Embracing Isolation:
Chinese American Migration to Small-Town America, 1882-1943

Susan B. Carter
Professor of Economics, Emeritus, UC Riverside
Visiting Scholar, UC Berkeley

Paper Proposed for the
36th Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America
San Francisco, CA May 3-5, 2012

Draft of September 23, 2011

ABSTRACT

This paper develops new, systematic population data on Chinese Americans during the Exclusion Era. I use them to document an incomparable geographic dispersal of Chinese Americans in the decades following Exclusion as they moved out of mining camps and into cities and small towns in every region of the country. Their wide dispersion, coupled with their small numbers, meant that many Chinese Americans lived an isolated existence, often as the only member of their race in the community. To explain these patterns I develop a model of locational and occupational decisions that emphasizes the unique constraints and opportunities Chinese Americans faced. Their chief constraint was practical exclusion from many attractive occupations; their chief opportunity was access to credit and to an elastic supply of low wage labor. Laundry and restaurant work were more attractive to them than to others. They moved to places where these services were in demand.

The Chinese Exclusion Act (1882-1943) ended the unrestricted immigration that brought over 280 thousand Chinese immigrants to the United States (Carter *et al.* 2006, Series Ad138). The large-scale arrival of Chinese first drawn by the California gold discoveries in 1849 swelled the Chinese American population from virtually nothing to well over 100 thousand by the 1880 census (Carter et al. 2006, Series Aa156). Perhaps emboldened by the passage of the Exclusion Act -- the first race-based immigration restriction in U.S. history – the federal government, states, municipalities, and other organizations imposed restrictions that touched virtually every aspect of life. Chinese Americans were forbidden to naturalize. In many states they were forbidden to marry outside their racial group. They were formally barred from many occupations. Their children were barred from many public schools. In addition to the occupational licensure restrictions, they faced other forms of harsh discrimination in labor and also housing markets and

sometimes even vigilante violence (Chan 1986; Hrishi and Chin 2002; Konvitz 1946; Kung 1962; Kwoh 1947; Lee 2003; and Pfaelzer 2007).

The Chinese adapted to this new, more hostile environment in a variety of ways. Many laborers returned home and potential immigrants in China gave up their Gold Mountain ambitions. Only merchants and their families – actually, only those who could convince U.S. immigration officials that they were merchants or family – entered.[1] These persons were far fewer in number than the laborers who dominated the earlier immigration flows but they had considerably more capital and much better access to capital and labor in China.

Under the new regime Chinese Americans moved out of the declining mining and railroad construction sectors -- mostly in the West – and, as self-employed entrepreneurs, into the growing service and retail industries, especially laundries and then restaurants -- mostly in the East and upper Midwest but also in the South. I will argue that the adjustment was accomplished mostly by changes to the composition of the Chinese American population. Laborers in the western mining camps returned home. Pioneers in the new Chinatowns in the East and Midwest were mostly new arrivals. In their response to the Exclusion Acts, Chinese Americans fundamentally altered their communities. They established Chinatowns in cities across the country (Beck 1898; Bonner 1997; Bronstein 2008; Chen 2003; Chu 1987; R. Lee 1949; Murphey 1952; Wang 2001; Yuan 1967). They transformed their Chinatowns into tourist attractions (Light 1974; Light and Wong 1975; Ling 2004, 2005;). They raised families, creating communities of people who thought of America as their permanent home (Glenn 1998; Hayner and Reynolds 1937; Li 1980; Lyman 1968; Schwartz 1951). They also made a significant impression on American popular culture, especially in the fields of art, music, film, and cuisine (Barbas 2003; Daniels 1988; Haddad 2001; R. Lee 1999; Moon 2005). By the 1920s, their chop suey had become ubiquitous across cities and even small towns well removed from Chinatowns. It rivaled New England Boiled Dinner as America's national dish (Carter 2011).

This paper explores the economic demography of the Chinese American population during the Exclusion Era. While the legal history of the period is well-known, the process by which Chinese Americans navigated the new terrain remains largely hidden. Writing more than 20 years ago Roger Daniels called attention to the absence of any "dense corpus of scholarly books and articles based on expertise in pertinent areas of history, economics, sociology, anthropology, and folklore" (Daniels 1988: xiv). Little has changed in the interim. The Chinese are mentioned only in passing in Michael Haines's and Richard Steckel's 736-page magnum opus, *A Population History of North America* (2000) and in Richard A.

[1] The law also exempted teachers, students, religious figures, and government officials.

Easterlin's 43-page survey, "Twentieth-Century American Population Growth" (2000). Scholars rightly refer to the period as the "'dark ages' of Chinese American history, 'a deplorable lacuna in American historiography'" (Chan 1991, quoted in Lee 2003, p. 8).[2] Especially glaring is the absence of systematic information on Chinese American economic and demographic history.

The problem stems from the limited reporting of basic demographic and economic information for Chinese Americans in the published censuses. As Table 1 shows, the census reported little more than the number of persons, their gender, and their place of birth. Even age was reported only sporadically, and even then, only for the nation as a whole. There was no systematic reporting of year of immigration, industry, occupation, marital status, or living arrangements. Scholars' descriptions of fundamental topics such as the rate of population change, fertility, mortality, international migration, internal migration, living arrangements, literacy, English language skills, and industrial and occupational attainment is, of necessity, conducted at a high level of aggregation or based on case studies.

Yet, the census collected all the same data for Chinese Americans as it collected for the rest of the population. Except for the lost 1890 manuscripts, these are available up through 1930. Some of these records have already been put into an electronic format as part of the IPUMS samples (Ruggles *et al.* 2010). Nonetheless, because there were so few Chinese in America at the time and, because -- with the exception of the 1880 100-percent sample -- the IPUMS samples themselves are small, it is difficult to draw precise inferences from these records. As Table 2 shows, there are fewer than 1,000 Chinese in each of the five IPUMS samples for 1900 through 1940.

