

A Quarterly Journal
Humanities and Social Sciences
Young Scholars Worldwide

The Schola

4

IV

Volume 4 | Issue IV | December 2020



9 772508 783006

ISSN 2508-7835

04

The Schola | Volume 4 | Issue IV | December 2020

Editor: Eva M Shin

Publisher: Veritaum

Editorial contact: editorial@theschola.org

Cover design: Leo Solluna

© 2016, The Schola. All rights reserved. *The Schola* (ISSN 2508-7835) is an online journal published quarterly by Veritaum. Use of this digital material is governed by the terms and conditions set out by *The Schola*. Essays published in the journal may not be republished, photocopied, or reproduced without the prior written permission of Veritaum. A subscription purchases access to the journal, but not the intellectual property rights in it. The publisher has the sole right to make copies or allow them to be made, apart from the exceptions allowed by law, such as fair dealing.

This issue was typeset on a MacBook Air, using Microsoft Publisher.

For further information on *The Schola*, visit our website: www.theschola.org.

CONTENTS

Volume 4 | Issue IV | December 2020

- Interdisciplinary: Sociology, US History* 1
Challenging Racism Abroad:
Youth Activism in the American Anti-Apartheid Movement (1970s-1980s)
Ishikaa Kothari '21
Riverdale Country School
New York, USA
- World History* 22
Vox Populi-Vox Diaboli:
The Inception of the Movement for Chinese Exclusion
Jason Zhao '22
Mercer Island High School
Washington, USA

*Interdisciplinary:
Sociology, US History*

Challenging Racism Abroad: Youth Activism in the American Anti-Apartheid Movement (1970s-1980s)

Ishikaa Kothari '21
Riverdale Country School
New York, USA

Abstract

While the United States had its struggles with racial injustice, during the 1970s and 1980s, numerous American activists advocated against South African apartheid. This study uncovers why American youth activists (22 years old and younger) cared about apartheid, and how and to what extent they challenged it. To understand the connection between activists from the United States and South Africa, this paper unpacks why South African activists protested police brutality in the United States in 2020. While existing anti-apartheid scholarship covers the role of Black internationalists and policymakers, this analysis focuses on the impact of youth movements on college campuses. An analysis of speeches and university newspapers finds that student activists' motives behind fighting for anti-apartheid were diverse and complex. Although youth, playing a significant role in ending apartheid, were filled with moral outrage, apartheid's interconnectedness with themes of separateness and justice increased activists' dedication to the cause. Similar to how Black Americans supported Black South Africans through the anti-apartheid movement, Black South Africans protested police brutality in the United States in 2020, fighting for Black liberation.

Introduction

On April 24, 1978, about 1,500 Harvard University students marched from Radcliffe Yard to Harvard Yard in Cambridge, Massachusetts with large white signs filled with words like “apartheid” or “divest.”¹ This march was part of a five-day rally and an overall ten-year struggle to have the university completely withdraw its investments from United States corporations with holdings in South Africa, where the White regime enforced the racially oppressive system of apartheid.² The bustling mass soon reached Harvard Yard, holding hands to demonstrate their solidarity for the anti-apartheid movement and, later, seizing and protesting around University Hall, the main academic administration building.³ Even though the protests made it difficult for the school to function, the university’s administration obstinately refused to divest entirely, arguing that they wanted to take the constructive approach and use their influence to promote racial justice there.⁴ Despite this failure, the youth activists did help fuel a nationwide movement for divestment, a confrontational approach to pressure the South African government to end apartheid through economic isolation.⁵

¹ David Beach, *Divestment Protest at Harvard University*, photograph, April 24, 1978, Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections (African Activist Archives), <http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-666>.

² Anjali Cadambi, “Global Nonviolent Action Database,” Global Nonviolent Action Database (Swarthmore College, September 19, 2010), <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/harvard-university-community-campaigns-divestment-apartheid-south-africa-1977-1989>.

³ Beach, *Divestment Protest at Harvard University*;

Lisa Hsia, *Harvard University Students Picketing around University Hall*, photograph, April 28, 1978, Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections (African Activist Archives, accessed July 12, 2020),

<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-663>;

Lisa Hsia, *No Harvard \$ for Apartheid*, photograph, April 28, 1978, Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections (African Activist Archives), <http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-667>.

⁴ From June 1986 to January 1987, Harvard’s administration withdrew about \$230 million from South Africa-based holdings; Michael C. George and David W. Kaufman, “Students Protest Investment in Apartheid South Africa,” *Harvard Crimson*, May 23, 2012, <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2012/5/23/Protest-Divestment-Apartheid/>.

⁵ Students advocated for divestment from US corporations with holdings in South Africa so it would be too costly for the companies to stay in South Africa, forcing them to disinvest, whereby completely withdrawing their investments and exiting the country; George and Kaufman, “Students Protest Investment in Apartheid South Africa.”

About forty years later, on June 3, 2020, activists in South Africa picked up their cardboard signs and protested outside Parliament in Cape Town, standing in solidarity with George Floyd and Collins Khoza and advocating against police brutality.⁶ On May 25, 2020, George Floyd, a Black man in Minneapolis, died after policemen deliberately asphyxiated him. This instance of police brutality sparked rage and reignited a global Black Lives Matter movement, demanding justice for police brutality victims and reform of persisting systems of oppression.⁷ Police brutality frequently occurs in South Africa as Collins Khoza, a Black man, was killed by South African Security Forces. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, “[Khoza’s] family [said] they watched as he was held down and choked inside his own house [here], slammed against a concrete wall and beaten with fists and the butt of a gun.”⁸ Although American President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act in 1968, collectively ending legalized segregation, these two events, representing the anti-apartheid movement in the 1970s to 1980s and Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, demonstrate that the civil rights movement has continued beyond the 1960s.⁹

Apartheid Legislation

In 1948, the South African National Party, the White-minority governing party created in 1924 to uphold White Afrikaner goals, instituted apartheid, a system that racially segregated its citizens and violently imposed White supremacy. Apartheid had four defining ideas: There were four racial groups – White, Colored, Indian, and African. Secondly, White people were entitled to rule over the country. Non-White populations were considered subordinate to White people, so the government did not have to treat the races equally. Lastly, there were different regions for each racial group. White people obtained the most land, meaning that millions of Black Africans were forced to move from urban, White areas to rural reserves, which further entrenched a migrant labor system.¹⁰

⁶ Ryan Lenora Brown, “An Ocean Apart, Similar Stories: US Protests Hit Home in South Africa,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 8, 2020, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2020/0608/An-ocean-apart-similar-stories-US-protests-hit-home-in-South-Africa>.

⁷ “How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody,” *New York Times*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>.

⁸ Brown, “An Ocean Apart, Similar Stories: US Protests Hit Home in South Africa.”

⁹ Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Use of the Past,” *Journal of American History* (2005): 1261-1263.

¹⁰ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 190.

The party used legislation, which became more stringent each year, and the police to enforce segregation, leaving non-White, especially Black, South Africans politically, economically, and socially powerless. Specifically, the Group Areas Act (1950) physically separated the races, and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) helped prevent socialization and integration among the races.¹¹ These policies, favorable to the White citizens, forced different parts of the nation to develop separately, so White areas prospered while the Black regions were left impoverished with minimal resources and countless diseases.¹² For instance, from 1948 to 1970, White manufacturing and construction workers went from earning six times as much as their Black counterparts to about twenty-one times as much.¹³

Internal Anti-Apartheid Resistance

To fight apartheid, numerous internal resistance movements arose from South African organizations like the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the Black Consciousness Movement. They used both militant and nonviolent tactics. Eventually, as the South African regime cracked down harder on these movements, arresting most leading Black South African activists, including African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, external movements emerged.¹⁴ In the United States, around the 1970s to the 1980s, demonstrations, boycotts, and protests were widespread, and youth activists, political and grassroots organizations, and political leaders took action.

Research Questions

The American response to apartheid provokes the following questions: Why did youth activists in the United States care about apartheid, and how and to what extent did they contribute to the anti-apartheid movement?¹⁵ Ultimately, why did South African youth activists

¹¹ "Apartheid in South Africa," Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,

<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

¹² "A History of Apartheid in South Africa," South African History Online (SAHO), accessed July 12, 2020, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa>.

¹³ Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 195.

¹⁴ "A History of Apartheid in South Africa."

¹⁵ Youth is defined as 22 years old and younger because commonly, twenty-two is the age when undergraduate students graduate from college.

stand in solidarity with police brutality victims in the United States in 2020? Since the anti-apartheid movement in the United States was a successful grassroots movement, understanding the impact of and motives behind youth activists in the anti-apartheid movement can help youth movements thrive today. These questions will also help clarify the significance of youth activism.

