong Fook's defense witnesses were located in San Francisco, prosecution and defense counsels entered a stipulation asking Judge Davis to authorize E. H. Heacock, U.S. commissioner in San Francisco, to call witnesses and take testimony—in short, to act in the place of the Territorial Court. Davis agreed and the court clerk issued a commission to Heacock on January 25, 1902. In doing so, Judge Davis was neither granting a change of venue nor ceding authority over the case. He was simply employing a cost-efficient method to ferret out the facts by delegating the fact-finding portion of the case to someone who was



CERTIFICATE OF BIRTH

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Name of Child, Wong Fook
Sex, Male
Race, Chinese
Date of Birth, February 20th 1871, San Francisco
Name of Father, Wong Sow Law
Nativity of Father, China
Name of Mother before Marriage, Lee Shi
Nativity of Mother, China
Occupation of Father Merchant 724 Commercial St
Residence of Parents, 724 Commercial St. San Francisco
Name of ~~Physician~~ Midwife, Wong Shi

City and County of San Francisco)
State of California .) ss.

Wong Shi being duly sworn deposes and says: That she is and was the midwife mentioned and described in the foregoing Certificate of Birth, that the facts therein contained are true.

Wong Shi

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 4th day of March A. D. 1901.

J. W. Lawlor
Court Commissioner
City and County of San Francisco.

Wong Fook's birth certificate.

physically closer to the source of information. In fact, Heacock was the sole referee in Chinese cases from 1891 to 1905. Local counsel Charles Nagle represented Wong Fook in San Francisco, while Third Assistant U.S. Attorney Benjamin L. McKinley stood for the government. On February 17, 1902, Wong Fook's two affiants were called to testify before Commissioner Heacock. According to the transcript prepared by stenographer Clement Bennett, Elias Isaacs was the first defense witness called to the stand. A professional photographer who had lived in San Francisco for some forty years, Isaacs stated that he knew the Wong family and had photographed them, including Wong Fook, who would have been three or four months old at the time. The father, Wong Soon Han, did business at 724 Commercial Street under the name of Kwong Chong Kee and Company. Isaacs was shown an affidavit, which he acknowledged having executed on March 4, 1901. He identified the person in the photograph as Wong Fook. In cross-examination, Prosecutor McKinley asked Issacs how he could possibly identify the thirty-year-old man in the photograph as the young child he had seen only a couple of times many years ago. Isaacs responded that he was "a professional photographer and am in the business that studies faces."

The second witness, Abraham Fromberg, had been in business in San Francisco for thirty-nine years. Fromberg, likewise, identified the affidavit he had executed a year earlier, also attesting that the adult in the photograph was Wong Fook. Fromberg testified that he was familiar with Wong Soon Han and his wife, Lee She. Fromberg also claimed to remember Wong Fook as a small child whom he had encountered while doing business with the boy's father. He recalled last seeing Wong Fook about thirteen or fourteen years earlier, when he visited the Kwong Chong Kee store. Wong Fook had also visited Fromberg's establishment.

On cross-examination, government attorney McKinley asked if Fromberg had ever signed similar affidavits for any other Chinese. Fromberg admitted to signing one or two others. McKinley then showed Fromberg two other photographs and asked if he could identify them. Fromberg had difficulty responding, claiming that his memory was failing at sixty-four years of age. For the record, McKinley identified the photographs as coming from affidavits for Wong Ging (yet another Wong caught up in the system), dated

December 31, 1901, and Wong Ling, dated September 13, 1901, both signed by Fromberg. No further witnesses were called, and on February 18, 1902, Commissioner Heacock submitted a transcript of the testimony to Judge Davis in Tucson.

This court case and its evidence would certainly raise eyebrows today, so I decided to visit the NARA office in Perris, California, where I found criminal case files for Wong Gar and Wong Ling. Wong Fook's file was nestled between the two. The discovery of these files, among the vast volume of NARA documents, was entirely serendipitous. Nor is the relationship between the three cases apparent unless the files are read together. While I found no obvious evidence of their relation to one another, there are too many overlaps to be mere coincidence.