In this paper I develop new, systematic data on Chinese Americans during the Exclusion Era, drawing on previously-uncoded published census reports, the digital records in Ancestry.com, city directories, and the census of distribution. I document an incomparable geographic dispersal of Chinese Americans in the decades following Exclusion as they moved out of Chinatowns and into cities and small towns in every region of the country. Their wide dispersion, coupled with their small numbers, meant that many Chinese Americans lived an isolated existence, often as the only member of their race in a community.

Making use of a variety of qualitative sources, I develop a model of Chinese American locational and occupational decisions that emphasizes the unique constraints and opportunities they faced. Their

[2] In saying this I do not intend to minimize in any way the substantial and excellent scholarship on Chinese Americans during this period. My point is that this scholarship has, quite naturally, focused on topics for which research materials are available. A central topic has been the legal and political developments that defined Chinese Americans' options. Others are Chinese social organizations, transnational connections, cultural contributions, and immigration strategies. See Lee (2003, pp. 8-11) for a relatively recent summary of the literature.

chief constraint was practical exclusion from many attractive occupations; their chief opportunity was access to credit and to an elastic supply of low wage, compliant labor. Multinominial regression analysis suggests that household location decisions and household structure (primarily presence of non-relatives) responded to measures of demand for personal services (laundry, restaurant). These considerations also explain another unique characteristic of the Chinese American experience – their migration to the South, a region shunned by other immigrant groups. A comparison of response functions across census years suggests that the Chinese Americans increased their propensity to relocate to cities exhibiting growth in demand for personal services over time and that the repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943 lead to an abandonment of that strategy and the adoption of one more similar to that of the population as a whole.

Size, Growth, and Characteristics of the Chinese American Population from 1850 through the Exclusion Era

The size, growth and characteristics of the Chinese American population from their first large-scale arrivals during the California Gold Rush through to the end of the Exclusion Era are displayed in Table 3. By 1860 and the first census to provide separate tabulations for Chinese Americans, their population stood at almost 35,000. Not surprisingly, almost all were foreign-born, young-adult males.

Their youth and the predominance of males (almost 19 males for every female) suggest that the goals of Chinese immigrants were similar to those of migrants from other countries. These were sojourners who came to the United States to accumulate assets which they then used to pay off debts, purchase land, or start businesses in their home country. To this end they worked hard and lived simply while in the United States. After several years they returned home. As Homer Loh put it, sojourners are Chinese immigrants "…who come for economic gain and return to China when their objectives are accomplished" (Loh 1945, chap. vi, p. 8, quoted in Lee 1949: 422, footnote 3).

The Chinese appear unusual only in the single-minded way in which they embraced the sojourner model. Throughout the era of unrestricted Chinese immigration, the median age of Chinese residing in the U.S. was 28 to 30 years, the foreign-born share of the population was above 90 percent and men outnumbered women 20-to-1. There were many sojourners among the foreign-born coming from other countries but there were many more who saw America as their permanent home. Among the non-Chinese foreign-born the median age was 36. While men outnumbered women, it was by 1.5- or 2-to-1 rather than 20-to-1 (Carter *et al.* 2006: Series Ad223 and Ad224). It would appear that remarkably few Chinese migrants intended to remain in the United States. In any case, few did.

While successive decades witnessed an increased volume of immigrants from China, swelling the resident population to over 100,000 by 1880, the character of the process does not appear to have changed. If anything, Chinese immigrants' U.S. sojourns become briefer still. The trend is clear in column 3 of Table 3 which displays a measure of the contribution of immigration to population change. It is calculated as the number of immigrants who

arrived over the previous decade divided by that decade's population change. In the decade of the 1850s it took 1.19 immigrants to increase the Chinese population by one person. In the decade of the 1870s, almost three immigrants were required to generate the same one-person net increase in the stock. Over the same period, the median age of the resident population remained low, the faction foreign-born remained high, and the disproportion of males actually increased.

Further evidence of the increasingly temporary character of Chinese Americans' visits is the change in their living arrangements, shown in Table 4. Up through 1880 a decreasing fraction lived as household heads while the fraction living in group quarters soared. In 1880 almost 40 percent of Chinese American males lived in group quarters.

The Chinese Exclusion Act brought this regime to an abrupt end. The Act took aim at the key element of the system by thwarting the entry of laborers. It discouraged those already in the United States from remaining by forbidding the entry of virtually all women except for wives of established merchants. The Act performed exactly as intended: it disrupted the inflow of Chinese and encouraged the early return of those already living in the United States. The flow of Chinese immigrants, which had averaged over 12 thousand per year in the 1870s, dropped to a trickle. Most of the almost 62,000 admissions in the 1880s entered in the years just before the Act was passed. Despite these inflows, the Chinese American population increased by only 2,000 over the decade of the 1880s. In later decades the inflows were too small to offset the losses from return migration and death. Between 1880 and 1920, the population fell by more 40 percent. The median age of the Chinese American population jumped from 30 to 40. The foreign-born share and the sex ratio both fell as natural increase became a more important demographic factor. The men who remained were increasingly likely to head their own households and less likely to live in group quarters. Nonetheless, while the sex ratio declined substantially, it still remained extremely high. When scholars describe the Chinese in this era as an "aging bachelor population" (Chew and Liu 2004: 60) they have these statistics in mind. Still, as Kenneth Chew and John Liu (2004) demonstrate, migration remained quantitatively important during the Exclusion Era. It just could not match the earlier levels.

