

56. Although the August 27, 1918, battle of Nogales was not triggered by German intrigues, espionage along the U.S.-Mexico border was a concern in the World War I years. See Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Sadler, *The Border and the Revolution* (Silver City, N.M.: High-Lonesome Books, 1990).

57. Secure Fence Act of 2006, Public Law 109-367, 109 Cong., 2 Sess. (October 26, 2006), <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp/> (accessed July 30, 2008).

58. Suárez Barnett, *Mi Historia*, p. 13. In late 1918, the U.S. Army took the noteworthy step of awarding participants in the battle of Ambos Nogales the Mexican Service Badge, a recognition previously bestowed on military personnel involved in the 1916-17 Punitive Expedition. This acknowledgment of "action against hostile Mexicans in Nogales, Arizona," gives weight to the contemporary importance of the fighting. James B. Potter to Adjutant General of the Army, November 29, 1918, Battle of Nogales 1918, PAHS.

59. Antonio Avitia Hernández, *Corrido Histórico Mexicano. Vol. 3: Voy a cantarles la historia, 1916-1924* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1998).

LEE WEE KWON

Chinese Grocer in Tucson, 1917-1965

by

Li Yang

ALTHOUGH ORAL TRADITIONS trace the earliest Chinese arrival in Tucson to the 1860s, the great majority of the Chinese came with construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880. They were mainly railroad workers or cooks working for the construction camps, and they continued largely in the same capacities as they settled in Tucson. In a short time, however, these early Chinese settlers became house servants or started laundries, eateries, and small shops. Some even prospected for gold.¹

Very soon after their arrival, many Chinese immigrants found it profitable to raise vegetables, and developed truck farms on rented land along the Santa Cruz River, which provided sufficient water in those days. At a later date, they also planted gardens near Fort Lowell and at Tanque Verde northeast of town. In the late 1800s, Chinese farmers were the only sources of fresh vegetables in the Tucson area. Some used horses and wagons to peddle their products door to door, but around 1890 a number of Chinese merchants, often relatives of farmers, opened stores, primarily to handle produce from the truck farms. The grocery business quickly became the mainstay of the Chinese community in Tucson. In 1938, the Chinese operated sixty grocery stores, ten restaurants and two laundries in the Old Pueblo; by 1950 the number of Chinese grocery stores had risen to one hundred fourteen.²

The 1968 Tucson Urban Renewal Project dealt a heavy blow to the Chinese grocery business, which relied heavily on the patronage of Hispanic clientele in the downtown area south of Congress and Broadway. With the demolition of the centuries-old Mexican

Li Yang graduated from the University of Arizona, in May 2004, with a Ph.D. in East Asian Studies. She is currently doing research on the history of the Chinese community in Tucson.

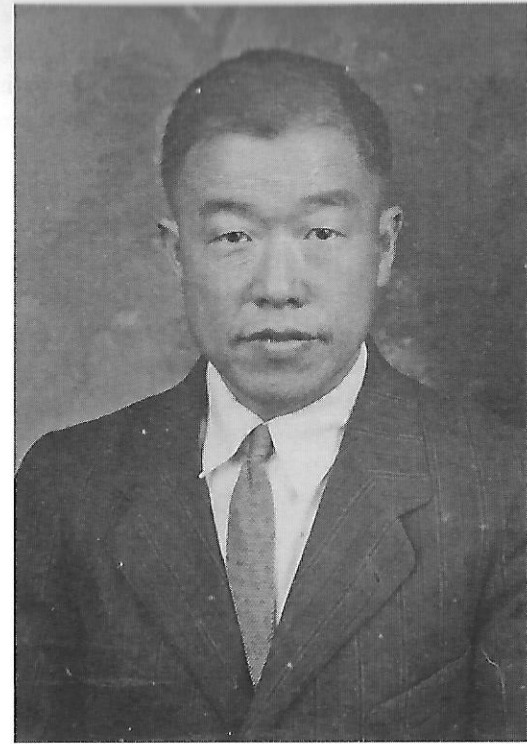
neighborhood at the heart of Tucson's business district, the Chinese grocery stores dispersed across the metropolitan area. By 1974, Tucson's Chinese groceries still numbered eighty. But, challenged by growing competition from nationally franchised chain stores and supermarkets, they were clearly on the endangered species list. By the turn of the twenty-first century, few people remembered that the Chinese had once dominated Tucson's grocery business. One of them, grocer Lee Wee Kwon (1878-1965), played a significant role in the development and growth of Chinese enterprise in Tucson.³

A Chinese Refugee from Revolutionary Mexico

Following Francisco "Pancho" Villa's March 9, 1916, raid on the American port of Columbus, New Mexico, Gen. John J. Pershing led a 10,000-man army into northern Mexico in pursuit of the revolutionary leader. When the American troops were unable to procure supplies from local residents, Chinese merchants seized the opportunity to provide food and provisions to Pershing's men. Some even joined the American column, fighting alongside the soldiers on at least one occasion. When Pershing withdrew from Mexico in February of 1917, some 527 Chinese, fearing Mexican retaliation, followed the Americans northward and, despite the provisions of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, entered the United States at Columbus, New Mexico.⁴