Literature Review

Many anti-apartheid studies (the 1970s–1980s) cover the role of three players: political leaders during the Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan administrations, Black internationalism activists who fought for Black liberation, and American advocacy organizations.¹⁶ Covering the impact of the Carter administration’s foreign policy addressing apartheid, Simon Stevens, in “From the Viewpoint of a Southern Governor’: The Carter Administration and Apartheid, 1977-81,” argues that President Carter and his senior policymakers were committed to the issue of apartheid, but prioritizing their anti-communist agenda and believing in creating change through “cooperation rather than confrontation,” they developed a constructive foreign policy.¹⁷ Moreover, “Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan” by University of Michigan undergraduate students adds that in the 1970s there was a rise of Black political leaders who sometimes took a more confrontational approach and created a support system for the anti-apartheid issue in politics.¹⁸

Despite lacking political power, Black people on the grassroots level made a significant impact on the anti-apartheid movement. In *Race for Sanctions*, Francis Njubi Nesbitt highlights the contributions of Black Americans to the anti-apartheid movement, explaining that “the [anti-apartheid] movement emerged in the radical Black politics of the 1940s and was adopted by the civil rights leaders in the 1960s and the nationalists of the 1970s, before becoming a multiracial coalition for South Africa in the 1980s.”¹⁹ Additionally, *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* by Robert Trent Vinson argues that civil rights veterans not only fought against

¹⁶ Black internationalists are activists who stand in solidarity with Black people and movements around the world that fight for Black emancipation. Black internationalists and Pan-African activists are used interchangeably.

¹⁷ Simon Stevens, “From the Viewpoint of a Southern Governor’: The Carter Administration and Apartheid, 1977–81,” *Journal of the Historians for American Foreign Relations* 36, no. 5 (November 2012): 845-846.

¹⁸ “Apartheid in South Africa.”

¹⁹ Francis Njubi Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), viii.

apartheid but also acted as role models for anti-apartheid activists in South Africa.²⁰ Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood's *Pan African History* demonstrates that Pan-African activists like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela, and Claudia Jones used their unique platforms to fight racism, helping the anti-apartheid movement and globalizing the Black freedom struggle.²¹

In addition to leading internal movements in Africa, many of these Black internationalists created American organizations that diligently advocated against apartheid. Specifically, according to Eric Morgan in "His Voice Must Be Heard: Dennis Brutus, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Struggle for Political Asylum in the United States," "[confrontational, multi-racial] organizations such as the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), the TransAfrica Forum, and the Washington Office on Africa pressured Congress to act through sanctions or other punitive legislation."²² In "The World is Watching: Polaroid and South Africa," Morgan describes the significant role of grassroots labor movements like the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement, which held their employers and US multinational corporations accountable for perpetuating apartheid. Because existing scholarship overlooks the contributions of youth movements on college campuses, this paper shifts the historiography's focus, adding the youth perspective to the anti-apartheid discussion.²³

Thesis

While there is ample literature on the global anti-apartheid movement, scholars are still piecing together the impact of American youth movements. Building on this robust literature, this paper argues that American youth activists' motives behind advocating for anti-apartheid were diverse and complex. Youth activists on college campuses made a significant impact by attracting international and national attention to apartheid through divestment campaigns, which in turn added more pressure on the South African government. Although apartheid filled youth with moral outrage, apartheid's interconnectedness with universal themes of separateness, justice, and equality strengthened

²⁰ Robert Trent Vinson, *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 12.

²¹ Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History* (London: Routledge, 2003), 102, 106, 129.

²² Eric J. Morgan, "His Voice Must be Heard: Dennis Brutus, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Struggle for Political Asylum in the United States," *PEACE & CHANGE: A Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 3 (July 2015): 379.

²³ Eric J. Morgan, "The World is Watching: Polaroid and South Africa," *Oxford University Press* 7, no. 3 (June 2006): 522.

activists' commitment and passion for the cause. Like Black American activists protesting apartheid, Black South Africans stood in solidarity with George Floyd in 2020 to fight for the goal of worldwide Black freedom.

Origins of External Anti-Apartheid Activism

On March 21, 1960, numerous Black South Africans, galvanized by the PAC, gathered in Sharpeville, South Africa, advocating against apartheid. To stop the protest from growing, the police fired at the mass of 4,000 people. Officially, sixty-nine people died and about fifty were wounded, but the death count could have been at least 200 as the South African government was infamous for manipulating death counts. Indignation spread like wildfire. Attracting international attention, the Sharpeville massacre mobilized global movements in support of Black South Africans and against apartheid.²⁴ In the United States, civil rights activists drew connections between American segregation and South African apartheid. Notably, civil rights activists like Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, and Dr. King advocated against the injustices their Black brothers and sisters faced in South Africa. Many students held anti-apartheid campaigns at universities, such as the University of Michigan.²⁵ But issues like civil rights and the Vietnam War overshadowed the anti-apartheid cause in the 1960s. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that the anti-apartheid movement gained immense momentum, following the Soweto Uprising.²⁶

In 1974, in response to the dwindling use of Afrikaans, the South African government enacted the *Afrikaans Medium Decree*, mandating Black schools to teach their students solely in Afrikaans and English. Considering Afrikaans, the “language of the oppressor,” as Bishop of Johannesburg and anti-apartheid activist Desmond Tutu stated, Black students were outraged. On June 16, about 10,000 to 20,000 students

²⁴ “The Sharpeville Massacre, 1960,” Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,

<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

²⁵ “Apartheid in South Africa;”

“Campus Anti-Apartheid Movements before Soweto,” Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,

<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

²⁶ The American anti-apartheid movement did not always have a linear progression; its momentum fluctuated depending on South African and American events, such as President Reagan's election.

marched to the Orlando Stadium in Soweto, South Africa, protesting the decree.²⁷ Confronted by the police, the children threw rocks at them, which prompted the police to fire. Violence engulfed the nation until April 1977, and, according to the Commission of Inquiry, about 575 people died, of which 451 were killed by the police. However, other sources, safe from government manipulation, state that the death count was about 1,000.²⁸ To add to the death count, on September 12, 1977, Steve Biko, a notable South African anti-apartheid activist who spearheaded the Black Consciousness Movement, which was popular amongst the youth, died in police custody. Police forces interrogated and tortured Biko for violating his banning order by traveling to South Africa and most likely for his resistance. Drawing international awareness, the Soweto Uprising and Steve Biko's death, acting as a symbol of the atrocities of apartheid, transformed the American anti-apartheid movement from a few protests to a mass movement with thousands of students from more than a hundred universities participating.²⁹

American Anti-Apartheid Movement (1970s–1980s)

Motives

After the uprising, American universities, ranging from Dartmouth College to the University of Utah, advocated for divestment by holding protests, signing petitions, and erecting shantytowns, a symbol of crude townships Black South Africans were forced to live in.³⁰ Constructing these shantytowns was a form of protest, reminding university administrations of their connections to them. On June 27, 1986, students from nineteen different colleges assembled at the Special Committee against Apartheid to share updates on the state of the anti-

²⁷ "The Soweto Uprising, 1976," Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

²⁸ United Press International, "Soweto Uprising Recalled," *New York Times*, June 17, 1986, sec. A, pp. 8-8, <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/06/17/world/soweto-uprising-recalled.html>.

²⁹ Susan F Rasky, "Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground," *New York Times*, September 15, 1985, National edition, sec. 1, pp. 16-16, <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/15/world/anti-apartheid-protest-gains-ground.html>.

³⁰ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, "United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters," September 1986 (African Activist Archives), <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1702-84-UN%20december%201986.pdf>, 30.

apartheid movement on their campus.³¹ These speeches gave insight into the goals, impact, and problems of the movements at each university. Statements like “apartheid constitutes colonialist and racist oppression in its crudest and most disgusting form” and “apartheid a crime against humanity that must be eliminated” by the students suggest moral aversion and that numerous youth activists believed that the apartheid issue required immediate action.³²

However, the anti-apartheid cause’s connection with other issues that the students personally witnessed or cared about, such as racism in the United States, made the movement more significant for them. According to an article titled “Coalition Will Set Up Campus Shantytown” in Columbia University’s *Columbia Spectator*, “The key theme linking all these issues is separateness.”³³ Some universities, including Reed College and the University of Washington, perpetuated separateness by accepting a small number of Black students and faculty and building a White-centric and Eurocentric Black studies curriculum.³⁴ Not only did the anti-apartheid movement allow youth activists to fight separateness or racism abroad but also on campus.³⁵ In addition, they often drew parallels between the White minority regime’s oppression of Black South Africans with their university administration’s oppressive crackdown on their shantytowns and freedom of expression, which further galvanized the movement. Debbie Stachel, a student from Boston University (BU), clarifies, “In an ironic way, this continual repression of activism has helped to strengthen commitment within the anti-apartheid movement at BU, for it serves as a daily reminder of the oppressive conditions under which people struggle for freedom in South Africa.”³⁶

This theme of separateness was almost inescapable on campuses as well as in the United States as a whole, due to its history of segregation and racial oppression. Only recently in the late 1960s was segregation deemed illegal. The youth activists might not have been alive

³¹ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 10.