After 1920 the Chinese population once again began to grow. Official immigrant admissions grew by more than 40 percent between the decades of the nineteen teens and the nineteen twenties (Table 3, column 2). Erica Lee's series on total admissions, which includes returning residents and U.S. citizens, shows a 60 percent jump (Lee 2004, Table 5, pp. 101-102). My own estimates of Chinese American child-woman ratios based on the published censuses suggest that the rate of natural increase was rising as well. Child-woman ratios for Chinese Americans rose from 171 in 1880 to 667 in 1920 to 976 in 1930.[3] Other evidence consistent with a growing importance of natural increase are the falling sex ratio and foreign-born share and the rising fraction of men heading their own households (Tables 3 and 4).

[3] Chinese men's marriages to non-Chinese women may be partly responsible for the very high levels in 1920 and 1930.

Geographic Dispersion and Industrial Concentration

During the era of open immigration, the Chinese lived in the west and worked in mining, agriculture, and construction. Over time, as western mining claims were extinguished and the railroad-building slowed, the Chinese took up personal service work, set up independent laundry operations, and moved to other regions of the country. Following the Civil War and the emancipation of slaves Chinese were recruited to fill agricultural jobs abandoned by the newly-freed blacks. Some Northern industrialists transported Chinese to their factory towns in an effort to break strikes. The founders of what would become large Chinatowns in New York, Boston, Chicago and other big cities in the East and Midwest established themselves. Still other Chinese gained admission to Eastern colleges and universities (Chang 2003: 93-115). Nonetheless in 1880, over 98 percent of Chinese American lived in the West (Table 5).

The Exclusion Act led to marked changes in both the geographic and the industrial distribution of the Chinese American community. Rose Hum Lee (1949) and Roger Daniels (1988) emphasized the movement of Chinese Americans out of rural areas and into big cities. Daniels noted that, "Chinese became, like certain other immigrant groups, predominantly not only urban but large-city urban" (Daniels 1988: 68). He goes on to note that because their earliest employment was in mining, agriculture, and railroad construction:

> …the Chinese moved to large cities after having been primarily rural and small town. In 1880, for example, only 21.7 percent of Chinese lived in cities of over 100,000. This percentage increased with every census. By 1910 almost half (48.5 percent) of Chinese Americans lived in such cities. By 1940 the figure had risen to 71 percent (Daniels 1988: 69).

As they moved to urban areas Chinese Americans took up new employments. Table 6 displays their geographic and industrial distributions from 1860 through 1950 with calculations were based on the IPUMS samples. The growing importance of laundry and then restaurant work, especially in the Northeast and Midwest is striking. By 1940 just these two industries over 80 percent of the workforce in these two regions. In the West, agriculture and private household work employed about 17 percent of the workforce. The remainder were engaged in a wide range of other industries. In the South, agriculture was the next most important industry, accounting for a little over 7.1 percent of the total.

But not all of Chinese American migration out of the West went to the largest cities. A seemingly contradictory development that has gone unnoticed in the scholarly literature was the movement into smaller-sized cities and towns. Even as the Chinese American population fell, small towns across America witnessed the arrival of an often solitary Chinese laundryman or restaurateur. These were not the rural mining or construction camps that were home to so many Chinese in the era of mass migration. Instead, they were communities were no Chinese Americans had ever lived before.

Table 7 provides one metric for assessing this development. Column 1 of Table 7 displays the percentage of counties with at least one Chinese American resident. The years shown include all those for which county-level

data on the Chinese American population are available in the published censuses. In 1870, when the Chinese American population was concentrated in San Francisco and in mining and construction camps around the West, only 10.9 percent of counties had at least one Chinese American resident and in these counties the median number of Chinese was 19. Their diaspora is evident in the decades that followed as the percentage of counties with at least one resident increased and the median population per county declined. By 1900, almost half of counties in the United States could claim at least one Chinese resident, even though the total population of Chinese had fallen to fewer than 90,000 persons by that point. As the Chinese population continued to shrink in the 20 years that followed, the geographic reach remained largely unchanged. With shrinking numbers, though, the Chinese were able to maintain their geographic range only by tolerating smaller and smaller communities. Columns 2 and 3 of Table 7 show the drop in both the mean and median population in counties with at least one Chinese American. From an average of 859 persons and a median of 19 in 1870, the levels dropped to only 98 and 4 by 1920.

Another measure of the timing and extent of this Chinese-American diaspora can be constructed using the Duncan index of dissimilarity in state of residence. The results of comparing the proportionate distribution of the Chinese and non-Chinese populations across states and over time as shown in the published censuses is presented in the first column of Table 8. The index plummets from 97.3 in 1870 to only 55.6 by 1920. To provide some perspective, column 2 displays the same index for the black and non-black population. It shows that the impact of the fabled "Great Migration" of Blacks out of the South was to reduce the Duncan index from 67.7 to 49.1 between 1910 and 1920. For the Chinese there is no one decade that is comparably transformational, but the cumulative effect of fifty years of migration was even greater dispersal.

Table 9 displays the results of a different set of calculations designed to place the geographic dispersion of the Chinese population in context. These indices are calculated from county-level data for 1920. They compare the dispersion of the Chinese with that of other racial and ethnic minorities at the time. Here the index for Chinese is 64.0, substantially lower than those for the numerically-similar Japanese (87.5) and Portuguese (91.1). At this county-level of aggregation it is even lower than that of the black population after the first wave of the Great Migration. The peripatetic Italians were more geographically dispersed than the Chinese, but, as the table shows, they were also more than 25-times as numerous.