On June 7, 1917, more than 400 Chinese were sent by train from Columbus to Camp Wilson (later named Camp Travis) at Fort Sam Houston near San Antonio, Texas. Here the U.S. government employed them as "army wards," working as laborers, carpenters, cooks, and blacksmiths in support of mobilization for World War I. These Chinese workers remained confined at the military camp until 1921, when they were finally released by special federal legislation that allowed them to live and work freely anywhere in the United States, but not become citizens.⁵

Some of these refugees had been merchants in Mexico. With the assistance of William Tracy Page, a civilian advisor to the Chinese refugees, and Fung Ching, representative of the San Francisco-based Six Companies, or the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, they applied for formal entry into the United States as members of the exempted class delineated in Section 6 of the Chinese Registration Act of May 5, 1892. In order to meet the



Lee Wee Kwon.

conditions of entry under Section 6, each applicant had to produce a cash bond insuring that he would remain a member of the merchant class and demonstrate to immigration authorities that he possessed sufficient capital to operate a mercantile establishment. Following negotiations with the U.S. immigration office at El Paso, approximately forty Chinese refugees were immediately released from confinement and granted entry as Section 6 merchants, with the freedom to travel anywhere in the United States.⁶

Lee Wee Kwon was one of these few lucky Chinese immigrants. The "Check-out Notice" he received when he passed through the El Paso custom house on April 28, 1917, shows that he had been issued identification certificate No. 27804 at Columbus, New Mexico, and that his destination was Tucson, Arizona, via the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railroad. According to the description, he was forty years old and 5 feet 2 3/4 inches tall, "with a wart in

front of his right ear."⁷

Prior to his entry into the United States, Lee Wee Kwon and his brother Li Weizhou had lived in Chihuahua, Mexico, for fifteen years. The Lee brothers originally came from a village in Xinhui County, Guangdong Province, China. By the time of their emigration to Mexico in 1902, U.S. laws excluding Chinese immigration and naturalization had been in effect for two decades. But, while the United States closed its doors to aspiring Chinese who wished to seek their fortunes overseas, the Mexican government encouraged Chinese emigration to help develop its northern states. In 1899, the Mexican government signed a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with the Manchu government. Lee Wee Kwon and Li Weizhou were thus among the first Chinese who came to Mexico in the wake of the treaty. Most likely, the brothers engaged in farming. At any rate, by the time Lee Wee Kwon headed toward Tucson, he had a wealth of experience living and working in northern Mexico and spoke fluent Spanish. His chance encounter with General Pershing had won him his first "bucket of gold," which included some start-up capital and the much-coveted Section 6 merchant status. These assets would contribute to his early success in the grocery business.⁸

Yan Lee Hing Co. (1917-1920)

At age forty, Lee Wee Kwon dived into an entirely new cultural and business environment. In 1917, Arizona had been a state for only five years. But already the Old Pueblo had undergone a great transformation from a predominantly Mexican village to an American metropolis populated by two distinct communities, one Hispanic and the other Euro-American, clearly delineated by east-west running Broadway Boulevard and Congress Street. Prior to Lee Wee Kwon's arrival, there had been concentrations of Chinese residences and businesses north of Congress. But by 1917, they were all gone, having made way for the Women's Club (1910) and City Hall (1916). Subsequently, a new Chinatown appeared south of Congress and Broadway, centered on the site of the present-day Tucson Convention Center and surrounded by the Hispanic barrios.⁹

The formation of a new Chinatown inside the barrios marked a decisive turning point in the economic life of Tucson's Chinese. More Chinese grocery stores were opened, eventually spreading

out over some fifty square miles in the Hispanic neighborhoods. It was a symbiotic relationship: the Chinese grocers made a living serving their Spanish-speaking clientele, while Hispanic residents depended on Chinese grocers to meet their essential daily needs. This mutual dependency sustained the development and growth of the Chinese grocery business until urban renewal in the 1960s broke the symbiosis and the Chinese grocery business began its decline.¹⁰

Lee clan members welcomed Lee Wee Kwon to Tucson. After his first six months learning English, he joined three other Lees operating the Yan Lee Hing store at 556 North Main Street. Because the Chinese often occupied living quarters adjacent to their stores, Lee Wee Kwon resided at this address during his first few years in Tucson.¹¹

Two years after his arrival in the Old Pueblo, on October 16, 1919, Lee Wee Kwon submitted immigration papers to sponsor the entry of his son, Lee Wah Ying, based on his Section 6 merchant status. Lee Wee Kwon claimed that he owned a \$1,000 share in the grocery store partnership and that he had been in business for more than a year. Permission was granted, and Lee Wah Yin landed in San Francisco on February 12, 1920.¹²

Lee Wee Kwon Company (1920-1932)