³² “Successful Activism,” *Michigan Daily*, June 20, 1986, pp. 6-6;

United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 25, 27.

³³ Asha Badrinath, “Coalition Will Set up Campus Shantytown,” *Columbia Spectator*, March 19, 1986, pp. 14-14,

<http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19860319-01.2.3&srpos=28&e=-----en-20--21--txt-txIN-anti%252Dapartheid----->.

³⁴ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 22, 35.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 11, 24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

or old enough to personally face or comprehend the Jim Crow era, but their parents' experiences and persisting injustices could have allowed the students to viscerally relate to apartheid. For instance, Atlanta University student Keith Jennings acknowledged, "As conscientious youths, living in a region of the United States that has historically witnessed the forced removal of Native Americans from their lands, the enslavement of our ancestors – the African peoples whose blood, sweat and tears fertilized the plantation south, Jim Crow segregation, Ku Klux-Klan terror and the economic exploitation of the poor, we can identify closely with the people's cause in southern Africa."³⁷ With personal connections and stakes in an issue occurring in South Africa, many youth activists were able to advocate more passionately. Since apartheid was a form of racism, demanding universities to completely divest and holding them accountable were ways to promote racial justice in the United States.

The personal connection was stronger for Black students as they could often relate with Black South Africans through a shared experience of facing systems of oppression. Through the article "Why the silence?" in *The Hilltop*, Howard University student Raymond H. Brouhn reminded other Black students of this attachment, saying "The struggle of our brothers and sisters in South Africa should touch the heart and soul of all Blacks all over the world. We as [Black] students must take a stand."³⁸ Black South Africans and Americans were described as a family because of their common ancestors and the land of origin, and this close, figurative relationship implies that many Black people believed they had a moral obligation to support each other. Moreover, on December 10, 1965, Dr. King proclaimed in his speech, "Appeals for Action against Apartheid," at Hunter College, "American Negro is giving moral leadership and inspiration to his nation, he must find the resources to aid his suffering brothers in his ancestral homeland. Nor is this aid a one-way street. The civil rights movement in the United States has derived immense inspiration from the successful struggles of those Africans who have attained freedom in their own nations."³⁹ Despite the difference in nationality and being an ocean apart, Black South Africans' and Americans' skin color made them targets of exploitation and

³⁷ Ibid., 27.

³⁸ Raymond H Brouhn, "Why the Silence?", January 25, 1985, pp. 4-4, https://dh.howard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1112&context=hilltop_198090.

³⁹ Martin Luther King Jr., "Appeal for Action against Apartheid" (speech, New York, December 10, 1965), Cheryl Johnson-Odim Collection, College Archives & Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=fsa>, 3.

discrimination. Therefore, a victory for Black people in one country was an accomplishment for the entire Black community, meaning that Black South Africans and Americans contributed to each other's achievements and were stakeholders in each other's movements. This Black solidarity, or Pan-Africanism, encouraged numerous Black students to fight for the larger goal of global Black emancipation and, therefore, against apartheid. In addition, since denying slaves in the United States their African culture was a way to psychologically oppress Black people, participating in the anti-apartheid movement could have been a way for Black Americans to rediscover their roots and further free themselves.⁴⁰

Beyond separateness, larger themes of justice, equality, and democracy attracted broader support for the anti-apartheid movement from groups of various races, cultures, and political ideologies.⁴¹ According to "Anti-apartheid Protest Gains Ground" in *The New York Times*, a sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley, Neal J. Smelser, declared "[apartheid] a motherhood issue,' ... meaning one that nearly everyone says he supports and that few dare to say they oppose."⁴² Apartheid could have been a motherhood issue as it enabled youth activists to not only fight for equality in South Africa but also for a more just global movement, the United States, and the future.

The United States prided itself on being a champion of democracy and equality. But President Carter and President Reagan's constructive foreign policy portrayed the United States' support of governments, like the South African White regime, that violated democracy, equality, and basic human rights.⁴³ Getting the United States government to economically isolate South Africa would help promote peace and justice in both South Africa and the United States, perhaps even restoring the United States' reputation. Participating in the anti-apartheid movement would also empower students who were once stereotyped as apathetic to "[lay] the foundation for a new student movement [dedicated to the principles of peace, justice, equality, social progress and development for all humanity] so vitally needed in the

⁴⁰ King, "Appeal for Action against Apartheid," 3.

⁴¹ Rasky, "Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground;"

United Nations Centre against Apartheid, "United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters," 26.

⁴² Rasky, "Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground;"

⁴³ In addition to forming a constructive policy, President Reagan vetoed the

Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act, which imposed sanctions against South Africa.

Congress ultimately overrode the president's veto in 1986;

United Nations Centre against Apartheid, "United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters," 26.

country today.”⁴⁴ This role in “building long-term and broad-based coalitions for peace and justice” was, according to Jennings and other students, their generation’s greatest contribution.⁴⁵ Thus, the anti-apartheid movement involved people who were interested in creating such an impact and fighting for justice, equality, and democracy broadly.

Although the fight against apartheid brought a diverse group of people together, the speeches also reflect that apartheid created further political tension between liberals and conservatives. Three of the nineteen students described right-wing students destroying anti-apartheid shantytowns. Specifically, several “right-wing ‘vigilantes’” firebombed a shantytown at John Hopkins University, setting it aflame and almost murdering the occupants.⁴⁶ Additionally, according to a Harvard University student Douglas C. Rossinow, “[the Harvard anti-apartheid movement was not that ideologically diverse ... As far as I know, I was the only one in the group who had voted for [President] Reagan.”⁴⁷ President Reagan’s election in 1981 reflected the growth of neoconservative ideology in addition to a culture of apathy because of the unprecedented low voter turnout.⁴⁸ This lack of political diversity went beyond Harvard University, as Professor Smelser explained, “The anti-apartheid movement was both a reaction to and a reflection of the conservative political environment in which it has emerged.”⁴⁹

Even though some student representatives described right-wing students as opponents, multiple conservative students, like Rossinow, were involved in the anti-apartheid movement. “Anti-apartheid Protest Gains Ground” states, “[anti-apartheid movement had] won support from a band of young Republican conservatives who [saw] the apartheid issue as an important opportunity to strike a new tone for their party.” Therefore, providing a political motive, the political landscape impacted the movement’s support system: apartheid was a problem that awakened people who were branded as apathetic to respond to the rise of conservatism and continuing injustices as well as allowed conservatives

⁴⁴ Rasky, “Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground;” United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 27, 38.

⁴⁶ “Bail Set in Hopkins Bombing,” May 27, 1986, National edition, sec. B, <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/27/us/bail-set-in-hopkins-bombing.html>; United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 16.

⁴⁷ George and Kaufman, “Students Protest Investment in Apartheid South Africa.”

⁴⁸ “Conservatism and the ‘Reagan Revolution,’” accessed July 27, 2020, https://saylordotorg.github.io/text_a-history-of-the-united-states-vol-2/s16-01-conservatism-and-the-reagan-re.html.

⁴⁹ Rasky, “Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground.”

to rebrand themselves, maybe even dividing conservatives.⁵⁰ Overall, even though apartheid was repulsive enough to have youth activists care about it, the issue's ability to easily be interlinked to American problems and motifs and benefit both sides of the political spectrum helped it become a more popular topic among youth activists.

Impact

Approximately a decade later, in 1994, apartheid was abolished, and Nelson Mandela became the first Black president of a democratized South Africa.⁵¹ American anti-apartheid divestment movements on campuses were pivotal to this success. Highlighting the contributions of student activists, Archbishop Tutu said, "Students played a leading role in that struggle, and I write these words of encouragement for student divestment efforts cognizant that it was students who played a pioneering role in advocating equality in South Africa and promoting corporate ethical and social responsibility to end complicity in apartheid."⁵² Continuous protests often convinced university administrations to divest partially or completely. The largest university divestment occurred in July 1986 when the University of California Regents agreed to divest \$3.1 billion from companies that were in business with the South African government.⁵³ *The Washington Post* added, "According to antiapartheid organizations, 109 other schools have voted to divest \$558 million," meaning that by mid-August 1986 111 schools divested about \$3.6 billion.⁵⁴ These divestments added to the pressure on American corporations in South Africa by making it more expensive to function there, further persuading them to disinvest, which would damage the South African economy. From a moral standpoint, many students were successful at holding their universities accountable.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "The End of Apartheid," US Department of State (US Department of State), accessed July 27, 2020, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/pcw/98678.htm>.