For such a tiny population to achieve such a high degree of dispersion, individuals had to move into communities where there were very few persons like themselves. If the 61,639 Chinese resident in the 48 states of the United States in 1920 were distributed equally across the 3,063 counties at the time, each county would be home to approximately 20 Chinese (average county *total* population was almost 34,363). Table 5 displays the actual percentage of 1920 counties according the number of their Chinese residents. 61.2 percent of all counties had no Chinese residents at all, but that percentage falls by half, to 30.7 percent when we restrict the sample to counties with populations of 25,000 or more. Fully 10.4 percent of all counties and 14.4 percent of counties with populations of 25,000 or more had exactly one Chinese resident. Another 20.3 percent of counties had from two to 20 Chinese,

36.9 percent if we limit the sample to the more populous counties. If we consider counties with a population of 250,000 or more – and such counties were home to approximately a third of the total population – then every county had at least one Chinese.

Modeling Chinese American Locational Decisions

This geographic dispersal was motivated by a desire for remunerative employment. The Exclusion Act did little to reduce the expressions of racism directed toward the Chinese. It may have even encouraged it. Jean Pfaelzer (2007) describes continuing episodes of mob action that resulted in murder, the seizure of Chinese property, and the forced abandonment of their businesses and homes. White workers actively opposed Chinese employment (Saxton 1971; Light 1972; Brown and Philips 1986; Daniels 1988; and Kwong and Miscevic 2005, 106-115). Professional organizations refused to admit them. Occupational licensing laws in most states prohibited them from practicing law, accounting, and medicine. Many states excluded the Chinese from practicing barbering and working at race tracks (Konvitz 1946, 190-200). Even those with advanced degrees could find employment only in laundries and restaurants (Kwoh 1947). Disparaging attitudes toward the Chinese were so pervasive that some were expressed even in scholarly journals. Gavin Wright observes: "It is chilling to go back to [John R.] Commons' 1909 article and find him railing against the 'competitive menace' of the 'Chinaman' and the 'foreign immigrant' as stridently as he does against 'prison labor, child labor, and long hours of labor'" (Wright 1987, 333). As late as 1927, almost 50 years after the passage of the Exclusion Act, a survey of Americans found "only 27.0 percent who said they would accept Chinese as fellow workers, 15.9 percent as neighbors, and 11.8 percent as friends" (Tsai 1986: xi).

Self-employment offered an alternative to wage work where customers rather than bosses or fellow workers decided who was acceptable. Even within the field of self-employment there could be restrictions. Those occupational licensing laws kept Chinese Americans out of the law, accounting, medicine, barbering and other occupations largely comprised of the self-employed in this era. But in industries – particularly those with low capital requirements such as cigar making and in services such as laundries and restaurants, those with only modest means could go into business for themselves and perhaps even hire other co-ethnics to work for them. The key was getting the public to accept the service. Chinese laundries were able to appeal to non-Chinese customers by offering a high-quality service. As Rose Hum Lee noted:

> Chinese laundry operators must depend upon a specialized group of customers, i.e., those who prefer their washing and ironing (especially shirts and personal items) to be done meticulously and who are willing to pay a higher price for this service (Lee 1949: 428).

The fact that laundry work was widely considered to be "women's work" may have reduced the opposition of organized white male workers (Ong 1983; Siu 1987; Wang 2004). As competition from steam laundries intensified and the growing middle class increased demand for restaurant meals, the Chinese became restaurateurs ("Chinese Laundries Are Gone; Restaurants are Many" 1924; "Chop Suey Verses Shirts" 1924). In Lee's view:

> Chinese restaurants cater to two principal types of patrons-those seeking a varied Chinese menu amid an unusual atmosphere and those seeking larger servings of food for the price paid (Lee 1949: 429).

With the growth of the middle class, both types of patrons were becoming increasingly common. About 1900 Chinese restaurants began moving outside of Chinatowns and the exotic cuisine began to enter the cultural mainstream (Barbas 2003; Carter 2011; Coe 2009; Comer 2000; Light 1974, Liu 2009). In 1900 the *New York Times* declared the city "'chop suey' mad" ("Heard About Town" 1900). In 1920 Sinclair Lewis extolled the Chinese restaurant as a sure antidote to the confines of small-town life. Seeking a break from Gopher Prairie, Carol and Will Kennicott traveled to Minneapolis and sought out a Chinese restaurant where they "…sat at a teak and marble table eating Eggs Fooyung, and listened to a brassy automatic piano, and were altogether cosmopolitan" (Lewis 1920, p. 231).

Chinese Americans began to embrace self-employment even before the Chinese Exclusion Act, but after the law's passage self-employment became the norm (Brown and Philips 1986; Li 1976; Light 1972; Light and Gold 2000; Light and Rosenstein 1995).

> {This is as far as I have gotten in the write-up. I rely on qualitative sources to motivate the model and then test it with newly-assembled data from the published censuses, Ancestry.com, city directories, and the Census of Distribution (1929). The empirical findings are consistent with the model. Chinese Americans moved to places where laundry and restaurant services were in demand.}

References

Bailey, Paul. "Chinese Students in America in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries. In Lynn Pan, ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999: 263.

Barbas, Samantha. "'I'll Take Chop Suey': Restaurants as Agents of Culinary and Cultural Change." *Journal of Popular Culture* 36(4) (Spring 2003): 669 - 686.

Barde, Robert and Gustavo Bobonis. "Detention at Angel Island: First Empirical Evidence." *Social Science History* 30(1) (2006): 103-136.

Beck, Louis J. *New York's Chinatown: An Historical Presentation of Its People and Places*. New York: Bohemia, 1898.

Bonner, Arthur. *Alas! What Brought Thee Hither? The Chinese in New York, 1800-1950*. Cransbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickensen Press, 1997.

Bronstein, Daniel Aaron. 2008. *The Formation and Development of Chinese Communities in Atlanta, Augusta and Savannah Georgia: From Sojourners to Settlers, 1880-1965.*

Brown, Martin and Peter Philips. "Competition, Racism, and Hiring Practices Among California Manufactures, 1860-1890." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 40 (1) (October 1986): 61-74.