Shortly after Lee Wah Ying's arrival, Lee Wee Kwon opened his namesake grocery store at the corner of the South 11th Avenue and 27th Street in the Yaqui village on the outskirts of Tucson. His choice to settle among the Spanish-speaking Yaquis was based on his experience in northern Mexico and his ability to speak their language. The Yaquis, who originated in the Rio Yaqui Valley in Sonora, had fled government persecution in Mexico in the late 1800s. By the early 1900s a group had settled in the Barrio Libre of south Tucson, where they worked for the railroad and as farm laborers.¹³

On September 2, 1921, Lee Wee Kwon submitted an application to sponsor the entry of his nephew Lee Yip Ming. In it, he claimed that Lee Yip Ming was one of three partners, with himself and Lee Wah Ying, each of whom owned a \$1,000 share in the Lee Wee Kwon Company. Again, the government approved the request and Lee Yip Ming soon arrived, as a Section 6 merchant, and joined his uncle and cousin in the grocery business.¹⁴



Family photograph taken during Lee Wah Ying's 1920s visit to China. (l.-r.) Lee Wee Kwon's daughter Lee Shuangtao, daughter-in-law (name unknown), wife Wong Shee holding grandson Lee Kai Suey, son Lee Wah Ying, and son-in-law Qu Hong.

With the additional help, Lee Wee Kwon's business certainly must have grown. In late 1923, Lee Wee Kwon sent his son home to get married. Lee Wah Ying stayed long enough in China to see his son, Lee Kai Suey, born. A family photo shows Wong Shee, Lee Wee Kwon's wife, holding the baby on her lap. Also included in the group are Lee Wee Kwon's daughter, Li Shuangtao, and her husband, Qu Hong, along with Lee Wah Ying and his wife.¹⁵

While Lee Wah Ying was visiting China, Lee Wee Kwon entertained the thought of bringing Wong Shee to America. In 1924, he submitted yet another immigration application but Wong Shee never made the trip. We do not know why. In 1924, the U.S. Con-

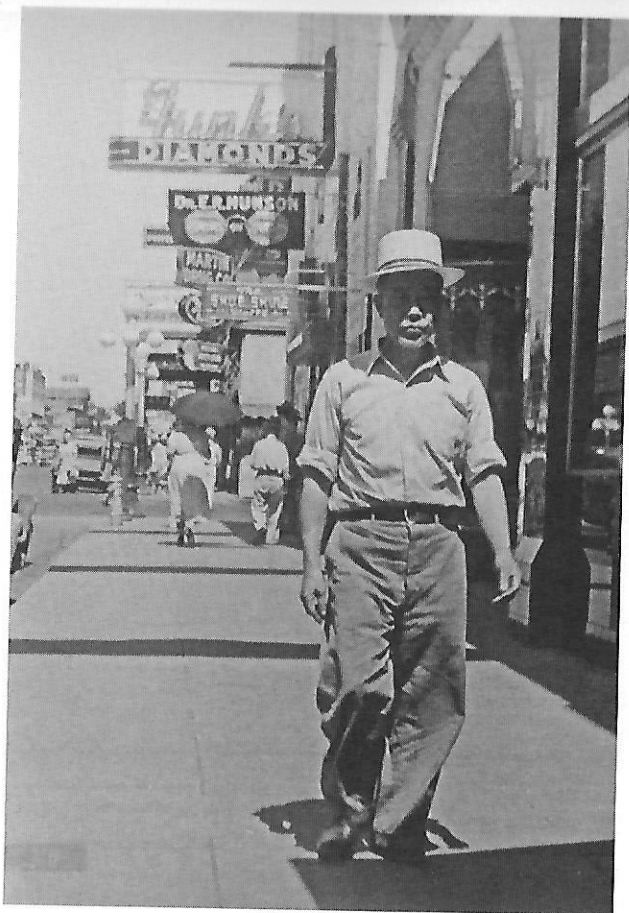
gress passed a law forbidding the entry of Chinese wives (even the wives of U.S. citizens), but the law does not seem to have affected the merchant class. In all likelihood, Wong Shee had no desire to leave China. After all, she had her new grandson and her daughter and all that was familiar to her. Transplanting to a strange country to be with a husband she had not seen for decades probably held little appeal for a middle-aged traditional Chinese woman such as Wong Shee.¹⁶

After a twenty-five-year absence, in late 1927 Lee Wee Kwon sailed home for a visit. He remained for a year, returning to America in March of 1929. While in China, Lee Wee Kwon oversaw the construction of a magnificent new house that won the envy of the entire village. He named it the Hall of Brilliance (*huanran tang*). On the day of its completion, relatives and friends from the neighboring villages and townships gathered to congratulate him. In return, he threw two days of lavish dinner parties that he dubbed "Gold Mountain Banquets" (*jinsan jiu*). Lee Wee Kwon was very proud of his achievements. In a letter to Lee Wah Ying and Lee Yip Ming, he wrote: "Twenty-five years have elapsed since I first went overseas. I was lucky enough to have seized an opportunity that comes only once every one thousand years. I am very satisfied with what I have achieved. I am overjoyed indeed."¹⁷

Pay'n Save (1932-1949)