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All three men were arrested on the same day, November 5, 1901, by William B. Addy, the Chinese Inspector working from Nogales, Arizona. Addy filed a complaint against each man on December 28. A bench warrant was issued for each on December 28, whereupon Deputy Marshal Francis Reno immediately brought the three men before Judge Davis for a bail hearing. The government prosecutor and the defense attorney were the same for all three hearings. The cases were not consolidated, but handled as three separate criminal matters.

Each defendant presented a Certificate of Birth and two affidavits as proof of their native birth. Like Wong Fook, Wong Ling's birth records were attested by a midwife, while Wong Gar's was attested by his father. The three birth certificates were duly notarized and recorded in the office of the San Francisco County Recorder. Attested and recorded long after the subject's actual birth, each certificate bore an adult photograph.

The witnesses providing the affidavits overlapped. Elias Isaacs and Abraham Fromberg each provided an affidavit and testified on behalf of Wong Fook. Charles Ellis, a carpenter, and Abraham Fromberg were witnesses for Wong Ling. Charles Ellis and E. D. Wilbur, an advertising businessman, testified for Wong Gar. A duplicate of the birth certificate photograph was attached to each of the supporting affidavits. Finally, each defendant engaged the same

Wong Gar.

Wong Ling.

San Francisco attorney, Charles Nagle. Sureties at the bond hearing also overlapped.

Four Tucson Chinese businessmen—Sue Wo, Wee Kee, Don Chung Wo, and Wing Lung—in various pairs, posted bail totaling $1,500 for the three defendants.

All three cases were sent to Commissioner Heacock in San Francisco to take further testimony and evidence as he deemed proper. Witnesses for Wong Gar appeared before the commissioner on February 13, for Wong Fook on February 17, and for Wong Ling on February 18.

The Department of Justice attorneys cross-examined the witnesses, mocked their memories, and inferred that they had been paid to lie, but could produce no direct contradicting evidence. They failed to ask why the birth certificates had not been filed at birth, nor were they able to force affiants to recant or deviate from their sworn statements signed months earlier.

Commissioner Heacock may have doubted the testimony, but he refused to stray from the rules of evidence and apply a lesser standard of proof.

Davis accepted Heacock's recommendations. Legal researchers today are struck by the number of judges during the Exclusion Era who, although they personally may have been repelled by Chinese immigrants, nonetheless, followed the law.

By the spring of 1902, the three Wongs got what they needed: an official judicial decree of legitimacy. On March 1, Judge Davis ruled: "that whereupon trial was had, and evidence, oral and documentary, was introduced by the respective parties, and the evidence being closed, and the case submitted to the Court for its consideration and decision, and, after due deliberation thereon, the Court finds from the evidence that the said Wong Fook was born in the City of San Francisco, State of California, and is therefore a native born citizen of the United States, and as such, lawfully entitled to be and remain in the United States." Wong Fook and Wong Ling's decrees were issued that same day. Wong Gar's decree followed on March 4.

Significantly, none of the trio had attempted to sneak into the county or to disguise their heritage. Wong Fook still wore his hair in a braided queue. On that November day in 1901, they stood out like sore thumbs at the Nogales train station, daring to be arrested so that they could play out their pre-planned strategy. Inspector Addy probably felt as though he were shooting fish in a barrel. All he had to do was wait for the train to roll in. He had done this many times before. It was an easy catch: one stop, three arrests.

But the Wongs were prepared and ready. Their carefully manufactured documents and the close coordination between attorney Nagle and the defense witnesses were bold and impressive. Although I have no proof, it feels likely that the CCBA was involved. The physical and legal journeys of these three men required sponsors and a sophisticated financial network with a deep and thorough understanding of the political climate, as well as the laws, of the United States.

Because of effective enforcement of the exclusion laws, first implemented in 1882 and then extended a decade later, Chinese immigration to the United States had shrunk from a high of 123,000 in the 1870s to a low of 15,000 by the 1890s.

Wong Fook was thirty, Wong Ling was twenty-eight, and Wong Gar was eighteen at the time of their arrests. The three came for the same reason cited by most immigrants, to make a better life for

themselves and their families left in China. As adults, they had limited options. They were neither merchants nor minor children whose merchant fathers could have legally brought them to the United States; nor did they qualify for the few other exempt categories—diplomat, student, or visitor. Manufacturing a birth certificate and securing compliant witnesses was simply the easiest route to legal status.