Carson, Scott Alan. "The Biological Living Conditions of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Males in America." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 37.2 (Autumn, 2006): 201-217.

Carter, Susan B. "America's First Culinary Revolution, or How the Girl from Gopher Prairie Came to Dine on Egg Fooyung." In Paul Rhode, Joshua Rosenbloom, and David Weiman, eds, *Economic Evolution and Revolutions in Historical Time: Essays in Honor of Gavin Wright.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011, Chapter 16: 419-446.

Carter, Susan B., Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright, eds. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*. Boston: Twayne, 1991.

Chan, Sucheng. *This Bitter-Sweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1986.

Chan, Sucheng. *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Chan, Sucheng, ed. *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005.

Chang, Iris. *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History*. New York: Viking, 2003.

Chen, Shehong. *Reconstructing the Chinese American Experience in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1870s-1970s.* Boston, MA : Institute for Asian American Studies, 2003.

Chen, Yong. *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Chew, Kenneth, Mark Leach, and John M. Liu. "The Revolving Door to Gold Mountain: How Chinese Immigrants Got Around U.S. Exclusion and Replenished the Chinese American Labor Pool, 1900—1910." *International Migration Review* 43 (2) (Summer 2009): 410–430.

Chew, Kenneth S. Y. and John M. Liu. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Global Labor Force Exchange in the Chinese American Population, 1880-1940." *Population and Development Review* 30(1) (March 2004): 57-78.

Chin, Tung Pok with Winifred C. Chin. *Paper Son: One Man's Story*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

"Chinese Laundries Gone; Restaurants Are Many," Raymond G Carroll. *Los Angeles Times,;* Mar 27, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers *Los Angeles Times* (1881 - 1986): 6.

"Chop Suey Trust Octopus Has Tentacles in Chicago." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1963);* Jul 15, 1903; ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1986): 3.

"Chop Suey vs. Shirts." *Wall Street Journal,* Jun 9, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The Wall Street Journal (1889 - 1990): 2.

Chu, Doris C.J. *Chinese in Massachusetts: Their Experiences and Contributions*. Boston: Chinese Culture Association, 1987.

Coe, Andrew. *Chop Suey: A Cultural History of Chinese Food in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Comer, James. "North America from 1492 to the Present." In Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild C. Ornelas, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Food*, 2 vols., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, II: 1313-14.

Daniels, Roger. *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1988.

Easterlin, Richard A. "Twentieth-Century American Population Growth." In Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*. Vol. III, *The Twentieth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000: 505-548.

"Fortune from Chop Suey." Special to The Washington Post. *The Washington Post);* Sept. 7, 1911; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The Washington Post: 1.

Freedman, Maurice. "Jews, Chinese, and Some Others." *British Journal of Sociology*. 10 (1) (Mar., 1959): 61-70.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. "Split Household, Small Producer and Dual Wage Earner: An Analysis of Chinese-American Family Strategies." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45 (1983): 35-46.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano and Stacey G. H. Yap. "Chinese American Families." In Ronald L. Taylor, ed., *Minority Families in the United States*, 2d ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998, pp. 128-158.

Glick, Clarence E. *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980.

Haddad, John. "The Laundry Man's Got a Knife!: China and Chinese America in Early United States Cinema." *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 2001: 31-46.

Haines, Michael R. and Richard H. Steckel, eds. *A Population History of North America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hayner, Norman S. and Charles N. Reynolds. "Chinese Family Life in America." *American Sociological Review* 2 (1937) 630-637.

Hirata, Lucie Cheng. "Free, Indentured and Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America." *Signs* 5 (1979): 3-29.

Hoy, William. *The Chinese Six Companies*. San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942.

Hrishi Karthikeyan and Gabriel J. Chin. "Preserving Racial Identity: Population Patterns and the Application of Anti-Miscegenation Statutes to Asian Americans, 1910-1950," *Asian Law Journal* 9(1) (2002): 1-40.

Hsu, Madeline Y. *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882-1943*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Hsu, Madeline Y. "Migration and Native Place: Qiaokan and the Imagined Community of Taishan County, Guangdong, 1893-1993." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (May, 2000), pp. 307-331.

Hsu, Madeline Y. "Trading with Gold Mountain: *Jinshanzhuang* and Networks of Kinship and Native Place." In Sucheng Chan, ed. *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006: 22-33.

Hsu, Madeline Y. "From Chop Suey to Mandarin Cuisine: Fine Dining and the Refashioning of Chinese Ethnicity during the Cold War Era." In Sucheng Chan and Madeline Y. Hsu, eds., *Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.

Jung, John. *Southern Fried Rice: Life in a Chinese Laundry in the Deep South.* Ying & Yang Press, 2005.

Jung, John. *Chinese Laundries: Tickets to Survival on Gold Mountain.* Ying & Yang Press, 2007.

Jung, John. *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton: Lives of Mississippi Delta Chinese Grocers*. Ying & Yang Press, 2008.

Jung, John. *Sweet and Sour: Life in Chinese Family Restaurants*. Ying & Yang Press, 2010.

Konvitz, Milton B. *The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1946.

Kung, Shien-Woo. *Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962.

Kwoh, Beulah Ong. "The Occupational Status of American-Born Chinese Male College Graduates." *American Journal of Sociology* 53 (November 1947): 192-200.

Kwong, Peter and Dusanka Miscevic. *Chinese America: The Untold Story of America's Oldest New Community.* New York: The New Press, 2005.

Lau, Estelle T. *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration Administration, and Chinese Exclusion*. Duke University Press, 2007.

Lai, Him Mark. "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/Huiguan System." *Chinese American: History and Perspectives*, 1987.

"Lee Has a Chinese Farm. It is Near Washington and the First One in the East. Four Acres of Queer Crops. Success of a Celestial in Cultivating the Strange Herbs for Chop-Suey and Other Celestial Delicacies." *The New York Times*, October 31, 1898.