Back in Tucson, on November 25, 1932 Lee Wee Kwon purchased the Pay'n Save store from Lee Chong. Tucson lawyer Louis G. Hummel witnessed the transaction. The business, located downtown at 37 South Meyer, was a two-story structure consisting of a store room on the ground floor, four rooms upstairs, and a back yard. Like his predecessor, Lee Wee Kwon leased the property from pioneers Leandro Ruiz and his wife, Lucy M. de Ruiz. He promptly turned the building into a mercantile establishment with living quarters.¹⁸

In the 1930s, Meyer Street was the heart of Tucson's downtown business center. More than twenty-five Chinese groceries lined the street. Lee Wee Kwon's location, adjoining Chinatown on South Main Street, attracted patrons from the Hispanic barrios to the south as well as from the affluent Anglo-American community north of Congress and Broadway. Moving away from the Yaqui village on the outskirts of Tucson to the heart of the downtown business district



Grocer Lee Wee Kwon walking in downtown Tucson.

marked a significant step up for Lee Wee Kwon. He was poised to become one of Tucson's most successful Chinese grocers.¹⁹

Being a man of clear vision, in 1938 Lee Wee Kwon decided to set up a living will in which he designated his wife, Wong Shee, and son Lee Wah Ying as his heirs. At the time, he had in his possession a \$5,087.50 certificate of deposit with the Valley National Bank. How he distributed this large amount of cash remains a mystery. His initial plan was to remit it to his grandson, Lee Kai Suey, in China. Sources suggest that Lee Wah Ying may have gotten a hold of all or part of the money, but Lee Wah Ying died only two years



Advertising poster for Lee Wee Kwon's Pay'n Save store.

after his father. The questions remain: where did the money go? And what did Lee Wah Ying do with it?²⁰

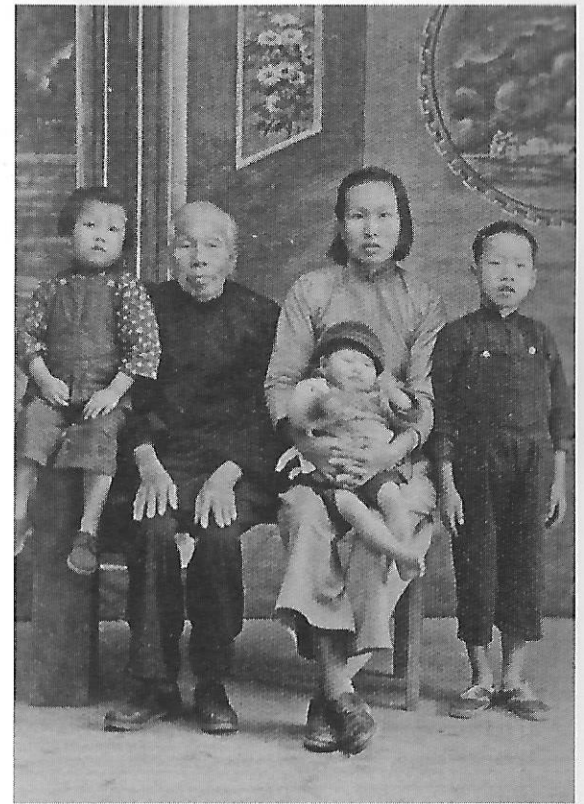
Life as a grocer was not without risk. Like many Chinese businesses in El Barrio, Lee Wee Kwon's store was occasionally robbed. A local newspaper recorded an incident in which two Mexican youths assaulted Lee Wee Kwon while attempting to rob his Pay'n Save store. The pair were arrested shortly afterward and sentenced to prison. According to the *Tucson Citizen*, the state tax commission once brought Lee Wee Kwon to court for refusing to grant permission to examine his books and records to see if he had paid sufficient income tax. Lee Wee Kwon hired attorney Louis Hummel to represent him and fought the case until the charges were eventually dropped.²¹

Lee Wee Kwon was an astute businessman. Besides his grocery stores, he also invested in real estate and stocks. In the early stage of his business career, he raised capital by mortgaging lots he purchased in the Southern Heights subdivision, an area occupied mainly by Papagos (Tohono O'odham) and Mexicans. In notarized mortgage documents he signed with Lee Linn and Lee Goon, he promised to repay their loans, in a designated period, at an annual interest rate of 8 percent.²²

Xingfa Hang (1948-1949)

Although he had lived his life as a bachelor in Tucson, Lee Wee Kwon was a family man whose kinship ties spanned the Pacific Ocean. Except for his son Lee Wah Ying, who lived and worked alongside him in Tucson, all of his immediate family remained in China. Conscientious about his responsibilities, Lee Wee Kwon regularly sent money home to support his relatives. Even when communication between the United States and the newly founded People's Republic China were completely cut off after 1949, he still managed to send money home through a trusted Lee clan member in Canada.²³

Lee Wee Kwon kept a close eye on the political situation in his homeland. After the Japanese invaded China in 1937, he made several donations toward efforts to expel the invaders. Lee Wee Kwon turned sixty-seven in 1945, the year the Japanese were defeated in China. He must have felt that it was high time for him and Lee Wah Ying to reunite with their family.²⁴



Wong Shee, Lee Wee Kwon's wife, with grandson Lee Kai Suey's wife, Huang Jinchuan, and her children.