⁵² Timber Grey Beening, "From Sitting In to Camping Out: Student Protest, Shanties, and the Struggle against Apartheid South Africa Public Deposited" (honors thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2017), <https://core.ac.uk/reader/210595364>, 83.

⁵³ "How Students Helped End Apartheid," University of California, May 4, 2018, <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/how-students-helped-end-apartheid>.

⁵⁴ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, "United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters," 46.

⁵⁵ Cecelie Counts, "Divestment Was Just One Weapon in Battle against Apartheid," *New York Times*, January 27, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/01/27/is-divestment-an-effective-means-of-protest/divestment-was-just-one-weapon-in-battle-against-apartheid>.

However, since the total amount of money American investors divested from 1970 to 1988 was \$55 billion, meaning that slightly less than 10 percent of the money came from universities, calling for divestment was more useful in drawing attention to the issue of apartheid than economically isolating South Africa.⁵⁶ Student divestment campaigns attracted substantial media coverage, increasing national and international consciousness and political discussions about apartheid. This ability to augment awareness was critical in ending apartheid as the campaigns “sparked state and municipal divestment efforts affecting billions in holdings linked to South Africa” and “helped create a national climate against United States complicity with apartheid,” influencing policies.⁵⁷

Black students were crucial to the anti-apartheid movement on and off campuses, often leading protests. In fact, according to the national student coordinator of ACOA Joshua Nessen, “proportionate to the student body, Black students have been more heavily involved in direct action protests than White activists.”⁵⁸ But in many university anti-apartheid movements, there was less Black participation in direct action protests, like the construction of shanties, than that of White people.⁵⁹ In fact, at the University of North Carolina, the anti-apartheid organization went from being Black dominated to White-led with primarily White membership.⁶⁰ This drastic transformation was not because of a loss of interest but because of racial inequalities at universities and the insensitivities of White members of the movement. Specifically, Black students were a minority in White-dominated institutions, putting them in a vulnerable position.⁶¹ They were often excluded implicitly and explicitly by White student coalitions who “turned an insensitively deaf ear to the concerns, suggestions, analyses, and leadership of the students

⁵⁶ Beeninga, “From Sitting in to Camping Out: Student Protest, Shanties, and the Struggle against Apartheid South Africa Public Deposited,” 82; “Divestment as an Activist Strategy,” *Divestment for Humanity The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World)*, accessed July 12, 2020, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/legacies-of-the-movement--1987/divestment-as-an-activist-stra>.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁹ Beeninga, “From Sitting in to Camping Out: Student Protest, Shanties, and the Struggle against Apartheid South Africa Public Deposited,” 68.

⁶⁰ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 34.

⁶¹ ACOA was a multiracial nonprofit that advocated for social justice in Africa, including the end of apartheid; United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 6.

of African descent to cultivate and court the support of the White liberal student population,” leading to the decrease of Black participants in the shanty building.⁶²

Even though student activists sometimes perpetuated racism, the anti-apartheid movements even made some activists, including the student representative of the University of North Carolina at the special committee, aware of racial injustice on their campuses and movements.⁶³ Because of the anti-apartheid movement’s connection to Black internationalism and the themes of separateness, justice, and equality, the anti-apartheid movement was more diverse than past social movements. In addition to “[popularizing] divestment as an activist strategy,” the anti-apartheid movement acted as a model for future multi-ethnic and multi-racial student movements dedicated to fighting for justice and human rights globally, influencing modern-day youth activism, like perhaps in the Black Lives Matter movement.⁶⁴

George Floyd Solidarity Protests in South Africa (2020)

Decades after the end of apartheid, in June 2020, Black people all around South Africa joined the Black Lives Matter movement, protesting George Floyd’s murder. Despite possessing differences in culture, location, and language, Black Americans and South Africans connected through the themes of separateness, equality, and justice.⁶⁵ Even though apartheid and legalized segregation had concluded, racial inequality and injustice persist in manifestations like police brutality. According to Solomzi Henry Moleketi, a protester at the US Consulate in Johannesburg, “The experience of police brutality is something extremely common to the Black South African experience.”⁶⁶ These common experiences and struggles for equality, justice, and Black freedom encouraged Black South Africans to stand in solidarity with

⁶² Beeninga, “From Sitting in to Camping Out: Student Protest, Shanties, and the Struggle against Apartheid South Africa Public Deposited,” 69.

⁶³ United Nations Centre against Apartheid, “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters,” 34.

⁶⁴ “Broader Legacies and Conclusions,” *Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World)*, accessed July 12, 2020, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/legacies-of-the-movement--1987/conclusion>; “Divestment as an Activist Strategy.”

⁶⁵ Vivien Chang, “Black Lives Matter Now Represents America’s Best Ambassadors,” *Washington Post*, June 8, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/08/black-lives-matter-is-now-americas-best-ambassador/>.

⁶⁶ Brown, “An Ocean Apart, Similar Stories: US Protests Hit Home in South Africa.”

Black Americans as well as fight for their rights in South Africa.⁶⁷ Tumi Moloto, a South African graduate of Mt. Holyoke College, explained, “We can and we should be outraged for both the United States and for ourselves. ... It’s not either/or. We can hold both those things in our conscience.”⁶⁸ Overall, both the anti-apartheid and Black Lives Matter movements demonstrate that Pan-African unity and support make movements more powerful and impactful.

Conclusion

Youth activism, especially in the Black Lives Matter movement, has been critical in fighting systemic racism persisting today.⁶⁹ Understanding successful grassroots movements, like the anti-apartheid movement on college campuses, and the power of Pan-African solidarity, can inform today’s youth activists on how to better fight racial injustices. Additionally, researching the significance of youth activism in the anti-apartheid movement is important to grasp how apartheid came to an end. Unlike the work of numerous historians, this research evaluates the motives and impact of youth activists, using youth movements as a lens through which to better understand the complexities of the larger anti-apartheid movement. While it does cover the role of youth activists with the limited amount of declassified information, more work is still needed on the role of women and the impact of religious institutions and counter-movements against the anti-apartheid to completely understand the success of the American anti-apartheid movement.

⁶⁷ Ibid.; Chang, “Black Lives Matter Now Represents America’s Best Ambassadors.”

⁶⁸ Brown, “An Ocean Apart, Similar Stories: US Protests Hit Home in South Africa.”

⁶⁹ Christopher Rim, “How Student Activism Shaped the Black Lives Matter Movement,” *Forbes*, June 4, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/christopherrim/2020/06/04/how-student-activism-shaped-the-black-lives-matter-movement/#1d3a0d054414>.

Bibliography

Adi, Hakim, and Sherwood, Marika. *Pan-African History*. London: Routledge, 2003.

“Apartheid in South Africa.” Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago. Michigan in the World. Accessed July 12, 2020.
<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

Badrinath, Asha. “Coalition Will Set Up Campus Shantytown.” *Columbia Spectator*. March 19, 1986.
<http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19860319-01.2.3&srpos=28&e=-----en-20--21--txt-txIN-anti%252Dapartheid----->.

“Bail Set in Hopkins Bombing.” *New York Times*, May 27, 1986, National edition, sec. B.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/27/us/bail-set-in-hopkins-bombing.html>.

Baraka, Ajamu. “What Is African/Black Internationalism?” The Black Alliance for Peace. The Black Alliance for Peace, November 2, 2017.
<https://blackallianceforpeace.com/newsletter/internationalism>.

Beach, David. *Divestment Protest at Harvard University*. Photograph. April 24, 1978. Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections. African Activist Archives.
<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-666>.

Beeninga, Timber Grey. “From Sitting into Camping Out: Student Protest, Shanties, and the Struggle against Apartheid South Africa Public Deposited.” honors thesis. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2017. <https://core.ac.uk/reader/210595364>.

“Broader Legacies and Conclusions,” Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,
<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/legacies-of-the-movement--1987/conclusion>.

Brouhn, Raymond H. “Why the Silence?” *Hilltop*. January 25, 1985.

https://dh.howard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1112&context=hilltop_198090.

Brown, Ryan Lenora. "An Ocean Apart, Similar Stories: US Protests Hit Home in South Africa." *Christian Science Monitor*, June 8, 2020.

<https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2020/0608/An-ocean-apart-similar-stories-US-protests-hit-home-in-South-Africa>.

Cadambi, Anjali. Global Nonviolent Action Database. Swarthmore College, September 19, 2010.

<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/harvard-university-community-campaigns-divestment-apartheid-south-africa-1977-1989>.

"Campus Anti-Apartheid Movements before Soweto," Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,

<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

Chang, Vivien. "Black Lives Matter Now Represents America's Best Ambassadors." *Washington Post*, June 8, 2020.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/08/black-lives-matter-is-now-americas-best-ambassador/>.