Lee, Chi Kien. "The Chinese Restaurant Industry in the United States: Its History, Development, and Future." M.P.S. monograph, School of Hotel Administration, Cornell Univ., 1975.

Lee, Erika. "Enforcing and Challenging Exclusion in San Francisco: U.S. Immigration Officials and Chinese Immigrants, 1882-1905." *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 1997: 1-15.

Lee, Erika. *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Lee, Erika. "Defying Exclusion: Chinese Immigrants and Their Strategies During the Exclusion Era." In Sucheng Chan, ed., *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas between China and America during the Exclusion Era*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006, pp. 1-21.

Lee, Rose Hum. "Chinese in the United States Today." *Survey Graphic* 31 (October 1942).

Lee, Rose Hum. "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 54 (March 1949): 422-432.

Lee, Rose Hum. *The Chinese in the United States of America*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

Lee, Robert G. *Orientals: Asian-Americans in Popular Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.

Leong, Gur Yun. *Chinatown Inside Out*. New York: B. Mussey, 1936.

Lewis, Sinclair. *Main Street*. New York: Signet Classics, 1998. First published in 1920.

Li, Peter S. "Immigration Law and Family Patterns: Demographic Changes Among Chinese Families in Canada, 1885-1911." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12 (1980): 58-73.

Li, Peter S. "Ethnic Business Among Chinese in the U.S." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 4(3) (Fall 1976): 35-41.

Light, Ivan H. *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1972.

Light, Ivan. "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940." *Pacific Historical Review* XLIII (1974): 367-394.

Light, Ivan. "The Ethnic Vice Industry, 1880-1944." *American Sociological Review* 42 (3) (Jun., 1977): 464-479.

Light, Ivan and Charles Choy Wong. 1975. "Protest or Work: Dilemmas of the Tourist Industry in American Chinatowns." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 80, No. 6 (May, 1975), pp. 1342-1368.

Light, Ivan and Steven J. Gold. *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego: Academic Press, 2000.

Light, Ivan and Carolyn Rosenstein. *Race, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship in Urban America*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995

Ling, Huping. "Governing 'Hop Alley': On Leong Chinese Merchants and Laborers Association, 1906-1966." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 23(2) (Winter 2004): 50-84.

Ling, Huping. *Chinese St. Louis :From Enclave to Cultural Community*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004.

Ling, Mary Ting Yi. "Reconceptualizing Chinese American Community in St. Louis: From Chinatown to Cultural Community." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25(1) (Fall 2005): 115-116.

Liu, Haiming "Chop Suey as Imagined Authentic Chinese Food: The Culinary Identity of Chinese Restaurants in the United States" *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 1:1 (2009), http://repositories.cdlib.org/acgcc/jtas/vol1/iss1/art12.

Loh, Homer C. "Cultural Conflicts of Americans of Chinese Ancestry of Philadelphia" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, I945], chap. vi, p. 8.

Lowwen, James. *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Luke, William. "The First Chinese Bank in the United States." *Chinatown News*, July 3, 1974.

Lyman, Stanford. "Marriage and the Family among Chinese Immigrants to America, 1850-1960." *Phylon* 29 (1968): 321-330.

Lyman, Stanford M. "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1850-1910." *Pacific Historical Review* 43(4) (Nov. 1974): 473-499.

Ma, L. Eve Armentrout. "Urban Chinese at the Sinitic Frontier: Social Organization in United States' Chinatowns, 1849-1898." *Modern Asian Studies* 17(1) (1983): 107-135.

Ma, L. Eve Armentrout. "The Big Business Ventures of Chinese in North America, 1850-1930." In *The Chinese American Experience: Papers from the Second National Conference on Chinese American Studies (1980),* edited by Genny Lim. San Francisco: The Chinese Historical Society of America and the Chinese Culture Foundation, 1984.

Ma, L. Eve Armentrout. "Big and Medium Businesses of Chinese Immigrants in the United States, 1850-1880: An Outline." *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society* 13 (1978): 1-5.

Malloy, Timothy J. "A Century of Chinese Immigration: A Brief Review." *INS Monthly Review* December 1947: 69-75.

McGlinn, Lawrence. "Power Networks and Early Chinese Immigrants in Pennsylvania." *Journal of Historical Geography* 21(4) (October 1995): 430-445.

McKeown, Adam. *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

McKeown, Adam. "Global Migration, 1846-1940." *Journal of World History* 15 (2) (2004): 155-89.

McKeown, Adam. "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842 to 1949." *Journal of Asian Studies* 58(2) (1999): 306-37.

McKeown, Adam. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Moon, Krystyn R. *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Murphey, Rhoades. "Boston's Chinatown." *Economic Geography* XXVIII (1952): 244-255.

Ong, Paul. "Chinese Laundries as an Urban Occupation." In *Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Coast, Annals,* ed. Douglas Lee, 68-85. Seattle, 1983.

Ong, Paul. "Ethnic Trade: The Chinese Laundries in Early California." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 8 (1981): 95-113.

Pfaelzer, Jean. *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans*. New York: Random House, 2007.

Ruggles, Steven, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.

Saxton, Alexander. *Indispensible Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Schwartz, Shephard. "Mate Selection Among New York City's Chinese Males, 1931-1938." *American Journal of Sociology* 56 (May 1951): 562-568.

Siu, Paul C. P. "The Sojourner." *American Journal of Sociology* 58:1 (July 1952), 34-44.

Siu, Paul C. P. "Zasuiguan zai Meiguo" ('Chop Suey Restaurants in the United States"), *Qishiniandai [The Seventies]* (Hong Kong, December 1977).

Siu, Paul C. *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study in Social Isolation*. New York: New York University Press, 1987.