In preparation for his retirement, Lee Wee Kwon entrusted his son-in-law, Qu Hong, with start-up capital to establish a general merchandize store in the business center of Jiangmen City, his home town. Located at 17 Zhongxing Road, Xingfa Hang, as the store was called, was said to be one of the best emporiums on the street when it opened in early 1948 with Qu Hong as manager. Unfortunately, the civil war between Nationalist armies and Communist forces forced the store out of business at the end of 1949. Although there was talk in 1950 about reopening Xingfa Hang, the plans never materialized.²⁵

Lee Wee Kwon's Last Years: Sojourner Turned Reluctant Settler

Lee Wee Kwon closed his Pay'n Save store in July of 1949, hoping to return to China with Lee Wah Ying at the end of the year. The

establishment of the Communist government in October shattered his dream of a glorious homecoming (*rongxuan*). Instead, father and son joined other aging bachelors in Tucson's Chinatown. Apparently, the two men did not live together. On his 1964 Alien Address Report card, Lee Wee Kwon listed his residence for the past fifteen years as 908 West Congress; Lee Wah Ying cited his residence as 103 South Main, the site of the Ying On buildings, where he had lived for fourteen years.²⁶

Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Wah Ying's relationship was by no means close. When twenty-year-old Lee Wah Ying arrived in Tucson in 1920, his father was a total stranger to him, having left home when Wah Ying was only two years old. According to his mother, Wong Shee, Lee Wah Ying made a second trip back to China sometime during the 1930s, possibly to assist Li Shouqun, the grandson of Lee Wee Kwon's older brother, Li Weizhou, in entering the United States. When he returned to Tucson, Lee Wah Ying refused to go back to work in his father's store. Instead, he tried to land a job on his own, only to find himself jobless for more than half a year. Wong Shee scolded her son over his escapist behavior and exhorted him to go back and help his father. Unlike Lee Wee Kwon, who was self-driven, hard-working, and highly disciplined, Lee Wah Ying seems to have been self-indulgent. Wong Shee was aware that her son was addicted to opium and urged him to quit the habit.²⁷

It also appears that Lee Wah Ying was a habitual gambler, who was incarcerated in the Pima County jail from October 16, 1939 until July 16, 1940. Although sources shed no light on the reason for his confinement, it is safe to assume that either his opium addiction or his gambling habit was at the root of his trouble. One can image the heartache and disappointment Lee Wee Kwon must have felt. It is no surprise that, unlike most other Chinese merchants, Lee Wee Kwon decided to close his business when he retired instead of turning it over to his son.²⁸

Conversely, Lee Wee Kwon's relationship with his nephew Lee Yip Ming was amiable. After working in Lee Wee Kwon's store, Lee Yip Ming left Tucson to work in a Chinese restaurant in Los Angeles. Every year, before August 7, he sent a twenty-dollar check to wish his uncle a happy birthday. Lee Wee Kwon was deeply saddened when Lee Yip Ming died in 1959. The news of Wong Shee's death the following year further devastated him.²⁹



Lee Wee Kwon at age eighty.

A year before his death, Lee Wee Kwon entered a government nursing home at 125 West 38th Street in Tucson. Patsy Lee, president of the Tucson Chinese Association, recalls visiting the nursing home on Sundays with her father, Alan Y. Lee, a clan relative, and bringing Lee Wee Kwon home-cooked dishes. Lee Wee Kwon died on March 15, 1965, at the age of 87. Alan Lee helped Lee Wah Ying bury his father in Evergreen Cemetery. Lee Wah Ying died two years later and was buried near his father's grave. After Lee Wah Ying's



Lee Wah Ying's grave, with Father's Day flowers offered by Sylvia Lee, Evergreen Cemetery, Tucson. Photo by Li Yang, June 24, 2009.



Lee Wee Kwon's grave, with Father's Day flowers offered by Sylvia Lee, Evergreen Cemetery, Tucson. Photo by Li Yang, June 24, 2009.

death, all his possessions, including the things he inherited from his father, were sealed up in his room in the Ying On buildings, where "Salvage Project" archaeologists surveying downtown prior to urban renewal uncovered them a year later. Shortly afterward, the Ying On buildings were razed by bulldozers. A chapter in the history of the Chinese in Tucson was forever closed.³⁰

Epilogue

At the time of his death, Lee Wee Kwon was survived by his son Lee Wah Ying, daughter Li Shuangtao, grandson Lee Kai Suey, three other grandchildren, and approximately five great-grandchildren

in China. None of his direct descendants currently live in Tucson. When I visited his grave in the Evergreen Cemetery at 3015 North Oracle Road on June 24, 2009, I was surprised to see potted flowers in front of Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Wah Ying's headstones. Because June 21 was Father's Day, it was obvious that someone had decorated their graves for that special occasion.