"Conservatism and the 'Reagan Revolution.'" Accessed July 27, 2020.

https://saylordotorg.github.io/text_a-history-of-the-united-states-vol-2/s16-01-conservatism-and-the-reagan-re.html.

Counts, Cecelie. "Divestment Was Just One Weapon in Battle against Apartheid." *New York Times*, January 27, 2013.

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/01/27/is-divestment-an-effective-means-of-protest/divestment-was-just-one-weapon-in-battle-against-apartheid>.

Dartmouth Shanties, photograph, November 17, 1985, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College Library (African Activist Archives, accessed July 12, 2020),

<https://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-642>.

"Divestment as an Activist Strategy," Divestment for Humanity The

Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020,

<https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits>

/show/exhibit/legacies-of-the-movement--1987/divestment-as-an-activist-stra.

“The End of Apartheid.” US Department of State. US Department of State. Accessed July 27, 2020.

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/pcw/98678.htm>.

George, Michael C, and David W Kaufman. “Students Protest Investment in Apartheid South Africa.” *Harvard Crimson*, May 23, 2012.

<https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2012/5/23/Protest-Divestment-Apartheid/>.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Use of the Past.” *Journal of American History* (2005).

“A History of Apartheid in South Africa.” South African History Online (SAHO). Accessed July 12, 2020.

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa>.

History.com Editors. “Apartheid.” History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 7, 2010.

<https://www.history.com/topics/africa/apartheid>.

“How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody.” *New York Times*, May 31, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>.

“How Students Helped End Apartheid.” University of California, May 4, 2018.

<https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/how-students-helped-end-apartheid>.

Hsia, Lisa. *Harvard University Students Picketing around University Hall*.

Photograph. April 28, 1978. Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections. African Activist Archives.

<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-663>.

_____, *No Harvard \$ for Apartheid*. Photograph. April 28, 1978.

Harvard-Radcliffe Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (Cindy Ruskin collection), Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections. African Activist Archives.

<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-667>.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. "Appeal for Action against Apartheid." Speech, New York, December 10, 1965. Cheryl Johnson-Odim Collection, College Archives & Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago. <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=fsa>.

Morgan, Eric J. "His Voice Must be Heard: Dennis Brutus, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Struggle for Political Asylum in the United States." *PEACE & CHANGE: A Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 3 (July 2015): 368-394.

_____. "The World is Watching: Polaroid and South Africa." *Oxford University Press* 7, no. 3 (June 2006): 520-529.

Nesbitt, Francis Njubi. *Race for Sanctions*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Rasky, Susan F. "Anti-Apartheid Protest Gains Ground." *New York Times*, September 15, 1985, National edition, sec. 1. <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/15/world/anti-apartheid-protest-gains-ground.html>.

Rim, Christopher. "How Student Activism Shaped the Black Lives Matter Movement." *Forbes*, June 4, 2020. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/christopherrim/2020/06/04/how-student-activism-shaped-the-black-lives-matter-movement/#1d3a0d054414>.

"The Sharpeville Massacre, 1960," Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

"The Soweto Uprising, 1976," Divestment for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Chicago (Michigan in the World), accessed July 12, 2020, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/apartheid-in-south-africa>.

Stevens, Simon. "'From the Viewpoint of a Southern Governor': The Carter Administration and Apartheid, 1977-81." *Journal of the Historians for American Foreign Relations* 36, no. 5 (November 2012): 843-880.

“Successful Activism.” *Michigan Daily*, June 20, 1986.

Thompson, Leonard. *A History of South Africa*. 3rd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

United Nations Centre against Apartheid. “United States Student Movement against Apartheid: Hearings at United Nations Headquarters.” September 1986.

<http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1702-84-UN%20december%201986.pdf>.

United Press International. “Soweto Uprising Recalled.” *New York Times*, June 17, 1986, sec. A.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/06/17/world/soweto-uprising-recalled.html>.

Vinson, Robert Trent. *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012.

Williams, Carla D. “Anti-Apartheid Victory.” *Harvard Crimson*, May 13, 1985. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1985/5/13/anti-apartheid-victory-pbbblack-south-africans-under/>.

_____. *Harvard University Students Picketing around University Hall*. Photograph. Cambridge, 1978.

<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/image.php?objectid=32-131-667>.

Vox Populi-Vox Diaboli: The Inception of the Movement for Chinese Exclusion

Jason Zhao '22
Mercer Island High School
Washington, USA

Abstract

Between 1849 and 1882, the Chinese community in America suffered under persecution that was unique in both its virulence and scale. They were lynched, oppressively taxed, and denied basic civil liberties, among them the right to due process and equal opportunity. Some scholars have attributed this discrimination to culture shock, arguing that the contrast between Chinese and Anglo-Saxon customs was an inevitable source of conflict. The Chinese were indeed an alien presence, and their dress, cuisine, and speech were unfamiliar or even repugnant to many Americans. Yet, considering the larger context of nineteenth-century immigration, in which all foreigners – especially Italian and Irish immigrants – were seen as directly antagonistic to Protestant “American” sensibilities, cultural differences alone cannot explain why the Chinese were singled out for exclusion four decades before any other migrant population. In reality, widespread anti-Chinese sentiment was not the organic product of cultural tensions, but the deliberate creation of opportunistic politicians who scapegoated the Chinese for the economic woes of Californians and the nation at large in the wake of the Gold Rush and the Long Depression. This paper traces the development of the anti-Chinese movement in California, demonstrating how public figures consciously incited a xenophobic fervor to garner political support, extend their influence, and consolidate their power.

Background

While the first account of Californian gold in Chinese newspapers is dated August 1850, news of the 1848 discovery at Sutter's Mill likely reached China significantly earlier.¹ Information spread fast by way of the Canton steamships, which carried essential supplies back and forth across the Pacific, and US newspapers documented Chinese arrivals as early as October 1848.² Just a few months after the initial discovery of gold in California, China's Pearl River Delta was ablaze with rumors of Gam Saan, the Golden Mountain.

Contrary to what established narratives of Chinese exclusion would suggest, the Chinese were well-received upon their arrival by the contemporary press, which portrayed them as "industrious, honest, and shrewd people."³ In 1852, the Governor of California, John McDougal, praised Chinese migrants as "one of the most worthy classes of [California's] newly adopted citizens."⁴ Even *The New York Times*, which would eventually take to calling the Chinese "rat-tailed coolies," begrudgingly admitted their hardiness and dedication.⁵

This positive portrayal was almost certainly due to observers' recognition of the necessity of Chinese labor. In 1853, William Speer, a prominent Protestant minister, highlighted the importance of Asian immigrants when he wrote that "the 'toiling millions of Europe' ... that have built our railroads, dug our canals, [and] tunneled our mountains ... are barred by mountains and seas from this remote West."⁶ The fervor over gold only exacerbated existing labor problems; when every man had the opportunity to strike it rich in the gold mines, few were willing to serve in other occupations.⁷ Stores were chronically understaffed and the service economy was nearly nonexistent.⁸ Chinese laborers took on these stable positions, filling jobs that white miners had left behind.

¹ "Port of Shanghae," *The North China Herald*, August 3, 1850, ProQuest American Periodicals Series.

² "Marine Intelligence," *The Californian*, October 21, 1848, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³ "The Chinese in America," *The Sun*, Aug 11, 1852, Readex America's Historical Newspapers.

⁴ "Governor McDougal's Message," *Daily Alta California*, January 8, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

⁵ "China-men in America." *New York Daily Times*, June 9, 1852, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1852/06/09/archives/chinamen-in-america.html>.

⁶ William Speer, *China and California* (San Francisco: s.n., 1853), 12-23.

⁷ Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 255-257.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

Even as politicians and businessmen recognized the need for new laborers, the appearance of Chinese migrants sparked tensions, especially among working-class Californians. Even though there were only some 16,000 Chinese residents throughout the state and many chose not to enter the mines, native miners lived in perpetual fear that Chinese competition would force them out of the most valuable claims.^{9,10} Public images caricatured the Chinese “Coolie” (which invited comparisons to African slaves) and circulated allegations that the Chinese were stealing American resources.¹¹ Xenophobic friction was the inevitable result.

These tensions reached a boiling point in 1851, when – seeing that California’s economy was outpacing the available labor pool – Senator George Tingley introduced a bill to the California Legislature to secure a greater, more reliable flow of Chinese labor. Under this legislation, Chinese laborers would receive passage from China to California in return for ten years of indentured service.¹² Tingley’s initial measure did not pass, but a more moderate (and less publicized) version that cut the contract period in half did.