Spier, Robert F. G. "Food Habits of Nineteenth Century California Chinese." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 1958: 79-84 and 129-135.

Takaki, Ronald. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1979.

Takaki, Ronald. *From a Different Shore*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989.

Takaki, Ronald. "They Also Came: The Migration of Chinese and Japanese Women to Hawaii and the Continental United States." *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 1990: 3-19.

Takaki, Ronald T. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little-Brown, 1989.

Takaki, Ronald T. *Ethnic Islands: The Emergence of Urban Chinese America*. 1994.

Tsai, Shih-Shan Henry. *The Chinese Experience in America*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Vernon, Philip E. *The Abilities and Achievements of Orientals in North America*. New York, 1982.

Wang, Joan S. "Race, Gender, and Laundry Work: The Roles of Chinese Laundrymen and American Women in the United States, 1850-1950." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24:1 (Fall 2004): 58-99.

Wang, Xinyang. *Surviving the City: The Chinese Immigrant Experience in New York City, 1890-1970*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.

Wong, Charles Choy. "Black and Chinese Grocery Stores in Los Angeles' Black Ghetto." *Urban Life* 5 (1977): 439-64.

Wong, Charles Choy. "The Continuity of Chinese Grocers in Southern California." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 8 (1980): 63-82.

Wong, Marie Rose. *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.

Wong, K. Scott and Sucheng Chan, eds. *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities During the Exclusion Era.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Wong, Siu-lun. "The Chinese Family Firm: A Model." *The British Journal of Sociology* 36(1) (1985): 58-70.

Wong, Siu-lun and Janet W. Salaff . "Network Capital: Emigration from Hong Kong." *British Journal of Sociology*. 49 (3) (Sep., 1998): 358-374.

Wright, Gavin. "Labor History and Labor Economics," in Alexander Field (ed.), *The Future of Economic History*. Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1987, 313-348.

Yee, Alfred. *Shopping at Giant Foods: Chinese American Supermarkets in Northern California*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003. HF5469.23.U63 C29 2003

Yu, Renqui, "Chop Suey: From Chinese Food to Chinese American Food." *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 1987, 87-99.

Yuan, D. Y. "Voluntary Segregation: A Study of New York Chinatown." In Milton L. Barron, ed., *Minorities in a Changing World*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967.

Yuan, D. Y. "Division of Labor Between Native-Born and Foreign-Born Chinese in the United States: A Study of Their Traditional Employments." *Phylon* 30 (Summer 1969): 160-169.

Yung, Judy. *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Yung, Wing. *My Life in China and America*. New York: Henry Holt, 1910.

Table 1

Data on the Chinese in the Published Censuses, 1880 - 1950

	Total Population			Gender			Age		
Year	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County
1880	X	X	X	X	X				
1890	X	X	X	X	X		X		
1900	X	X	X	X	X				
1910	X	X	X	X					
1920	X	X	X	X			X		
1930	X	X		X	X		X		
1940	X	X		X	X	X			
1950	X	X							
	Nativity			Literacy			Conjugal Condition		
Year	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County
1880									
1890									
1900	X	X		X					
1910	X			X					
1920	X			X					
1930	X	X		X					
1940	X	X							
1950	X								
	Speaks English			Occupation			Industry		
Year	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County	Nation	State	County
1880									
1890									
1900				X					
1910									
1920				X					
1930									
1940									
1950									

Source: Published census volumes.

Table 2

Chinese Population: Continental United States and Hawai'i
Published Census and IPUMS, 1860 -2000

Year	Continental United States		Hawai'i	
	Published Census	IPUMS	Published Census	IPUMS
1850	0	7[1]	0	0
1860	34,933	344[1]	0	0
1870	63,199	611[1]	0	0
1880	105,465	106,866[2]	0	0
1890	107,488	0	17,002	0
1900	89,863	908[3]	25,767	6,543
1910	71,531	611[4]	21,674	4,309
1920	61,639	645[1]	23,507	225
1930	74,954	838[1]	27,179	0
1940	77,504	782[1]	28,774	0
1950	117,629	1,355[1]	32,376	0
1960	198,958	2,000[1]	38,197	412
1970	382,795	4,001[1]	52,039	584
1980	755,726	37,870[1]	55,916	2,789
1990	1,575,326	74,395[1]	68,804	3,465
2000	2,374,521	109,841[1]	56,600	2,556

Notes: [1] 1-percent sample. [2] 100-percent sample. [3] 10-percent sample. [4] 5-percent sample.

Table 3

Characteristics of the Chinese American Population, 1850 – 1950

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year	Population[1]	Number of Recent Immigrants[2]	Immigration as Share of Net Population Increase[3]	Sex Ratio[4]	Median Age[5]	Percent Foreign Born[5]
1850	671	35	--	∞	24	100.0
1860	34,933	41,397	1.19	1858	28	97.7
1870	63,199	64,301	2.27	1284	30	98.4
1880	105,465	123,201	2.91	2107	30	91.8
1890	107,488	61,711	30.50	2679	--	--
1900	89,863	16,515	-0.94	1887	40	90.0
1910	71,531	20,605	-1.12	1430	43	79.1
1920	61,639	21,278	-2.15	696	40	69.9
1930	74,954	29,907	2.25	395	31	58.8
1940	77,504	4,928	1.93	285	31	48.1
1950	117,629	16,709	0.42	144	24	43.5

[1] 1850: Ancestry.com. 1860-1950: Carter *et al.,* 2006: Series Aa156.
[2] Carter *et al.,* 2006: Series Ad138. Value shown is the total number of immigrants from China in the previous ten years.
[3] Calculated as the number of immigrants arriving over the previous decade (column 2) divided by population change (population in year t minus population in year t-1 from column 1.
[4] 1850: Calculated from Ancestry.com. 1860-1950: Calculated from Carter *et al.,* 2006: Series Aa169 and Aa182. Sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females.
[5] 1850: Calculated from Ancestry.com. 1860-1950: Calculated from the IPUMS samples. There is no IPUMS sample available for 1890.