On the following day, I visited the Tucson Chinese Cultural Center at 1288 West River Road and discovered, through my conversation with Patsy Lee, that her sister Sylvia Lee had offered the flowers. When their mother, Jean Lee (Lui Gum Jin), died, she had made Sylvia promise to visit Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Wah Ying's graves on special occasions like Father's Day. While Patsy Lee convinced me that her family is in no way related by blood to Lee Wee Kwon, Alan Y. Lee's children clearly revere Lee Wee Kwon as if he were their forefather.

Given the fact that Alan Lee opened his store in 1949, the year Lee Wee Kwon closed his business, it is highly likely that Lee Wee Kwon helped him get started. Alan Y. Lee returned his kindness by caring for Lee Wee Kwon when he grew old and helping with Lee Wee Kwon's, and possibly Lee Wah Ying's, burial arrangements. Alan Lee and his wife also made sure that their children would carry on the family tradition of visiting Lee Wee Kwon's grave.³¹

It is interesting to note that Lee Wee Kwon's fictitious kinship relationship with men of the same surname played a significant role in his life. These were the people who helped him gain a foothold in Tucson, guided him through treacherous immigration processes, alerted him to promising business opportunities, and loaned him money to start his business. The Lee clan members remitted money on his behalf when communication was cut off between the United States and China, cared for him in his old age, buried him when he died, and then visited his grave down to the present day.

Lee Wee Kwon and Alan Y. Lee's relationship illustrates the mutual aid obligations men and women within the same surname clan circles owed to one another and underscores the notion of *bao*, or reciprocity, embraced and practiced by clan members. No doubt, Lee Wee Kwon had himself benefited from the mutual aid network of the Lee clan members throughout his years in Tucson. He must have felt obliged to pass on the torch and to help other Lees whenever he could. For that, he is still remembered today.

NOTES

1. Don Chun Wo file, Arizona Historical Society (AHS), Tucson. Harry T. Getty, *Interethnic Relationships in the Community of Tucson* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), p.17.
2. Getty, *Interethnic Relationships*, p. 17; J. Homer Thiel, *Archaeological Investigations of a Chinese Gardner's Household* (Tucson: Center for Desert Archaeology, 1997), p. 6; John Lewis Schweitzer, "The Social Unity of Tucson's Chinese Community (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1952), p. 26; Lim P. Lee, "The Chinese in Tucson, Arizona," *Chinese Digest* (April 1938). In addition to the 114 grocery stores, the *1950 Arizona Chinese Directory* lists 1 attorney, 1 Chinese store, 1 drug store, 1 furniture store, 1 hardware store, 2 herbalist stores, 2 liquor stores, 1 rest home, and 8 restaurants.
3. *Tucson Citizen*, August 1, 1974. The University of Arizona Library Special Collections (UALSC) houses some twenty manuscript boxes documenting the lives of Chinese residents of Tucson. These manuscripts are part of the material retrieved by the "Salvage Project" from the Ying On Benevolent Association buildings in downtown before Tucson Urban Renewal development in 1968 destroyed the last remnants of old Chinatown. Lee Wee Kwon and his son Lee Wah Ying are well documented in the manuscripts (boxes 3-5). Their files contain correspondence with family and friends, legal documents, immigration papers, ledger books, bills, receipts, newsletters, tax returns, gambling records, photographs, advertisements, and calendars. Most of these materials are in Chinese, while some printed forms are in English. Research about Lee Wee Kwon based on these primary documents is almost non-existent, although Lawrence Michael Fong (who helped catalogue the collection when he was a graduate student) mentions him in passing in "Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History [JAH]*, vol. 21 (Autumn 1980), pp. 227-56. See also, "The Promise of Gold Mountain: Tucson's Chinese Heritage," <http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/promise/fong.html>. Grace P. Delgado also cites the example of Lee Wee Kwon in her article, "Of Kith and Kin: Land, Leases, and *Guanxi* in Tucson's Chinese and Mexican Communities, 1880s-1920s," *JAH*, vol. 46 (Spring 2005), pp. 33-54, although her account is flawed by some serious factual errors. Delgado views Lee Wee Kwon as a Sze Yap outcast when, in fact, by the time he arrived in Tucson, the Chinese community was predominantly composed of men from the Sze Yap. Delgado also misidentifies a man as Lee Wee Kwon in a photograph on p. 46. Lee Wee Kwon's story was first brought to my attention by Dale S. Turner, "Reunion in Chinatown," *Tucson Weekly*, October 22-29, 1986, p. 4.
4. For more information, see Edward Eugene Briscoe, "Pershing's Chinese Refugees: An Odyssey of the Southwest" (M.A. thesis, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, 1947). Exact numbers for the Pershing Chinese seem to have been lost. Probably either 527 or 537 entered the United States; 427 may have come to San Antonio; in 1921, 365 men were given permission to stay in the United States as non-citizen residents. Records of the time indicate that of the transported Chinese: 7 were deported, 38 returned to China, and 3 returned to Mexico, at their request. Approximately 11 deaths were recorded by 1921. One of the refugees, Jung Hoy, was granted immediate citizenship, for reasons not recorded. <http://www.texancultures.utsa.edu/txttext/chinese/chinesetexansnotes.htm>. (Hereinafter cited as "Chinese Texans.")
5. Briscoe, "Pershing's Chinese Refugees," Appendix A, p. 143.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 136. William Tracy Page was a former Immigration Bureau officer in the Philippines.
7. Chinese Manuscripts, box 3, folder 1; and box 4, folder 1, UALSC. Lee Wee Kwon's age is based on Chinese reckoning; he was, in fact, thirty-nine according to the Western calendar.
8. The translation of Chinese names in this article adopts the *pinyin* Romanization system, with the exception of certain names, such as Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Wah Ying, that appear in English form in primary sources. It appears that Li Weizhou stayed in Mexico when his brother, Lee Wee Kwon, headed for the United States. He later sponsored the entry of his son, Li Yeyi (Carlos Lee), who inherited the land his father had farmed. A 1948 letter indicates that Li Yeyi was residing in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, at the time. Two other Lees,