Observers wrongly predicted relative indifference to the passing of the measure.¹³ The citizens of California were incensed: Sacramento residents assembled before City Hall, miner committees passed anti-Chinese legislation, and over a hundred Chinese miners were lynched by an American group near the Yuba River under the pretense that they had purposefully sought to disturb the American miners.¹⁴ The press further fanned the flames, which had “long been silent as to the doings of the legislature” but now “opened in full cry against the contract labor law.”¹⁵

Recognizing the obvious and untapped political potential of this uproar, opportunists began to use caricatured ideas of Chinese immigrants both to create a bogeyman and to spread the long-standing

⁹ “Statistics of Population, &c: Immigration to the United States,” *The Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* 35, no. 2 (August 1856): 251, accessed November 2, 2019, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/5733/item/577163?start_page=106.

¹⁰ “The Chinese in California,” *New York Observer and Chronicle*, July 8, 1869, ProQuest American Periodicals Series.

¹¹ Edlie L Wong, *Racial Reconstruction: Black Inclusion, Chinese Exclusion, and the Fictions of Citizenship* (New York: New York UP, 2015), 69-70.

¹² “Legislative Intelligence,” *Daily Alta California*, March 10, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹³ “The Introduction of Labor upon Contracts,” *Daily Alta California*, March 13, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹⁴ “Difficulties with the Chinese,” *Daily Alta California*, May 14, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹⁵ “The Labor Contract Law,” *Daily Alta California*, March 21, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

racial hatred whites held for African-Americans to encompass the Chinese.¹⁶ The association between the two groups became so strong that when the Supreme Court of California voted to restrict the legal rights of the Chinese in the state, it was not by ruling on pre-existing local injunctions, but by extending a law restricting the rights of African Americans to include the Chinese.¹⁷ The Tingley Bill was a watershed for the then-nascent anti-Chinese movement. The popular response to the proposed legislation not only highlighted the growing sense among white Californians that Chinese immigrants posed a threat to their privileged social and economic position but also that such sentiments could be exploited for political gain.

Bigler and Early Exclusionary Efforts

The legislative and popular responses to Chinese migration in 1851 were a prologue for the decades to come, starting with the election of Governor Bigler. Although known today as an anti-Chinese crusader, he rarely addressed Chinese immigration in his early political career.¹⁸ He won the governorship by promising to restrict the power of mining interests; his statements at the beginning of his first term mentioned the Chinese only in passing. As his re-election campaign gained momentum, however, Bigler adopted a more aggressive stance against Chinese immigration. Hoping to secure the support of a burgeoning anti-Chinese coalition, he began echoing their talking points on Chinese miners and the Chinese presence in general. A mere three months after his second inauguration, he delivered a racially charged speech calling for the restriction of the Chinese from mining operations, describing them as a horde and emphasizing his “conviction that, to enhance the prosperity and to preserve the tranquility of the State, measures must be adopted to check the tide of Asiatic immigration.”¹⁹

While it can be assumed that he held a certain degree of innate animosity towards the Chinese, Bigler was motivated in large measure by the potential political capital associated with xenophobia. His transformation from moderate social reformer to anti-Chinese firebrand over the course of one year is striking, indicating less a shift in his fundamental convictions than a profound change in the political winds. Whether he believed in it or not, Bigler’s rhetoric was enormously

¹⁶ Wong, *Racial Reconstruction*, 71-73.

¹⁷ *People v. Hall*, 4 Cal 399 (1854).

¹⁸ John Bigler, “First Inaugural Address” (speech), January 8, 1852, The Governor’s Gallery, California State Library, accessed October 15, 2019, <https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/03-bigler01.html>.

¹⁹ John Bigler, “To the Senate and Assembly of the State of California,” in *Journal of the Senate of the State of California* (San Francisco: Fitch Co. & Geiger Co., 1852), 373.

influential. Before this time, anti-Chinese opinions had been used as a litmus test on the part of native miners for political candidates, but Bigler's racially motivated attacks came from the very top of the state apparatus.²⁰ His speeches paved the way for a league of anti-Chinese politicians in the State Assembly, who, in 1852, released a widely distributed report advocating for the protection of the "American miner in his rights, immunities, and interests."²¹ It went even further than the governor, recommending not just the restriction, but the prohibition of "all foreigners ... who may hereafter arrive in our state, from working in the mines," except "Europeans, or those of European descent."²²

In response, the Foreign Miners' License Tax was revived, which opened the floodgates for a series of increasingly draconian bills, ranging from crushing taxes to the complete prohibition of Chinese mining. It quickly became apparent that the legislature need not have bothered; nearly every mine in California had instituted some form of exclusion against the Chinese, and disgruntled white miners formed "vigilance committees" to enforce such mine-specific bans.²³ These "committees" were often thinly veiled lynch mobs, with countless Chinese suffering under them. Conflicts intensified when, in 1854, yields from mines throughout California began to decrease.²⁴ Unemployed white miners flooded into the cities where they found a convenient outlet for their troubles in the Chinese who had already been left defenseless by the Supreme Court of California's decision that same year that they could not testify against whites in court.²⁵

Short of passing direct exclusion measures, the State Legislature and Governor Bigler soon resorted to "exclusion by taxation." From 1855 onwards, the Legislature annually raised the Foreign Miners' Tax by two dollars per month.²⁶ By 1856, the tax began to force Chinese miners out of the industry en masse. Businesses howled over the lack of

²⁰ Mark Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 783, accessed September 14, 2019, www.jstor.org/stable/3875017.

²¹ California State Legislature, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly*, 3rd sess. (San Francisco: State prt., 1852), 668.

²² Ibid.

²³ "News of the Fortnight," *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1852, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

²⁴ Rodman W. Paul, "The Origin of the Chinese Issue in California," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25, no. 2 (1938): 193-195, accessed September 10, 2019, www.jstor.org/stable/1896498.

²⁵ *People v. Hall*, 4 Cal 399 (1854).

²⁶ "An Act to Amend 'An Act to Provide for the Protection of Foreigners, and to Define Their Liabilities and Privileges,' passed March thirtieth, eighteen hundred and fifty-three," *Statutes of California* (San Francisco, Fitch and Geiger, 1855), 216-221.

consumers and the state's coffers began to dry up, ending further tax increases.²⁷

The Legislature, coaxed by an intensely anti-Chinese constituency of miners, continued the pursuit of Chinese restriction and repression. In 1852, the State required merchant captains either to pay a \$500 bond for each "alien" passenger aboard their ships or a fee ranging from \$10 to \$50 per passenger upon arrival. This bill, of course, was a thinly veiled Head Tax, as no captain would be willing to pay the \$500 bond.²⁸ In 1855, the Legislature decided to do away with any pretense and impose a Head Tax of \$50 on each "alien" passenger arriving in California.²⁹ Finally, in its *coup de grace*, the California Legislature voted in 1858 for the passage of the historic "Act to Prevent the Further Immigration of Chinese or Mongolians to This State."³⁰ All such laws were eventually struck down by the California Supreme Court.

Though the Court tempered the actual impact of the intensely anti-Chinese legislatures of 1852-1858, its actions hinted at the nature of the negative cycle that enabled the exclusionary movement to grow exponentially. Mild grievances were exploited by politicians to garner popular support, which led their constituents to become more radically anti-Chinese, inspiring the politicians to again adopt more extreme positions. The incredible rapidity with which Californian political figures adopted exclusionary platforms and their dedication to stoking popular hatred of the Chinese allowed for a severe escalation in ethnic tensions: state politicians moved from calling for mining restrictions to imposing draconian taxes to prohibiting immigration completely over a mere six years. The Chinese community, in contrast, had largely remained the same in both scale and exposure to the white population throughout the period.

Stanford and the Effects of the Transcontinental Railroad

During the Civil War years, the Transcontinental Railroad began to take shape, and Chinese workers became crucial in the construction of

²⁷ "An Act to Repeal an Act entitled 'An Act to Amend "An Act to Provide for the Protection of Foreigners, and to Define Their Liabilities and Privileges,"' passed March 30th, 1853, Approved April 30th, 1855, and to Revise the Original Act," *Statutes of California* (San Francisco: Fitch and Geiger, 1856), 140.

²⁸ "An Act Concerning Passengers Arriving in the Ports of the State of California." *Statutes of California* (San Jose: Winchester, 1852), 78-83.

²⁹ "An Act to Discourage the Immigration to this State of Persons who Cannot Become Citizens thereof," *Statutes of California* (San Francisco: Fitch & Geiger, 1855), 194-95.