Finally, the award of a native-born decree bestowed ancillary benefits, beyond circumvention of the exclusion laws. It later allowed Wong Fook, as an American citizen, to bring his son Doo You—my grandfather—to the United States in 1919. That's another chapter in the Wong family saga.

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While Wong Fook's affidavit and the trove of records are fascinating, I am confused, with many unanswered questions.

During my father's illness, before his cancer took him, we had conversations where he spoke of his youth in our village spent with Wong Choy, whom he referred to as Yeh-Yeh, (meaning "paternal grandfather"). Yeh-Yeh had returned from his many years of labor in Arizona to retire. Dad told me Yeh-Yeh was the fourth son of his family. There was at least one daughter, but the women were not prominent in Dad's recollections of the family tree, as daughters are moved to their husband's family tree. He talked about Dai Gong, the eldest uncle. He mentioned the second and third son born before Wong Choy. Dad referred to the fifth, and last, son as Cheng Gong. Cheng means "long." Dad knew him as the "long tail uncle," the last child. Dad did not provide names for any of his grand uncles. He only had Yeh-Yeh's name, Wong Choy, who was born in China in 1865 and died in China in 1948, just a few months before I was born.

My father told me that my great grandfather is Wong Choy. Wong Fook's affidavit lead me to believe that Wong Fook is my great grandfather. They can't both be true.

Piecing together dates and conversations, I conclude Wong Fook must be Cheng Gong, the last uncle. My father's reminiscences of his time with his Yeh-Yeh ring true. That Doo You supported Wong Fook during the depression years tells me that Wong Fook is no stranger to our family—he is family. He is my great uncle.

Wong Fook's tombstone in Tucson's Evergreen Cemetery. Photo courtesy of Eileen Grade.

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I eventually found Wong Fook through his death certificate. He died from a kidney disease in the Pima County Hospital on April 4, 1957, and is buried in Tucson's Evergreen Cemetery. Doo You, who I know was living and working in Los Angeles, provided the information on the death certificate. He listed Wong Fook's birthplace as "not known." I am sure that Doo You also took care of the funeral arrangements and ordered the headstone.

Eileen Grade, a staff member at Evergreen Cemetery, was kind enough to take a photograph of Wong Fook's headstone for me.

Not surprisingly, the Chinese characters state that Wong Fook was born in my ancestral Wong village of Ung Sing Li in Leung Ung, Toishan County, Guangdong, China. What did raise an eyebrow were the fresh flowers at the gravesite. The Chinese have a tradition of honoring their deceased ancestors during Qing Ming. The name translates as "Clear and Bright" and is often referred to as Grave Cleaning Day. A national holiday in China and Taiwan, and observed by Chinese people worldwide, Qing Ming occurs around Eastertime and the spring equinox. Young and old pray before the ancestors, sweep the grave sites, and offer food, tea, wine, chopsticks, joss paper accessories, special candles, and incense. These rites have a long tradition in Asia. As children, we always considered the event our annual picnic day at the cemetery. My brothers especially enjoyed the pyromania involved in lighting firecrackers and burning Qing Ming paper money. The photo taken in April of 2010 tells me that Wong Fook, who died in 1957, still had someone close enough to remember him at Qing Ming fifty-three years later. I don't know who, but I have a fresh trail to follow.

SOURCES

The court cases and evidence are in Criminal Case Files, 1882–1912, Arizona Territorial Court, First Judicial District, Records of the District Courts of the United States, Record Group (RG) 21, National Archives at Riverside, Perris, California. Wong Ling's file is C1624, Wong Fook's file is C1625, and Wong Gar's file is C1626, all in box 78.

The following sources provide historical insight into the documents I found at the National Archives repositories:

Lawrence Douglas Taylor Hansen, "The Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco and the Smuggling of Chinese Immigrants across the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1882–1930," *Journal of the Southwest,* vol. 48 (Spring 2006), pp. 37–61.

Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

PHOTO CREDITS: Unless otherwise noted, all photos are courtesy of The National Archives at Riverside, Perris, California.