- apparently also related to Lee Wee Kwon, were living in Chihuahua—Li Yexin (R. Santiago Lee) in Las Delicias and Li Yeqin in Parral. Li Shouqun to Lee Wee Kwon, February 16, 1947, Chinese Manuscripts, box 3, folder 11; Carlos Lee (Li Yeyi) to Lee Wee Kwon, July 10, 1948, *ibid.*, folder 10.
9. According to Lee, "Chinese in Tucson," no more than 150-200 Chinese settled permanently in the old Chinatown, as many of their businesses and homes were scattered throughout the city. For the history of the Chinese in Arizona Territory, see J. Homer Thiel, "The Chinese of Tucson," *Archaeological Investigations of a Chinese Gardner's Household, Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: Center for Desert Archaeology, 1997), pp. 4-36.
10. Schweitzer, "Social Unity of Tucson's Chinese Community," p. 26.
11. B. A. Pilcher, notarized affidavit, October 22, 1919, identifies the three men as Lee Kan, Lee How, and Lee Hing; Lee Wee Kwon, notarized document, October 16, 1919, both in Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 1. This address first appears in Lee Wee Kwon's registration certificate, September 1918, which confirms that Lee Wee Kwon was released four years earlier than the Chinese confined at the military camp near San Antonio.
12. Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 1, and box 5, folder 1.
13. Lee Wee Kwon and Company check, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 14; Lawrence M. Fong interview with Lee Kim Wah, Tucson, March 1977, in Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers"; *About and Roundabout Tucson* (Tucson: Junior League, 1936), p. 23.
14. Lee Wee Kwon, notarized document, September 2, 1921, Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 1.
15. Lee Wah Ying receipts (August 22-October 2, 1923) for payment of various fees to the Six Companies before he left San Francisco, *ibid.*, box 5, folder 3; photograph in *ibid.*, box 3, folder 12.
16. Lee Wee Kwon, notarized document, May 6, 1924, *ibid.*, box 4, folder 1. On May 26, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge signed legislation that barred admission to persons ineligible for citizenship. This raised legal questions about whether American citizens could bring their Chinese wives into the country. Six years later, Congress passed a new law that admitted Chinese wives of American citizens who had married prior to passage of the 1924 Immigration Act. For U.S. immigration policies toward the Chinese, see Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family and Community, 1940-1965* (New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002).
17. Lee Wee Kwon receipts, November 6 and 7, 1927, Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 2. He obtained his passport from the Consulate General of the Republic of China in San Francisco on November 7, 1927, *ibid.*, folder 1. Lee Wee Kwon's Certificate of Medical Examination, March 11, 1929, *ibid.*, gives his age as fifty two and dates his departure from Hongkong to San Francisco on March 12, 1929. Quote in Lee Wee Kwon to Lee Wah Ying and Lee Yip Ming, 1928, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 6.
18. Louis Hummel notarized Bill of Sale and Notice of Sale. The Notice of Sale was also printed in the *Tucson Daily Citizen*. All three are in *ibid.*, box 4, folder 5. Notarized store lease, November 5, 1932, *ibid.*
19. Turner, "Reunion in Chinatown," explains: "'Meyer Street was the Speedway of Tucson in those days,' says Jerry Lee, owner of Jerry's Lee Ho Market. He was just a boy, but Lee remembers the street filled 'with a mixture of cars and horses and buggies.' It was bustling community with 18 Chinese grocery stores between Congress and his store on 17th Street." Gordon R. Brown, in *Tucson Citizen*, August 1, 1974, writes that "more than 25 groceries operated by Chinese once lined Meyer street in downtown Tucson before construction of the Tucson Community Center and various government offices."
20. Lee Wee Kwon's will, witnessed by George Lee Wah and Lee Yip Ming, September 1, 1938, Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 1. Bank statement, December 31, 1963, and cashier's check, January 8, 1964, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 14. Howard Chou to Lee Wee Kwon, September 11, 1960, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 7. Howard Chou, whose real name was Lee Share Hing (Li Sheping), was apparently a "paper son," whom Lee Wee Kwon relied on after 1949 to remit money to his family in Communist China. On April 19, 1965, Howard Chou urged

Lee Wah Ying to stay in touch and send money to his family in China. Ibid., box 5, folder 2. See also, Lee Kai Suey to Lee Wah Ying, August 2, 1965, inquiring about his grandfather's bequest to him. Ibid., box 4, folder 1.