³⁰ "California Laws." *Statutes of California* (San Francisco: O'Meara, 1858), 295-296.

its western reaches. The Central Pacific Railroad Company initially only hired white laborers, but with the ongoing war sapping pre-existing labor pools, they were forced to turn to Chinese laborers. The Chinese proved themselves to be diligent workers, which, when added to the fact that they were significantly cheaper, made them desirable as railroad laborers. Of the four thousand laborers working on the twelve-mile stretch of rail near Colfax, for example, “one-tenth were Irish, the rest Chinese ... The rugged mountains ... swarmed with Celestials, shoveling, wheeling, carting, drilling and blasting rocks and earth.”³¹

The political landscape in California had shifted dramatically since the days of Governor Bigler, resulting in the governorship of Leland Stanford in 1862. Like Bigler, Stanford took a strong public stance against Chinese immigration. In his first gubernatorial address in 1862, he decried the “settlement among [white Californians] of an inferior race” and claimed that “Asia, with her numberless millions, sends to [Californian] shores the dregs of her population.”³² While Bigler merely hinted at Chinese exclusion, Stanford directly advocated for “any constitutional action, having for its object the repression of the immigration of the Asiatic races,” whom he described as a “degraded and distinct people ... exercising a deleterious influence upon the superior race.”³³

Discrimination, from the very beginning, was rampant among railway workers, even in a labor force that, at times, was overwhelmingly Chinese. As president of the Central Pacific, however, Stanford went to great lengths to exacerbate this division. Archaeological evidence shows that a racial hierarchy was strictly enforced. White laborers, mostly Irish or Cornish, were given priority in housing, while the Chinese occupied the most undesirable parts of the camp, near the lavatory or other unpleasant locales.³⁴ The Chinese were also deliberately paid less, in some cases receiving only seventy percent of the wage given to their white counterparts.³⁵ Not only did this measure save Stanford and the railroad significant sums of money in and of itself, but it also inspired

³¹ Albert Deane Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: from the Great River to the Great Ocean Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1867), 462.

³² Leland Stanford, “Inaugural Address” (speech), January 10, 1862, The Governor’s Gallery, California State Library, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/08-Stanford.html>.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Gordon H Chang, *Ghosts of Gold Mountain: The Epic Story of the Chinese Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Mariner Books, 2019), 141.

³⁵ Gordon H Chang, *Ghosts of Gold Mountain: The Epic Story of the Chinese Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Mariner Books, 2019), 73.

jealousy on the part of the Chinese towards their white peers and a greater sense of superiority on the part of said white peers towards the Chinese, powerful motivations for conflict. Stanford and the board hoped that their employees would be so concerned with petty squabbles fueled by ethnic tension that they would have neither the time nor the strength to protest for greater wages or better conditions. The Chinese were too essential to the construction effort for the Central Pacific to impose more significant injustices, but the railroad leadership certainly encouraged existing discriminatory practices.

Despite the pivotal role Chinese laborers played in the construction of the Transcontinental, the work rarely provided a stable future for migrants. The independent labor brokers or brokerages that provided the Central Pacific with its 50,000-strong workforce did so mostly under temporary contracts.³⁶ The small number of long-term workers had no choice but to travel across America with the railroad, one piece of track at a time. Only a few workers were able to save enough money to leave it entirely.

With the completion of the First Transcontinental Railroad, railroad companies laid off thousands of workers, precipitating an economic crisis. Many laborers attempted to return to the mines, most of which were now run by mining corporations.³⁷ Compared to their more independent predecessors, they worked longer hours and under harsher conditions for lower wages. By the end of the 1860s, it was clear that even this status quo was unsustainable. Labor organizations with wildly different ideologies began to spring up across California, united by a desire for systemic reform and a romanticized version of early California where the independent miner, in the words of Henry George, “worked for himself, owned no master; worked when and only when he pleased.”³⁸

As might be expected, these sentiments soon turned against the Chinese. George himself attributed to them the disappearance of his “honest miner,” arguing that they were cohorts of the bourgeoisie and the physical manifestation of corporate abuses.³⁹ Such claims were

³⁶ Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 80.

³⁷ Rodman Wilson Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1970), 332.

³⁸ Henry George, “What the Railroad Will Bring Us,” *Overland Monthly*, 1, no. 4 (October 1868): 305, accessed November 4, 2019, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/ahj1472.1-01.004/*.

³⁹ Henry George, “The Chinese in California,” *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1869, *Chronicling America*.

baseless: Chinese workers were almost always paid significantly less than their white counterparts, and though they were the preferred workforce for many employers, they were neither subservient nor docile. Yet these accusations of corporate collaborationism provided an appealing front for the concern among the white working class about Chinese competition. Since corporations and mining collectives were large and powerful bodies towards whom opposition was seen as quixotic, the Chinese became a lightning rod for popular anger. Employers, meanwhile, were perfectly happy to set one group of employees against another.

By the 1860s, the Chinese had become the scapegoats of choice for a diverse range of political factions united only by their opposition to the community. Attempts by Chinese workers to push back against oppressive systems – such as a strike organized by thousands of Chinese workers along a two-mile stretch of the Donner Pass railroad in 1867 – only reinforced the hatred.⁴⁰ Labor leaders and government figures realized that the Chinese were invaluable enemies, pariahs seemingly purpose-built for advancing their causes and influence.

Political Machines and the Fallout of the Long Depression

1873 brought with it a crisis of catastrophic proportions. Major economies around the world either collapsed or entered into a deep depression, and unemployment in America rose as high as fourteen percent in 1876.⁴¹ The West Coast suffered additional trauma, as the already strained railroad and mining industries there collapsed. Businesses became insolvent in droves, wages cratered, and the leverage that laborers had so desperately fought for vanished, seemingly overnight.⁴²

With the Chinese occupying a significant share of the pre-Depression workforce, many of them now found themselves in dire economic straits. Monetary pressure and familial attachments encouraged them to begin establishing their businesses, which made them direct competitors of white capitalists and businessmen.⁴³ Unwittingly, the Chinese had given their opponents further economic rationalization for discrimination by entering into private business.

⁴⁰ Chang, *Ghosts of Gold Mountain*, 151.

⁴¹ Stanley Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record Since 1800* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 179.

⁴² Ira Brown Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), 70-71.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 84.

Whereas before industry leaders, primarily in food processing and manufacturing, held a vested interest in the survival of Chinese workers as low-cost labor and a bulwark against union action, they now turned against them.⁴⁴ The Chinese became the primary scapegoat among all social classes, at least in California, for the greatest economic disaster the US had faced since its founding apart from the Civil War.

The climax of the Long Depression coincided with the 1876 election, during which politicians drew heavily on anti-Chinese sentiment. Henry Haight, who won a crushing victory in the gubernatorial election, was bolstered by the Central Pacific Anti-Coolie Association, which included forty-five labor organizers among its fifty-two members.⁴⁵ Throughout his campaign, Haight and his allies pointedly conflated African Americans and Chinese residents, using discriminatory ideas about one group to attack the other by proxy. *The San Francisco Examiner* exemplified this in a tirade against the supposed “union of the purse and the sword, sought to be perpetuated through negro and Chinese votes,” arguing instead for “Democracy” through “a white man’s government.”⁴⁶ By 1876, Democrats on the national level offered arguments that were smacked of anti-Chinese populism, and the Republicans were quick to follow.⁴⁷

Californian Democrats pressured the State Senate to form a Committee on the Chinese in 1876. That April, Creed Howard, a Senator from the Eighteenth District, presented anti-Chinese resolutions that were unanimously adopted, including the appointment of five (later seven) senators to investigate “the number of Chinese in [California] and the effect their presence has upon the social and political condition of the State,” along with a “means of exclusion if such committee should be of the opinion that the presence of the Chinese element is detrimental to the interests of the country.”⁴⁸ Although the final report of this Committee recommended only the revision of the Burlingame Treaty, instead of the immediate request for Congressional action its proponents had demanded, the Committee’s development firmly cemented the Democratic Party as anti-Chinese crusaders.

⁴⁴ Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1995), 104.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴⁷ Donald Bruce Johnson, *National Party Platforms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 97.

⁴⁸ Creed Haymond and Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, *Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, And Political Effect* (Sacramento: F. P. Thompson, 1878), 128.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties contained men who, theoretically, should have been ardent supporters of the Chinese. Many Democrats were genuinely committed to improving the lives of the working man and the Republicans, even with the Great Compromise, still claimed to be advocates of universal human rights and equality. The reality was, however, that both parties had failed to produce the economic prosperity they had promised, and they needed a convenient way to redirect their constituents' anger. The presence of the Chinese offered the most powerful men in America the opportunity to absolve themselves of responsibility for their economic failures by inciting racial hatred as a distraction.