Table 4

Living Arrangements of Chinese American Males, 1860 – 1950
Percentage of Total[1]

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Year	Head of Household	Non-Relative in Household	Group Quarters
1860	22.1	45.7	2.6
1870	19.1	48.3	20.6
1880	15.1	42.9	39.5
1890[2]	--	--	--
1900	22.4	44.3	24.4
1910	27.5	41.0	21.4
1920	28.6	27.7	31.8
1930	31.3	32.6	11.3
1940	34.6	13.5	16.0
1950	33.3	11.1	5.6

Notes: [1]Omitted category is relatives of head living in households. [2]There is no IPUMS sample for the 1890 census.
Source: Computed from **Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek.** ***Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0*** **[Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.**

.

Table 5

Regional Distribution of the Chinese American Population, 1860 – 1950[1]

Percentage Distribution

	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Total
1860	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100
1870	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100
1880	1.0	0.4	0.3	98.4	100
1890[2]	--	--	--	--	100
1900	13.6	3.2	3.8	79.4	100
1910	15.0	6.4	9.1	69.5	100
1920	24.6	4.5	5.8	65.1	100
1930	27.5	7.4	6.3	58.8	100
1940	27.1	9.2	5.4	58.3	100
1950	21.3	10.1	9.6	59.0	100

Note: [1]"Chinese Americans" defined as those identified as "Chinese" in the censuses "race" question. [2]There is no IPUMS sample for the 1890 census.

Source: Computed from **Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.**

Table 6

Industrial Distribution of Chinese American Employment by Region, 1860 – 1950

1860	Total	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Restaurants	0.0	--	--	--	0.0
Laundries	5.0	--	--	--	5.0
Food stores	1.7	--	--	--	1.7
All else	93.3	--	--	--	93.3
1870					
Restaurants	0.2	--	--	--	0.2
Laundries	11.0	--	--	--	11.0
Food stores	1.3	--	--	--	1.3
All else	87.5	--	--	--	87.5
1880					
Restaurants	0.4	0	0	0	0.4
Laundries	13.9	100	100	0	11.9
Food stores	1.6	0	0	0	1.6
All else	84.1	0	0	100	86.1
1900					
Restaurants	0.5	0	0	0	0.6
Laundries	34.1	81.6	100	85.7	16.9
Food stores	3.4	0.0	0	7.1	4.2
All else	62.0	18.4	0	7.3	78.3
1910					
Restaurants	7.4	9.2	11.1	8.5	5.6
Laundries	20.9	60.2	66.7	31.9	7.4
Food stores	6.2	0.0	0.0	31.9	12.7
All else	65.5	30.6	22.2	27.7	74.3
1920					
Restaurants	17.3	32.8	47.8	22.2	12.2
Laundries	22.1	55.5	39.1	44.4	11.5
Food stores	7.4	5.5	0.0	7.4	7.0
All else	53.2	6.2	13.1	26.0	69.3
1930					
Restaurants	27.7	42.0	32.4	34.4	15.6
Laundries	24.7	42.0	50.0	21.9	6.6
Food stores	8.8	0.6	0	28.1	13.2
All else	38.8	15.4	17.6	15.6	64.6
1940					
Restaurants	29.8	43.7	42.3	14.8	20.3
Laundries	25.3	43.7	38.5	25.9	12.4
Food stores	9.7	3.4	3.9	14.8	13.9
All else	34.6	9.2	15.3	44.5	53.4
1950					
Restaurants	29.8	42.9	33.3	10.9	25.9

Laundries	12.7	21.4	33.3	15.2	4.3
Food stores	14.0	2.1	1.8	47.8	16.6
All else	43.5	13.6	31.6	26.1	53.2

Notes: "Chinese" identified using the race variable. Industry identified using the "IND1950" variable. Percentage distribution across industry includes only those identified with an industry. "Restaurants" are IND1950 code 679, "Eating and Drinking Places." "Laundries" are IND1950 code 846, ""Laundering, cleaning and dying." "Food stores" are IND1950 code 636, "Food stores ex. dairy." Columns for each year total to 100.

Source: **Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek.** ***Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0*** **[Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.**

Table 7

Percentage of Counties with at Least One Chinese American Resident and Average and Median Numbers of Chinese in Counties with at Least One Resident, 1870-1960

Year	Percentage with One or More Chinese	Average Number of Chinese in County with Chinese	Median Number of Chinese in County with Chinese
1870	10.9	859	19
1880	18.8	656	10
1890	37.8	303	4
1900	45.7	140	4
1910	40.8	128	5
1920	44.9	98	4
--	--	--	--
1960	42.0	530	7

Sources: 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1960: Data on Chinese population by county from ICPSR. 1900, 1910, and 1920: published census reports.

Table 8

Duncan Indices of Dissimilarity in Residence by State
Chinese vs. Non-Chinese and Blacks vs. Non-blacks

	Chinese vs. Non-Chinese	Blacks vs. Non-Blacks
1870	97.3	66.6
1880	93.6	66.6
1890	85.4	--
1900	70.0	66.2
1910	65.7	67.7
1920	55.6	49.1
1930	57.4	54.5
1940	62.0	52.4
1950	57.2	45.5
1960	52.7	34.6
1970	51.8	22.9

Table 9

Duncan Dissimilarity Index
Population by County, 48 States, 1920

Group	Index	Population
Chinese (all)	64.0	61,639
Japanese (all)	87.5	111,010
Blacks (all)	66.1	10,463,131
Italians (foreign-born)	42.2	1,610,113
Portuguese (foreign-born)	91.1	69,981