21. "Pair Sentenced for Assault upon Grocer," newspaper clipping, *ibid.*, box 4, folder 1. "Chinese is Freed in Tax Law Case," *Tucson Citizen*, February 1, 1935.

22. Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Linn, notarized mortgage, February 9, 1924; Lee Wee Kwon and Lee Goon, notarized mortgage (January 6, 1922) and two promissory notes (February 21, 1922 and June 19, 1923), all in Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 5. National Dollar Stores to Lee Wee Kwon, December 5, 1951; and Great Oriental Motion Picture Company receipt, April 16, 1920, both in *ibid.*, box 3, folder 15. On December 31, 1963, Valley National Bank in Tucson offered Lee Wee Kwon 3.5 percent interest, per annum, on a 6-12 month CD. Ibid., box 3, folder 14. Lee Wee Kwon clearly paid a much higher rate for his mortgage loans to Lee Linn and Lee Goon from 1922 to 1924.

23. Lee Wee Kwon remittance transfer notes, September 19, 1945 and April 3, 1946, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 14. In addition, letters from Lee Wee Kwon's family in China nearly all contain some reference to receipt of, or request for, remittances. Lee Share Hing (Li Sheping) was the clan member in Canada. He used the name Howard Chou for immigration purposes. See Howard Chou to Lee Wee Kwon, August 24, 1964, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 7.

24. Chinese Manuscripts, box 4, folder 2. Letters from Qu Hong to Lee Wee Kwon between 1946 and 1949 all concerned the business of opening and operating the store. Ibid., box 3, folders 5, 6, and 10.

25. Qu Hong to Lee Wee Kwon, August 14, 1948, *ibid.*, box 3, folders 5 and 8.

26. Lee Wee Kwon, Alien Address Report Card, 1964, *ibid.*, box 4, folder 1; Lee Wah Ying Alien Address Report Card, January 14, 1964, *ibid.*, box 5, folder 1. Twenty or thirty aging Chinese were living at the Ying On complex about this time.

27. Wong Shee to Lee Wah Ying, n.d., *ibid.*, box 3, folder 1. Li Shouqun made his way back to China in November 1931, after failing his immigration interrogations at Angel Island, California.

28. Chinese Manuscripts, box 5, folder 1. For example, Lee Goon turned his store over to his son, Lee Hop, when he retired. Bonnie Henry, "Chinese Grocers Part of Our History," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson), August 21, 2001.

29. Only Lee Wah Ying and Vivian G. Carrillo are listed as employees on Lee Wee Kwon's Quarterly Return of Income Tax Withheld on Wages, September 30, 1946, *ibid.*, box 4, folder 4. Lee Yip Ming to Lee Wee Kwon, August 7, 1952, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 9; Howard Chou to Lee Wee Kwon, March 24, 1959, and Howard Chou to Lee Wee Kwon, August 24, 1964, both in *ibid.*, box 3, folder 7.

30. Interview with Patsy Lee, June 25, 2009, author's files. Lee Kai Suey to Lee Wah Ying, April 8, 1965, Chinese Manuscripts, box 5, folder 2; Lee Wee Kwon obituary, Evergreen Cemetery, Tucson.

31. Patsy Lee interview.

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THE FLIGHT OF WEAK WOMEN

Apache Prisoners of War A 1799 Incident

by
Mark Santiago

THE VIOLENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN SPANISH and Apache warriors ebbed and flowed over an area straddling the Texas border from the early seventeenth century to beyond the turn of the twentieth century. In 1821. Over its course, both sides resorted to force and tactics in attempts to intimidate one another. In the late eighteenth century, the Spanish began capturing Apache prisoners of war—men, women, and children—in an arena of conflict and depositing them in a place from which they would never return. This was yet another powerful tool in the arsenal employed against the people they regarded as implacable enemies.

Conflict between Spaniards and Apaches began as early as Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's expedition. Certainly by the time Juan de Oñate firmly established the colony of New Mexico in 1610, violence had grown between the two cultures became increasingly aware of the treacherous frontier, stretching from the Sea of Cortez in Mexico, evolved as the Spaniards pushed northward in the seventeenth century into Sonora, New Mexico.

Mark Santiago is director of the New Mexico Farm & Ranch Experiment Station in Cruces. He is an authority on the Spanish Borderlands. His books include *Red Captain: The Life of Hugo O'Connor, Commandant Inspector of New Spain* (Arizona Historical Society) and *Massacre at the Mouth of the Gila River: Relations with the Quechans, 1779-1782* (University of Arizona Press).