Kearney and a National Movement

By 1877, the once ironclad alliance between the Democrats and organized labor had failed. Due to the Long Depression, many of the gains laborers had made disappeared: the eight-hour workday became a mere paper guarantee and thousands of labor organizations across the state folded.⁴⁹ Labor lost faith in the Democrats' ability to further their cause, uniting instead under the banner of new homegrown entities, such as the Workingmen's Party of California. Led by the charismatic Denis Kearney, the party quickly gained traction among miners and industrial workers. Despite not being a member of the working class, Kearney advocated for its liberation.⁵⁰ Contrary to what might be expected of a labor organizer, however, his attacks against corporations were aimed not at poor practices or low wages, but at their employment of the Chinese. In his fiery orations, Kearney galvanized his Workingmen with his famous call, "The Chinese Must Go!" He roused party members by asking whether they were "ready to march down to the wharf and stop the leprous Chinamen from landing."⁵¹ In no uncertain terms, Kearney threatened various businesses around California with riots and even arson unless they discharged their Chinese employees. Even *The San Francisco Chronicle*, a supposedly Republican publication, was caught up in the Kearney fervor, and one of its writers secretly began writing speeches for him.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ira Brown Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), 66.

⁵⁰ Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, 117.

⁵¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 2:722.

⁵² "Labor's Legions," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 30, 1877, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/27607371/?terms=san%2Bfrancisco%2Bchronicle>.

Riding a wave of popular support, the Workingmen's Party stormed local offices across the state and swept several senatorial positions in a landslide election, becoming a major force in Californian politics.⁵³ It then united with its Democratic and Republican opponents in 1878 to call for a new Californian Constitution. The Convention itself was divided on almost all issues but one: fear of the Chinese. The centerpiece of the new Constitution thus became a series of clauses banning the Chinese from nearly all employment opportunities, public and private, along with giving the State government free rein to detain or deport them at will.⁵⁴

With the ratification of the 1879 Constitution, the long saga of the anti-Chinese movement in California reached its logical conclusion. With the Transcontinental Railroad now linking the East and West and communications technology advancing at a rapid rate, California no longer existed in a political vacuum. Decades of rhetoric emanating from the Golden State had already cemented the Chinese in the nationwide consciousness as a deleterious influence and this inspired nationwide legislators to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, setting the nation irrevocably down a dark path of xenophobia and hatred.

Conclusion

As a small immigrant community that lived largely in secluded enclaves, the Chinese seem, at first glance, to be unlikely targets for racial hatred on a national scale. Without the extraordinary circumstances present in California in the late 19th century, perhaps exclusion would never have been implemented. The consolidation of mining efforts by exploitative corporations, the eventual collapse of the mining industry, and the devastating effects of the longest depression in American history created a population that was destitute, confused, and angry. By presenting Chinese immigrants as a major force behind these economic disasters, public figures were able to distract the American people from larger institutional failures and hold sway over millions. The rhetoric of figures like Bigler and Haight, the manipulative practices of Stanford, and the demagoguery of Kearney all shaped distorted perspectives on the Chinese not just in California, but in the nation at large.

⁵³ Ralph Kauer, "The Workingmen's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review* 13, no. 3 (1944): 282. Accessed January 10, 2020. doi:10.2307/3635954.

⁵⁴ P. K. Stockton and E. B. Willis, *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, Convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday, September 28, 1878* (Sacramento: J. D. Young, 1880-81), 630-638.

In many ways, the experiences of the Chinese still haunt this nation. Though Chinese exclusion is often viewed as the inevitable result of tensions among different ethnic groups, the reality is that those in power consciously conjured and fostered these conflicts. As the US continues to grapple with its long legacy of racism and xenophobia, understanding and addressing such societal ills is a way to consider not just those who suffer under exclusionary practices, but also those who benefit from their creation.

Bibliography

- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *Popular Tribunals*. Vol 2. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
- Bigler, John. "First Inaugural Address." Speech. January 8, 1852. The Governor's Gallery, California State Library. Accessed October 15, 2019. <https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/03-bigler01.html>.
- _____. "To the Senate and Assembly of the State of California." In *Journal of the Senate of the State of California*, 373. San Francisco: Fitch Co. & Geiger Co., 1852.
- Botein, Barbara. "The Hennessy Case: An Episode in Anti-Italian Nativism." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 20, no. 3 (1979): 261-79. Accessed September 24, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4231912>.
- Chang, Gordon H. *Ghosts of Gold Mountain: The Epic Story of the Chinese Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad*. New York: Mariner Books, 2019.
- _____. "The Chinese and the Stanfords: Nineteenth-Century America's Fraught Relationship with the China Men." In *the Chinese and the Iron Road: Building the Transcontinental Railroad*, edited by Gordon H. Chang and Shelley Fishkin, 348-349. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2019.
- "China-men in America." *New York Daily Times*, June 9, 1852. Accessed November 4, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1852/06/09/archives/chinamen-in-america.html>
- "The Chinese in America." *The Sun*, Aug 11, 1852. Readex America's Historical Newspapers.
- "The Chinese in California." *New York Observer and Chronicle*, July 8, 1869. ProQuest American Periodicals Series.
- Chiu, Ping. *Chinese Labor in California*. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963.
- Coman, Katherine. *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*. New York: Macmillan, 1925.
- "Cong. Docs." *Democratic State Journal*, October 26, 1855. GenealogyBank Historical Documents & Records Archive.

Cross, Ira Brown. *A History of the Labor Movement in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935.

“Difficulties with the Chinese.” *Daily Alta California*, May 14, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.

_____, T. T. Cabaniss, Benjamin B. Redding, R. G. Reading, and Patrick Canney. “Report of the Committee on Mines and Mining Interests.” In Document 28, Appendix to *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly*. 4th sess. 3-6. San Francisco: George Kerr, 1853.

George, Henry. “The Chinese in California.” *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1869. Chronicling America.

_____. “What the Railroad Will Bring Us.” *Overland Monthly*, 1, no. 4 (October 1868): 297-306. Accessed November 4, 2019. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/ahj1472.1-01.004/*.

“Governor McDougal’s Message.” *Daily Alta California*, January 8, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.

Haymond, Creed and Special Committee on Chinese Immigration. *Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, And Political Effect*. Sacramento: F. P. Thompson, 1878.

Hoff, John J. and B. F. Myres. “Minority Report on Mines and Mining Interests.” In Document 28, Appendix to *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly*. 4th sess. 13-15. San Francisco: George Kerr, 1853.

“The Introduction of Labor Upon Contracts.” *Daily Alta California*, March 13, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.

Johnson, Donald Bruce. *National Party Platforms*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

Kanazawa, Mark. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. Accessed September 14, 2019. www.jstor.org/stable/3875017.

“The Labor Contract Law.” *Daily Alta California*, March 21, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.

Lebergott, Stanley. *Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record since 1800*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

- Lee, Erika. *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- “Legislative Intelligence.” *Daily Alta California*, March 10, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.
- “Marine Intelligence.” *The Californian*, October 21, 1848. California Digital Newspaper Collection.
- “News of the Fortnight.” *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1852. California Digital Newspaper Collection.
- Paul, Rodman W. “The Origin of the Chinese Issue in California.” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25, no. 2 (1938): 181–196. Accessed September 10, 2019. www.jstor.org/stable/1896498.
- _____. *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- “Port of Shanghae.” *The North China Herald*, August 3, 1850. ProQuest American Periodicals Series.
- Richardson, Albert Deane. *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast*. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1867.
- “Labor’s Legions.” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 30, 1877. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/27607371/?terms=san%2Bfrancisco%2Bchronicle>.
- Salyer, Lucy E. *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Sandmeyer, Elmer Clarence. *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California 1888-1971*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939.
- Saxton, Alexander. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1995.
- Soennichsen, John. *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2011.
- Speer, William. “*China and California*.” San Francisco: s.n., 1853.

Stanford, Leland. "Inaugural Address." Speech, January 10, 1862. The Governor's Gallery, California State Library. Accessed October 20, 2019. <https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/08-Stanford.html>.

State of California. *Statutes of California*. San Francisco: Fitch & Geiger, 1855 & 1856.

_____. *Statutes of California*. San Jose: Winchester, 1852.

_____. *Statutes of California*. San Francisco: O'Meara, 1858.

"Statistics of Population, &c: Immigration to the United States." *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 35, no. 2 (August 1856): 251-252. Accessed November 2, 2019. https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/5733/item/577163?start_page=106

Stockton, P. K. and E. B. Willis. *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, Convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday, September 28, 1878*. Sacramento: J. D. Young, 1880-81.

U.S. Census Bureau. "The Nativities of the Population of the United States." In *1850 Census of the United States*, xxvii. s.l.: s.n., 2016.

Wong, Edlie L. *Racial Reconstruction: Black Inclusion, Chinese Exclusion, and the Fictions of Citizenship*. New York: New York UP, 2015.

Kauer, Ralph. "The Workingmen's Party of California." *Pacific Historical Review* 13, no. 3 (Sept. 1944): 282. Accessed January 10, 2020. doi:10.2307/3635954.

